

***Bibliothèque
et Archives
nationales***

Québec



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

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

Section du dépôt légal

The logo consists of the letters 'MJE' in a large, bold, black serif font. A large, stylized 'J' is positioned below the 'M' and 'E', extending downwards and slightly to the left. The background is a light cream color with a subtle, abstract pattern of overlapping rectangular shapes in various shades of green and grey. A solid dark green vertical bar is located on the left side of the cover.

MJE

McGILL JOURNAL OF EDUCATION
REVUE DES SCIENCES DE L'ÉDUCATION DE MCGILL
Vol.35 N°1 WINTER 2000

McGill *Journal of Education* is published three times a year: Winter, Spring, Fall. 1 year subscription rates, post paid: **CANADA:** \$30 (+ taxes: Quebec 7% + 7.5% = \$34.50; Other provinces: 7% = \$32.10). Single copies \$12 (+ taxes). **FOREIGN:** C\$40; by Air Mail C\$50. Single copies C\$15. Subscriptions are payable to the McGill Journal of Education, 3700 McTavish Street, Montreal, Quebec, Canada H3A 1Y2. Phone: (514) 398-4246. FAX: (514) 398-4529. E-mail: keenana@education.mcgill.ca.

MJE is indexed in *Canadian Business and Current Affairs Fulltext – Education*, and selectively indexed by Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC). It is listed in Ulrich's *International Periodicals Directory*, abstracted by *Sociology of Education Abstracts* and *Canadian Social Science Abstracts*, and is available in microform from Micromedia Ltd., 20 Victoria Street, Toronto, ON, Canada M5C 2N8, and University Microfilms, Inc. Ann Arbor, MI, USA. International Standard Serial No. CN ISSN 0024-9033.

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

Revue des sciences de l'éducation de McGill paraît trois fois par an, en hiver, au printemps et à l'automne. Tarif d'abonnement pour une année, post payé: **CANADA:** 30\$ + les taxes (Québec + 7% + 7.5% = 34.50\$; les autres provinces: + 7% = 32.10\$). Prix du numéro: 12\$ (+ les taxes). **PAYS ÉTRANGERS:** 40C\$; par la post aérien: 50C\$. Prix du numéro: 15C\$. L'abonnement est payable au McGill *Journal of Education* et toute demande doit être adressée au 3700, rue McTavish, Montréal (Québec) Canada H3A 1Y2. Téléphone: (514) 398-4246; télécopieur: (514) 398-4529. Adresse électronique: keenana@education.mcgill.ca.

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

Tous droits réservés. Aucune partie de la présente publication ne peut être reproduite sous quelque forme et par quelque moyen que ce soit sans l'autorisation écrite de l'éditeur.

© Faculty of Education, McGill University

Publications Mail Registration Number: 08234

Envoi de Poste-publications – Enregistrement Numéro: 08234

EDITORIAL

CULTURES, COMPARISONS, AND CONSTRAINTS

As the McGill Journal of Education publishes for the first time with the year 2000 on its cover, it embarks on a new design, which will be integrated with the option for on-line delivery. We also initiate a policy of including the Editorial in both English and French. This seems an appropriate time for beginnings, while continuing to respect the Journal's traditions. The articles in this issue provide fresh perspectives on education, nationally and internationally. They address issues of cultures, comparisons, and constraints that work upon students, textbooks, teachers, and national educational systems. Over-arching questions might be: what do we see, in this age of increasingly globalized consciousness, as a culture's educational centre and its margins? How strongly are professionals in education holding to a particular view of a centre or seeking to integrate the margins to form a new kind of coherence? Should we speak instead of multiple, fluidly adapting, sites of local educational culture? In Canada, with its aboriginal, French-speaking, English-speaking, and other-mother-tongue populations, these questions are often of immediate local concern. But, as we know, they are also becoming a global concern as more and more countries engage in comparisons of cultures and new definitions of learning.

Guofang Li's study of a Filipino family in Western Canada reveals the ways in which different family members negotiate the terrain of "Canadian culture" – however that is defined. This topic is illustrated by generational and individual differences in the way the family lives in Canadian society. Literacy and identity become complex questions as we witness their interactions at home in Tagalog, English and French. Underlying Guofang Li's study are concerns about the ways in which schooling shapes the kind of literacy – and the sense of self – the children acquire. As Jim Cummins, prefacing a British publication on multiculturalism, has said, "misconceptions about bilingual pupils continue to abound. For example, pupils are often assumed to have overcome the 'language barrier' when they have acquired the ability to converse relatively fluently in English." [Or, one might add, in French.] "We know, in fact, that it can take much longer for pupils to bridge the gap in academic aspects of English. Similarly, pupils' first languages are still frequently seen as either irrelevant to their academic progress or even as detrimental to attainment." In fact, "other languages and cultures are resources to be developed and sources of enlightenment and enrichment for both pupils and teachers" (in Edwards, 1998, Foreword). While children such as those in Guofang Li's study may prove relatively successful in their adaptation to their situation, they also risk losing connection with their past, causing tension, confusion and sadness in the home. Many of us can think of students we have known whose journey from school to home is a difficult passage, every day, across such boundaries.

Following a "micro" with a "macro" view, Jennifer MacLennan's study addresses the issue of Canadian culture as it is seen in the practice of American textbooks being "Canadianized" for the market north of the United States border. While her central example – speech communication courses (often loosely referred to as courses in public speaking) – may be specialized, her larger perspective on the

relationship between Canadian and U.S. culture raises many questions. Canada's own relatively small population, spread across thousands of miles, cannot always support educational texts for specialized subjects. Because of economies of scale, the much larger neighbour to the south can finance and distribute such materials more cheaply and easily. So Canadian students often receive the internal cultural dialogues of another country, which are also pervasively present through electronic media. The teachers and students in the speech communication program are caught between the need for certain curricular goals and the desire for "homegrown" cultural references. In the process of "Canadianizing" an American textbook, Jennifer MacLennan gained unusual insights into both the connections and the differences between the two countries.

The culture of schools is in large part a culture of long-term teachers, those who see generations of students come and go. Amongst these the associate teachers who work with student teachers sent to them from universities occupy a particularly influential place. As they welcome newcomers to the profession, they can have a profound effect on those they work with. Pierre Boudreau's article takes us into the heart of the culture of teaching, as he explores, through carefully developed discussions amongst groups of teachers, the perception of what really matters in the work of the associate teacher. His findings show that what the teacher "is" as well as what he or she "does" is crucial. The current need for ever-closer relationships amongst teachers, pre-service students and faculties of education makes this a timely contribution.

Finally, Steven Bossy's article examines one troubling though unintended outcome of a successful, highly developed nation's educational culture: academic anxiety. He examines the reasons for acute academic pressure on students in Japan, and by implication poses questions about current national and international movements towards ever higher achievement standards. Desirable as these may be, what are the costs? Are there alternatives, or at least "safety nets" for all students in academic competitions when, for some, psychological and physical well-being are put at risk? How can the needs of societies driven by the pace of the information age be balanced with the simple, human needs of children and adolescents? While this is an external view of another country's complex system, Bossy's discussion provides an intriguing counterbalance to Guofang Li's. Both studies focus on the actual lives of students and parents. They show how powerfully social influences transform the ways in which education acts upon students, who must negotiate these forces constantly to develop a strong identity as citizens.

A.B.

REFERENCE

Edwards, V. (1998). *The power of Babel: Teaching and learning in multilingual classrooms*. Stoke-on-Trent, UK: Trentham Books.

ÉDITORIAL: CULTURES, COMPARAISONS ET CONTRAINTES

Pour son premier numéro de l'an 2000, le *Revue des sciences de l'éducation de McGill* adopte une nouvelle présentation qui s'harmonisera avec sa future version en ligne. Nous innovons également en présentant notre éditorial en

anglais et en français. Ce changement nous semble opportun et conforme aux traditions de la revue. Les articles proposés dans ce numéro offrent un point de vue nouveau sur les questions d'éducation, aux niveaux national et international. Ils portent sur différents problèmes de culture, de comparaisons et de contraintes qui visent les étudiants, les manuels scolaires, les enseignants et les systèmes d'éducation nationaux. Les questions déterminantes pourraient se formuler ainsi : où situons-nous, en cette époque de conscientisation de plus en plus générale, le centre éducatif d'une culture et sa périphérie? Dans quelle mesure les professionnels de l'éducation restent-ils attachés à un point de vue privilégiant un centre? Cherchent-ils à intégrer la périphérie pour créer un nouveau type de cohérence? Faut-il plutôt parler de sites multiples, soumis à une adaptation fluide, de cultures éducatives locales? Au Canada, pays dont la population se divise en groupes autochtones, francophones, anglophones et allophones, ces questions présentent un intérêt local immédiat. Mais elles suscitent également beaucoup d'intérêt dans le monde, car un nombre croissant de pays établissent des comparaisons entre les cultures et donnent de nouvelles définitions de l'apprentissage.

L'étude que Guofang Li a menée dans une famille philippine montre comment les différents membres de la cellule familiale abordent la réalité de la «culture canadienne», quelle que soit la définition qu'on en donne. Ce problème se reflète dans les différences qui distinguent, au sein de la famille, les individus et les membres des différentes générations quant au mode de vie dans la société canadienne. Les questions de la littératie et de l'identité se révèlent dans toute leur complexité dans les rapports que les membres de la famille entretiennent à la maison en tagal, en anglais et en français. Cette étude traite également implicitement de l'effet de l'instruction sur le type de littératie - et le sentiment de soi - que les enfants acquièrent. Comme le précise Jim Cummins, dans la préface d'un ouvrage britannique portant sur le multiculturalisme, «les idées fausses sur les enfants bilingues sont légion. Ainsi, on présume souvent que les enfants ont surmonté la 'barrière linguistique' dès lors qu'ils sont en mesure de converser assez facilement en anglais» [ou, pourrait-on dire, en français]. «Or nous savons qu'il faut beaucoup plus de temps aux élèves pour bien maîtriser les aspects scolaires de l'anglais. De la même manière, la langue maternelle d'un élève est souvent considérée comme un facteur étranger à ses progrès scolaires et même comme un facteur préjudiciable à sa réussite». En réalité «la diversité des langues et des cultures est une ressource à exploiter et une source d'inspiration et d'épanouissement pour les élèves et les enseignants» (Edwards, 1998, préface). Si les enfants décrits dans l'étude de Guofang Li s'adaptent avec une facilité relative à leur situation, ils risquent également de se couper de leur passé, d'où la tension, la confusion et la tristesse qui en résultent parfois dans le milieu familial. Beaucoup d'entre nous ont connu des enfants à qui la transition quotidienne entre le milieu familial et le milieu scolaire imposait le difficile passage de ces frontières.

Dans une optique «micro» et «macro», Jennifer MacLennan s'intéresse à la question de la culture canadienne à la lumière de la pratique de «canadianisation» des manuels américains destinés au marché canadien. Si

l'exemple principal qui sert à illustrer son propos – des cours de communication orale (aussi appelés cours d'art oratoire) – revêt un caractère spécialisé, son point de vue plus général sur les rapports entre les cultures canadiennes et américaines soulève de nombreuses questions. La population relativement faible du Canada, éparpillée sur des milliers de kilomètres, n'offre pas toujours de débouchés suffisants pour des ouvrages spécialisés de conception canadienne. À la recherche d'économies d'échelle, notre puissant voisin du sud peut financer et distribuer ces matériels plus facilement et à bien moindre coût. C'est ainsi que l'étudiant canadien en vient à admettre les dialogues culturels internes d'un autre pays, si présents par ailleurs dans les médias électroniques. Les enseignants et les étudiants du programme de communication orale sont partagés entre la nécessité d'atteindre certains objectifs scolaires et leur désir de repères culturels «domestiques». L'étude de ce processus de «canadianisation» de manuels américains a permis à Jennifer MacLennan de dégager des aperçus inédits sur les liens entre les deux pays et les différences qui les séparent.

La culture de l'école est en grande partie la culture des enseignants les plus anciens, qui ont connu plusieurs générations d'étudiants. Parmi ceux-ci, les enseignants associés qui encadrent les futurs enseignants que leur confient les universités, jouent un rôle particulièrement important. En accueillant les nouveaux venus à la profession, ils affectent profondément ceux avec qui ils travaillent. L'article de Pierre Boudreau nous permet de pénétrer jusqu'au cœur de la culture de l'enseignement; grâce à un travail soigné d'exploration mené auprès de groupes d'enseignants, l'auteur nous permet de comprendre ce qui compte vraiment dans le travail de l'enseignant associé. Ses conclusions démontrent que «l'être» tout autant que le «faire» revêt une importance capitale. Compte tenu de la nécessité de resserrer les liens entre les enseignants associés, les stagiaires étudiants et les facultés des sciences de l'éducation, l'article apporte une contribution fort opportune.

Enfin, l'article de Steven Bossy porte sur une conséquence troublante et imprévue de la culture scolaire des pays très développés : l'angoisse scolaire. L'auteur se penche sur les causes des vives tensions que subissent les étudiants japonais et soulève implicitement diverses questions sur les tendances nationales et internationales actuelles vers un relèvement des normes de réussite. Si souhaitable que soit ce relèvement, quels en sont les coûts? Existe-t-il des solutions de rechange ou du moins des «filets de sécurité» dont pourrait bénéficier l'ensemble des candidats aux examens et concours lorsque ces tensions risquent de compromettre le bien-être psychologique et physique de certains étudiants? Comment peut-on concilier les besoins dictés par le rythme d'évolution des technologies de l'information et les besoins humains simples des enfants et des adolescents? Cet examen du système complexe d'un autre pays propose une discussion qui constitue un contrepoint fort intéressant à l'article de Guofang Li. Ces deux études portent avant tout sur le vécu des étudiants et des parents. Elles montrent que des facteurs sociaux puissants transforment l'effet que l'éducation institutionnelle exerce sur les étudiants, qui doivent composer avec ces deux forces pour acquérir un solide sentiment d'identité en tant que citoyen.

A.B.

FAMILY LITERACY AND CULTURAL IDENTITY: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF A FILIPINO FAMILY IN CANADA

GUOFANG LI *University of Saskatchewan*

ABSTRACT. This inquiry uses ethnographic methods to examine the relationship between literacy practices and the construction of cultural identity in a Filipino immigrant family in Canada. The study was conducted by a researcher who is herself an immigrant to Canada from Asia. The literate lives of the six people of the Holman family indicate that literacy is not just an individual construct, but a more complex concept that involves family relationships that are embedded in cultural identity. Individual identity is expressed in the intersecting ways the six family members (a grandmother, two parents, and three children) relate to each other and is manifested through their individual literacy behaviors. The individuals do not share the same perspectives on their cultural identity. Instead, significant diversity exists among the family members across the generations. By presenting a close-up picture of the intersecting relationships between the literacy practices and cultural identity in a typical immigrant family, this study opens gateways for educators to understand immigrant children and their families' literacy and way of life in Canada, and informs classroom practices that affirm learners' diverse backgrounds.

RÉSUMÉ. Cette recherche réalisée à l'aide de méthodes ethnographiques porte sur le lien qui existe entre les pratiques d'alphabétisation et l'acquisition d'une identité culturelle dans une famille d'immigrants philippins établis au Canada. L'auteur de l'étude, d'origine asiatique, a elle-même émigré au Canada. Le mode de vie alphabétisé des six membres de la famille Holman n'est pas une construction individuelle, mais un concept plus complexe qui fait intervenir les relations familiales inhérentes à l'identité culturelle. L'identité individuelle s'exprime dans le mode d'interaction des six membres de la famille, qui comprend la grand-mère, les deux parents et les trois enfants. Cette identité se manifeste dans les comportements individuels de littératie. Les membres de la famille ne partagent pas tous le même point de vue sur leur identité culturelle et d'importantes divergences existent entre les opinions des membres de différentes générations. En présentant une analyse détaillée de l'interaction des pratiques d'alphabétisation et de l'identité culturelle dans une famille d'immigrants type, cette étude permettra aux éducateurs de mieux comprendre les questions liées à l'alphabétisation et au mode de vie des enfants d'immigrants et des membres de leur famille et inspirera des pratiques pédagogiques fondées sur la diversité des horizons culturels des élèves

There is a consensus in literacy research that a person's identity as a member of a society is intertwined with the meaning and consequences of becoming and being literate (Bell, 1997; Norton, 1997; Ferdman, 1991; Godley, 1998). As literacy is defined in part by group boundaries and status, the process of becoming literate, as well as the types of literacy activities engaged in, embodies a person's cultural identity (Ferdman, 1991). Literacy is thus viewed as an essential part of a person's conception of his/her culture and personhood – appropriate to the members of the ethnic group to which he or she belongs (Ferdman, 1991; Street, 1995). Researchers in language and identity further suggest that although an individual's identity is derived from in-group memberships, individuals may choose to change their group membership if the present one is not considered positive (Hansen & Liu, 1997; McNamara, 1997; Pierce, 1995). Norton (1997) argues that identity is associated with desire, "the desire for recognition, the desire for affiliation, and the desire for security and safety" (p. 410), and is inseparable from the influence of power and privilege of the larger societal context. Therefore, an individual whose desire is not satisfied will choose to negotiate or shift his or her identity in accordance with the relationship between the individual and the social context. Because language and literacy are the salient markers of in-group identity, an individual's language choices and actual language use in specific contexts become important indicators of social relationship with others (Hansen & Liu, 1997, p. 569).

The connections between literacy and cultural identity have been addressed frequently at the individual level. Godley (1998), for example, describes how individual identity is connected with how society views and gives meaning to writing. Noll (1998) analyzes how two American Indian youths constructed meaning through reading and writing and other literacy practices. Neilsen (1989), who has documented the literate lives of three adults, views literacy as an individual way of knowing and behaving. These studies, which have successfully presented the individuality of literacy and its social meaning for the self in the fabric of society, are carefully shaped segments of literate lives. The researchers, however, did not address the relationship among an individual and the significant others in his/her family. Such a study is important because an individual's identity normally exists in association with his or her family members, and then the larger society. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to engage in a detailed examination of the interrelationships between family context and individual literacy.

The cultural background of researchers is also important as it affects how they view the relationship between literacy and identity. Most researchers (such as those mentioned above) are from the dominant culture, and view literacy and identity from the perspective of Western society. Very few studies on immigrant literacy come from an insider's perspectives. My own perspective on literacy and identity originates from my cultural background

as an Asian immigrant to Canada. My understanding of self and society is mediated through my relationship with my family members. As Chang (1982) summarizes, the concept of selfhood in Asian culture is that “a human being has meaning and the right to existence only in relation to other family members on the one hand; and in relation to the universe and the laws of Nature on the other” (as cited in Liebkind, 1992, p. 149). This conception, which is dominant in Asian culture, is in contrast to the concept of selfhood in the West (Liebkind, 1992).

My position is that the meaning of self to a large extent arises in the life of an individual through ongoing exchange with other family members, who share similar knowledge, beliefs, morals, and customs. Family milieu is a most significant social/cultural context in which literacy is socialized, represented, and transmitted. The family members’ beliefs and values shape their literacy lives; and dialectically, their literate lives are an inseparable part of who they are as a whole, as a basic social institution, a living system (Montgomery & Fever, 1988; Leslie & Korman, 1989).

My goal was to uncover the relationship between literacy practices and the construction of cultural identity in a South Asian immigrant family, the Holmans. They live in a prairie city, which I will call Salington, in Western Canada. Salington is a typical prairie city with a South Asian population of 1,335, comprising only a small segment of the total population (216,445), with European Canadians being the majority (Statistics Canada, 1996). The Holmans immigrated to the city from the Philippines in 1983. At the time of this study, they had lived in Canada for fifteen years. They, along with one black and one East Indian family, live in a predominantly Caucasian, middle-class neighborhood. The family has three generations living in the same house – the grandmother (Anna), the parents (Roberta and Edward), and three daughters (Salsha, Jasmine, and Jessie) aged 6, 13 and 15. (Pseudonyms are used throughout the paper to ensure the anonymity of the participants.)

My research questions were:

- a) how does an immigrant family use literacies in the home milieu and what is the significance of them?
- b) how do the family members relate to each other and construct their ethnic/cultural identity through their literacy practices?

By focusing on the home milieu of this family and considering it as a socio-cultural context for the literacy practices of both adults and children, I sought to understand their conception of self in relation to their significant others in the family.

My understanding of the Holmans’ literacy practices and their meaning-making was influenced by Bell’s (1997) theory in which she used

commonplaces to comprehend the interrelationship between literacy, culture, and identity. Bell (1997) defines her theory of commonplaces, rooted in Aristotle's *Topica*, as "the set of fundamental elements that are essential to any complete discussion or discussion of a topic" (p. 42). Bell's commonplaces for literacy include User (individual or a group of people), Text (print and oral language), Context (community and society), and Process (interaction). These four elements provide a framework for my meaning-making of the data collected. In this study, User consists of the six family members; Text consists of the print and writing materials, and the oracies in both English and Tagalog; Context comprises the family milieu where the family literacy events occur, and the larger society environment in which they reside. Process resides in the range of literacy activities which the family members interact with Text and develop patterns of interaction with each other.

METHOD

Ethnography has been defined as a process to study human interactions in social settings through the process and product of describing and interpreting cultural behavior (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994; Charles, 1998; Schwandt, 1997). Ethnography has allowed me to gain an understanding of the meaning of the family literacy practices of the Holman family. During a three-month period in the winter of 1998, I visited the Holman's home twice weekly, with each visit lasting two to three hours, for a total of twenty four visits.

I used ethnographic methods such as participant observation, interviewing, field notes, journals, and artifact analysis to gather data. Letters of consent were signed by each members of the family before the beginning of the study. Participant observation took place in different settings such as in the house, in the park, and shopping centre, and on a variety of occasions such as casual visits, family dinners, a reunion, and family outings. I also kept descriptive fieldnotes and reflective journals to record the literacy activities of the family and the nuances of interactions among the family members.

I used both informal and formal interviewing methods. Informal conversational interviewing was used throughout the study (Wolcott, 1994). Semi-structured interviewing took place in the final stage of the study after I established rapport with my participants. All the interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed so that the transcripts could be used for analysis. All the transcripts were reviewed, and letters of consent for using information from the transcripts were signed by the participants. The interviews provided the participants' own perspective on their literacies and living, and afforded an in-depth understanding of their own perceptions about their cultural identity.

Data analysis in this ethnographic study was a continuous and developmental process that occurred concurrently with data collection. To organize my interview and observation data, I used the conceptual techniques of theorizing, sequential selection, and thematic analysis suggested by Goetz and LeCompte (1984). This process provided me with the major themes to describe and understand the Holman family literacy practices. Once these themes were arranged, I used Bell's (1997) theory of commonplaces, described above, to interpret the data.

I begin by presenting a "snapshot" of the family, then focus in turn on the literacy of each generation – parents, daughters, and grandmother – and move to discussion implications. The paper concludes with a second snapshot of the family in interaction.

THE FAMILY: A SNAPSHOT

Around five o'clock in the afternoon on an ordinary day, everybody in the Holman family is home. Jessie, Jasmine, and Salsha are back from school; Roberta and Edward are back from work. Roberta, who is medium-built, with dark hair to her shoulder, and wearing a T-shirt and a long skirt, is busy preparing for supper in the kitchen. She likes to cook different kinds of fish and rice dishes, that are their fixed tradition, for supper. She also does some Western cooking she learned from work, a nursing home where she is a kitchen helper. She values their mealtime highly: "Eating a meal together once a day will help the family stay together."

Edward is about the same height but smaller built than Roberta, with a short mustache, and small witty eyes. He reads a community newspaper or materials he brings from work at the dining table, chatting with Roberta and Grandma at the same time in Tagalog. They usually exchange information about work and their children.

Grandma Anna is in her seventies. She stays home all day. The afternoon moment when everybody is home is her favorite time. Her long grayish hair is done in a bun. She speaks only Tagalog, the Philippine national language. She talks with her son and daughter-in-law, listening to the news they bring home. Once in a while, she gets up and helps Roberta with warming up food. Sometimes, when she is feeling well, she gets everything ready for Roberta before she comes back from work.

Fifteen-year-old Jessie likes baggy pants and black T-shirts with dragons. She looks "sporty" and energetic, has short shining black hair and a round face. She is reading a horror book she borrowed from the school library, in her room in the basement. She comes out to set the table shortly before dinner is ready. Her job also includes cleaning the table after supper.

Thirteen-year old Jasmine's job is to wash dishes after dinner, so she is watching TV in the living room. She is more gentle and "bookish" looking: long black hair, glasses, and a small long face. Like her sister, she wears long baggy jeans and a tight gray T-shirt.

Round-faced, six years old Salsha is the baby of the family. She does not have the same sense of fashion as her sisters, and does not know the popular brand or style. Her only criterion is that there should be cute animals, especially dogs, on her shirt. She runs around the house telling everybody about what happened in school, such as the fact that she fell down when she was skating, or repeating the French words she learned. Sometimes she goes to play with her stuffed Dalmatians, draws pictures at the dining table, or plays new music she learned on her electric keyboard.

LITERACY, LIVING, AND IDENTITY

Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines (1988) suggest that literacy used by ordinary people in ordinary and critical situations makes it possible to gain an understanding of "the workings of a social system and the ways in which it can impede, constrain, or enhance our everyday lives" (p. 199). The personal accounts in this section are literacy experiences of the six members of the Holman family. Unfolding through an ethnographic lens, the family members' stories illuminate the family members' literacy practices, their backgrounds and cultural beliefs, their perception of their positions in society, and their intersecting relationships with each other in the home milieu.

Learning to be Canadian: Roberta and Edward

Edward did not finish his last year of engineering degree in the Philippines, going instead to Saudi Arabia to work as an electrician. He then went back to the Philippines to do some contract work. For Edwards and Roberta, the first year in Canada was hard. As a newcomer with little English, he could not find a job right away. He hated English when he was in college. Only when he arrived in Canada and had a family to support did he realize the importance of English. His first job was as a dishwasher in a restaurant. When he was working in the restaurant, he used a government grant to take some short technical engineering courses at a technical school. When he finished those courses, an owner of a company offered him a job in engineering and he has been working in the company ever since. When he reflects on those years, he still remembers the difficulty of job-hunting.

Edward does not seem to have confidence in his English. He commented, "Even now, I still have problem with English." Since it is easier to express himself in Tagalog than in English, he speaks Tagalog at home. He values reading. In his opinion, no matter how old people are, if they are working,

they should always read to update their knowledge. Edward considers himself a non-fiction reader, because he enjoys reading “real” stuff such as newspapers. The family does not subscribe to the daily local newspaper because Edward is the only one who reads the newspaper at home and he can read it at work. But he reads at home the *Free Press* and the *Sun*, the free weekly community newspapers, and some books related to his work. He likes watching television news in the morning when he is having breakfast. Edward does not write very much. The only writing he does is to write letters to his family in the Philippines if he has many stories to tell them. Most of the time, he prefers to talk to his family back home on the phone.

Some Saturdays, Edward takes the children to read in a nearby community library, a branch of the city public library located not far from their neighborhood. He himself checks the newspapers and books related to his work. If he finds some books that are interesting, he takes them home. Occasionally Edward reads to Salsha in English since she is still learning to read. The older girls are old enough to read by themselves. But most of the time it is Roberta who reads to Salsha before bedtime just as she did to Jessie and Jasmine when they were little.

Roberta finished her university education and became a medical lab technician in Bacoar, a city in the Philippines. When she first came to Canada, she wanted to go to school here to continue her training as a medical lab technician. But she was seven months pregnant with Jessie and, because they lived on Edward’s limited income, she stayed home raising their child. She did not go to the ESL class offered for immigrant women. Instead, she learned English through watching soap operas such as *General Hospital* or *The Bold and the Beautiful* and magazines such as *Chatelaine*, and “talking to Canadians in the stores,” she told me, referring to the shop assistants who speak good Canadian English.

Roberta started her job as a kitchen assistant in a nursing home on a casual basis. Three years later, she became a full-time employee. Her work starts at 9:30 a.m. and ends at 5:00 p.m. Every morning she gets up at about six to get the children, especially Salsha, ready for school. The time in the morning allows her to do the washing and other chores of the day. She barely has time to read for herself. Once in a while, she reads a newspaper or magazine, but very seldom does she have enough time to do more than flip through the pages. Like Edward, she does not write a lot. Most of the writing is letters to friends and relatives. She pays the bills and jots down some shopping lists. Sometimes she leaves notes or instructions for the girls. These notes are all in English. She never writes to them in Tagalog, but speaks with them only in Tagalog. She explained to me, “Because they use English all the time, and they don’t know how to read in Tagalog. What can I do?”

Roberta and Edward are still learning to adapt to Canadian society. Edward views newspaper reading as a way to get to know Canadian culture and to learn to fit in. Roberta believes in learning through communicating with Canadians. Both of them view themselves as foreign sojourners and think they need to adopt Canadian culture to survive here, "We are foreigners. We came to their country and they let us stay here." In Roberta's opinion, Canadian culture is "White" culture,

In Salington, the percentage of people from other countries that are not White, probably low. So I would say "yes," all over the country, mostly are White people, so White culture will dominate.

As immigrants who chose to live in Canada, they think they need to "do the Canadian ways". As Edward says,

Because we are in Canada, I think if you want to stay here in Canada, you must accept Canadian culture. If you don't go by Canadian culture, you must go back to your hometown or to some other place, because the Canadians need to preserve Canadian culture, because we are in Canada.

Edward and Roberta refer to "the Canadian ways" as the differences in many aspects of Canadian society that they have observed over the years, including family values, parenting styles, and parent-child relationships. Roberta gave one example about her perception of "the Canadian ways":

In Canada, children do not support their parents when their parents are old. Many of the seniors live in a nursing home away from their families. In my workplace, I see so many of the old folks with their families just a few minutes away from there. Most of their children just come to see them once a while. Very sad. And the children here too, when they grow up to about eighteen, they do not want to live with their family and want to be on their own. Some of them do drugs, and crime. In the Philippines, we live with our parents until we get married and we support our parents when they get old. Edward and I never imagine sending his mother to a nursing home.

"To go the Canadian ways" can sometimes be very difficult. They realize that they cannot go all the way to being "Canadian", as they were brought up and educated in the Philippines. They are Canadian citizens, but that does not change who they are. Roberta notes, "Whatever we do, we are still Filipino in a way, because by blood we are Filipino. It's by naturalization, we are just Canadian citizens. We [were] not born here." They are very proud of their origin, and disagree with some of the Canadian values. Roberta comments:

There are some ways I don't like for Canadians. They are so liberated and Philippines are not like that. I was raised to be a modest girl, and we have to listen to the parents all the time. We can't break the rules or they will "kill" you. Even at the age of twenty or even if you are working, you live with them and you can't answer them back.

They themselves are learning not only to achieve a balance in the two cultures, but also to achieve a balance in parenting, that is, how to raise their children in Canadian society. Roberta said, "How I raise them depends on how I was raised." Both of them felt that it was not easy to raise a big family like this in a culture different from their own, especially when they wanted to raise their children in their own way. Edward confides their difficulty in raising their children in Canadian culture:

If you live in Canada, raising your family, it is hard to pursue your culture with your kids. Especially when they go to school, when they are growing with their friends and classmates. It's hard to teach them. The Canadian culture will influence them, no matter what. They [Canadian culture] will influence more than their own. But we are trying to preserve the culture and teach them everyday, but I have no guarantee.

Edward and Roberta think it is important to preserve their language, and for their children to understand what Tagalog language is, referring to the written language, and to be able to speak it, even a little bit. But the influence from school and society is so strong that they feel it is very hard to preserve their language and culture on their own. In the Catholic school, their children are counted as a minority. Sometimes they bring home different ideas about how they should behave when they compare themselves with other children (e.g. how late they can stay out and at what age they can date). Even within the home milieu, it is hard to resist Canadian cultural influences. Media, especially TV and videos, are a big influence against their preservation of culture. The children watch TV extensively and they acquire Canadian values from the media. Edward is against media influence, but he does not seem to have much control over it. Edward commented,

On TV there are a lot of violence, and a lot of propaganda about individualism and independence from the family. They have drugs and inappropriate scenes for kids. Young children would rather believe what's on TV than what their parents say. And it is easy for them to learn and imitate what is shown because they are young. They learn something and they do it actually in life. I don't like it, but they watch it all the time. It is not very good for them.

Actually, Roberta and Edward do not want to raise their children as strictly as their parents raised them. Roberta thinks being too strict is not good for her children, so she gives her children a lot of freedom and tries to incorporate the Canadian way. They want their children to be successful and to be like anyone else in Canadian society. That's one of the reasons that they do not put strict requirements on the children's language choice at home. Also, Edward and Roberta realize that their culture, like their Tagalog language, is not an asset to success in the society either. It may be a hindrance because of their differences and the tacit racism in the society. In Edward's opinion, people do not claim that they are racist; however, they

practise it. To illustrate his point, he gave me an example, "If two candidates, a Chinese and a White Canadian, compete for a promotion in my company, I am 100% sure that the White Canadian will get it". They recognize that for immigrants to be successful, they not only have to sacrifice some of their own values, but also have to work twice as hard as Canadians do. They view higher education as a way to combat racism and encourage their children to focus on education. Edward's own experience proved it. He updated his university education and got a job afterwards. They tell their children: "You are good at academic courses, you should continue that. Practically, education is the first priority, especially for immigrants." Edward reasons:

So education is important. If you have higher education, you can tell them [the employer] and you can complain [that you are not fairly treated in the competition for the promotion]. If you don't have the thing [higher education], you cannot complain. If you are the same, you cannot complain. They [the employers] will just say, this [the fact that we hired the White Canadian] is because I feel he is better than you, even if you are upset and know that you are better.

Growing up Canadian: Jessie, Jasmine, and Salsha

In contrast to their parents' Philippine accent, Jessie, Jasmine, and Salsha speak good non-accented Canadian English. Both Jessie and Jasmine "hang out" with their friends a lot, in the mall, window-shopping, chatting, or watching a movie. Sometimes they will visit their friends' homes. Much of the time they spend hours talking to their friends on the phone. Jessie's favorite time is to sit in her room and read, while Jasmine likes to watch TV.

Jessie and Jasmine like reading. Jessie reads horror novels (such as Lois Duncan's *The Daughters of Eve*, Arthur Slade's *Draugr*, and Robert Blouch's *Psycho House*), short stories, and poems. Jasmine reads whenever she has to for school assignments. They both keep diaries, but do not write every day. Instead, they write whenever they feel something is important or they feel emotional. They are good writers. Jessie put together an anthology of poems for a school assignment, a collection of her favorite poems about nature, humor, animals, and emotions, with illustrations. She also wrote an expository piece about sleeping outside school. Jasmine composed a very creative piece called "The Curse" using suspense and mystery. Their teachers commented that their writings showed not only their initiative and creativity, but also their clarity and mastery of the English language.

Jessie, Jasmine, and Salsha all prefer to use English rather than their heritage language Tagalog at home. They seldom speak Tagalog with friends, even with a Filipino friend at home or at Filipino community events. They read, study, and play in English, watch English TV and movies. Their only exposure to Tagalog is the conversations among their parents and grandma.

They do not have many books in Tagalog as there are not many Tagalog books or magazines available. None of the girls can read much Tagalog. They acquired the Tagalog language merely because their parents and grandma speak it. They understand it orally but cannot read and write it. Among the three of them, Jasmine speaks Tagalog best as Grandma Anna came to Canada when she was three and babysat her. Jasmine spoke it better when she was younger than she does now. Jessie has problems with Tagalog most of the time, and Salsha can use only a few words. Now when their parents talk to them in Tagalog, they normally reply in English and are not willing to speak Tagalog. Sometimes they try to talk to Grandma in Tagalog "to impress her," but only in fragments like a few words or phrases. Jessie, who cannot speak Tagalog, but considers herself "not completely hopeless," said, "I am an English speaker."

The children differentiate their home life from school life. At home, they follow their parents' rules about how to behave and what they can do. But they acknowledge that their own cultural values are different from their parents' (and grandparent's). Jessie confides:

They [the parents] want to keep the Filipino culture in us, because it is part of them and of us, but they know and understand that we've grown up with Canadian values. They try to mix the two together.

To Jessie and Jasmine, speaking English is a way of acting and living as a Canadian. Gudykunst (1994) suggests that the language we speak or choose to speak is the major way we mark boundaries of our cultural or ethnic identity from others. When I asked Jessie and Jasmine whether they think they are Canadians or Filipinos, their first response was that they are Canadians because they were born in Canada. Their concept of being Canadian seems to be associated with freedom. Jessie illustrates "what it is to be a Canadian":

Most of it is about freedom. You don't have to fear of being killed for anything, there's tons more equality and equity here. Like that commercial: "I am Canadian." Just being Canadian is Canadian. There really is no definition for the values of being Canadian, just the way you act and live as a Canadian is Canadian.

Having a strong sense of being Canadian, Jessie, Jasmine, and Salsha rarely speak Tagalog at school even to some Philippine friends who can speak Tagalog or at home to their parents or Grandma. "People will think you are different." To them, the ability to speak Tagalog is not an asset to their ability to speak English. Their mother explains why they choose not to use Tagalog at school (or at home):

Because nobody else understands the language except themselves or whenever they talk to a Tagalog person. But at school, they don't apply

Tagalog. Probably they are embarrassed to use that because surroundings are all English speaking. They are different.

Roberta and Edward think that because English and French are the official languages of Canada, to be able to speak French and English will be an advantage, a source of prestige for their children in the future. Jessie missed her chance to study French when she was in elementary school, which she regrets. Jasmine and Salsha are enrolled in a French Immersion Program in a Catholic school. Jasmine seldom studies or speaks French at home, but Salsha has greater interest in French. Every time I visited them, Salsha would take out some French books or her drawings with French illustrations to read to us. Nobody else except Jasmine knows French in the house, so sometimes Jasmine helps Salsha with her French. Salsha likes to teach her mother Roberta, who does not know French but has spent a lot of time listening to her reading, using the French storybooks from school.

Six-year-old Salsha likes to go to school. Her mom wakes her up every morning at 7:40 and dresses her for school. Salsha is learning how to read and write in both English and French. She has a knowledge of sentences including the left to right writing order, grammar and even punctuation. She likes to draw and she knows that pictures have meaning. Her drawings reflect a variety of aspects of her life experiences and have thematic similarities. First, they are based on her real life experiences, such as a picture of herself in a beautiful gown as a flower girl at a wedding (later she showed me her album, and I learnt that she was once a flower girl for a family friend's wedding,) and pictures of her best friends in the class and her favorite singer Celine Dion. Secondly, some of the pictures are based on stories she read. One of her pictures is of an Arabian woman riding on a horse led by a maid. Apparently, the idea of the story is from some sort of story-telling, either from books or TV or her parents. Thirdly, many of her pictures are about the surrounding environment of the area the family live in – trees, birds, seasons.

Salsha is too young to reflect on her identity. However, she is growing up as an English-French bilingual. I have watched and heard her study French and English enthusiastically, but never heard her speak Tagalog voluntarily. One day, I visited the family when she was home alone with her grandma Anna. Anna and I were trying to communicate with my limited Tagalog and her limited English. Grandma asked her to translate for us, but Salsha refused after she tried a few words. Later, Salsha told me, "Grandma doesn't know much English, but I do."

I don't blame them: Grandma Anna

Grandma Anna came to Canada ten years ago when Jessie was five and Jasmine was three. She likes her life in Canada as it is a clean country and she thinks that the people are nice. Even though she cannot speak English and talk to other people, she is happy in Canada because she is with her son

and his family. She stays home, helping with some cooking. She enjoys reading the Bible in Tagalog. The old yellowish Bible on her dresser tells that Grandma Anna is a devoted Christian. She can speak a few English words such as "hello", "thank you", and "excuse me".

Anna always sits in the corner listening and quietly leaves without anybody noticing. The family room has two big white couches at each side of one corner. Opposite to the couches across the room stands a cupboard with a 17-inch TV in one side and toys and dolls on the other side. Various green plants stand on a rack in the corner between the two couches. The children usually sit on one couch where there are toys and stuffed animals on the back, and Grandma sits on the other couch watching them play or watch TV. The children seldom go to her and talk with her. She is used to this and understands that it is not easy for them to speak Tagalog. During the ten years in Canada, she has watched the children grow and gradually drift apart from her although they live day-to-day together. Edward values her position and her wisdom about the past as a grandparent. Roberta sees Grandma Anna as a Tagalog language promoter and preserver. The children seem to be better in Tagalog since Grandma came to live with them. But the children do not necessarily recognize the value of the presence of Grandma as their parents do. Edward explains that the children have different values from them:

They value the parents as the most important. To grandma, sometimes, they don't [pay attention]. They just don't. They just ignore her. They are valuing, but not in the way I do. Sometimes they just ignore her, because she is not our parents, something like that. She is not my dad, she is not my mom.

Grandma Anna thinks that the children are very Canadian. Compared to her other grandchildren in the Philippines, they have less respect for elders and seem more distant from them. Grandma feels that if the children could speak Tagalog all the time at home, they would understand each other fully. They would be closer to each other than they are right now. However, she said she did not blame them because they are growing up in Canada, and English is one of their official languages, especially outside home:

I understand that the kids do not know much in Tagalog. When they speak English to me, I don't blame them. I am trying to answer them in Tagalog. I will tell them to speak Tagalog if they know. But if they don't know, we cannot communicate. I will just stop talking and just listen to them. So communication just stopped. I don't blame them when they speak English because what they learn in school is English.

DISCUSSION

Street (1993) states that the study of literacy as social practice opens up inquiries into "the nature of culture and power, and the relationship of

institutions and ideologies of communication in the contemporary world" (p. 12). The Holman family's daily living, their cultural values and beliefs, their cross-cultural experiences in an English-speaking society are of paramount importance in their adaptation to a society that is culturally and linguistically different from their own. In the Holman family, literacy becomes a socio-cultural activity constructed and negotiated by the individuals of the family in their own relations to their culture of origin and Canadian culture. The literate lives of the six people of the family, their beliefs and uses of literacy, provide us with a deeper understanding of the family's conflicts and conformity on their pathway to adapt to Canadian culture. The individuals' choices of languages and consciousness of the social significance that is associated with their choices have served to indicate "social relationships based on shared or unshared group memberships" between the Filipino and mainstream Canadian cultures (Heller, 1982, as cited in Hansen & Liu, 1997, p. 569). Their experiences indicate that "literacy is the means by which these people learn to be at home in the worlds they choose" and their literate behaviors are an inseparable part of who they are (Neilsen, 1989, p. 123). For the Holman family, literacy is ultimately about the ways the family members situate themselves in the world (Gee, 1991)

More significantly, the Holman family literacy practices add an important layer of meaning to the relationship between literacy and identity: Literacy is not just an individual construct, but a more complex concept that involves family relationships that are embedded in cultural identities. In the research literature, it is assumed that individual identity is in conformity with the identity of the ethnic group. In-group diversity is seldom addressed or recognized. In the studies of Heath (1983), Noll (1998), or Taylor (1983), for example, the individuals are viewed as separate identities who perform as a group and are in common with other members of their family and communities. Bell (1997) notes, they are "interested in what they have in common rather than the ways in which they differ" (p. 66). However, as Ferdman (1991) points out, "in spite of commonalties within ethnic groups, a good deal of within-group variance will also be present, especially in a heterogeneous society" (p. 350).

The literacy patterns of the Holman family make evident that even within a family milieu, the individuals do not necessarily share the same perspectives on their identity. Identity, an individual's self-concept that derives from his/her knowledge of having membership of a social group together with the emotional significance attached to that membership, proves to be non-unitary and non-static (Allen, Wilder, & Atkinson, 1983; Hansen & Liu, 1997). Rather, considerable diversity exists among the family members. In the Holman family, Grandmother Anna holds the traditional Filipino cultural values that appear to be in great conflict with the Canadian values

that her grandchildren believe in. Grandmother Anna has a direct influence on Edward and Roberta, while she plays an indirect role in the lives of her three grandchildren. Among the three grandchildren, it would seem that the younger they are, the more they are detached from the traditional values of the family, and the more they are drawn to the mainstream values of the society. Six-year-old Salsha, for example, seems to demonstrate her Filipino identity least, but has the strongest Canadian identity in her choice of language, and the themes in her drawings. The parents, Edward and Roberta, identify with their Filipino identity, reinforced by the physical and cultural presence of Grandmother Anna. Although Edward and Roberta would like to maintain their Filipino culture in their children, they try to be open-minded about their children's preference for Canadian values, because they understand that a Canadian identity is important for their children's success in the future in Canadian society.

It is apparent that the identity of the individual members of the Holman family is expressed in the intersecting ways they relate to each other and is manifested through their individual literacy behaviors. Norton (1997), following Weedon (1987), maintains that how people understand their social relationship to each other and to the world is embedded in individual experiences, constructed through language, and situated in a variety of social sites. Therefore, literacy and identity are "mutually constitutive" (Norton, 1997, p. 411). The Holman family members actively construct their own identities as they take up different social positions through their individual uses of language and literacy. In the following, I refer to Bell's (1997) commonplaces for literacy, the four elements, User (individual or group of people), Text (written or oral language), Context (community or society), and Process (interaction) to better illustrate the ways literacy and identity in the Holman family dialectically intertwine with each other.

THE USER-TEXT RELATIONSHIP: The Users of the Holman family, Anna, Edward, Roberta, Jessie, Jasmine, and Salsha, interact with each other through Text, the written and/or oral forms of three main languages: Tagalog and English, and French. However, the choice of Text is mediated by the values of the individual Text that the individuals perceived. Edward and Roberta, for example, view Tagalog as the indicator of their cultural identity and English as a means of survival in Canadian society. The three girls, on the other hand, view English as the indicator of their Canadian identity; Tagalog, on the other hand, represents their difference from the mainstream. Therefore, they consciously or unconsciously resist the use of Tagalog and the traditional Filipino values of Anna and their parents. Hence, their association with Grandmother Anna becomes less significant as Anna's culture differs in what "they consider to be their 'texts' and in the values they attach to these," so that "they will also differ in what they view as literate behavior" (Ferdman, 1991, p. 352). The existence of the third Text,

French, further reinforces their Canadian identity and the mainstream values that they express through their choice of language and culture and their literate behaviors.

THE USER-TEXT-CONTEXT RELATIONSHIP: In *Literacy: Reading the Word and the World*, Freire (1987) postulates that reading the Text (word) must be situated in the reading of Context (the world). His concept of context comprises the immediate community and the dominant society. Bell (1997) suggests that the Process by which a User interacts with Text is the same as the process through which a User interacts with Context. In the Holman family, grandma Anna's context is enclosed in the family milieu. Being able to speak only Tagalog, her Context is limited in her immediate family. Her Filipino identity is, therefore, not affected by the larger Canadian society.

To Roberta and Edward, their social contexts involve the home and workplace. Their cultural identity is determined by the Filipino culture in which they grew up, and their three-generation home environment that is part of that culture, and influenced by the social reality outside home. Through their contact with the larger society, they see tacit racism. What is valued in society contradicts what they value at home. For example, being able to speak a heritage language is not seen as an asset at all in the Canadian education system. Therefore, they endorse in a sense their children's Canadian identity and do not put strict requirements on the children's choice of language or the way they relate to Grandma Anna.

To Jessie, Jasmine, and Salsha, their social contexts involve home and school. Living in a predominantly mainstream neighborhood and being visible minorities in school, it is apparently difficult for them to maintain their ethnic identity as their parents and grandparent do. The dichotomy of school-home literacy practices for students of diverse backgrounds has been documented by many researchers, such as Au (1998), Delpit (1995), Purcell-Gates (1995), and Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines (1988). In school and the larger society, literacy practices represent the values of the dominant in the society, which is, in the Holmans' opinion, the "White" people's society. Their "funds of knowledge" of the home language and culture are not recognized outside home (Moll & Greenberg, 1990), and their ethnic identities are not being affirmed. The Holman family, especially the three children, have internalized the social relations established through school and have learned to abandon their ethnic identity that is considered negative in the school and the society (Nieto, 1999). The three children's experiences in the school confirm the findings of Deyhle (1992), Heath (1983), and Valdés (1996) that there exist "cultural, linguistic, and communication discontinuities between home and school" (Nieto, 1999, p. 65). Because validation of students' cultural background has positive influence on students' learning, the consequences of this school-home dichotomy are detrimental to learners' academic and psychological well being. It is very

likely that learners of diverse backgrounds such as the three children Jessie, Jasmine, and Salsha of the Holman family become detached from their cultural practices, which is embodied in their Tagalog language and the values of their parents and grandparent. As Jennings and Purves (1991) point out, they are being "[led] away from their past and their family; it is the main cause of alienation as well as the main cause of acculturation" (p. 8).

IMPLICATIONS

This study, addressing literacy and the identity of the individuals in a cross-cultural context, has implications for educators, especially classroom teachers who are concerned about the role education and literacy play in individuals' lives. By uncovering the literacy and living in the Holmans' home, this study helps us gain insight into the relationship between literacy practices and the construction of cultural identity in an immigrant household. The study confirms the existing literacy theory that a person's identity as a member of society is intertwined with the meaning and consequences of becoming and being literate. More significantly, it contributes to literacy research in two aspects. First, as the study demonstrates, an individual does not function only within a group to construct his/her identity. Individual identity is not always in conformity with the identity of the ethnic group. There exists in-group diversity, which is associated with the ideologies and power relationships in the larger society. The socialization in a primary discourse, that is, a primary socializing group such as a family, may be in conflict with their secondary discourse, such as the schools and the society based on the social values that the different discourses endorse (Gee, 1989). Second, literacy is not just an individual construct, but a more complex phenomenon that involves family relationships embedded in cultural identity. Cultural identity as a social construct, on the other hand, is determined to a large extent by how individuals or groups are accepted in the society as cultural beings.

This study, therefore, provides educators with a greater understanding of the conformity and conflicts that immigrant families experience in their process of literacy and identity formation in a multi-cultural society. The literate lives of the Holman family indicate that their Filipino culture and language are an important part of who they are as a family, and these are significant to them in building cultural continuity. Educators and teachers need to recognize that literacy and identity are "a site of struggle" for immigrant children and their families (Norton, 1997, p. 411), and the children and their families are experiencing a complex of social relations that have significant implications for their lives. There is a need for education (and society) to affirm students' diverse backgrounds as cultural beings that exist first in association with their family members and then with the culture of the society. It is fundamental for teachers to understand the negative

consequences of rejecting students' ethnic cultural backgrounds, and recognize the positive influence that their cultural background might bring to their learning. To do so, as Neito (1999) suggests, it is crucial that the teachers take the role of cultural accommodator and mediator in promoting student learning. By doing so, educators can truly understand the literate behaviors of students of diverse backgrounds, and create an inclusive and inviting learning environment that affirms the cultural identities of all students. These educators need to reformulate the existing educational paradigms and also incorporate an explicit pedagogy for inclusion and access that empowers students of diverse backgrounds (Cope & Kalantzis, 1993). Educators can utilize the funds of knowledge of students of diverse backgrounds to empower them. Efforts must be made a) to affirm the values of the language and culture of students of diverse backgrounds in the school programs; b) to break the school-home dichotomy by establishing parent-teacher partnerships in school programs.

THE FAMILY REVISITED: A CONCLUSION

At the dinner table: The researcher's tale.

I have presented here an account of each individual within his or her relationship with others in the family, their daily literacy and living, their dilemmas and struggles. I have to confess that this discovery process makes me feel uneasy. I read Hilary Minns' (1997) book *Read it to me now! Learning at home and at school* and Lorri Neilsen's book (1989) *Literacy and living: The literate lives of three adults*. They never exposed any conflicts or tensions in their participants' lives. Am I too critical? Am I too sensitive? Neilsen (1989) tries to assure me that "literacy is the means by which these people learn to be at home in the worlds they choose," and their literate behaviors are inseparable part of who they are (p. 123). However, she argues, "Although literate behavior is unique to the individual, the process of becoming literate in context may be a process that all people share" (p. 135). In this paper, I have looked at the individuals and their intersecting relationships with each other in order to present the existing cultural and linguistic tensions among them. In the following, I am going to present a picture of harmony of the family as a whole, because harmony, just like their tensions, is also an important part of the Holman family's daily living. It is in the harmony that the individuals negotiate the borders and become one part of the sharing group of the family.

I was invited to stay for dinner on a snowy night in April 1998. When I sat down at the dinner table with the family, I suddenly understood what Neilsen (1989) means by "sharing". It was six o'clock. Dinner was ready on the table: Macaroni soup, Philippine style fried fish, pork, vegetables, and North American Kentucky Fried Chicken, Chinese style fried noodles, and

rice. It was a banquet to me. Everybody sat down at the table at their usual spots. Edward sat at the head and I was at the other end. Grandma Anna and Roberta sat on each side of Edward. Jessie was on Grandma's side and Salsha and Jasmine were on the other side with Roberta. Salsha began to talk about her school, how she fell down on the snow. Jessie and Jasmine were passing some secrets between them across the table using their own codes. Edward and Roberta exchanged some information about their work. Edward occasionally asked me some questions about Chinese food. Roberta would occasionally remind Salsha in Tagalog not to eat too fast. Grandma would stand up and ask whether the girls needed more rice or other dishes on her end of the table. The girls would reply briefly in English and thank her.

This is a harmonious picture of a family. I realize that consciously or unconsciously, they are living their own literate lives in their own way. It is through their bonds to each other that they manifest who they are as individuals and as a family. The dinner table becomes one of the social sites in which the family members' identities are constructed in a multifold web of literacies and cultures. The ordinary daily interactions in the Holman family, such as sharing a meal, reflect their positioning between their Canadian and Filipino identities. Each family member brings with him/her the complexity of social relations to the larger social worlds, and makes the relationships concrete and alive at this dinner table scene at home.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The author wishes to thank the participating family, without whom this paper could not have been written, and Dr. Sam Robinson, for his ongoing support and insightful suggestions.

REFERENCES

- Allen, V. L., Wilder, D. A., & Atkinson, M. L. (1983). Multiple group membership and social identity. In T. R. Sarbin & K. E. Scheibe (Eds.), *Studies in social identity* (pp. 72-92). New York, NY: Praeger.
- Atkinson, P., & Hammersley, M. (1994). Ethnography and participant observation. In N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 237-247). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Au, K. H. (1998). Social constructivism and the school literacy learning of students of diverse background. *Journal of Literacy Research*, 30(2), 297-319.
- Bell, J. S. (1997). *Literacy, culture and identity*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Chang, S. C. (1982). The self: A nodal issue in culture and psyche - an Eastern perspective. *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, 36(1), 67-81.
- Charles, C. M. (1998). *Introduction to educational research* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: Longman.
- Cope, B., & Kalantzis, M. (1993). The power of literacy and the literacy of power. In B. Cope and M. Kalantzis (Eds.), *The power of literacy: A genre approach to teaching writing* (pp. 63-89). Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Delpit, L. (1995). *Other people's children*. New York: The New Press.

- Deyhle, D. (1992). Constructing failure and maintaining cultural identity: Navajo and Ute school leavers. *Journal of American Indian Education*, 31, 24-47.
- Ferdman, M. F. (1991). Literacy and cultural identity. In M. Minaami & B. P. Kennedy (Eds.), *Language issues in literacy and bilingual/multicultural education* (pp. 347-373). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Educational Review.
- Freire, P. (1987). *Literacy: Reading the word and the world*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.
- Gee, J. P. (1989). Literacy: The solicited work of James Paul Gee. *Journal of Education*, 171, 3-176.
- Gee, P. J. (1991). What is literacy? In C. Mitchell & K. Weiler (Eds.), *Rewriting literacy: Culture and the discourse of the other* (pp. 1-12). Toronto, ON: OISE.
- Godley, A. J. (1998). Rewriting identity: Social meanings of literacy and "revisions" of self. *Reading Research Quarterly*, 33(4), 416-433.
- Gudykunst, W. B. (1994). *Bridging differences: Effective intergroup communication*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hansen, J. G., & Liu, J. (1997). Social identity and language: Theoretical and methodological issues. *TESOL Quarterly*, 31(3), 567-575.
- Heath, S. B. (1983). *Ways with words: Language, life, and work in communities and classrooms*. New York: NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Heller, M. (1982). *Language, ethnicity, and politics of Quebec*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.
- Jennings, E. M., & Purves, A. C. (Eds.). (1991). *Literate systems and individual lives: Perspectives on literacy and schooling*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Liebkind, K. (1992). Ethnic identity-challenging the boundaries of social psychology. In G. M. Breakwell, (Ed.). *Social psychology of identity and self concept*. (pp. 147-186). London: Surrey University Press.
- Hamilton, M. (1993). Introduction: Signposts. In M. Hamilton, D. Barton, & R. Ivanic (Eds.), *Worlds of literacy* (pp. 1-14). Toronto: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Langer, J. A. (1987). *Language and literacy and culture: Issues of society and schooling*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Leslie, G. R., & Korman, S. K. (Eds.). (1989). *The family in social context* (7th ed.) New York: Oxford University Press.
- McNamara, T. (1997). Theorizing social identity: What do we mean by social identity? Competing frameworks, competing discourses. *TESOL Quarterly*, 31(3), 561-567.
- Minns, H. (1997). *Read it to me now! Learning at home and at school*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Moll, L. C., & Greenberg, J. B. (1990). Creating zones of possibilities: Combining social contexts for instruction. In L. C. Moll (Ed.), *Vygotsky and education: Instructional implications and applications of sociohistorical psychology* (pp. 319-348). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Montgomery, J., & Fever, W. (1988). *Family system and beyond*. New York: Human Science Press.
- Neilsen, L. (1989). *Literacy and living: The literate lives of three adults*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Neito, S. (1999). *The light in their eyes: Creating multicultural communities*. New York, NY: Teacher's College Press.
- Noll, E. (1998). Experiencing literacy in and out of school: Cases studies of two American Indian youths. *Journal of Literacy Research*, 2, 205-232.

- Norton, B. (1997). Language, identity, and the ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly*, 31 (3), 409-429.
- Pearce, B.N. (1995). Social identity, investment and language learning. *TESOL Quarterly*, 29, 9-31.
- Purcell-Gates, V. (1995). *Other people's words: The cycle of low literacy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Schwandt, T. A. (1997). *Qualitative inquiry: A dictionary of terms*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Statistics Canada. (1996). 1996 census metropolitan areas. Available: <http://statcan.ca/english/Pgdb/People/Population/demo28h.htm>.
- Street, B. (1993). Introduction: The new literacy studies. In B. Street (Ed.), *Cross-cultural approaches to literacy* (pp. 1-22). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Street, B. (1995). *Social literacies: Critical approaches to literacy in development, ethnography and education*. New York, NY: Longman.
- Taylor, D. (1983). *Family literacy: Young children learning to read and write*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Taylor, D., & Dorsey-Gaines, C. (1988). *Growing up literate: Learning from inner-city families*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Valdés, G. (1996). *Con Respeto, Bridging the distance between culturally diverse families and schools: An ethnographic portrait*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Wolcott, H. (1994). *Transforming qualitative data: Description, analysis, and interpretation*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

GUOFANG LI is a Ph.D. candidate (ABD), in the Department of Curriculum Studies, College of Education, University of Saskatchewan. Her areas of interest include ESL education, family literacy, and language and literacy in cross-cultural contexts.

GUOFANG LI est étudiant de doctorat (ABD) au *Department of Curriculum Studies (College of Education)* de l'Université de Saskatchewan. Ses domaines d'intérêt sont l'enseignement de l'anglais langue seconde, l'alphabétisation familiale et les langues et l'alphabétisation en milieu interculturel.



MCGILL JOURNAL OF EDUCATION
REVUE DES SCIENCES DE L'ÉDUCATION DE MCGILL

3700 McTavish Street, Montréal (QC) Canada H3A 1Y2

Tel: (514) 398-4246 Fax: (514) 398-4529 E-mail: keenana@education.mcgill.ca.

I wish to subscribe / Je désire m'abonner

1 year/1an Canada \$30* – Foreign/Pays étrangers C\$40**

* Subscriptions mailed to a Canadian address, add GST \$2.10 (\$32.10)

Subscriptions mailed to a Quebec address, add QST \$2.40 (\$34.50)

Pour les abonnements envoyez à une adresse canadienne, ajoutez la TPS de \$2.10 (\$32.10)

Pour les abonnements envoyez à une adresse au Québec, ajoutez la TVQ de \$2.00 (\$34.50)

**1 year subscription by Air Mail C\$50

1 an par la post aérien C\$50

NAME

NOM _____

STREET

RUE _____

CITY

VILLE _____

POSTAL CODE

CODE POSTAL _____

☐

Remittance enclosed

Païement ci-inclus

☐

Please send invoice

Envoyez la facture

Published 3 times yearly • Publié 3 fois par année

GST registration no. / TPS N° d'enregistrement R-119128981 QST registration no. / TVQ N° d'enregistrement 1006385920

"CANADIANIZING" AN AMERICAN COMMUNICATION TEXTBOOK

JENNIFER M. MACLENNAN *University of Saskatchewan*

ABSTRACT. All discourse, says Edwin Black (1972), exerts "the pull of an ideology" even when not explicitly designed to display such a pattern of beliefs. Much of the discourse that helps shape our identity and understanding does so through a network of interconnected beliefs and implicit assumptions that are rarely explicitly recognized. Textbooks perform exactly such a function, since, as many people would acknowledge, to do so is precisely their purpose: to help "enculturate" newcomers to the expectations and assumptions of a discipline. This paper offers a study of the process involved in what has become almost a minor industry in Canada: the "Canadianization" of American texts for the domestic market. The paper's focus is my experience in producing the Canadian edition of David Zarefsky's *Public Speaking: Strategies for Success*. My goal is to reveal something of the extent to which the study of communication not only "naturalizes" a disciplinary model but also implicitly encodes a set of identifiable cultural values and assumptions.

RÉSUMÉ. Selon Edwin Black (1972), tout discours permet à «la forced d'attraction d'une idéologie» de s'exercer, même si le discours ne vise à affirmer aucun modèle de croyances. La plupart des discours qui contribuent à façonner notre identité et notre compréhension font intervenir un réseau de croyances et d'hypothèses implicites qui sont reliées entre elles et dont l'existence est rarement reconnue explicitement. Les manuels jouent précisément ce rôle, car, comme beaucoup le reconnaissent volontiers, leur raison d'être est précisément de faciliter «l'acculturation» des novices qui assimilent les attentes et les hypothèses propres à une discipline. Cet article porte sur un processus qui constitue pratiquement un secteur d'activité mineur au Canada : la «canadianisation» de manuels américains pour le marché canadien. Il traite surtout de l'expérience personnelle de l'auteur qui a participé à l'adaptation canadienne de *Public Speaking: Strategies for Success* de David Zarefsky. Il vise à montrer dans quelle mesure l'étude de la communication a pour effet non seulement de «naturaliser» un modèle de discipline, mais aussi de coder implicitement un ensemble de valeurs et d'hypothèses culturelles reconnaissables.

Canadians who teach subjects such as public speaking, interpersonal communication, argumentation, and communication education are aware, at least superficially, of the extent to which the field in which they are working is a fundamentally American phenomenon: its roots are American, and so are most of its theoretical developments, its professional organizations, and its textbooks (Smith, 1954). These books, for the most part produced for American students studying in departments of speech communication in American colleges and universities, form a primary resource for all who teach courses in the discipline, including those who do so in Canada. Although the discipline traditionally known as speech, or more recently speech communication, is a familiar one in American universities, it is all but unknown in Canada. With its roots in the ancient discipline of rhetoric, the modern department of speech communication offers courses in a variety of areas of communication study, including rhetoric, instructional communication, communication theory, philosophy of communication, organizational communication, and so on. Public speaking is offered as a "basic course" by most such departments. (For a more detailed discussion of the discipline's nature, see MacLennan [1999 & 1998], National Communication Association [1996], and Smith [1954]. Brief overviews are also available on-line at the Department of Speech Communication at the University of Washington and at the National Communication Association). Speech communication teachers in Canada, then, face an interesting problem: although the authors of textbooks in communication conscientiously strive – perhaps even more so than scholars in other disciplines – to make them inclusive by freeing them as far as possible from culturally bound assumptions, speech communication as a discipline does in fact exhibit a distinctively American cultural ideology. I hope to show in the pages that follow, that it does so fundamentally, not just incidentally.

The central question that this paper poses is this: To what extent, and in what ways, have the disciplinary values in the field of communication been shaped by the American experience? To what extent do the cultural attitudes and values assumed by a course text affect the audience's understanding of speech communication as a discipline? As a way of "getting at" this question, this paper will focus on my experience in creating the Canadian edition of David Zarefsky's *Public Speaking: Strategies for Success* (Zarefsky & MacLennan, 1997). My goal is to reveal the extent to which the discipline of speech communication not only "naturalizes" a disciplinary model but also implicitly encodes a set of identifiable cultural values and assumptions that are rooted – not surprisingly – in the American experience.

The "Canadianization" of American texts for the Canadian college market involves translating American references and contexts into terms more immediate to, and comfortable for, a Canadian audience. At first glance, this task might appear to be a straightforward one of replacing recognizably

American names and diction with Canadian equivalents. It is true that some direct substitution is possible; for instance, a list of well-known speakers such as "Jack Kemp, Ann Richards, Mario Cuomo, Jesse Jackson, and Barbara Bush" can readily be replaced by a Canadian list that includes "Joe Ghiz, Pierre Trudeau, Margaret Atwood, Bob White, Gwynne Dwyer, and Mary Walsh"; "dormitories" easily become "residences"; and "affirmative action" can be replaced by "employment equity."

However, the process of textbook transformation is at once more subtle and more complex than such instances of simple substitution would suggest. Making a truly Canadian edition of an imported text involves much more than cosmetic adjustments, because an American text – particularly one in communication – is culturally different not only in diction and example, but also in assumption, value, and orientation. That speech communication textbooks display American cultural values should surprise no one; after all, just as communication practices have a cultural dimension not always visible to participants in a given communication exchange, so too is the study of communication given colour by the values of the culture in which it takes shape.

As a product of its American context, speech communication cannot help but display the "dominant opinions and unquestioned beliefs which form an integral part of [that] culture" (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1971, p. 20). What is interesting about culturally naturalized assumptions is that, as pervasive as they are, they are not normally visible to those within the culture; instead, these cultural attitudes are embedded beneath the surface of cultural participation, taken for granted in social exchanges "typically without either [participant] being aware of [them]" (Fairclough 1989: 83). They are simply part of the "common sense" of the cultural ethos, and are assumed by the members of the culture "to be shared by every reasonable being" (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, p. 99).

For anyone who teaches and practices speech communication in Canada, the problem of cross-cultural adaptation is compounded by the subtlety of cultural distinctions. This professional community operates within a "North American" context that may appear, especially from south of the 49th parallel, as synonymous with "American." Given the surface similarities between the two cultures, an American might be tempted to assume that no special accommodation is required in adapting an American text for a Canadian audience. After all, how different can the cultures be when the bulk of Canadian television programming, nearly all feature films shown in Canadian cinemas, and the majority of available print materials in Canada are American in origin? Besides, even where differences exist, clearly Canadians are used to reading American materials and making the mental adjustments necessary to translate to their own experience.

However, as I hope to illustrate in this paper, there are important and systematic differences in values, culture, politics, and public life between the Canadian and the American experiences that have been traced, documented, and revealed by numerous scholars in the humanities and social sciences (Gwyn, 1995; Adams, 1995; Lipset, 1990; Malcolm, 1985; Gwyn, 1985; Frye, 1982; Berton, 1975).¹ Among the differences that these scholars have documented are historical (Canadian history is counter-revolutionary, in contrast to the revolutionary spirit of the US); political (Canada's parliamentary democracy contrasts with the American constitutional republic); and sociological factors (collectivist, even socialist, in contrast to the culture of individualism that distinguishes the US). As well, our central philosophies also differ significantly; Canada's original constitution, the British North America Act of 1867, established "peace, order, and good government" as the central aims of the society that would become Canada, in contrast to the "life, liberty, and happiness" that shaped the American ideal. The relevant passage reads, "It shall be lawful for the Queen, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate and House of Commons, to make Laws for the Peace, Order, and Good Government of Canada" (Talman, 1959, p. 107); the centrality of such values to the Canadian psyche is discussed by, among others, Pierre Berton (1982).

My objective in creating the Canadian edition of Zarefsky's text was to incorporate these distinctively Canadian cultural patterns and values wherever possible. I had been teaching rhetoric in Canada since 1992, and had frequently been discouraged by the almost total lack of Canadian textual materials. Like many Canadian educators, I believe that our students should see themselves and their values reflected in their course texts, particularly in culturally sensitive fields such as communication. As well, my work in an area I had dubbed "the rhetoric of Canadian identity" had convinced me of the extent and significance of certain identifiable patterns of values and cultural commonplaces. As a result, the opportunity to offer Canadian students of rhetoric a theoretically sound book incorporating significant and distinctly Canadian examples was one I could not turn down. This analysis, in which I will juxtapose parallel segments from the two editions, is intended to reveal the extent to which these patterns of difference in the two cultures, though subtle, are both pervasive and profound (Lipset, 1990; Frye, 1972; Atwood, 1985; Atwood, 1982a).

It is true that Canadian popular media are dominated by American products, and that Canadians have become adept at successfully negotiating this "continental divide." However, I propose that they do so through a process akin to suspension of disbelief, which consists of "the willingness to withhold questions about . . . truth, accuracy, or probability. . . [that] makes possible the reader's temporary acceptance of the vicarious participation in an . . . imaginative world" (Holman & Harmon, 1986, p. 492). Another way

of understanding this process is offered by Norman Fairclough, who distinguishes between two dimensions of textual coherence. The first refers to a text's internal sense – that is, “how the parts of the text link to each other,” and the second refers to “how the text fits into [the reader's] previous experience of the world” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 72). A text is perceived by the interpreter as “coherent” if it “presuppos[es] a view of the world that is ‘common sense’” to that person – in other words, if its internal logic corresponds to the interpreter's naturalized assumptions (Fairclough, p. 79). It is, of course, possible for a text to make sense internally without necessarily corresponding to the world as the interpreter experiences it. When this happens, the interpreter may reject the text as incoherent, perceive it to be figurative,² or experience it as fanciful entertainment requiring the willing suspension of disbelief I have already described.

It would of course be impossible to discount either the pervasiveness or the influence of American popular culture in Canadian society, and much has been written on the subject (Flaherty & Manning, 1993; Granatstein & Hillmer, 1991; Atwood, 1981; Desbarats, 1981; Redekop, 1971). Nevertheless, despite the ubiquitousness of American popular culture, it seems that Canadians read its “texts” in the latter way, engaging temporarily in a willing suspension of disbelief in exchange for the entertainment of American movies, television programmes, or popular magazines. As Margaret Atwood points out, “the States is an escape fantasy for Canadians” (Atwood, 1982a, p. 385). In order to make sense of these discourses, then, Canadians temporarily entertain the interpretive framework the texts require, without necessarily having to embrace the worldview they represent. As well, there is some indication that Canadians have developed a kind of cultural “anti-language” for dealing with the dominant American cultural symbolism. Anti-languages, as Fairclough explains, are “set up and used as conscious alternatives to the dominant or established discourse types” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 91). Such an anti-language is evident in much Canadian popular culture, from advertisements to political satire to news reports, two common forms of which are “the American bully” (Berton, 1982; MacLennan, 1993-94) and “we know more about them than they know about us.” *This Hour has 22 Minutes*, the satirical CBC production, routinely runs a segment that displays American ignorance of, or naiveté about, Canadian history, culture, and politics, a segment that Canadian viewers love. Canadian advertising, notably the Labatts’ “We Are Canadian” campaign, uses this same commonplace of Canadian culture as a platform for appealing to its Canadian audience. The weekly news magazine *Maclean's* freely features on its cover the headline “Darn Yankees” (1997) or a provocative illustration of the Canadian one-dollar coin featuring the image of George Washington, over the slogan “Say It Ain’t So – Canadian Sovereignty: is the loonie next to go?” Whether the stereotype implied by such headlines and images is

accurate is beside the point; what matters insofar as the language of resistance is concerned is that the pattern is recognizable and comfortable enough to function as a commonplace of Canadian culture. The extent of its appearance in public discourse suggests that it is both.

However, whatever strategies Canadians have devised for dealing with an extensive exposure to American popular culture, the commercial marketplace of popular media is a different environment from the classroom, where students are required to display mastery of disciplinary concepts, even to the point of applying these interpretive frames to features of their intellectual, social, or cultural environment outside the classroom. Students in university courses are not asked simply to grasp content, nor is a temporary suspension of disbelief all that is expected. Instead, they are invited to embrace a disciplinary way of seeing and valuing that will eventually become naturalized – “implicit, backgrounded, taken for granted” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 77). These naturalized disciplinary values in turn provide a necessary framework for understanding other course information, as well as for interpreting and evaluating larger fields of experience. As part of the means by which we enculturate newcomers, textbooks help to establish and reinforce these expectations. An American textbook in a fundamentally American discipline will automatically, and naturally, rely on American values to help achieve these ends.

The solution to the challenge facing Canadian practitioners might seem self-evident: if the American product is a “poor fit,” why don’t Canadians simply write their own textbooks? The answer to this question plunges us right into the heart of Canadian-American economic and cultural difference, a full exploration of which is obviously beyond the scope of this paper. However, I would like to briefly consider why there is no significant body of Canadian educational material in the discipline.

The biggest reason for the lack of Canadian texts is that departments on the American speech-communication model have had little representation in Canadian universities. Canadian departments of communication studies tend to focus their attention on mass communication or journalism, and – more recently – on composition or professional communication (King, 1999; Urquhart, 1999). Of these few, only two (at University College of Cape Breton and the University of Waterloo) in any way resemble American-style speech communication departments. Even more frequently, courses in “communication” are offered in other departments, such as English, where they form only a small part of the curriculum and where they are typically taught by those with expertise in fields other than communication. Although in the US, the National (American) Communication Association of today can trace its origins to 1914 (Smith, 1954, p. 456), there is no similar longstanding tradition of communication study in Canada. Indeed, the official name change of the Speech Communication Association to the

National Communication Association in 1997 itself suggests the extent to which its practitioners take for granted the conflation of discipline and culture, since “national” obviously has different meanings for anyone who is outside the US. Quite simply, there are no Canadian texts because there are few Canadian practitioners and almost no departments, and because courses in speech communication are largely scattered and recent developments (King, 1999; Rolls, 1998; Brent, 1990).

A second reason for the lack of Canadian textbooks in the discipline has to do with the economics of publishing. The textbook business is highly competitive, and the practice of simply importing educational materials from the much larger US market into Canada has a long history (Lorimer, 1996). As well, most textbook publishers in Canada are subsidiaries of American multinationals, as is Prentice Hall/Allyn & Bacon Canada, the publisher of the Canadian edition of *Public Speaking: Strategies for Success* (Zarefsky & MacLennan, 1997). It is much cheaper for these publishers to extend a print run of an American text than to develop a text exclusively for the much smaller and less lucrative Canadian market, particularly since Canadian textbooks rarely penetrate the American market and so have little chance to enlarge their already small audience. Even more than trade publications, Canadian textbooks, in order to be produced at all, must be assured of a large piece of a small available market already flooded with American competitors (Meisel, 1986; Atwood, 1982b). For these reasons, Canadian educational institutions have long depended on course materials produced in the US, and this dependence continues in fields such as mathematics and the natural sciences, where issues of cultural distinctiveness are less directly relevant.

The production of “Canadianized” editions of American books is a compromise solution to the demand for Canadian content in educational materials, which in turn is a product of the cultural nationalism that developed during the 1960s and 1970s. One of the most powerful influences in this regard was the 1951 Report of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, led by the Right Honourable Vincent Massey. The motivation for the Commission was that the “Canadian people should know as much as possible about their country,” and that it was in the “national interest to give encouragement to institutions which express national feeling, promote common understanding and add to the variety and richness of Canadian life. . . .” The Report examines the impact of broadcasting, film, literature and scholarship (including educational materials) on Canadian culture (Massey, 1951; Smith, D., 1985). A cultural, political, and economic phenomenon, Canadian nationalism was a response to what many saw as a serious threat to Canadian cultural autonomy posed by the closer economic and military ties with the US following the First and Second World Wars. The influx of American capital gave short-term pros-

perity, but at significant cost to indigenous industries, particularly “cultural” ones (Lorimer, 1996; Newman, 1995; Davies, 1989; Fulford, 1987; Government of Canada, 1987: Article 2005.1).

One of the places where the new nationalism had significant impact was in education. In academic disciplines where cultural, political, historical, and social differences are significant – history, political science, literature, and sociology are a few of these – demand for Canadian course materials began to increase during the 1960s and 1970s. In fact, the pressure has been intense enough that, in fields where numbers warrant, Canadian books in such disciplines have actually been published by the multinationals. However, in fields such as speech communication that are relatively new or have little representation in Canada, there are still too few courses and programmes to make a large investment viable from the point of view of the publishing houses. At the same time, however, exclusively American books in such fields are no longer readily accepted by either students or instructors, and so “Canadianization” is still an important part of the mix of available materials. It should be noted that Canadian texts in established disciplines must also compete with “Canadianized” editions of American books in the lists of the multinationals.

My goal in adapting the Zarefsky book for a Canadian readership was to make the book as Canadian as possible by drawing upon the cultural commonplaces that its intended readers would recognize and identify with. But just how “American” is Zarefsky’s original text? One immediate indication is the pictures that accompany the textual material. There are 54 photos in the text; of these, only four feature non-Americans, and none of those shown is Canadian. For example, Nelson Mandela is shown twice; the Dalai Lama and Yassar Arafat each appear once. Fourteen of the photos show immediately recognizable Americans such as Ronald Reagan, Jesse Jackson, Elizabeth Taylor, and Magic Johnson; 15 feature American flags or other easily identifiable national symbols; in 13 the word “American” or closely associated language is visible. In the 54 photos, then, there are 41 explicit American references; needless to say, no Canadians are featured in any example or photograph in the entire 500+ pages of the book. It is an excellent introduction to practical rhetoric and well-situated for its American readers, but, because it does not have a single application to Canadian contexts or situations, Zarefsky’s book, along with the discipline it introduces, remains “foreign” to a Canadian audience partly because they are utterly invisible in it.³

Photographs are not the only evidence of the “Americanness” of Zarefsky’s book. The extent to which American conventions and assumptions are conflated with the standards of the discipline is also shown in the textual material itself. For example, throughout this book, “public address” is always

assumed to mean *American* political discourse; "culture" always means *American* culture. All such examples are presented as a recognizable and accepted standard, and are never recognized or identified as specifically or exclusively American. For instance, in a discussion of speech genres, Zarefsky devotes two and a half pages of text to the nomination speech, a genre much used in American politics but entirely nonexistent in Canadian political campaigns. Here is how that section opens:

Every four years, each major political party holds a national convention to nominate its candidates for President and Vice President. Especially if there is a contest at the convention, the nominations are the centerpiece. (Zarefsky, 571)

Upon examination, this strictly American example reveals a number of embedded assumptions about the political process. First, of course, it takes for granted the American political structure, and in so doing, it assumes that the process for election within that structure is familiar to the audience; it presents nomination speeches as a significant genre of public address, which they are, once you have assumed an American system. It further takes for granted enough background information that the "major political parties" need not be identified; the reader is expected to know who and what these parties are. All of these are reasonable assumptions – so long as the readership remains American. However, they are completely foreign to a Canadian audience, not just because the examples are American, but because the political landscape that is taken for granted simply does not exist in Canada. The nomination speech, so central to the American electoral process, is nonexistent in Canadian politics; the electoral process is entirely different, and the "major parties" a Canadian would envision are not at all the same ones Americans would assume. My revision of this section therefore reads:

A speech of nomination is a highly conventionalized form combining ceremonial and deliberative purposes. Though they are used rarely in Canadian politics, you may have seen such speeches televised during American political campaigns, where they play an important role. Nomination speeches are also sometimes used within large organizations in which candidates for office are identified by deliberation and vote. (Zarefsky & MacLennan, 434)

Throughout the book, Zarefsky devotes much time to the analysis of and adaptation to audience, an important element of all effective rhetoric. Like Zarefsky, I urge my students to find and use the common ground between themselves and the audiences they address by attending to what their audience members value, what they celebrate, what they fear, what they take for granted, what moves them. In order to do this, these student speakers must learn to understand and draw upon shared elements of history, social structure, and culture. The audience Zarefsky addresses is evidently an exclusively American one. The background information he pro-

vides typically engages its audience by emphasizing an emotional connection with a specifically American cultural mind set. For instance, in the section on "Common Knowledge and Experience" Zarefsky has this to say:

Public opinion surveys frequently report the embarrassing result that a large percentage of Americans cannot name their Senator or Representative, do not know in what century the Civil War occurred, or cannot locate a particular country on the globe. (Zarefsky, p. 98)

This example provides an effective engagement strategy for an American audience, but may even have the opposite effect on a Canadian readership, who cannot share in the "embarrassment" Zarefsky expresses. As well, given the common "anti-language" already in wide use, Canadian readers may even delight in this evidence of American ignorance, since it reinforces one of the commonplaces of their cultural resistance. At the same time, they may wonder what a similar Canadian survey might show; needless to say, they are not told. Here is the parallel section, rewritten for the Canadian edition:

American public opinion surveys frequently report that a large percentage of Americans cannot name their Senator or Representative, do not know in what century the Civil War occurred, or cannot locate a particular country on the globe. Canadians generally are better informed about global political issues, but often lack knowledge of other regions of their own country. (Zarefsky & MacLennan, p. 90)

Even in instances where the text's assertions could equally apply to a Canadian context, the potential for engaging the interest of Canadian readers is hampered by the exclusively American examples – not because they are not understandable, but because they are presented as a universally familiar standard:

In the late twentieth century, popular culture, especially television, occupies the role formerly held by the Bible and the classics as the source of a culture's common allusions. The administration of President John F. Kennedy was fondly remembered by his supporters by reference to the popular musical *Camelot*. During the 1984 Presidential campaign, Democratic candidate Walter Mondale dismissed the argument of one of his primary opponents by asking, "Where's the beef?" in reference to a popular advertisement for a chain of hamburger franchises. (Zarefsky, p. 99)

These assertions about popular culture as a source of shared examples are equally applicable to a Canadian audience, but the illustrations used here fail to establish the intended spark of identification for a Canadian readership. This lack of emotional connection renders this section ineffective in engaging their attention or convincing them of its relevance. In order to create common ground with a Canadian audience, the revision of this section reflects a distinctly Canadian experience by displaying features of public discourse with which my audience would readily identify:

In the late twentieth century, popular culture, especially television, occupies the role formerly held by the Bible and classics as the source of a culture's common allusions. In Canada, political satire is more popular than south of the border, where political figures seem to play a lesser role in popular culture. While television is certainly a source of common allusions for Canadians as well as Americans, our political life offers rich opportunities for familiar images and events, as does our preoccupation with issues such as unity, the constitution, and Canadian-American differences. Note, for instance, the number and popularity of Canadian satirical programmes which are aimed at the political life of the country: on television, the *Royal Canadian Air Farce* and *This Hour has 22 Minutes* regularly lampoon our politicians and other icons of popular culture such as Rita MacNeil, Pamela Wallin, and the Royal Family; on radio, *Double Exposure* joins *Air Farce* in satirizing current events. Our cultural knowledge is also shaped to a large extent by artifacts of popular culture from the US. (Zarefsky & MacLennan, p. 92)

Some values, Zarefsky points out, are universal, and "may well transcend the limits of any particular culture" (p. 102). Such universalizing is, of course, possible, especially when cultures share much in common, as Canadians and Americans do. But universalizing also poses some dangers when subtle, but important, cultural differences are overlooked. The values a society embraces may appear universal because they seem like "common sense" within that society, but that does not mean that they will be experienced as "natural" for others. After all, as Fairclough points out, "where there is a sufficiently large social or cultural divide between participants in . . . an exchange, . . . the arbitrariness and social relativity of the common sense of one [will become] evident to the other" (1989, p. 106). When speaking of "universal" values, we must be sure that the values we take for granted are grounded in a foundation of experience and "common sense assumptions" that our audience really does share.

As well, even shared values do not always manifest themselves in the same way in the daily life of different cultures. For this reason, an American example cannot simply be "borrowed" into a Canadian context. One context in which differences between Canadian and American society are highly visible is in the incidence of violent crime. Like Americans, Canadians fear crime and lawlessness. However, our attitude to violent crime, our perception of its causes, and our notion of appropriate solutions to the problem differ significantly, as does our direct experience of crime.⁴ With a murder rate well under one quarter that of the US, Canadians are likely to perceive violent crime, especially involving firearms, as an aberration rather than as a cultural pattern (Chisholm et al., 1999; Phillips, 1999a and 1999b; Stevens, 1993) and even – a fact that may surprise Americans – as an unwanted side-effect of American cultural influences (Gordon, 1999; Levin, 1999; Kerans, 1993, p. 220-222; Malcolm, 1985, p. 78-9). In light of real cultural differences in the tolerance of violence as part of urban life (Levin,

1999; Lipset, 1990 p. 94-97; Gwyn, 1985), consider the following scenario, offered by Zarefsky as a rhetorical context for a student assignment:

The mother of two young children, you have witnessed a drive-by shooting in a friend's neighbourhood across town. The attack was part of an ongoing turf war between two rival gangs. . . . In a citywide atmosphere of mounting violence you've been asked to give an account of the shooting at an emergency meeting sponsored by a group of concerned parents.... As you prepare to speak at the meeting, you keep seeing the young girl falling to the pavement and lying unconscious, and you vividly remember hearing gunshots and a car speeding away. (Zarefsky, p. 456)

To a Canadian reader, this hypothetical example is obviously, and typically, American, and remains so even if the setting were declared to be Vancouver or Toronto. Although such acts of violence are not entirely unknown in Canada, incidents such as these remain sufficiently atypical that such a scenario could never be accepted as a plausible reflection of ordinary Canadian experience, even in our larger cities. This is just one of many instances in which a mere "change of venue" is insufficient to render the example culturally appropriate. For this speech situation to be believable for a Canadian readership, it had to be rewritten significantly:

The mother of two young children, you have witnessed a pedestrian fatality at a dangerous intersection near a schoolyard. The same uncontrolled intersection has been the scene of several near-misses and one other serious accident in the past five years. This one, a hit-and-run, was the first fatality. . . . As a witness, and a local activist, you've been asked to give an account of the accident at an emergency meeting sponsored by a group of concerned parents. . . . As you prepare to speak at the meeting, you keep seeing the young girl falling to the pavement and lying unconscious, and you vividly remember hearing the car speeding away. (Zarefsky & MacLennan, p. 456)

Relative crime rates are a highly visible indicator of cultural difference, and provide a point of access to the cultural values that underlie them. Other cultural differences are far more subtle, but they do form a pattern of difference that must be recognized if a "Canadianized" text is to adapt effectively to its new cultural context. Many of the changes I made in the process of adapting Zarefsky's book for its new market were far more complex than those already discussed. For example, one of the things that distinguishes the American mindset from the Canadian is the nature and flavour of our cultural mythologies. As a culture, Americans have a greater tendency to celebrate individual public figures and significant historical events. Examples of this cultural phenomenon are visible throughout Zarefsky's text, and are easy to spot: from George Washington to John Kennedy, from Abraham Lincoln to Ronald Reagan, from the Civil War to the Vietnam War, the American cultural machinery makes icons of them all (Lipset, 1990, p. 57-73; Atwood, 1985 and 1982a; Frye, 1972).

There is no parallel situation in the Canadian ethos, and the first way in which this fact is evident is in the scarcity of available examples of Canadian public speeches. When I began researching suitable speeches to include in the new Canadian edition of *Public Speaking: Strategies for Success*, I discovered that the real challenge was not to find comparable texts, but to find texts of any speeches at all. Although the internet and cable broadcasts such as the Canadian Parliamentary Channel have made *contemporary* speeches more available, older texts of significant Canadian speeches, particularly historical ones, have until recently been difficult to come by.⁵ In spite of a parliamentary tradition that relies heavily on oratory and the large number of Canadians known for their skill as speakers, Canadians have little history of celebrating political events and the speeches that arise from them, and virtually no tradition of rhetorical study of prominent public discourses. Consider for a moment that any American (and a good many Canadians) can easily name and even quote snippets of several significant American political speeches. Martin Luther King's *I Have a Dream*, John F. Kennedy's Inaugural Address, or Ronald Reagan's "Touch the Face of God" speech on the Challenger disaster are good examples, all cited by Zarefsky. Few Canadians, however, (and even fewer Americans) can name a single significant Canadian speech (Luciani, 1990), and few if any can quote one. I did eventually locate historically and culturally significant works to include in the book, among them former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's 1970 *October Crisis Proclamation*, former Governor General Vincent Massey's 1959 speech to the Canadian Club of Montreal; Rene Levesque's "We are Quebecers" (1977); and Margaret Atwood's "Canadian-American Relations: Surviving the Eighties" (1981); but I was able to do so only after extensive research.⁶

A mythos without American-style heroes should be expected to produce a different kind of public discourse from that found in the US, and it does. One of the main distinctions between Canadian and American cultural mythologies shows up in their central metaphors. "The American Dream" is one example familiar to both Americans and Canadians, but one that would be impossible to simply transplant into the Canadian imagination. After all, who has ever heard of a "Canadian dream"? The idea alone is amusing to a Canadian reader, and it suggests once again the extent to which the ethos of a culture defies simple substitution. The American metaphor is rich with connotations, which, though certainly *recognizable* to a Canadian reader, are unavailable in a parallel Canadian context. For example, the "American dream" invites us to embrace a kind of utopian view, the fulfillment of the beatific vision of the country's founders, and in the idealistic American cultural context, Zarefsky's presentation of the utopian vision as a universally powerful concluding device seems entirely appropriate, even inevitable. Here is Zarefsky's treatment of Lincoln's use of the device of the utopian ideal in his First Inaugural Address:

Even in speeches on less momentous topics it is not uncommon to find a conclusion that tries to envision how things will be once a problem is solved or a goal achieved. The utopian vision is particularly effective when the speaker is calling on listeners to make sacrifices or to take risks to achieve a distant goal. By predicting the ultimate success of one's cause, the utopian vision assures the audience that the effort will be worth it. Abraham Lincoln often employed this type of conclusion. After warning of the perilous situation at the time of his first inaugural address, Lincoln confidently predicted in his conclusion that 'the mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.' Yes, dark clouds might be in the sky at the moment, but in the fullness of time a positive result definitely would be achieved. (Zarefsky, p. 271)

Unfortunately, utopian visions, with their connotation of "happy endings," don't play out the same way in the Canadian cultural ethos, where they are certainly not inevitable and where they may even feel inappropriate. They are thus unlikely to be employed with frequency or perceived as quite so universally satisfying. Indeed, visions of the future receive quite different treatment in Canadian discourse, where the dream is of tenacity and continued survival ("We're staggered, but we're not knocked down" [Walsh, 1993]) or where it may even turn into a *dystopia*. (See, for example, Atwood 1985a; 1982a; 1972). My choice for the corresponding passage from the Canadian edition is intended to highlight this significant difference in cultural pattern:

This vision of "the city on the hill" is a very American one. In Canadian hands, the utopian ideal is likely to be somewhat muted and qualified, as it is in Northrop Frye's 1967 Whidden Lecture: 'One of the derivations proposed for the word Canada is a Portuguese phrase meaning 'nobody here.' The etymology of the word Utopia is very similar, and perhaps the real Canada is an ideal with nobody in it. The Canada to which we really do owe loyalty is the Canada that we have failed to create. In a year bound to be full of discussions of our identity, I should like to suggest that our identity, like the real identity of all nations, is the one that we have failed to achieve. It is expressed in our culture, but not attained in our life. . . . The uncreated identity of Canada may be after all not so bad a heritage to take with us." (Frye, 1991). (Zarefsky & MacLennan, p. 257)

A culture's distinctiveness is visible in its preoccupations as well as in its familiar metaphors. The precariousness of Canada's continued survival, both politically and culturally, is one of the features of the rhetoric of Canadian identity (Gordon, 1994; MacLennan, 1993-4; Newman, 1988; Atwood, 1982c & 1972). In turn, Canadian identity is one of the most productive topics in Canadian publishing: historians, poets and writers, cultural and literary critics, journalists, and commentators have devoted an enormous amount of attention to the subject; the possibility of breakup alone has generated a huge number of books, even a brief list of which

rapidly becomes unwieldy (for example, Lamont, 1995; Camp, 1995; Baret et al., 1995; Gordon, 1994; Taras & Simpson, 1993; Rasporich & Mandel, 1993; Martin, 1993; Richler, 1992; Weaver, 1992; Nash, 1991; Rosenblum & Findlay, 1991; Braid & Sharpe, 1990; Matthews, 1988; Meisel, 1986; Gibbins, 1982; Rohmer, 1976; Hutchison, 1943). No wonder Northrop Frye characterized Canadians' obsession with national identity as "our famous problem" (Frye, 1971, p. 220).

This sense of precariousness that infuses discussions of Canadian identity is frequently difficult for Americans as a culture to understand. By contrast with Canadian patterns of national self doubt, American identity is such a "sure thing" that it is even possible to speak of its opposite: being *un-American*. In the cultural mosaic that is Canada, identity is a much more tentative and elusive entity, perhaps because it is challenged from within by separatist aspirations, and from outside by the confident extroversion of our powerful neighbour (for example, Davies, 1989; Mowat, 1985; Berton, 1982; Atwood, 1982a). Whatever its cause, and however accurately it reflects the political reality, there is no doubt that this theme of cultural survival is played out again and again in Canadian public discourse, including an annual *Maclean's* poll (1983-1999); there is also no doubt that it stands in stark contrast to the way in which Americans talk about themselves.

It would thus be impossible to locate a Canadian "equivalent" to the Lincoln example employed by Zarefsky; such beatific visions are extremely rare within the Canadian ethos (see Walsh, 1993; Atwood 1972). Contrast Lincoln's heavenly dream of the future with what Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau had to say about the Canadian character to members of the US National Press Club in 1969:

Canadians should never underestimate the constant pressure on Canada that the mere presence of the United States has produced. We're a different people from you and we're a different people partly because of you. . . . Living next to you is in some ways like sleeping with an elephant. No matter how friendly and even-tempered is the beast, if I can call it that, one is affected by every twitch and grunt. . . . It should not therefore be expected that this kind of a nation, this Canada should project itself. . . . as a mirror image of the United States." (Zarefsky & MacLennan, p. 305)

The further examples in the original text book that accompany the selection from Lincoln's First Inaugural speech show similar patterns of utopian idealism. As well, even within discourses surrounding the highly-charged issues of race relations and civil rights, the utopian vision is still in evidence. For instance, Zarefsky offers the following excerpt from Martin Luther King's *I Have a Dream*:

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. (Zarefsky, p. 329)

In the Canadian edition, I chose to replace King's beatific vision with an example more typical of the famous Canadian *dystopian* mindset, a selection from Margaret Atwood's speech "Canadian-American Relations: Surviving the Eighties," given before the Harvard Consortium on Inter-American Relations in 1981. Unlike Martin Luther King, Atwood has no optimistic American-style vision to share, but what she does share is both typically Atwood and typically Canadian.

One of our politicians recently gave a speech entitled, 'In the Footsteps of the Giant.' The United States of course was the giant and Canada was in its footsteps, though some joker wondered whether Canada was in its footstep just before or just after the foot had descended. (Zarefsky & MacLennan, p. 304)

Could a Canadian student read and understand the American edition of Zarefsky's *Public Speaking: Strategies for Success*? Of course. It is unlikely that even such a preponderance of American examples would impede a Canadian reader's cognitive understanding; after all, Canadians are used to a steady diet of American culture from the popular media, including the Internet. But Canadian readers would not see themselves, or people very like themselves, in the book's examples. Though in many ways similar, the two cultures are different enough that the examples in Canadian texts need careful attention – not because the American examples hinder intellectual understanding, but because a textbook on public communication should situate itself in the cultural context of its audience if it is to achieve their emotional commitment and identification, and if it is to establish the credibility of its disciplinary principles.

That American values show up in texts designed by American authors and scholars is not surprising. When the audience envisioned is an American audience, and it is, these familiar examples and shared values actually assist the authors in achieving their purpose of naturalizing disciplinary assumptions for their intended readers. After all, a speaker who displays, through language and metaphor, a set of assumptions that coincide with those unconsciously embraced by the audience will more readily succeed in persuading them to accept the assertions put forward. However, if the unspoken assumptions of the text are at odds with the audience's cultural experience, the result may even be the opposite of what is intended. While most rhetoricians would recognize on this basis the folly of introducing American texts into an obviously "foreign" culture, there is far less recognition within the discipline of the subtle differences that make theory and practice modeled on American norms a poor "fit" for a Canadian audience.

Zarefsky's text advises students that "it takes a keen focus on the particular culture of your audience to plan an effective message" (Zarefsky, p. 93). This is a basic rhetorical principle, but it cannot help but ring false to a Canadian readership if the book is left as originally written. To introduce

the book unchanged into a Canadian context would be to introduce a serious mis-match between audience and message and to violate the very principles that our discipline attempts to teach.

Canadian students and their teachers, faced with exclusively American examples, may perceive speech communication as a "foreign" discipline with little to teach them about their own communication patterns, particularly in instances where cultural assumptions govern how communication may be carried out. Edwin Black reminds us that in all rhetorical discourse "we can find enticements not simply to believe something, but to *be* something. We are solicited by the discourse to fulfill its blandishments with our very selves" (Black, 1972, p.172). This is a powerful invitation, and one to which we can only respond if the text accommodates the cultural values and assumptions we take for granted. Though Canada and the US may look similar on the surface, what works "down there" is not automatically a good fit "up here." Communication, in both practice and theoretical developments, is always carried out against a background of cultural values and assumptions – a background that in this instance differs significantly from the American context in which the discipline of speech communication normally operates. Scholars and teachers in the field, whether they are in the US or elsewhere, must learn to recognize and accommodate the subtle as well as the obvious ways in which American ideals and individualism have influenced the disciplinary culture. In doing so we may better identify and extract truly universal principles that underlie the study of human communication. The ability to do so will enrich the discipline with a fuller understanding of how individuals both define and are defined by their cultural ethos.

An earlier version of this paper was presented to the annual conference of the National Communication Association in New York in November, 1998.

NOTES

1. It should be said here that, although the differences are typically highly visible to Canadians and also a matter of much public discussion, they are not nearly so evident to Americans, as is indicated by several cross-border polls conducted by Maclean's magazine (1986-1999) and by numerous other sources. While a Ph.D. candidate in a US Department of Speech Communication, I received numerous responses from US reviewers of articles on Canadian public address indicating that they perceived little or no significant difference between the two cultures and were therefore mystified at my insistence that the difference does, in fact, exist.
2. Some scholars have argued that the processing of figurative or metaphorical language is made up of a stimulus-response cycle that occurs in three main stages: error, or recognition that a literal interpretation is inadequate; puzzlement-recoil, or agitated uncertainty and motivation to solve the puzzle; and finally resolution, in which the puzzle of meaning is resolved. For more on the processing of figurative materials, see Osborn and Ehninger, 1962, pp. 223-234.
3. I should probably clarify that, though the teaching and practice of public speaking are well established in Canada, the academic discipline of rhetoric, and the broader departmental structure of speech communication, are virtually unknown. The only Ph.D. programme in rhetoric, for example, is offered by the English department at the University of Waterloo, and

it was not established until 1989. By contrast, departments of speech communication have been in existence in the US since at least 1914 (see Smith, 1954).

4. In 1995, the total number of homicides in Canada was 536; the crime rate for homicide stood at 1.8 per 100,000; the US figure for the same year was 8.7 homicides per 100,000. Statistics Canada, "Crimes by Type of Offense." On-line. <<http://www.statcan.ca/english/Pgdb/State/Justice/legal02.htm>> (1998); and US Department of Justice, "Homicide rates from the Vital Statistics." On-line. <<http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/glance/hmrt.txt>> (November 22, 1998).

5. This fact of limited availability has been underscored by a recent exchange on CanRhet, an on-line discussion group for Canadian rhetoricians administered by Maurice Charland at Concordia University (see Charland, 2000).

6. I am indebted to John Robert Colombo, editor of the annual *Canadian Almanac* and the compiler of *Colombo's Canadian Quotations* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1974).

REFERENCES

- Adams, M. (1995, February 20). Moralistic them, humanistic us. *Globe and Mail*.
- Atwood, M. (1985a). *The handmaid's tale*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Atwood, M. (1985b, May 4). Canadian looks at American looking at us (Review of Andrew Malcolm's *The Canadians*). *The Red Deer Advocate*, p. 1B.
- Atwood, M. (1982a). Canadian-American relations: Surviving the eighties. *Second words* (pp. 371-392). Toronto: House of Anansi.
- Atwood, M. (1982b). An end to audience? *Second words* (pp. 334-357). Toronto: House of Anansi.
- Atwood, M. (1982c). Nationalism, limbo, and the Canadian club. *Second words* (pp.83-89). Toronto: House of Anansi.
- Atwood, M. (1972). *Survival: A thematic guide to Canadian literature*. Toronto: House of Anansi.
- Barrett, M. et al (1995). *If you love this country: 15 voices for a unified Canada*. Toronto: Penguin Books.
- Bergman, B. (1999, May 10). Tragedy in Taber. *Maclean's*, 112.
- Berton, P. (1982). *Why we act like Canadians: A personal exploration of our national character*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Berton, P. (1975). *Hollywood's Canada: The Americanization of our national image*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Black, E. (1972). The second persona. In *Quarterly Journal of Speech* (p. 56), and in Thomas Benson (Ed.), *Landmark essays in rhetorical criticism* (1993). Davis, CA: Hermagoras Press.
- Braid, D. & Sharpe, S. (1990). *Breakup: Why the West feels left out of Canada*. Toronto: Key Porter Books.
- Brent, D.A. (1990, April 8). Critical mass in Canadian rhetoric. *Inkshed*, 8, 1-2.
- Brock, B.L. & Scott, R.L. (1980). *Methods of rhetorical criticism*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press.
- Camp, D. (1995). *Whose country is this anyway?* Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre.
- Charland, M. (2000, January 10-15). Re: CanRhet sample speeches (discussion thread). On-line discussion group. canrhet@concordia.ca.
- Chisholm, P. (1999, May 10). The copycat syndrome. *Maclean's*, 112.
- Chisholm, P., McClelland, S., & Geddes, J. (1999, May 3). Teens under seige. *Maclean's*, 112, 22-24.
- Colombo, J.R. (1991-98). *Canadian global almanac and world facts* (Annual). Toronto: Macmillan.

- Colombo, J.R. (1974). *Colombo's Canadian quotations*. Edmonton: Hurtig.
- Davies, R. (1989, January). Signing away Canada's soul. *Harper's*, 278, 43-48.
- Department of Speech Communication, University of Washington (1999). The discipline of speech communication. On-line. Available URL: <<http://depts.washington.edu/spcom/>> (Accessed 20 January 2000).
- Desbarats, P. (1981). *Canada lost: Canada found: The search for a new nation*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and power*. New York: Longman.
- Flaherty, D.H. & Manning, F.E. (Eds.). (1993). *The beaver bites back? American popular culture in Canada*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press.
- Freud, S. (1983; Rpt). *Interpretation of dreams*. Translated by J. Strachey. New York: Avon Books.
- Frye, N. (1991). Clair de lune intellectual. *The modern century*. Toronto: Oxford University Press. (Original work published 1967)
- Frye, N. (1972). *Divisions on a ground: Essays on Canadian culture*. Toronto: House of Anansi.
- Frye, N. (1971). *The bush garden*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Fulford, R. (1987, August). Surrendering Canada. *Saturday Night*, 102, 5-7.
- Gibbins, R. (1982). *Conflict and unity: An introduction to Canadian political life*. Toronto: Methuen.
- Gordon, C. (1999, May 24). Much ado about violence. *Maclean's*, 112 .
- Gordon, C. (1994, September 26). Canada's imminent breakup: Version 4. *Maclean's*, 107 , 13.
- Government of Canada (1987). *The free trade agreement: Securing Canada's future*. Ottawa, ON.
- Granatstein, J.L. & Hillmer, N. (1991). *For better or for worse: Canada and the United States to the 1990s*. Toronto: Copp Clark Pittman.
- Gwyn, R. (1995). *Nationalism without walls: The unbearable lightness of being Canadian*. Toronto: Doubleday Canada.
- Gwyn, R. (1985). *The 49th paradox: Canada in North America*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart.
- Holman, C.H. & Harmon, W. (1986). *A handbook to literature*, 5th ed. New York: Macmillan.
- Hutchinson, B. (1943). *The unknown country: Canada and her people*. Toronto: Longmans, Green & Co.
- Kerans, Mr. Justice R.P. (1993). Two nations under law. In D. Thomas (Ed.), *Canada and the United States: Differences that count* (pp.215-233). Peterborough, ON: Broadview.
- King, C. (1999, April). A survey of undergraduate communication programs in Canadian colleges and universities. Paper presented to the Conference of the Northwest Communication Association, Coeur D'Alene, ID.
- Lamont, L. (1995). *Breakup: The coming end of Canada and the stakes for America*. Toronto: Key Porter Books.
- Levin, B. (1999, May 3). Casualties of the right to bear arms. *Maclean's*, 112.
- Lipset, S.M. (1990). *Continental divide: The values and institutions of the United States and Canada*. New York: Routledge.
- Lorimer, R. (1996). Book publishing. In M. Dorland (Ed.), *The cultural industries of Canada* (pp.3-34). Toronto: James Lorimer. 3-34.
- Luciani, P. (1990, March 19). Canadians speechless. *Globe and mail*.
- Maclean's*. (1999a, December 20). The vanishing border (the 16th annual poll with CBC's Magazine by the Strategic Counsel). *Maclean's*, 112, 20-56.

- Maclean's. (1999b, July 5). Say it ain't so – Canadian sovereignty: Is the loonie next to go? (cover headline). *Maclean's*, 112, 14-18.
- Maclean's. (1998, December 28). Looking to the future (15th annual poll with the CBC National Magazine). *Maclean's*, 111, 18-53.
- Maclean's. (1997a, December 29). A confident Canada (14th year-end poll with the National). *Maclean's*, 110, 16-42.
- Maclean's. (1997b, August 4). Darn Yankees! (Cover headline). *Maclean's*, 110, 12-19.
- Maclean's. (1996, December 30). The year-end poll with the National: Canada in 2005. *Maclean's*, 109, 16-52.
- Maclean's. (1996, November 4). A Canada-US poll: How different we are. *Maclean's*, 109, 36-40.
- Maclean's. (1995, December 25). Can Canada survive? An anxious mood. (The 12th year-end poll). *Maclean's*, 108, 14-33.
- Maclean's. (1995, November 6). A house divided: The Quebec referendum. *Maclean's*, 108, 14-23.
- Maclean's. (1995, January 2). Looking inward: Examining the state of the Canadian mind (the Maclean's/CTV poll by Decima). *Maclean's*, 108, 10-31.
- Maclean's. (1994, July 1). The ties that bind (Maclean's/Decima poll: the unity solution) *Maclean's*, 10, 6-44.
- Maclean's. (1994, January 3). How we differ (the 10th annual poll). *Maclean's*, 106, 8-34.
- Maclean's. (1993, January 4). Hope in hard times: Canadians speak out about what they love and hate (The Maclean's /CTV poll by Decima). *Maclean's*, 105, 14-45.
- Maclean's. (1992, January 6). An action plan for Canada (The Maclean's national forum). *Maclean's*, 104, 8-71.
- Maclean's. (1991, July 1). The people's verdict: How Canadians can agree on their future. *Maclean's*, 104, 10-76.
- Maclean's. (1990, June 25). Portrait of two nations. *Maclean's*, 103, 37-88.
- Maclean's. (1989, July 3). Portrait of two nations. *Maclean's*, 102, 123-84.
- MacLennan, J.M. (1999). Language, communication, and the ancient art of rhetoric. In J.M. MacLennan & G.J. Moffatt (Eds.), *Inside language*. Toronto: Prentice Hall Canada.
- MacLennan, J.M. (1998). The nature of rhetoric. On-line. Available URL: <<http://www.engr.usask.ca/dept/techcomm/whatis.htm>>
- MacLennan, J.M. (1993-94). Brian meets Rambo: The American bully in Canadian editorial cartoons on free trade, *Proceedings of the Canadian society for the study of rhetoric V* (1993-94), 111-122.
- Malcolm, A. (1985). *The Canadians*. New York: Times Books.
- Martin, L. (1993). *Pledge of allegiance: The Americanization of Canada in the Mulroney years*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Massey, V., et al. (1951). *Report of the Royal Commission on national development in the arts, letters and sciences*. Ottawa, ON: King's Printer.
- Matthews, R. (1988). *Canadian identity*. Ottawa, ON: Steel Rail Publishing.
- McLuhan, M. (1977). Canada: the borderline case. In D. Stains (Ed.), *The Canadian imagination* (pp. 226-248). Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Media Awareness Network. (1998). Summary of recommendations (abridged). Royal Commission on national development in the arts, letters and sciences (1951). On-line. Available URL: <<http://www.media-awareness.ca/eng/issues/cultural/resource/recsmass.htm>> (Accessed 9 December 1998).

- Meisel, J. (1986). Escaping extinction: Cultural defense of an undefended border. In D.H. Flaherty & W.R. McKercher (Eds.), *Southern Exposure*. (pp. 152-68). Scarborough: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.
- Mowat, F. (1985). *My discovery of America*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Nash, K. (1991). *Visions of Canada: Searching for our future*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- National Communication Association (1999). About NCA. On-line. Available URL: <http://www.natcom.org/aboutNCA/about_NCA.htm> (Accessed 20 January 2000).
- National Communication Association (1996). [formerly Speech Communication Association]. *Pathways to careers in communication*. Annandale, VA: NCA
- Newman, P.C. (1995, June 12). Will Canada survive a post-national world? *Maclean's*, 108, 40.
- Newman, P.C. (1988). *Sometimes a great nation: Will Canada belong to the 21st century?* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Newsroom notes (1999, May 10). Two tragedies. *Maclean's*, 112, 4.
- Osborn, M. & Ehninger, D. (1962). The metaphor in public address. *Speech Monographs* 29, 223-234.
- Phillips, A. (1999a, May 10). The world of guns and doom. *Maclean's*, 112, 24.
- Phillips, A. (1999b, May 3). Lessons of Littleton. *Maclean's* 112, 18-23.
- Perelman, C. & Olbrechts-Tyteca, L. (1971). *The new rhetoric: A treatise on argumentation*. Translated by Wilkinson, J. & Weaver, P. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Redekop, J.H. (Ed.). (1971). *The Star-spangled beaver: 24 Canadians look south*. Toronto: Peter Martin.
- Richler, M. (1992). *Oh Canada! Oh Quebec! Requiem for a divided country*. Toronto: Penguin.
- Rohmer, R. (1976). *Separation*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Rolls, J.A. (1998, July). An experiential learning lab approach to teaching the basic course: A description. *Communication Education*, 47.
- Rosenblum, S. & Findlay, P. (Eds.). (1991). *Debating Canada's future*. Toronto: James Lorimer.
- Simpson, J. (1993). *Faultlines: Struggling for a Canadian vision*. Toronto: HarperCollins.
- Smith, D. (1985). Nationalism. *The Canadian encyclopedia* Vol. II (pp. 199-200). Edmonton, AB: Hurtig.
- Smith, D.K. (1954). Origin and development of departments of speech. In K.R. Wallace (Ed.), *History of speech education in America*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Statistics Canada (1998). Crimes by type of offense. On-line. Available URL: <<http://www.statcan.ca/english/Pgdb/State/Justice/legal02.htm>>.
- Stevens, G. (1993, June 7). Life in the land of the smoking guns. *Maclean's*, 106, 60.
- Talman, J.J. (1959). *Basic documents in Canadian history*. Toronto: Van Nostrand.
- Taras, D., Rasporich, B. & Mandel, E., (Eds.). (1993). *A passion for identity*. Toronto: Nelson.
- Urquhart, B.L. (1999, April). Where do we go from here? Canadian programmes in rhetoric and communication. Paper presented to the Conference of the Northwest Communication Association, Coeur D'Alene, ID.
- U.S. Department of Justice. (1998, November 22). Homicide rates from the vital statistics. On-line. Available URL: <<http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/glance/hmrt.txt>>.
- Walsh, M. (1993). *A hymn to Canada: 1993 Spry lecture*. Montreal: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.
- Weaver, R.K. (Ed.). (1992). *The collapse of Canada?* Washington, DC: The Brookings Institute.

Zarefsky, D. & MacLennan, J.M. (1997). *Public speaking: Strategies for success*. Canadian ed., Scarborough, ON: Allyn & Bacon Canada.

Zarefsky, D. (1996). *Public speaking: Strategies for success*. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

JENNIFER MACLENNAN is the D.K. Seaman Chair in Technical and Professional Communication in the College of Engineering, University of Saskatchewan. She holds a Ph.D. in communication from the University of Washington, specializing in rhetoric, as well as degrees in English from McMaster and St. Francis Xavier Universities.

JENNIFER MACLENNAN est titulaire de la chaire D.K. Seaman de communication technique et professionnelle à la faculté de génie de l'Université de Saskatchewan. Elle est titulaire d'un doctorat en communication, avec spécialisation en rhétorique, de l'Université de Washington, et de grades universitaires en anglais des Universités McMaster et St. Francis Xavier.

L'EXPERTISE D'UN ENSEIGNANT ASSOCIÉ

PIERRE BOUDREAU *Université d'Ottawa*

RÉSUMÉ. L'enseignant d'école élémentaire ou secondaire qui reçoit un futur enseignant lors de son stage de formation joue un rôle crucial: le rôle d'enseignant associé. Qu'est-ce qui caractérise un enseignant associé expert? C'est la question qui a été posée à plus de 60 enseignants de niveau élémentaire et secondaire. La technique de groupe nominal utilisée pour recueillir leurs réponses a permis de faire ressortir 4 domaines de l'expertise d'un enseignant associé et l'importance relative de chacun de ces domaines.

ABSTRACT. Elementary and secondary school teachers play a crucial role in the practicum of a preservice teacher: the role of associate teacher. What are the characteristics of an expert associate teacher? This was the question asked to more than 60 school teachers. Using the nominal group technique to collect their answers, four domains of this expertise were identified as well as the relative importance of each of these domains.

Les stages pratiques dans une école prennent de plus en plus d'importance dans les différents programmes de formation à l'enseignement. Au Québec, plus de 700 heures sont consacrées à ces stages pendant les 4 années de formation. En Angleterre, des étudiants en formation passent les deux tiers de l'année de formation dans une école (Atkinson, 1998). Certains programmes américains remplacent même l'année de formation par un internat d'un an dans une école (Feiman-Nemser et Buchmann, 1985).

Dans un tel contexte, la personne qui supervise le futur enseignant prend une importance capitale. C'est cette personne, souvent appelée enseignant associé (EA), qui prend le rôle de formateur d'enseignant dans un milieu perçu par le futur enseignant comme étant le plus pertinent à son apprentissage: la salle de classe.

Devant la grande importance du rôle d'EA, il apparaît pertinent de poser la question suivante: qu'est-ce qui caractérise un EA expert? L'étude qui suit présente une réponse à cette question à partir du point de vue des personnes qui jouent ce rôle, des enseignants.

PROBLÉMATIQUE

Les rôles et fonctions d'un enseignant associé

Le stage de pratique à l'enseignement constitue un moment important dans la formation initiale d'un futur enseignant. Lors de ce stage pratique, le futur enseignant est placé dans une école et assume graduellement les responsabilités complètes normalement dévolues à un enseignant. Cette portion du programme de formation initiale est dirigée par un enseignant d'école primaire ou secondaire désigné très souvent sous le vocable d'enseignant associé (EA). S'il y a consensus sur l'importance du rôle de cet EA dans le succès du stage, plusieurs recherches révèlent qu'il est loin d'y avoir consensus sur des façons de remplir ce rôle pour favoriser les apprentissages des futurs enseignants.

Récemment, en analysant des journaux personnels tenus par des EA, Koerner (1992) a constaté que, lors d'un stage, la relation personnelle entre l'EA et le stagiaire est cruciale. Ces EA considèrent qu'il est vital d'établir une communication susceptible de développer, d'entretenir et de consolider une relation harmonieuse avec le stagiaire. Les résultats de cette étude montrent également que les EA considèrent la communication ou l'échange avec l'université comme un aspect important de leur rôle et qu'il y a de sérieuses lacunes sur cet aspect. Selon cette étude, la réussite d'un stage serait donc en partie fonction du type de relation établi entre l'EA et le stagiaire.

Dans une étude antérieure à celle de Koerner, Grimmer, et Ratzlaff (1986) présentent les perceptions d'EA, de stagiaires et de superviseurs de l'université sur les fonctions d'un EA. Ces perceptions ont également fait l'objet d'une comparaison. Les résultats révèlent des similitudes de perceptions des trois catégories de répondants, quant aux fonctions à assumer par l'EA. Ces fonctions similaires sont les suivantes: l'orientation et l'intégration du stagiaire au milieu scolaire, la planification du stage, l'aide offerte au stagiaire quant à sa planification des activités d'apprentissage, la répartition des périodes d'échange, l'évaluation du progrès du stagiaire et l'invitation du stagiaire aux réunions du personnels de l'établissement. Cette étude présente un large éventail de fonctions et d'actions à réaliser de la part de l'EA pour assurer le succès du stage.

L'utilisation de la technique des incidents critiques auprès de stagiaires, a permis à Copas (1984) d'établir une liste de comportements à adopter pour remplir le rôle d'EA. Selon les stagiaires, treize comportements ont un impact sur leur expérience de stage. Ces comportements ont été regroupés selon qu'ils s'adressent au stagiaire ou aux élèves de la classe. Il est intéressant de noter que les stagiaires estiment que des comportements de l'EA qui ne s'adressent pas directement à eux devraient faire partie du rôle de l'EA. Plus de 70% des comportements qui s'adressent au stagiaire ont été regroupés dans trois sous-catégories à savoir: a) Les comportements d'orientation, b)

les comportements de coopération et c) les comportements de soutien (ou support). Ces résultats obtenus par Copas rejoignent ceux de Koerner quand il est question de comportements de coopération. Ils rejoignent aussi ceux de Grimmer et Ratzlaff quand ils traitent de comportements d'orientation.

Un bilan de ces recherches montre que de nombreuses fonctions et tâches sont attribuées à l'EA et que l'importance accordée à ces fonctions et tâches varie en fonction de la personne questionnée. Ainsi l'EA devrait être un communicateur habile et posséder des qualités personnelles particulières. Il devrait également bien connaître le système scolaire pour pouvoir initier l'enseignant en formation à ce système et être capable d'offrir du feed-back sur une prestation d'enseignement.

L'expertise comme EA et des thèmes similaires dans la littérature

Si les recherches sur les rôles et fonctions des EA sont assez nombreuses, celles qui traitent de l'expertise comme EA sont à toutes fins pratiques inexistantes. Cependant quelques thèmes reliés à l'expertise ont été abordés dans certaines recherches: les comportements d'un EA et la réussite d'un stage, les critères de sélection d'un E.A. et l'efficacité comme mentor.

Barnes et Edwards (1984) ont réalisé une étude sur les liens entre un stage réussi et les comportements de l'EA. Ces auteurs définissent un stage réussi comme un stage où il y a acquisition d'habiletés techniques d'enseignement accompagnée de l'habileté concomitante à juger de l'application appropriée de ces habiletés. Ils ont d'abord identifié des stages réussis pour ensuite tenter de cerner les comportements des EA qui avaient contribué à cette réussite. C'est sur cet aspect de l'identification des comportements efficaces des EA que leur étude se rapproche de la présente étude sur l'expertise d'un EA.

Selon Barnes et Edwards, les EA qui oeuvrent dans des stages réussis diffèrent de ceux qui oeuvrent dans des stages moins réussis par le genre d'interaction qu'ils ont avec leur stagiaire. Dans un stage réussi, l'EA est plus proactif que réactif. Par exemple, il enseigne des techniques de gestion de classe et aide concrètement le stagiaire dans sa planification au lieu d'attendre que les problèmes se produisent. L'EA qui oeuvre dans un stage réussi a aussi tendance à considérer le stagiaire comme un collègue dans ses interactions. Il semble également, selon cette étude, que dans le cas d'un stage réussi, l'EA entre en relation avec le stagiaire de façon positive et utilise souvent une approche de problème à résoudre pour faire progresser le stagiaire.

Blair (1984) a également travaillé sur ce thème des comportements des EA qui réussissent. Il a questionné des EA identifiés comme étant "successful" sur ce qui contribue à leur succès. Les réponses de ces derniers font ressortir que pour réussir un EA doit démontrer des qualités d'enseignant efficace et des qualités spécifiques au travail d'EA. Les qualités d'enseignant efficace seraient des pré-requis au second. De façon plus détaillée, les réponses sur les

qualités spécifiques au travail d'EA ont pu être regroupées en 6 domaines. Un EA qui réussit devrait intervenir dans chacun de ces domaines: la prise de conscience sur le rôle d'enseignant, les relations humaines, la gestion et l'organisation, l'induction graduelle, l'enseignement différencié, l'évaluation et l'analyse de l'enseignement. Cette étude de Blair a utilisé des perceptions d'EA alors que celle de Barnes et Edwards a utilisé des descriptions de comportements d'EA et de stagiaires. Cette dernière étude a aussi tenté d'établir un lien entre ces comportements d'EA et la réussite du stage ce que l'étude de Blair n'a pas fait.

Des études et certains organismes ont abordé un autre thème associé à l'expertise, soit les critères de sélection des EA. Le fait de mettre de l'avant certains critères pour remplir le rôle d'EA signifie que les personnes appelées à jouer ce rôle doivent posséder certaines caractéristiques qui les distinguent et qui, sans en faire des experts, contribuent à l'efficacité du stage.

Le Ministère de L'Éducation du Québec (1992) propose un certain nombre de critères de sélection d'un EA: posséder un brevet d'enseignement et 5 ans d'expérience dans l'enseignement, posséder des compétences reconnues en pédagogie et dans les contenus à enseigner, être capable d'observer, d'analyser et de réfléchir de façon critique sont parmi ces critères. Sparks (1987), sans parler spécifiquement de critères de sélection, affirme qu'il faut rechercher certaines caractéristiques précises chez les enseignants qui veulent jouer le rôle d'EA. Ces enseignants devraient être capables de comprendre et d'expliquer le programme de formation, être en situation de développement professionnel, avoir une personnalité autonome, participer de façon volontaire à des activités de l'école, être bien organisés pour les stagiaires, pouvoir exprimer une opinion articulée sur la formation à l'enseignement et pouvoir spécifier cinq comportements attendus du stagiaire.

Un autre thème apparenté à l'expertise comme EA est l'efficacité comme mentor. Certains auteurs utilisent ce terme pour désigner le rôle d'EA. Enz et Cook (1992) affirment que les EA doivent démontrer les compétences de mentor efficace. Entre autre, les EA devraient démontrer la capacité de faire preuve d'écoute active, être sensible aux opinions des autres, saisir l'aspect compréhensif du rôle de mentor et offrir du feedback de façon à encourager le stagiaire. Leur étude a également fait émerger que les EA et les stagiaires questionnés considèrent l'intervention sur l'enseignement comme l'aspect le plus important du rôle de l'EA. L'intervention sur l'enseignement englobe l'observation et le feedback sur l'enseignement du stagiaire et le partage de matériel pédagogique. L'EA devrait aussi guider le stagiaire en salle de classe. Bercik (1991) mentionne de son côté que les mentors efficaces interviennent dans 3 domaines: guide pour le stagiaire en salle de classe, soutien émotionnel et aspects pratiques de l'enseignement.

À propos de la pertinence d'étudier l'expertise comme EA

Il n'existe donc que quelques recherches faisant état de comportements, connaissance et attitudes démontrées par des EA dans des stages réussis, donc d'EA efficaces. L'expertise comme EA n'a fait l'objet d'aucune recherche systématique. Il serait fort pertinent d'explorer ce domaine de recherche. De telles études permettraient d'offrir des modèles aux enseignants qui jouent le rôle d'EA. Elles contribueraient également à orienter les contenus des programmes de formation à la supervision offerts aux EA et devenus si populaires au cours des dernières années (Guyton et McIntyre, 1990).

Il semble justifié d'étudier l'expertise comme EA par le biais des conceptions des enseignants appelés à jouer ce rôle. Ce sont précisément ces enseignants qui concrétisent ce rôle pendant un stage et qui décident des actions à poser pour faire progresser le stagiaire. Ils sont donc les acteurs principaux. Leurs actions sont cependant guidées par leur conception, plus ou moins articulée et plus ou moins consciente du rôle. La présente recherche utilisera donc les conceptions des enseignants pour tenter de définir l'expertise d'un EA.

BUT DE LA RECHERCHE

Le but de cette recherche est de déterminer quelles sont les caractéristiques d'un EA expert, à partir du point de vue d'enseignants qui jouent ce rôle. La recherche permettra également de connaître l'importance relative de chacune de ces caractéristiques.

MÉTHODOLOGIE

Collecte des données

Les données de cette recherche ont été recueillies à l'aide de la technique de groupe nominal (Delbeck, Van de Ven, et Gustafson, 1975; Ouellet, 1987).

Cette technique structurée de prélèvements des perceptions se déroule comme suit:

1. Réponse individuelle: chaque participant écrit individuellement ses réponses à la question posée.
2. Cueillette des réponses à la ronde: chaque participant, à tour de rôle, énonce une réponse, qui est écrite à la vue de tous les participants. Cette cueillette à la ronde se continue jusqu'à ce que toutes les réponses aient été énoncées et écrites. Les participants énoncent ici leurs réponses personnelles mais il n'y a aucune discussion de la pertinence de certaines réponses. Cette absence de discussion permet à chaque participant de **réellement** présenter ses réponses personnelles à la question posée, sans avoir à les justifier.
3. Clarification des réponses: chacun des énoncés est passé en revue de façon à le préciser et pour éliminer les énoncés similaires. Ici la discussion porte

sur la clarté de l'énoncé et non sur sa pertinence; il faut s'assurer que chaque énoncé est le plus univoque possible dans l'esprit de tous les participants.

4. Vote préliminaire: chaque participant choisit les énoncés auxquels il accorde le plus d'importance. Comme le nombre d'énoncés total pour toutes les rencontres était supérieur à 22, chaque participant en choisissait 9 et les plaçait en ordre d'importance en accordant le pointage de 9 à l'énoncé le plus important et 1 à l'énoncé le moins important parmi les 9 choisis. Cette étape se déroule par écrit et en secret.

L'animateur compile les votes et présente au groupe les énoncés retenus, le pointage et le rang de chacun de ces énoncés. Le groupe est alors invité à discuter les résultats. Si ces derniers semblent refléter l'opinion de l'ensemble du groupe, la rencontre se termine à cette étape. S'il semble y avoir des incohérences, les énoncés sont à nouveau discutés et clarifiés et il y a ensuite un nouveau vote.

Comme toute technique de collecte de données de recherche, cette technique offre des avantages et certaines limites qu'il est essentiel de présenter ici.

La technique de groupe nominal permet à tous les participants du groupe de s'exprimer alors que dans certaines discussions des personnes ont parfois tendance à monopoliser la parole pour tenter d'influencer les autres participants. De plus, l'étape du vote préliminaire secret et par écrit permet à chaque participant de s'exprimer personnellement et sans la pression du groupe. Cette technique permet également de rester centré sur une question. Enfin cette technique se conclut par l'établissement d'une liste de réponses qui correspond à l'ordre de préférence des membres du groupe. Cet ordre de préférence donne des indications intéressantes sur l'importance accordée par les répondants à certaines des réponses fournies.

Une des limites de la technique, pour certaines personnes, est la discipline exigée pour y participer. Il va sans dire que les personnes habituées à exposer leurs points de vue avec de longues justifications et force détails pourraient se sentir brimées. De plus, les personnes peu habituées à donner de courtes réponses spécifiques à une question pourraient trouver la rencontre désagréable.

La question posée aux participants de cette étude était la suivante: quelles sont, selon vous, les connaissances, habiletés et/ou attitudes que devrait posséder un enseignant associé expert?

Participants

Cinq rencontres de technique de groupe nominal se sont tenues. Un total de 68 enseignants ont participé à l'une ou l'autre de ces rencontres. Le nombre de participants par rencontre a varié de 9 à 19. Tous ces enseignants étaient

inscrits à un cours crédité portant sur la supervision de stagiaires. La technique de groupe nominal s'est déroulée lors de la première rencontre de ce cours.

Des 68 participants, 22% enseignaient au secondaire (7e à 13e) et 68% au primaire (maternelle à 6e). L'expérience en enseignement de ces 68 enseignants variait de 2 à 31 ans: plus de 50% avaient entre 2 et 10 ans d'expérience, environ 25% ont entre 10 et 20 ans d'expérience et l'autre 25 % entre 21 et 31 ans d'expérience.

L'expérience des participants comme EA variait de 0 à 15 ans: un peu plus de 40% n'avait aucune expérience, un autre 40% avait entre 1 et 5 ans d'expérience et près de 20% entre 6 et 10 ans.

Les enseignants s'inscrivaient volontairement à ce cours universitaire qui leur permettait d'accumuler des crédits pour changer de catégorie salariale. La majorité des enseignants qui n'avaient aucune expérience comme EA mentionnaient s'être inscrits pour mieux connaître leur rôle précis dans le cadre de cette supervision d'un stagiaire. Ils manifestaient également une certaine crainte face à l'évaluation de stagiaires qu'ils auraient à réaliser, se sentant démunis face à cet aspect du rôle de superviseur.

Analyse des données

L'analyse des données a été réalisée en se basant sur les étapes d'une analyse de contenu proposée par l'Écuyer (1987). Ces étapes sont les suivantes: lecture de l'ensemble des énoncés et regroupement des énoncés présentant des similarités, choix de titres préliminaires pour caractériser les regroupements d'énoncés, discussion-échange entre deux analystes sur les regroupements et les titres, élaboration de regroupements et de titres définitifs. Les regroupements constituent ce qui sera appelé un domaine d'expertise.

Les deux personnes impliquées dans cette analyse ont réalisé un test de fidélité inter analyste sur les regroupements définitifs élaborés. Vingt énoncés mis de côté au début de l'analyse ont été catégorisés individuellement par chaque personne: 16 de ces 20 énoncés ont été classés dans le même regroupement par les deux analystes, pour un coefficient de fidélité inter analyste de 80%.

Une sixième rencontre de groupe nominal a été réalisée après les cinq autres et servait à s'assurer de la saturation des données (Miles et Huberman, 1994). Un seul des 33 énoncés recueillis lors de cette rencontre n'était pas apparu dans les cinq rencontres précédentes. Ceci permet d'affirmer que la tenue d'autres rencontres n'aurait pas apporté de données fort différentes de celles présentées et que ces dernières respectent le critère de saturation.

Le produit final de chaque rencontre de technique de groupe nominal était une liste d'énoncés mis en ordre de priorité par les participants. Près de 200 énoncés ont été recueillis au cours des cinq rencontres. Les dix premiers

énoncés retenus pour chaque rencontre ont été compilés. Chacun de ces énoncés a été lu attentivement et classifié dans le domaine approprié. Cette classification a permis de placer en ordre de priorité les domaines d'expertise définis précédemment.

RÉSULTATS

La figure 1 présente les domaines d'expertise d'un EA qui ont émergé des données de la recherche. En se basant sur les réponses des enseignants, l'expertise d'un EA se caractérise par des connaissances, habiletés ou attitudes dans 4 domaines: le professionnalisme en enseignement, les qualités personnelles, la supervision du stage, le dévouement envers l'enseignement et les élèves.

Les énoncés suivants des répondants illustrent la catégorie "professionnalisme en enseignement": "le respect de l'éthique enseignante; entretenir des relations avec tous les autres intervenants de l'école; connaître les programmes scolaires". Les énoncés "être authentique; bon motivateur; être accueillant" représentent bien la catégorie "qualités personnelles". Parmi les énoncés de la catégorie "supervision de stage", les suivants sont ressortis: "accueillir le stagiaire chaleureusement; offrir du feedback positif et constructif; amener le stagiaire à s'auto-analyser". Enfin, la dernière catégorie "dévouement envers l'enseignement et les élèves" est illustrée par les énoncés suivants: "aimer son métier d'enseignant; aimer les jeunes; aimer ses propres élèves."

Près de la moitié (50%) des énoncés recueillis avaient trait à la supervision de stage alors qu'environ le quart (25%) portait sur des qualités personnelles et l'autre quart (25%) sur le professionnalisme en enseignement. Il est apparu important de créer un domaine appelé "Dévouement envers l'enseignement et les élèves" et ce malgré le petit nombre d'énoncés s'y rattachant. En effet, les énoncés "Aimer l'enseignement" et "Aimer mes jeunes... mes propres élèves" ne pouvaient être classés dans les domaines identifiés plus haut et sont apparus dans trois des cinq rencontres. De plus, ces énoncés ont pris une certaine importance quand est venu le temps de mettre en ordre de priorité l'ensemble des énoncés d'une rencontre.

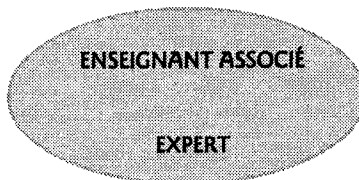
Des sous-catégories ont été élaborées pour trois des quatre domaines présentés. Parmi ces sous-catégories présentées à la figure 1, plusieurs traitent des habiletés et connaissances visant à établir des relations harmonieuses avec diverses personnes, soit le stagiaire, les élèves ou les autres personnes impliquées dans une école. Il est aussi intéressant de noter que l'expérience en enseignement n'apparaît pas dans ces sous-catégories.

Une lecture attentive des données a permis de constater que certains énoncés ont été répétés d'une rencontre à l'autre, parfois dans des mots très similaires. "Avoir le sens de l'humour/la capacité de rire de soi" est apparu à chacune

FIGURE 1. Les domaines d'expertise d'un enseignant associé

UN ENSEIGNANT PROFESSIONNEL / 27%

- Habiletés et connaissance en enseignement
- Implication dans la vie de l'école
- Relation avec autres intervenants
- Respect de l'éthique



DES QUALITÉS PERSONNELLES / 25%

- Sens de l'humour
- Interaction
- Flexibilité

UN SUPERVISEUR DU STAGE / 45%

- Création d'une relation positive avec le stagiaire
- Observation et évaluation du stagiaire
- Communication avec le stagiaire
- Ouverture aux suggestions du stagiaire
- Intervention au moment approprié dans la leçon

UNE VOCATION

D'ENSEIGNANT / 3%

des 5 rencontres, de même que "Disponibilité/avoir du temps à consacrer au stagiaire". Un énoncé sur la connaissance du programme à enseigner est revenu à 4 reprises. Enfin 6 énoncés ont été mentionnés à trois reprises: "Accepter de transférer le contrôle de la classe au stagiaire", "Avoir les sens de l'observation", "Structuré/organisé", "Compétent dans la langue orale et écrite", "Être conscient de mes automatismes comme enseignant", "Aimer le métier d'enseignant". Cette émergence d'énoncés similaires lors de rencontres différentes porte à penser que des enseignants ont des conceptions assez semblables des caractéristiques d'un EA expert.

L'ensemble des énoncés a servi à élaborer les domaines d'expertise d'un EA. La mise en ordre de priorité des énoncés faite par les enseignants permet de voir l'importance relative qu'ils accordent à chacun des énoncés et par le fait même à chacun des domaines. Le tableau 1 présente cette importance relative.

Ce tableau montre que l'ordre de priorité des domaines est le même, peu importe que l'on considère les cinq ou les dix premiers énoncés: la supervision de stage, les qualités personnelles, le professionnalisme en enseignement et le dévouement envers l'enseignement et les élèves. Ce tableau montre également que les qualités personnelles sont pratiquement aussi importantes que les connaissances et habiletés en supervision de stage pour un EA expert. Cette observation n'apparaissait pas dans la compilation de l'ensemble des énoncés. L'écart entre ces deux domaines était très grand en termes de

TABLEAU 1. L'importance relative des domaines d'expertise d'un EA

DOMAINE	NOMBRE D'ÉNONCÉS DANS LES 5 PREMIERS	%	NOMBRE D'ÉNONCÉS DANS LES 10 PREMIERS	%
La supervision du Stage	9	36%	18	36%
Des qualités Personnelles	8	32%	16	32%
Un enseignant Professionnel	5	20%	12	24%
Une vocation d'enseignant	3	12%	4	8%
TOTAL	25	100%	50	100%

fréquence d'énoncés, soit 25% comparé à 45%. Il semble donc qu'il soit tout aussi important, pour être un EA expert, de posséder des qualités personnelles que des habiletés et connaissances en supervision de stage.

Des habiletés à communiquer et à échanger reviennent constamment parmi les énoncés les plus importants pour les participants à la recherche: "Bonne communication/exprimer et recevoir," "Manifester une capacité d'écoute, d'observation et d'analyse," "Offrir des critiques constructives au stagiaire," "S'exprimer clairement dans les échanges avec tous les intervenants." Un EA expert doit aussi être capable de créer un climat positif et chaleureux dans la supervision du stagiaire: "Établir une relation, un climat humain," "Accueillir le stagiaire chaleureusement" sont des énoncés retenus parmi les plus importants.

Le domaine du dévouement envers l'enseignement et les élèves ne représente que 3% de l'ensemble des énoncés en terme de fréquence. Malgré ce nombre minime, trois des énoncés de ce domaine sont apparus parmi les cinq premiers quand est venu le temps de la mise en ordre de priorité. Dans un groupe, l'énoncé "Aimer son métier d'enseignant" a été choisi au premier rang par l'ensemble des enseignants de ce groupe. Dans un autre groupe, les énoncés "Aimer le métier d'enseignant" et "Aimer les jeunes/mes propres élèves" occupaient la troisième et la cinquième position.

DISCUSSION

L'image d'un EA expert qui ressort de l'étude est celle d'un enseignant efficace, sans nécessairement faire ici référence à l'efficacité en terme d'expérience en enseignement. Cet enseignant efficace démontre qu'il possède "la vocation de l'enseignement": il s'implique dans son école et il aime son métier et les jeunes. Cet EA expert fait montre de nombreuses qualités personnelles qu'il utilise pour entrer en relation avec le stagiaire et pour réaliser la supervision de ce stagiaire. Il s'agit là d'une image globale difficile à séparer en habiletés isolées. En effet, un grand nombre d'enseignants consultés pour l'étude ont mentionné la difficulté de choisir parmi les énoncés pour les mettre en ordre de priorité. Tous les énoncés leur semblaient importants et leurs commentaires informels étaient souvent à l'effet qu'il est "difficile de décortiquer."

La relation et les qualités personnelles

L'importance relative des domaines porte à penser que l'EA expert se reconnaît d'abord à ses qualités personnelles et à ses habiletés de communication. L'expertise dans ce domaine se caractériserait donc par des attitudes plus que par des savoir-faire liés à l'encadrement du stagiaire. Un grand nombre de ces attitudes sont intrinsèques à la personne qui prend le rôle d'EA et ne sont pas en lien direct avec la réalisation concrète du rôle. Même lorsqu'il est question du domaine de la supervision du stage, les énoncés retenus comme importants font souvent référence à la capacité de l'EA expert à communiquer, à échanger, et à entrer en relation avec le stagiaire. Organiser des activités d'apprentissage pour le stagiaire, observer son enseignement et lui offrir du feedback sur cet enseignement sont des comportements qui n'apparaissent pas dans parmi les énoncés prioritaires. L'EA expert serait centré d'abord sur une relation avec une personne avant d'intervenir dans l'apprentissage de l'enseignement.

Certaines études et recherches ont fait ressortir cette habileté à communiquer et à établir une relation harmonieuse avec le stagiaire comme facteur de réussite d'un stage. Enz et Cook (1992) parlent d'un mentor efficace en mentionnant que les EA devraient faire preuve d'écoute active et être sensibles aux opinions des autres. Dans le même ordre d'idée, Bercik (1991) affirme que les EA efficaces interviennent dans 3 domaines, dont un domaine intitulé "soutien émotionnel." Koerner (1992) a constaté pour sa part que la relation personnelle entre l'EA et le stagiaire est d'une extrême importance, selon les EA participants à son étude. Les résultats présentés ici viennent renforcer l'importance des habiletés de communication. Il est même possible d'affirmer qu'il s'agit là d'habiletés et d'attitudes primordiales pour un EA expert.

Ces résultats ne devraient pas étonner quiconque côtoie ou a déjà côtoyé régulièrement des enseignants. Un enseignant est en situation de relation et de communication continues avec ses élèves (Perrenoud, 1994). Il organise et structure ces relations pour faire apprendre ces derniers. Lortie (1975) mentionne que les enseignants utilisent, parmi certains critères, un critère qui a trait à la qualité de leurs relations avec les élèves pour juger de leur réussite. Il affirme aussi que les enseignants sont attirés vers cette profession parce qu'ils ont le désir de travailler avec des personnes, des enfants ou des adolescents. Il est par conséquent tout à fait logique qu'ils perçoivent l'expertise comme EA à travers la lunette de la communication, de la relation avec une personne, quand ils sont questionnés spontanément et de façon ouverte. Cette communication fait partie intégrale de leur vie quotidienne d'enseignant.

Cet accent mis sur la relation harmonieuse avec une personne comme élément de l'expertise d'un EA pourrait aussi être en partie la préoccupation des enseignants qui n'ont aucune expérience comme EA. Même si les énoncés des participants ne peuvent être classés en fonction de leur expérience comme EA, cette explication semble plausible. Lors d'une discussion après une rencontre, un participant affirmait: "On s'est fié à notre expérience de stagiaire pour répondre". Cette expérience s'est fort probablement déroulée dans un climat agréable et valorisant où la relation avec l'EA était facile. Cette expérience agréable pourrait alors avoir orienté leurs réponses à la question posée lors de la technique de groupe nominal et ainsi expliquer, en partie, la grande importance accordée à cet élément.

La vocation d'enseignant

Le dévouement envers l'enseignement et les élèves comme domaine d'expertise d'un EA n'apparaît pas dans la littérature recensée sur les EA efficaces. Les répondants de cette étude définissent l'EA expert comme un enseignant dévoué corps et âme à sa profession. L'EA expert doit "avoir la vocation" d'enseignant. Il est fort plausible de penser que, pour les répondants, cet enseignant qui a la vocation offrira un modèle positif qui orientera le stagiaire.

Certaines recherches sur le rôle des EA présentent des résultats qui s'apparentent à la notion de modèle. Blair (1984) rapporte que l'EA qui réussit doit faire prendre conscience au stagiaire de l'ensemble du rôle d'enseignant. Sparks (1987) affirme qu'un enseignant qui veut devenir EA doit être en situation de développement professionnel, avoir une personnalité autonome et participer de façon volontaire à des activités de l'école. Ces caractéristiques ne sont cependant pas aussi fortes, affectivement, que les énoncés recueillis ici sur l'amour du métier et des élèves. Le mot "expert" utilisé dans la question de la technique de groupe nominal explique fort probablement ces réponses de type affectif.

L'enseignant professionnel

Les résultats présentés ici font du professionnalisme en enseignement un domaine d'expertise de l'EA. Ce domaine englobe des connaissances et habiletés d'enseignant efficace de même que des comportements et attitudes que devrait démontrer un enseignant professionnel. Ce domaine représente ce qui pourrait être appelé "le contenu" à maîtriser par un stagiaire et à faire maîtriser par l'EA expert. La similitude entre ce domaine du professionnalisme et les connaissances du contenu, identifiées par Berliner (1986) comme une catégorie de connaissances d'un enseignant expert, est très évidente. Les répondants de la présente étude définissent l'EA expert comme une personne qui connaît son contenu, dans ce cas-ci l'enseignement. Les répondants ne parlent cependant pas de l'autre catégorie de contenu qui caractérise un enseignant expert "la connaissance de la gestion et l'organisation d'une classe", identifiée par Berliner (1986). Dans le cas d'un stage, il aurait été question de "connaissance de la gestion et de l'organisation d'un stage".

La supervision du stage

Le domaine de la supervision du stage fait également partie des attributs d'un EA expert mais il est intéressant de faire remarquer que des énoncés de ce domaine sont assez similaires à certaines qualités personnelles. Ainsi dans ce domaine se retrouvent des énoncés tel que "accueillir chaleureusement le stagiaire.", "établir une relation humaine avec le stagiaire," "écouter le besoin du stagiaire." Ces énoncés ne se distinguent des énoncés dans le domaine qualités personnelles que par le fait qu'ils ont trait spécifiquement au processus de supervision du stagiaire. Ce domaine inclut aussi des énoncés ayant trait à l'observation et à l'évaluation du stagiaire de même qu'au feedback à lui offrir. Aucun de ces derniers ne se retrouvent cependant dans les cinq premiers.

L'expertise: une question de personnalité

L'expertise comme EA est largement définie dans la recherche présentée ici en fonction de ce que Brunelle et al (1988) qualifie de "variables de présage" dans le cadre d'une intervention pédagogique: "Les variables de présage correspondent à diverses caractéristiques de l'intervenant et des participants, retenues en raison de leur influence possible sur le processus d'interaction. . ." (p.25). De plus, dans le domaine de la supervision du stagiaire, les énoncés retenus lors du vote sont des caractéristiques de l'enseignant en lien avec la mise en place d'une communication et d'une relation harmonieuse avec le stagiaire. Les énoncés portant sur les habiletés de l'EA expert à faire maîtriser un "contenu" (les connaissances, habiletés et attitudes d'un enseignant professionnel) ont été délaissées. En d'autres mots, l'EA expert possède d'abord et avant tout des qualités personnelles et professionnelles. L'importance des habiletés d'interaction axées sur le contenu à maîtriser serait marginale.

Les résultats présentés ici ne vont pas dans le sens des travaux de Berliner (1986) sur l'enseignant expert. L'enseignant expert se caractérise plutôt par sa connaissance du contenu de même que de l'organisation et de la gestion d'une classe que par ses traits de personnalité. Cet expert est capable d'intégrer ses connaissances pour résoudre des problèmes d'ordre pratique dans sa salle de classe. Il ne semble pas que cette capacité d'intégration soit une habileté essentielle d'un EA expert.

Les résultats de Blair (1984) et de Barnes et Edwards (1983) ne vont pas non plus dans le sens des réponses obtenues dans la présente recherche. Les réponses des EA questionnés par Blair l'ont amené à définir 6 domaines d'intervention pour un EA qui réussit. Les qualités d'enseignant efficace sont considérées comme des pré-requis à ces interventions, non pas des qualités d'un EA efficace. Enfin Barnes et Edwards (1983) parlent d'intervention de l'EA dans un stage réussi. Ainsi l'EA enseigne explicitement de façon proactive des techniques de gestion et aide concrètement le stagiaire dans sa planification au lieu d'attendre que les problèmes se produisent. L'ensemble de ces résultats fait référence beaucoup plus à des habiletés à faire apprendre, maîtriser un contenu qu'à des variables de présage telles que des attitudes ou qualités personnelles d'un expert ou d'un EA qui réussit. Comment interpréter ces nuances entre les réponses obtenues dans la recherche présente et l'ensemble des résultats cités?

Le mot "expert" utilisé dans la question de recherche explique en partie ces différences. Les enseignants questionnés identifiaient des caractéristiques d'un EA hors du commun, en fait idéal. Ils ont alors utilisé comme point de référence ce qu'ils connaissaient le mieux; leur définition d'un enseignant expert en prenant pour acquis que ce modèle transmettrait, pratiquement par osmose, ses connaissances, attitudes et habiletés. De plus, les enseignants considèrent très généralement que l'enseignement est affaire de personnalité ("Le stage doit permettre au futur enseignant de développer son style") et ne s'apprend pas nécessairement. Il n'est alors pas essentiel, pour eux, que l'EA expert fasse preuve d'habileté d'interaction très élaborées axées sur le contenu à maîtriser.

Lessard et Bourdoncle (1998) affirment que les savoirs pratiques d'un enseignant appartiennent à une sphère privée. Il a construit, parfois difficilement, ces savoirs au fil de ses nombreuses expériences concrètes. Il serait alors pour lui tout à fait de mise que le futur enseignant fasse de même. Cette idée viendrait-elle teinter la façon de jouer le rôle d'EA? Partagerait-il seulement quelques trucs élémentaires sans transmettre de façon plus approfondie ces savoirs pratiques? Il ne serait alors pas nécessaire que l'EA interagisse sur le contenu à maîtriser car ce contenu serait d'ordre privé et même idiosyncrasique.

Lessard et Bourdoncle traitent également de la formalisation des savoirs pratiques et d'expérience des EA. Ils affirment "Cette démarche (de formalisation) restera en partie incomplète, car il y a dans l'enseignement une part d'indéterminé et d'indéterminable qui échappe à la mesure scientifique et qui renvoie aux caractéristiques particulières et à l'évolution d'une personne interagissant quotidiennement avec autres." (p.31) En mettant l'accent sur les qualités personnelles et professionnelles de même que sur des habiletés de communication pour définir un EA expert, les enseignants questionnés dans la présente recherche ne confirment-ils pas cette part indéterminée et indéterminable de l'enseignement? Il serait peut-être plus juste d'affirmer ici que les répondants considèrent que la **plus grande** part de l'enseignement est indéterminée et indéterminable. L'importance secondaire accordée aux habiletés d'interaction axées sur le contenu pour un EA expert vient renforcer cette interprétation.

La personnalité et l'habileté à transmettre

Pour Lessard et Bourdoncle, "Être des professionnels de la formation c'est être dépositaires et producteurs de savoirs théoriques et procéduraux de nature à structurer et à nourrir une formation professionnelle à la fois pertinente et humaine." (p.28) Tout en affirmant la présence d'une part d'indéterminé dans l'enseignement, Lessard et Bourdoncle affirment qu'il peut y avoir transmission de savoirs accumulés qu'ils soient théoriques ou procéduraux, dans une formation professionnelle moderne. Cette capacité de transmission de savoirs n'apparaît pas dans les résultats présentés, comme une des caractéristiques d'un EA expert. L'EA expert n'aurait, comme tâche principale, qu'à créer un environnement approprié pour permettre au stagiaire de se développer, de s'essayer, de pratiquer à enseigner. Ce dernier apprendra ainsi à enseigner. Cette conception de l'apprentissage de l'enseignement ressemble beaucoup à ce que Tardif et Lévesque (1998) appellent "l'épistémologie de la pratique" qui laisse entendre que la réalisation de l'activité professionnelle permet l'acquisition de la compétence. Ces auteurs réfutent cette épistémologie

Ces derniers affirment que cette activité professionnelle nommée "conscience pratique" (ce qu'un acteur sait faire) est distincte de la "conscience discursive" (ce qu'un acteur sait dire de ce qu'il sait faire). Or dans une formation professionnelle institutionnalisée, Tardif et Lévesque (1998) écrivent que la conscience discursive est l'élément important à maîtriser pour l'EA. Cette conscience permet à l'EA de prendre une distance par rapport à sa pratique, à la nommer à la mettre en mots et concepts de façon à ce qu'un novice puisse l'apprendre. Dans le même sens, Feiman-Nemser et Buchmann (1987) affirment pour leur part qu'un EA doit parler de sa pratique, de ses valeurs pour que le stage contribue réellement à la formation

du futur enseignant. Sans vouloir mettre de côté les domaines d'expertise identifiés par des enseignants dans cette recherche, il semble tout à fait opportun de compléter cette image de l'EA expert en y ajoutant cette notion de conscience discursive.

CONCLUSION

Cette étude a permis de découvrir les caractéristiques attribuées à un EA expert par des enseignants. Les plus importantes de ces caractéristiques sont des attitudes et qualités d'ordre personnel, des habiletés d'enseignant efficace et un dévouement envers la profession d'enseignant. Cet EA expert se caractérise également par des habiletés à créer un climat de relation positive avec le stagiaire. Il semble important de mentionner que l'expérience en enseignement ne semble pas figurer parmi les caractéristiques majeures d'un EA expert, du moins à partir des résultats de la présente étude. Enfin, les caractéristiques présentées représentent les perceptions d'enseignants provenant majoritairement du niveau élémentaire.

S'il est essentiel de connaître comment des enseignants conçoivent un rôle qu'ils sont eux-mêmes appelés à jouer, il faut également être conscient des limites de ces conceptions. Les enseignants n'ont aucune expérience en formation d'enseignants si ce n'est celle qu'ils ont vécue eux-mêmes comme stagiaire et non comme EA. Leur image du rôle d'EA leur vient fort probablement de ces quelques EA qu'ils ont côtoyé durant leurs années de formation comme stagiaire. En ce sens, leurs conceptions seraient restreintes aux quelques expériences qu'ils ont vécues comme stagiaire et non comme enseignant associé. Il s'agit là d'une limite importante.

Les caractéristiques de l'EA expert qui ressortent de cette étude traduisent une conception de l'apprentissage de l'enseignement basée sur un phénomène d'osmose d'un enseignant modèle vers un futur enseignant. Cette conception est aussi basée sur l'idée que la compétence s'acquiert avec la pratique. Si la pratique est essentielle, elle n'est pas suffisante. Pour pouvoir apprendre de sa pratique, un stagiaire doit agir avec compréhension (Feiman-Nemser et Buchmann, 1985). L'EA expert devrait donc intervenir auprès d'un stagiaire afin de l'aider à développer une compréhension de son acte pédagogique, compréhension qu'il pourra raffiner au fil de ses expériences futures dans l'enseignement. Les résultats de l'étude ne font pas mention de ce type d'intervention. Plongé dans la pratique jour après jour, l'enseignant prend probablement pour acquis que, si lui a développé des compétences, il en sera de même pour le futur enseignant. Or tous connaissent des enseignants qui ne se sont pas améliorés après 20 ans d'enseignement. Les enseignants n'ont en fait que leur propre expérience quand vient le temps de parler de l'apprentissage de l'enseignement. Généraliser à partir de cette seule expérience s'avère fort dangereux.

Malgré certaines limitations, les caractéristiques d'un EA expert énoncées ici donnent un point de départ très intéressant pour aider à définir ce domaine d'expertise. Ces caractéristiques peuvent aussi servir dans l'élaboration de programmes de formation à la supervision de stagiaires, autant par les pistes offertes que par les dimensions manquantes. Les conceptions des autres acteurs impliqués dans les stages de formation, les stagiaires et les formateurs universitaires, pourraient fort probablement enrichir cette définition de l'expertise d'un EA. Les perceptions d'enseignants majoritairement du niveau secondaire pourraient aussi enrichir cette définition.

L'auteur de cet article veut exprimer ses remerciements à tous les enseignants qui ont participé à cette recherche. Des remerciements sont de mise également pour Mme Michèle Bélanger, assistante de recherche, pour son travail méticuleux d'analyse et ses questions qui ont contribué à l'approfondissement de cette analyse.

RÉFÉRENCES

- Atkinson, T. (1998). La formation initiale des enseignants dans l'école: une exploration de la contribution distincte d'enseignants du milieu scolaire et de professeurs d'université dans le cadre de partenariats. Dans Y. Lenoir & D. Raymond (éds), *Enseignants de métier et formation initiale – Des changements dans les rapports de formation à l'enseignement* (pp. 155-174). Bruxelles: De Boeck Université et AQUFOM.
- Barnes, S. & Edwards, S. (1984). *Effective student teaching experience: A qualitative-quantitative study*. (Research report no. 9060). Austin, Texas: University of Texas at Austin, Research and Development Center for Teacher Education.
- Bercik, J.T. (1991). *University/district apprenticeship model development* (ED 378 149). Chicago, ILL: University of Illinois.
- Berliner, D. C. (1986). In pursuit of the expert pedagogue. *Educational Researcher*, 15(7), 5-14.
- Blair, T.R. (1984). *Clinical indicators of effective cooperating teachers* (ED 263 064). Texas: Texas A and M, University, College of education.
- Brunelle, J., Drouin, D., Godbout, P. & Tousignant, M. (1988). *La supervision de l'intervention en activité physique*. Montréal, QC: Gaëtan Morin.
- Copas, E. M. (1984). Critical requirements for cooperating teachers. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 35(6), 49-54.
- Delbeck, A.L., Van de Ven, A.H. & Gustafson, H. (1975). Group techniques for program planning. A guide to nominal and delphy technique. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman .
- Enz B. & Cook S.J. (1992). Student teachers' and cooperating teachers' perspectives of mentoring functions: Harmony or dissonance? (ED 350 291). San Francisco, CA: AERA, Annual meeting.
- Feiman-Nemser, S. & Buchmann. M. (1987). When is student teaching teacher education? *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 3(4), 255-273.
- Feiman-Nemser, S. & Buchmann, M. (1985). Pitfalls of experience in teacher education. *Interchange*, 87(1), 53-65.
- Furlong, J. & Maynard, T. (1995). *Mentoring student teachers*. London: Routledge.
- Grimmett, P., & Ratzlaff, H. C. (1986). Expectations for the cooperating teacher role. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 37(6), 41-50.

- Guyton, E. & McIntyre, D.J. (1990). Student teaching and school experiences. Dans W.R. Houston (éd.), *Handbook of research on teacher education* (pp. 514-534). New York: Macmillan.
- Koerner, M.E. (1992). The cooperating Teacher: An ambivalent participant in student teaching. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 43(1), 46-56.
- L'Écuyer R. (1987). L'analyse de contenu: Notions et étapes. Dans J.P. Deslauriers (éd.), *Les méthodes de la recherche qualitative* (pp. 49-66). Montréal, QC: Les Presses de l'Université du Québec.
- Lessard, C. & Bourdoncle, R. (1998). Les formations professionnelles universitaires. Place des praticiens et formalisation des savoirs pratiques: Utilités et limites. Dans Y. Lenoir & D. Raymond (éds.), *Enseignants de métier et formation initiale – Des changements dans les rapports de formation à l'enseignement* (pp. 11-34). Bruxelles: De Boeck Université et AQUFOM.
- Lortie, D. (1975). *Schoolteacher: A sociological study*. Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Miles, M. B. & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ministère de l'Éducation du Québec. (1992). *La formation à l'enseignement. Les stages*. Direction générale de la formation et des qualifications et Direction de la formation du personnel scolaire, Québec.
- Ouellet, F. (1987). L'utilisation du groupe nominal dans l'analyse des besoins, dans J.P. Deslauriers (éd.), *La recherche qualitative: resurgence et convergences*, *Collection renouveau pédagogique* (pp. 89-107). Chicoutimi, QC: Université du Québec à Chicoutimi, Groupe de recherche et d'intervention régionale.
- Perrenoud, P. (1994). *La formation des enseignants. Entre théorie et pratique*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Sparks, W.G. (1987). *The student teaching partnership: Collaboration and collegiality*. Las Vegas, NV: National Convention of AAHPERD. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. 283 800)
- Tardif, M. & Lévesque, M. (1998). Conclusion. Dans Y. Lenoir & D. Raymond (éds.), *Enseignants de métier et formation initiale – Des changements dans les rapports de formation à l'enseignement* (pp. 267-289). Bruxelles: De Boeck Université et AQUFOM.

PIERRE BOUDREAU est professeur agrégé à la faculté d'éducation de l'Université d'Ottawa. Ses recherches portent principalement sur les stages en formation à l'enseignement au niveau secondaire.

PIERRE BOUDREAU is an associate professor in the Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa. His research focuses primarily on the stages of pre-service teacher education at the secondary level.

REPORT FROM THE FIELD

ACADEMIC PRESSURE AND IMPACT ON JAPANESE STUDENTS

STEVE BOSSY *Independent Researcher*

ABSTRACT. This paper explores the intense pressure endured by Japanese students, according to much published evidence, in the pursuit of academic achievement, especially in the university entrance examination. The paper provides a discussion of the literature and examines cultural, social, and economic factors for such pressure. It then considers the impact of academic pressure on students' psychological and physical well-being, including the serious problems of bullying and school-related suicide. In sum, the paper calls attention to the overwhelming pressures faced by Japanese students and seeks to provide a basis of understanding for further research.

RÉSUMÉ. Cet article porte sur les vives tensions que les impératifs de la réussite scolaire imposent, selon de nombreuses publications, aux étudiants japonais et particulièrement aux candidats qui se présentent aux examens d'entrée à l'université. L'auteur analyse les publications consacrées à cette question et examine les facteurs culturels, sociaux et économiques qui renforcent ces tensions. Il examine également les répercussions de ces tensions sur le bien-être psychologique et physique des étudiants et notamment les graves problèmes que sont l'intimidation et le suicide lié à des pressions scolaires. En bref, l'article met en lumière les tensions énormes que vivent les étudiants japonais et tente de jeter les fondements de recherches plus fouillées.

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the intense pressure faced by students in Japan, especially those in high school. Special attention is given to the university entrance examination because of its tremendous impact on students' lives. A reading of the relevant literature reveals many pressures from a variety of sources which include parents, teachers, peers and society. The literature reveals that pressures on the students are multi-dimensional (i.e., psychological, emotional, intellectual, and physical) and are manifested in various ways. Included in the paper are recent facts and figures that illuminate the serious recurring problems of bullying and school-related suicide, and their connection to academic pressure.

Background

My interest in this subject was first ignited upon learning of the phenomenon referred to as "examination hell" (Rohlen, 1983; Ogura, 1987; Young, 1993, etc.), a very intriguing, complicated and often disturbing way of life for many students in Japan. Despite this phenomenon, the test results of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) and the Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) indicate that Japanese children score among the best in the world in math and science (Robitaille & Garden, 1989; Postlethwaite & Wiley, 1991; Pelgrum & Plomp, 1993; Stevenson, 1998). An intellectual/emotional paradox appears to coexist within the lives of students. I found it perplexing that a society could apparently provide the support and resources that resulted in the outstanding academic achievement of its students and at the same time, according to many accounts, both collective and individual, create a "hellish" environment that hurt many children's health.

What followed were two years of qualitative study of Japanese culture and its educational system. My study of Japanese education and the consequences of "examination hell" included a wide range of materials such as government reports from the Japanese Ministry of Education, information from academic journals, books, magazines and Japanese newspapers. All data for the present paper are secondary material, but I chose to use this approach to gain a broad understanding of the multiple influences and the impact of academic pressure on students. I wanted, moreover, to find out whether the contexts and consequences of examination hell were more than merely recent or isolated cases.

I have also collected substantial data directly from Japanese students through semi-structured interviews and questionnaires as well as from many informal discussions with students who completed their secondary education in Japan. That material has contributed to my understanding of the lives of Japanese students and is a foundation of the present analysis; it will be examined in depth and more directly in a subsequent paper.

Focus and limitations of this study.

This is, admittedly, a Western view of a Japanese phenomenon (I have not lived or studied in Japan) but has a certain contribution to make, I believe, in introducing some Western readers to this phenomenon, and in collecting and analyzing perspectives on the pressures of that educational system. My paper may also have some value in a comparative sense as Western countries are currently focussing great attention on achieving ever-higher academic standards. I acknowledge that this paper does not attempt to offer a balanced view by dwelling equally on the successes of the Japanese education system; these, however, have been amply documented elsewhere. I must also note that the beginnings of change are beginning to be felt to counteract the

worst side-effects of “examination hell.” The Japanese government has very recently introduced educational reforms such as training teachers to deal with children’s distress and providing increased flexibility in entrance requirements for university. However, many students still suffer as a result of fierce competition and excessive pressure, high expectations and a challenging curriculum. While some may excel in such circumstances, many experience severe anxiety and even more serious consequences, as I will discuss below.

Examination Hell; the root of pressure

Japan has placed a high value on education for many centuries. Despite its turbulent history and the vast changes to its educational system over the years, the importance of education has remained constant. In Japan, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that school is the most important time in a child’s life and that success (i.e., academic achievement) is all that matters.

In 1872, the Meiji government introduced a public educational system that made higher education accessible to anyone who was intelligent enough to qualify. The university entrance examination was created as a means of catching up with the West. The government also believed that the examination would reflect Japan’s meritocratic and egalitarian ideals. The entrance examination became the sole instrument by which all students were measured. Tokyo University became the pinnacle of academic achievement and the gateway to future success. Only the most intelligent students were admitted and upon graduation were rewarded with the best jobs. Since then, many universities have followed suit. All the universities in Japan are ranked according to excellence and students are admitted on the basis of their performance on the entrance examination. The university entrance examination is the gatekeeper that provides access to and ultimately determines students’ future success and status. The university that a student attends is most often the sole criterion that employers consider in their decision to hire a potential candidate.

The Japanese educational system places all its eggs in one basket—the university entrance examination. The life-long consequences of students’ performance on this examination are far reaching. The same can be said for students who pursue a private high school education that exempts them from a university entrance examination. They are subject to the high stakes of the high school entrance exam.

Applicants to national and public universities and some private universities must take the Joint First-Stage Achievement Test (JFSAT) and the university’s own entrance exam. This makes for a heavier workload and greater burden on students (Frost, 1992). It is also important to note that the structure and substance of entrance examinations are considerably different between public and private universities. The typical entrance exam to a private or national university consists mainly of multiple choice questions.

Preparation for this exam requires a great deal of rote learning. On the other hand, the entrance examination to public university usually consists of essay type questions, and preparation involves much less memorization by students.

It is important to be aware of the admission process of all students to all types of schools and to understand the significance and importance of attending prestigious academic institutions. In urban areas, private junior high, high schools and universities are more prestigious than their public counterparts, with the exception of a small handful of elite schools such as the national university. Students who enter a private junior high school automatically enter its affiliated high school. In some cases, students can go straight through to a private university without writing an entrance exam. Entry to this accelerated system can occur as early as kindergarten, but in all cases an entrance examination is required at the level of entry. Applicants to any private school must pass the institution's entrance examination, and in all cases students' grade point average (GPA) is not considered in the admission process. However, students from private or public schools can be recommended by teachers to a private university on the basis of their GPA, but they still must write an entrance examination for the particular university. In most cases, students are awarded entry.

In rural areas it is almost the opposite. Public education is more prestigious than private. Entrance to public junior high school is based on students' GPA, and admission to public high school is based on students' GPA and performance on an entrance exam. Admission to a public university is based solely on students' performance on the entrance examination.

Since general knowledge and ability, high school record, and other factors all take a back seat to examinations scores, the pressures for a student to employ stratagems to improve a score even slightly are enormous. (Leestma & Walberg, 1992, p. 272)

Many students attend *juku* (i.e., after class private study) to keep up with the demanding pace of classrooms and to remain at par with their fellow classmates. But more importantly, most students attend *juku* to help them prepare for the entrance examinations to high-school and university. "Some *juku* specialize in particular universities' entrance exams, and they will boast of their rate of admission into their universities" (White, 1984, p. 98). According to an Education Ministry Survey released in July 1994, 24 percent of elementary school students and 67 percent of junior high school students study at *juku*. *Juku* enrollment among all age groups has increased sharply since the previous survey in 1985. The most notable increase is among junior high school students whose rates jumped from 47 to 67 percent. The survey also shows that both elementary and junior high school students attend *juku* 2 days a week (*Japan Times*, July 30, 1994, p. 3).

Satoshi Takahashi's experience is not uncommon.

[He] started working in earnest to prepare for college in the fourth grade. That year he was enrolled in three *juku* and went to supplementary classes seven days a week. Now he attends only two *juku* for five days a week so that he can devote Tuesdays and Thursdays to studying for the special school he attends on Sundays. (Random, 1985, p. 26)

Furthermore, The Japanese Ministry of Health and Welfare White Paper recently stated:

Upon examining the daily schedule for elementary and middle school students, we find that the average weekday time used for school work and commuting to school is 8 hours and 15 minutes for elementary school students and 10 hours and 10 minutes for middle school students. Excluding sleep time, these figures amount to 54.0% and 62.0% of their daily schedules. In other words, more than half of their daily schedules are devoted to school work (Section 6, 1998).

Success in school means one thing – access to a top-ranked university. Access to a top-ranked university is a one-time opportunity that is determined by students' performance on the entrance examination. Their life-long potential for social mobility, economic security and employment opportunity, not to mention their self-esteem and emotional well-being, in other words, their 'quality of life' depend on this one examination. White (1984) reiterates this significant point:

It is important to note that in Japan there really is only one moment of critical importance to one's career chances – the entrance examination to college. There are few opportunities to change paths or retool. Americans' belief that one can be recreated at any time in life, that the self-made person can get ahead, simply is not possible in Japan – thus the intense focus on examinations. (p. 99, emphasis added)

This single-minded drive for achievement results in what many refer to as examination hell (Rohlen, 1983; Ogura, 1987, and Young, 1993). The entrance examination is the root of all pressure placed on students. It is the primary mechanism responsible for driving competition. The implications of students' performance are far reaching. Not only does the students' performance affect their own future, it determines the future status and careers of their teachers, school, and most importantly, their family. As a result, the pressures that are exerted upon students to achieve are overwhelming. Although the adverse effects of Japan's university entrance examination have long been recognized, this system of funneling the top students to top jobs persists in determining students' entire futures.

In the pursuit of academic success, students experience a multitude of pressures from a variety of sources.

Pressure from society

Despite the popular Western conception of Japan as a homogeneous society, the Japanese people recognize many differences among themselves and, as

in other nations, many people hold prejudices based on a person's occupational status, ethnicity, class, gender, and most importantly – education. Because the prejudices are built into the social hierarchy, students experience tremendous social pressure to succeed in school.

Although the Japanese culture consists of regional and generational differences, a distinctive feature is the extent of concern for uniformity (Beauchamp, 1992). The majority of society shares the same values and ideas of appropriate behavior and place high value on education. The Japanese culture emphasizes personal traits such as loyalty, perseverance, and sacrifice.

Japanese society imposes high expectations on all students. Competition begins at an early age. It stems from the close relationship between school, work, and the quality of life. Success in school promises a higher quality lifestyle, both economically and socially, yet not all students succeed. Although Japan has one of the highest rates of college attendance in the world at almost 40 percent, the College Entrance Examination Center in Tokyo, whose examination results are used by the vast majority of post-secondary institutions, reveals the following competition ratio statistics: 5 students competed for every one opening in national universities, 9.7 students competed for every one opening in public universities, and 10.6 students competed for every one opening in private universities (JMOE, 1994c).

A shrinking job market, a 22 consecutive monthly decline of full-time job holders and a near record high unemployment rate of 4.6% (*Japan Times*, Nov. 27 – Dec. 3, 1999) have given Japanese businesses a larger pool of student-recruits to choose from. Students' educational credentials are more important than ever in securing a good job. The university that a student attends is the basis that employers use to decide employment, and access to a top-ranked university depends entirely upon students' achievement on the entrance examination. "Entrance exams thus obviously serve as crucial screening devices for employers" (Rohlen, 1983, p. 90).

In brief, Japanese students live in a social context where conformity is expected, students strive for high academic achievement, and employers hire employees based on the university they attend.

Pressure from parents

Confucian philosophy is deeply embedded in the Japanese culture. Ideas such as the hierarchical nature of human relations, children's deep respect for their parents, loyalty, patriotism and the pursuit of learning are fundamental convictions that pervade Japanese society.

The concept of *groupism* is one that dates back many centuries in the Japanese culture. Groupism postulates that each group member is responsi-

ble for all other members. Thus, cooperation is essential to the success of this dynamic concept. Individualism is frowned upon while interdependence is encouraged and fostered at school and at home. The group bears the brunt of individual failures and basks in the glory of individual accomplishments.

Japanese children belong to many groups simultaneously. Communities, schools, classrooms, teams, friends and families are all interconnected. Of all these, the 'family' integrates individual members of society in the most intimate way. In Japanese families, although fathers are considered the head of the household and exert a strong influence on their children's desire for success, mothers usually assume most of the responsibility for their family's education. Children's respect and devotion to the family is exemplified by their efforts to meet the family goal. Japanese families may have many goals, but the academic achievement of their children is by far their foremost priority.

Japanese mothers have been called 'education mothers'. They take their children's education very seriously. Stevenson (1990) remarks, "Japanese mothers are unrelenting in their self-sacrifice and dedication to their children" (p. 99). They diligently help their children with homework, ensure them the time and place for studying, provide supplementary texts and courses, employ tutors and actively participate in parent-teacher meetings.

The importance of children's success in school and its impact on the family creates a strong bond and interdependence between mother and child that virtually swallows up the mother's identity. She 'is' what her child achieves. Her self-satisfaction as well as her status in the community is directly related to her children's academic achievement. Iga (1986) explains that:

Their (i.e., Japanese mothers) pressure upon their children is strengthened by sex prejudice. The lack of opportunity for self-development for most Japanese women, their husbands' neglect of their needs, and social pressure for self-restraint combine to channel their hope and energy into their children's education and success. (p. 192, brackets added)

This supports White's (1993) claim that "... mothers tend to promote their son's educational futures more than those of their daughters, even though the number of girls entering college is about equal to that of boys" (p. 61).

Investment in their children's education is a very high priority for Japanese parents. Educational expenses such as juku, private tutors, and related materials account for 15.8 percent of consumer spending by Japanese households, more than 5 times that spent in the United States (*Japan Times*, September 18, 1994, p. 3). Parents are willing to sacrifice other needs for those of their children's education. It is not uncommon for families to make do on simple meals and other basic needs in order to provide their children with whatever they need pertaining to their education. Such sacrifices illustrate the family goal for the academic success of their children.

In return for mothers' efforts and family sacrifices children are expected to work hard and consistently obtain high grades. Unlike the drastic measures that are often taken by Chinese parents to ensure their child's motivation and academic achievement (see Lin, 1995), Japanese parents avoid physically disciplining their children. They believe that their children's motivation should come from a sense of obligation to the family and guilt if they are failing (Hendry, 1995). Children realize the impact of their success or failure on the family. The family's name, reputation (especially those from intellectual backgrounds), social and economic status, and the mother's identity all fall on the shoulders of children. Academic success rewards families with fame, high social status, economic security and honor, while failure means low family status, economic hardship, and family shame. Many Japanese children thus experience tremendous pressures along the way and are driven by an obligation that neglects their individual needs and restricts their childhood experiences.

Pressure from Teachers

Schools, principals and teachers naturally play an important role in children's education. Japanese teachers are held in high esteem. "For centuries, the term used for teacher – *sensei* – has denoted a position honored by all Japanese" (Stevenson, 1991, p. 113). Teachers are also rewarded with job security and a good salary that is equivalent to other professionals with the same educational background.

Japanese education is teacher-centered. Teachers typically deliver information through a lecture format while students sit, listen, and write. The students are passive learners who adopt memorization as the primary technique for acquiring knowledge. Most teachers feel they have little time to provide students with all the information they will need to pass the university entrance examination. Although the exam may be many years away, no time is wasted in preparing students for this crucial moment. From the day that children begin to go to school, they are bombarded with information that they will need to know to pass the entrance examination. Learning is a continuous cycle of listening, writing, and memorizing.

Japanese pedagogy (and maternal socialization) are based on the belief that effort is the most important factor in achievement, and that the teacher's job is to get the child to commit himself positively and energetically to hard work. (White, 1984, p. 97).

Teachers take this responsibility very seriously. "Cooperation among teachers is a hallmark of Japanese education" (Stevenson, 1991, p. 114). It is a sense of shared responsibility that brings teachers together. They frequently consult with one another on matters of technique, preparation, and materials. Teachers believe it is their personal, professional, and patriotic duty to

fulfill their responsibilities. They are also aware that the academic achievement of their students will reflect their abilities as a teacher and affect their professional status and ascent within the educational hierarchy.

The fact that Japanese schools are without psychologists, social workers, and counselors is a major reason why teachers feel responsible not only for students' academic agendas, but for their behavior, morality, social activity, and discipline. Being a teacher in Japan is a round-the-clock job. Teachers frequently consult with parents on matters about their child's study habits as well as their recreational activities. It is not uncommon for a teacher to visit the home of a student and speak with the family. "Parents invariably request that teachers make their children work harder, keep up the pressure, and teachers can not deny the importance of study" (White, 1993, p. 85).

Teachers exert a tremendous influence among the families of their students. Parents usually follow any recommendation made by their child's teacher, regardless of how extreme it may be. Teachers often use this influence to assert control over their students. Many go too far. Accounts of examination hell and the stresses it places on children, families, and teachers are well documented (Cummings, 1980; Rohlen, 1983; and Vogel, 1979).

Most teachers believe that they are not only within their right, but that it is their responsibility to do whatever is necessary to ensure the academic success of their students. They even feel that their responsibility is in many ways above the law. Teachers wield tremendous social and political power. For this reason, the law tends to be lenient toward abusive teachers. Aware of their power and influence, some teachers use it to intimidate and manipulate students.

The violent behavior of teachers and the attitude of principals and the judicial system regarding such incidents is a disturbing problem. During the 1994-95 school year, there were 257 cases of disciplinary action against teachers for the physical abuse of students that resulted in 386 teachers receiving disciplinary measures. This marks an increase of 52 more teachers from the previous year (JMOE, 1995). The 1993 ruling of a teacher who slammed a 500 pound steel gate into the face of a 15-year-old student, killing her instantly, highlights this point. The court found the teacher guilty of involuntary manslaughter and sentenced him to one year in prison and to three years of probation, and then suspended his sentence because the court believed that he had suffered enough by being fired (Young, 1993).

Although corporal punishment is illegal in Japan, as stated in the School Education Law, article 11, it is still commonly practiced as a means of disciplining students. In the 1994-95 school year, a total of 241 students suffered physical injury from teacher abuse. The type of injuries included

bruises, lacerations, nose bleeds, ear injuries, fractures, and others (JMOE, 1995).

In sum, teachers exert pressure upon students by using their high social status and influence with parents to control students' lives. Student behaviors are closely scrutinized by teachers who believe that everything that a student does must in some way lead towards academic achievement. Consequently, students are under-the-thumb of teachers who do whatever it takes, including physical abuse, to guarantee students' academic success. Although most students respect their teachers, many also fear them.

Pressure from peers

Japanese classmates assume some responsibility for each other's education. The class is viewed as a group. The notion of groupism calls on students to help the class to succeed. The bright students often assist those in need. Although this is meant to help the slower students, it accentuates competition and creates enormous peer pressure. The prospect of falling behind worries most students. This in turn drives competition.

As a result of affiliation and mutual identification, peer groups are typically very close. Members frequently communicate with each other, even on matters outside of the group agenda, and often remain friends for many years. The pressure to conform to cultural values is a frequent concern of many junior high and high school students. Peer groups patrol for signs of nonconformity in others. A person whose actions revolve around group interests is thought to have a high moral character. Students who deviate from this value often become victims of bullying.

The notions of success and failure are not clear-cut as most Westerners might expect. For example, if a student far exceeds the class average on an exam, the student is not looked up to. Rather, he or she is likely to lose the respect of the other students and be ostracized by the class for making them look inferior. When a Japanese person succeeds, it is very important for that person to defuse jealousy and resentment and not cause others embarrassment or to lose face, otherwise their success is viewed more as a failure of respect for others. "The competitive impetus is not to get ahead but to try 'not to be behind others' " (Ogura, 1987, p. 8). Therefore, many Japanese students must delicately balance success with concern for others around them. It is a difficult task for a student to anticipate the performance of others and restrict their own performance toward marginal success, yet this dilemma is frequently faced by some Japanese children. And although problematic, losing face is a cultural taboo that Japanese people will avoid inflicting on others and on themselves.

On the other hand, admission to a top ranked university takes priority over all other student concerns. Many students, like teachers, will do whatever

is necessary to ensure their success. Some students resort to physical intimidation as a means of eliminating the competition. Average students sometimes target brighter ones in acts of bullying with the hope that their aggression will frighten and distract brighter students from their studies.

Negative impact

When students reach the secondary level, an extreme emphasis on entrance examination material takes over and students must keep up with demanding studies that govern their lives. Although the entrance examination system has positive aspects that reflect the Japanese culture and has contributed to students' very high performance on comparative international examinations (Husen, 1967; Comber & Keeves, 1973; Robitaille & Garden, 1989; Postlethwaite & Wiley, 1991; and Pelgrum & Plomp, 1993), the literature suggests that the demerits of this system may offset the advantages (see Frost, 1992; Iga, 1986; JNPD, 1993; Ogura, 1987; White, 1993; and Young, 1993).

Japanese secondary students are deprived of many intellectual experiences. A significant reliance on rote learning hinders other facets of their cognitive development. The focus of learning through memorization may inhibit the development of critical and analytic thinking skills, creativity, and imagination.

Fierce competition has led some students, as well as adults, to cheat. In some cases, parents not only accept their children's dishonest behavior, they actively assist them in cheating. On one occasion, a father disguised himself as his daughter and attempted to write the examination in her place (White, 1987).

Cheating in Japanese universities is not uncommon. Some students copy each other's homework and use blatant as well as subtle techniques to share and copy answers for questions during tests. Furthermore, although secondary schools consider cheating as a serious offense, most universities brush it off as an inconsequential act. Administrators and teachers tend to turn a blind eye toward cheating because they know that students' futures have already been decided upon by the name of the university that they attend. This attitude perpetuates academic dishonesty, destroys motivation, and ultimately hurts students' chances of learning while in university.

The examination system may undermine students' interest in the intrinsic rewards of learning. The low caliber of university education is often attributed to the negative impact of the examination system on students' motivation. (Leestma & Walberg, 1992)

The psychological impact of the pressures that students have to endure at home, in school and in the society is great. Students are very aware of the efforts and sacrifices that others make on their behalf. They are also keenly

aware of their mother's deepest wish and the extent to which the family status falls on their shoulders. They realize that their academic performance has a direct impact on all concerned, especially themselves. Most students are grateful to everyone who assists in their efforts to succeed and feel a deep responsibility to reciprocate those efforts by achieving high grades. This tremendous sense of debt drives many students to persevere. However, it is also what drives many to uncharacteristic violent behavior, and even suicide. For many, the load is too heavy.

Psychological harm comes to many Japanese children at an early age. Stevenson (1990) notes, "By the fifth grade, Japanese children begin to indicate some dislike for school, a lack of confidence about their future, and a rather pessimistic view of themselves" (p. 99). Stevenson's (1990) research also found that Japanese mothers rated their children as the least likely to show self-confidence, and the most likely to be shy and anxious compared to American and Chinese mother's assessments.

White (1987) recalls how the psychological impact of academic pressures caused one student to experience a nervous breakdown:

In 1984 a sixth grader taking an entrance examination into Nerd, one of the country's most prestigious secondary schools, experienced a "nervous breakdown" during the exam and had to be taken out by ambulance—a failure at the age of twelve. It turned out that he had been very well prepared indeed, but that his state of anxiety was such that seeing the actual exam triggered total loss of control. (p. 142-143)

Other examination stories include students soiling their pants, as well as violent outbursts. White (1987) claims that "the existence of the exams, and the increasing number of children who at younger and younger ages sit for them, have produced an explosion of intense anxiety" (p. 172). Many secondary students taking the university entrance examination share the same psychological trauma.

White (1993) cites a 1990 Report on Children's Health by Nippon College of Physical Education that surveyed over twelve hundred schools from nursery to senior high school levels from which she based the following:

School-related health problems among Japanese children are on the increase, according to recent reports from children's hospitals in Japan. There has been a rise in the incidence of stomach ulcers, a rise in allergy disorders among children, including rashes and asthma, and some abnormal cholesterol levels and high blood pressure. Low ability to concentrate and hyperactivity are also reported. Children also report sleeplessness, backaches, and low energy levels. The researchers mentioned greater stress on children as well as ignorance of parents who do not sufficiently recognize the physical and emotional environment of today's schools. (p. 86)

The psychological impact of pressures on students manifests itself in many ways. The result of academic pressures has led many to truancy in the hope of escape. Truancy, school phobia or school refusal syndrome (*tokokyohi*) are problems that increased dramatically in the early 1990s. According to an Education Ministry Report, a record 75,000 elementary and junior high school students deliberately skipped at least 30 days of school in fiscal 1993 (*Japan Statistical Yearbook*, 1993/94). Although the actual number of absent students is higher in lower secondary schools than in elementary schools, lower secondary schools marked an increase of 55 percent while elementary schools demonstrated an increase of more than 250 percent (*Japan Statistical Yearbook*, 1993/94).

The number of elementary and junior high school children who were frequently truant during the 1998-99 school year jumped by more than 20 percent from the previous year, according to a government report on juvenile problems released Friday. The report by the Management and Coordination Agency says the number of students who were truant at least 30 days in elementary schools reached 26,017 during the 1998-99 school year. The number was up 25.3 percent from the 1997-98 school year. In junior high schools, the number of frequent truants was 101,675, up 20.0 percent. The agency blamed the trend on the growing access youth have to "uncensored harmful information," telephone chat services and private karaoke cubicles. (*Japan Times*, Jan. 14, 2000)

The article failed to mention that by not attending school, students avoid the peer pressures, the difficulties and often the perils that come with the pressure to succeed and the threat of being bullied.

School-related violence takes on many forms in Japan. It is a recurring social problem that all too often concludes with death. Incidents of domestic violence have been attributed to the extreme pressures faced by students. Wolferen (1990) argues that although *shiken jigoku* (i.e., examination hell) is not the major cause of death among school-age children, he does acknowledge that "aberrations in personality development and difficulties in parent-child relations are undoubtedly aggravated by chronic exam anxiety" (p. 88).

Bullying and suicide

Academic pressures prompt many students to vent their frustration, sense of hopelessness, stress or anger in a very destructive manner. Bullying and suicide are two outlets for such overwhelming emotions.

In 1985, school-related violence was so frequent and widespread throughout Japan that the Ministry of Education established a committee on *ijime* (i.e., bullying) to study this phenomenon. Prior to 1994, the Ministry defined bullying as harassment among students that is acknowledged by authorities. "In one six-month period in the mid-1980s, 150,000 cases of bullying were

reported to school authorities" (Young, 1993, p. 132). Today, the number of reported cases involving bullying is not nearly as high as it once was during the mid-Eighties.

In 1995, the Ministry redefined bullying as:

An intermittent and one-sided physical or psychological attack by an aggressor against a victim which causes the victim to suffer seriously. Bullying can occur inside or outside of school, and whether an incident is bullying or not depends on the victim's feeling of recognition as such. This determination should not be made by a formal investigation of each case, but by looking at the incident from the students' perspective. (JMOE, 1995)

In the 1993/94 school year, a total number of 21,598 cases of bullying were reported. In the 1994/95 school year, using the new definition, a total number of 56,601 cases of bullying were reported (JMOE, 1995). Although the Ministry's new definition appears more sensitive to victims of bullying, it will be difficult to track and determine any progress because of the newly inflated numbers.

Why do students bully others? Possible explanations are found in students' pride, ego, and frustration, much of which is shaped and caused by academic pressure. And although the typical victim of bullying is someone who does not conform to traditional Japanese values, and is usually perceived as a weak person, bullies do not always discriminate. Manoru Tsuchiya, who leads therapy groups for truant students, states:

Any student can become the victim of bullying . . . One cause of bullying is accumulated stress in an examination oriented education system represented by "hensachi", or deviation value, in Japanese education. Some students find targets and assault them in an attempt to ease the stress. (*Japan Times*, May 21, 1994, p.3)

Iga (1986) argues that despite the emphasis on groupism, Japanese people may be very egocentric. He states:

In the pursuit of success and fame, egocentric persons are inclined to use others, including friends and family members. This attitude hurts social relations. Intimacy is difficult to cultivate. The lack of intimacy makes a person more aggressive in his search for attention. . . . (p. 194)

Iwai (1974) presents a quote from a delinquent student that provides some insight into his thinking. The boy said:

I'm stupid, so whatever I do I get into trouble with the teachers. I don't like being the underdog, so I take it out on people around me. I was being determined not to be looked down on and that made me this way. (p. 387 cited in Cummings, 1980)

A recent article in the *Japan Times* (Nov. 27-Dec. 3, 1999) illustrates that bullying can lead to more serious offences such as extortion or the most tragic extreme.

Police arrested seven boys between the ages of 17 and 18 on Nov. 29 on suspicion of kicking and beating to death a 17-year-old former class mate two days earlier in Gunma Prefecture. The seven admitted to killing Tomohiro Suwa, a second-year student at a prefectural high school, because he would not pay them money.

Ministry officials are quick to point out the progress that they have made in their campaign to combat school bullying. However, it is difficult if not impossible to determine the exact number of incidents and study any change. How many cases go unreported? In a society that demands conformity, how many victims believe that they "had it coming" and remain silent? How many victims withhold reporting incidents in fear that it will only make matters worse? How many authorities (e.g., teachers and principals) dismiss students' claims of bullying to protect the reputation of the school? How many students define bullying as requiring physical abuse and do not report incidents of verbal torment? How many children simply accept being bullied as a part of growing-up? Until these questions are answered it is impossible to know the extent of this tragic social problem that is robbing children of their most basic need—the need to feel safe.

The connection between suicide and the entrance examination system is self-evident. It has been frequently treated as the main cause of youth suicide (Vogel, 1979; Wolferen, 1990; Iga, 1986; Arthur, 1990; Pinguet, 1993; Beauchamp, 1994).

The pressure on the individual student becomes so great that it probably is even reflected in the suicide curve, which has a life-cycle maximum for both sexes at the age of university examinations and an annual maximum for boys in the month the results of the examinations are known. (Beauchamp, 1994, p. 207-8)

A report by Japan's National Police Agency notes the connection between teenage suicide and academic pressure. The report concludes that the vast majority of suicides among this age group are attributed to strained interpersonal relations with friends and family, poor scholastic achievement, and failure in entrance exams (Japanese National Police Department, 1993). Iga's (1986) research in this area recognizes the extent to which educational pressures preclude teenage suicide.

Some students concede failure even before the entrance examination and chose what they believe to be their only alternative. One eighteen-year-old boy wrote:

I thank you for taking care of me for a long time. I have been in a slump the past month and did not study. I don't know why, but I am not in the mood to study. It is impossible in this condition to pass the entrance examination, which is coming in about a month. I gave up hope of passing the examination. I give up. I have decided to die. (Iga, 1986, p. 39)

The Japanese youth suicide rate is a tragic problem. Considering the long lasting emotional scars on victims of bullying and the psychological impact on students who fail the university entrance examination or who end up at a lowly ranked university as a result of their performance, data on young adults between 15 and 24 years old is certainly pertinent. In 1991, 1,333 cases of suicide fell into this age group (*Japan Statistical Yearbook*, 1993/94). The suicide rate for this age group in 1993 was 10 per 100,000 (WHO, 1994). Current data reveal that suicide among Japanese children is on the rise (*Japan Times*, Nov. 27-Dec. 3, 1999).

Police said July 1 that the number of suicides surged 35 percent in 1998 to a record high 32,863, surpassing 30,000 for the first time. The total included 17 elementary school kids, up from 12 the previous year; 102 junior high school students, up 40; and 220 high school students, an increase of 51.

The status difference among top-ranked universities is enough to cause students to commit suicide. A paragraph from a suicide note written by a Kyoto university student reads:

The only significance of life is to enter Tokyo University, which is the best in Japan. When I entered Kyoto University, students and professors here looked so inferior to those in Tokyo. The fact that I entered this university worsened my nervous condition, contrary to my mother's expectations. I could not be proud of being a student here. (Iga, 1986, p. 41)

A recent survey by the Japanese Ministry of Health and Welfare found data that illustrate the importance that parents place on their children's grades and admission to a highly ranked university. The study found that parents' greatest fear surrounding child rearing was most often "related to studies and entrance into schools of a higher grade" (Section 6, 1998). Parents' fear for their children's academic failure very likely contributes to the pressures imposed upon students.

"School problems, especially bullying and hazing, may create intolerable pressure and even lead in some cases either to violence by the oppressed child, or suicide" (White, 1993, p. 163). Excessive bullying is to blame for many child suicides. A 1986 suicide note left behind by Hirofumi Shikagawa read, "I don't want to die, but going on like this is a living hell" (*Japan Times*, May 21, 1994, p. 3). Shikagawa's death attracted world-wide attention to the severity of bullying in Japanese schools during the mid 1980s. A front page story in the *Japan Times* (May 21, 1994) brought news that the Tokyo High Court overturned a lower court decision and ruled that Shikagawa's suicide was a direct result of the bullying inflicted by his classmates. The Court ordered his school and the parents of his classmates to pay ¥11.5 million in damages.

Conclusion

Given the scope of the literature and the numerous accounts of academic pressure, it is clear that many Japanese students experience tremendous hardship. Although parents are willing to make the necessary sacrifices for their children's education, I believe that many are ignorant to the depth of harm that they expose their children. Furthermore, even parents are sensitive to their children's plight may believe that there is no choice. Teachers also contribute to students' pressures by assuming multiple roles and sometimes becoming frightening disciplinary figures. However, it is the Japanese society and its culture that is perhaps the most stringent and overwhelming source of pressure. As long as the students with the highest grades continue to be rewarded by society and those who do not score as high are punished and have no alternative means to secure a prosperous life and honour for themselves and their families, examination hell seems inevitable. Meanwhile, many students suffer psychological, social, emotional, and physical harm.

This study shares some of the documented cases surrounding bullying and school related suicide that occur as a result of academic pressure. These cases are not uncommon or isolated incidents. They are much more than recurring social problems that plague Japanese education. They are tragedies that are robbing children of their youth and a nation of its most precious resource, its children. Although the government and the courts may be serious in their resolve at curbing students' suffering, solutions thus far remain elusive.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank Dr. Jing Lin for her support throughout this research project and acknowledge that the paper she wrote with Q. Chen "Academic pressure and impact on students' development in China" (1995) served as a framework in the development of my study.

REFERENCES

- Arthur, L. (1990). *Do or die: Educational pressure and teenage suicide in Japan*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Reading Forum (December 11).
- Beauchamp, E.R. & Vardaman, J.M. Jr. (1994). *Japanese education since 1945: A documentary study*. Armonk, NY: Sharpe.
- Beauchamp, E.R. (1992). Japanese and U.S. education compared. *Phi Delta Kappan*. Bloomington, IN: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation.
- Comber, L. C. & Keeves J. P. (1973). *Science Education in nineteen countries*. New York: Wiley.
- Cummings, W.K. (1980). *Education and equality in Japan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Frost, P. (1992). Tinkering with hell: Efforts to reform current Japanese universities' university entrance examinations. Cited in M. Eckstein & N. Harold (1992). *Examinations: Comparative*

and international studies. Pergamon Comparative and International Education Series, Vol. 12, New York: Pergamon Press.

Hendry, J. (1995). *Understanding Japanese society*. Second edition. New York: Routledge.

Husen T. (Ed.) (1967). *International study of achievement in mathematics*. New York: Wiley.

Iga, M. (1986). *The thorn in the chrysanthemum*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Iwai, H. (1974). Delinquent groups and organized crime. In S.L. Takie & W.P. Lebra (Eds.), *Japanese culture and behavior*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii. Cited in Cummings, W.K. (1980). *Education and equality in Japan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Japan Statistics Bureau Management and Coordination Agency (1993/94). *Japan statistical yearbook*.

Japan Times (Jan. 1993 - Jan. 1994).

Japan Times (Nov.27 - Dec.3, 1999; June 26 - July 2, 1999). Cited on The Japan Times Internet site: <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/wnr/wnrindex.html>

Japan Times (Jan. 14, 2000). Cited on The Japan Times Internet site: <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/news1-2000/news1-14.html>

Japanese Ministry of Education (JMoe) (1994c), 4. *The actual implementation of selecting entrees for national/public universities*. Tokyo: National Center for University Entrance Examinations.

Japanese Ministry of Education (JMoe) (1995). *Educational issues of disciplining students and the Ministry's countermeasures*. Tokyo.

Japanese Ministry of Health and Welfare (1998). *White paper*. Cited on the Japanese government Internet site: http://www.mhw.go.jp/english/white_p/book1/p1_c1/c1_sect6.html

Japanese National Police Department (JNPD) (1993). *Police white paper*. Cited in Jiji T. (1994). *A databook of educational statistics*. Tokyo.

Leestma, R. & Walberg, H.J. (1992). *Japanese educational productivity*. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies. The University of Michigan.

Lin, J. & Chen, Q. (1995). Academic pressure and impact on students' development in China. *McGill Journal of Education*, 30(2), 149-168.

Ogura, Y. (1987). Examination hell: Japanese education's most serious problem. *The College Board Review*, (144), 8-11, 26-30.

Pelgrum W. J. & Plomp T. J. (1993). *The IEA study of computers in education: Implementation of an innovation in 21 education systems*. Oxford: Pergamon.

Pinguer, M. (1993). *Voluntary death in Japan*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Postlethwaite, T. N. & Wiley D. E. (1991). *The IEA study of science II: Science achievement in twenty-three countries*, Oxford: Pergamon.

Random, S. (1985). Schooling in Japan: The paradox in the pattern. *Education Week*, February 20. Cited in Ogura, Y. (1987). Examination hell: Japanese education's most serious problem. *The College Board Review*, (144), 8-11, 26-30.

Robitaille D. F. & Garden R. A. (1989). *The IEA study of mathematics II: Context and outcomes of school mathematics*, Oxford: Pergamon.

Rohlen, T.P. (1983). *Japan's high schools*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Stevenson, H.W. and others. (1990). Contexts of achievement: A study of American, Chinese, and Japanese children. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 55(1-2), 1-116.

Stevenson, H.W. (1991). Japanese elementary school education. *The Elementary School Journal*, 92(1), 109-120.

Vogel, E. (1979). *Japan as number one: Lessons for America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- White, M. (1984). Japanese education: How do they do it? *Public Interest*, no. 76, p. 87-101.
- White, M. (1987). *The Japanese educational challenge*. New York: The Free Press.
- White, M. (1993). *The material child*. New York: The Free Press.
- Wolferen, K. van (1990). *The enigma of Japanese power*. New York: Vintage Books.
- World Health Organization (WHO) (1994). *World health statistics annuals*. Geneva: WHO.
- Young, M. (1993). The dark underside of Japanese education. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 15(2), 130-132.

STEVE BOSSY holds a B.F.A. in Music with a second major in Child Studies. He gained his M.A. from the Department of Administration and Policy Studies in Education at McGill University in 1997. The focus of his graduate studies was comparative education. His paper is based on two years of research into the Japanese education system, including interviews with Japanese students now studying in the West.

STEVE BOSSY est titulaire d'un B.F.A. en musique avec majeure en études sur l'enfant. Il a obtenu une M.A. au département d'administration et d'étude des politiques scolaires de l'Université McGill en 1997. Ses études de deuxième cycle ont porté sur l'enseignement comparé. Son article est basé sur les recherches qu'il a menées pendant deux ans sur le système d'éducation du Japon, notamment sur des entrevues avec des étudiants japonais actuellement inscrits dans des établissements occidentaux.



AN INVITATION TO OUR READERS

Our journal presents a wide range of topics and issues in the field of education in general. The content, while being primarily Canadian in nature, also deals with research and theoretical issues in education that are of world-wide importance, as well as topics unique to Quebec education.

We invite our readers to submit articles for publication.

MCGILL JOURNAL OF EDUCATION/ REVUE DES SCIENCES DE L'ÉDUCATION DE MCGILL

is a refereed journal. Submissions are read by 3 referees.

Publication Guidelines are located at the end of each issue.

INVITATION À NOS LECTEURS

Notre journal traite de tout un éventail de sujets dans le domaine des sciences de l'éducation en général. Même si les articles traitent avant tout de la situation canadienne, certains portent également sur des recherches et des problèmes théoriques revêtant une importance mondiale, ainsi que sur des sujets propres au Québec.

Nous invitons nos lecteurs à nous soumettre des articles à publier.

MCGILL JOURNAL OF EDUCATION/ REVUE DES SCIENCES DE L'ÉDUCATION DE MCGILL

est une revue avec comité de lecture.

Les articles soumis sont lus par 3 examinateurs.

Vous trouverez les directives de publication à la fin de chaque numéro.

**PLEASE ADDRESS YOUR MANUSCRIPTS TO
VEUILLEZ ADRESSER VOS MANUSCRITS À**

ANN KEENAN

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT / ADJOINTE À LA RÉDACTION

MCGILL JOURNAL OF EDUCATION/ REVUE DES SCIENCES DE L'ÉDUCATION DE MCGILL

3700 McTAVISH

MONTREAL, QC, CANADA H3A 1Y2

BOOK REVIEW

GORDON WELLS. *Dialogic Inquiry: Towards a Sociocultural Practice and Theory of Education*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press (1999). 370+xx pp. \$21.95. (ISBN 0-521-63133-5 [hb]; ISBN 0-521-63725-2 [pb]).

Gordon Wells opens his new book by narrating an impromptu exchange (after a loud, metallic crack is heard) between a mother and her five-year old son, James. The short exchange is worth quoting, even in this short review (p. xi):

James: Who did that?

Mother: I expect it was the tin cracking.

James: Why did it make that noise?

Mother: Well, it was in the oven, it got very hot and stretched a bit. . . . You see that is what happens when it gets smaller again and goes back to its ordinary shape.

James: Naughty little tin. You may get smacked – if you do it again.

That simple dialogue teaches the child and affirms for the reader that the best learning takes place in a context where the objective is not just to transfer information, but also to inculcate in the mind of the learner the inherent nature of the situation, the subject that is to be understood, and the causes as well as the consequences of why things are the way they are. When this simple, yet instructionally powerful approach is employed, it will make possible systems of education that are important, Wells says, if a society is to maintain its coherence, and if its cultural currency is to remain in circulation. Such an educational system can concretely and effectively respond to actual needs, and to future situations, relationships, and possibilities. That is, relevant and practical programs of learning will not only sustain the viability of social interactions and demands, they will and must prepare us for future roles and unpredictable developments.

The book is divided into three broad-based sections: I) Establishing the Theoretical Framework; II) Discourse, Learning and Teaching; and III) Learning and Teaching in the ZPD (zone of proximal development). Each of the three sections contains a number of specially focused chapters (10 in all), complemented by two short appendices on the social constructivist model, and categories for the analysis of discourse.

Overall, the book's themes, observations and conclusions advocate a type of education that is designed, maintained and conducted via a cluster of dialogical methods/means that are all pertinent to the lives of learners. This simple, quasi-curricular, but also philosophical objective has great relevance: it represents an indispensable way of teaching and learning for both young and adult learners who may live in different locations and be from diverse cultural and socio-economic backgrounds. Despite their various histories, all these learners would still share one simple, but essential pedagogical principle: making meaning of the surrounding environment for self and community advancement. Even if thousands of pages have already been written to promulgate this "good" advice, in education and other disciplines, Wells' presentation is valuable, because he is anything but ideological about his theoretical recommendations. The author's message is, indeed, clear: the adoption of this educational approach would immediately benefit many learners who may not, otherwise, "get it", or risk being, at best, only partially educated.

Moreover, and probably to "de-sentimentalize" his major points, Wells vigorously enlists Lev Vygotsky's constructivist theory of development where people, by themselves and with others, fulfil the role of co-constructors of the social meaning and interactions that take place in human communities. This proposition, by the very fact that it sees the individual in the context of society (and partially contrary to the Piagetian model where development is seen as taking place within the physical, cognitive and emotional confines of the person) should appeal to the analytical inclinations of cultural psychologists. Cultural psychologists, we should recall, would say that people, by learning from their culture, reproduce it, with the individual's psyche being directly supported by the behaviour, expressions and expectations of those around him or her. This view, of course, does not mean a concoction of cultural relativisms, as some may wish to label it. Wells is not seeking to rob the individual of his or her innate biological and psychological dispositions in any way. Instead, he suggests (with a hard-to-resist Vygotskian dose of pragmatism) that each human being's capacities for acting, thinking, feeling and communicating are crucially dependent on the practices and artifacts developed over time in a particular culture, practices, and artifacts that are appropriated in the course of goal-oriented joint activity (p. 135).

Wells also draws on the work of the British sociolinguist M.A.K. Halliday, who goes beyond the biology of language acquisition and skills to emphasize the process of enculturation in language learning and usage. Vygotsky would add that symbols and signs made via cultural interactions and expectations sanction or deter all social behaviour. Hence, Wells affirms the congruence between Vygotsky's and Halliday's theories of language and learning.

Wells' emphasis on the primary importance of the subject as well as of the situation of learning carries with it an appreciable recognition of a pragmatic philosophy/psychology of education: the "HOWs" and "WHYs" of teaching and learning. The parallels between Vygotsky's "learning through activities" and John Dewey's "human beings learn best by doing" are clear. Both these statements affirm the educational possibilities the author illuminates with an analytical rigour that is hard to miss, and with an expressive clarity that persuades the reader, despite the occasional use of jargon, to persevere.

To re-affirm the common thread that runs through this book, especially that learning is best achieved by the presence of a "concretizable" relationship between the learner and subject/situation of learning, it may be useful to recall Vygotsky's point that pragmatic instruction is like a magnet that pulls learners along, as they experience new terrains of concepts and knowledge that will still further promote their capacity to develop. This learning possibility needs to be understood more in the context of what Wells calls Vygotsky's most important legacy to education, the zone of proximal development or the difference between what the child can master by himself/herself and what can be achieved with some assistance. Once again, this involves (p. 333) people collaborating in activities with one another, learning from each other, and objectively and optimally contributing to the educational development of all the participants. This last point affirms the recurring contours that form the analytical landscape Wells is presenting. In this landscape a high premium is continually and consistently placed on the relevance of the contents and context, as well as the concreteness of objectives, in education programs now being dispensed in Canada and elsewhere.

If Vygotsky, Dewey, and Halliday were ahead of their time, Wells can be seen, at least partially, as being in his time. The reader can appreciate Well's informed pragmatism and explanatory depth that are continually underscored not by a theoretical fixity, but by the dynamic and situationally "harnessable" (practical) meanings and formulations of an education that is of the "here and now." That is why this book may contain some of the most important and cogent arguments on sociocultural practice and theory in education that have been expounded in the Canadian academic scene in

recent years. *Dialogic Inquiry* should, therefore, be widely read by educational researchers and others in the social sciences, and perhaps selectively recommended as a part of the theoretical literature for teachers-in-training and graduate students in certain areas of education. The work could also be used by teachers at all levels who must attempt to put the ideas of sociocultural theory to work in their classrooms in multicultural, multilingual, and multi-directional contexts. Teachers will then be better equipped to work with people from many different backgrounds, people with diverse beliefs and culturally-based expectations, but with the same learning and developmental needs and rights.

ALI A. ABDI *McGill University*

BOOKS RECEIVED

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

Ahier, J. & Esland, G. (Eds.). (1999). *Education, training and the future of work: Social, political and economic contexts of policy development*. London & New York: Routledge. \$85.00 HC; \$25.99 PB (ISBN 0-415-20209-4). 271 pp.

Albert, D.H. (1999). *And the skylark sings with me. Adventures in homeschooling and community-based education*. Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers. \$19.99 PB (ISBN 0-86571-401-0). 240 pp. Judith@newsociety.com.

Allard, M., Covert, J., Dufresne-Tassé, C., Hildyard, A. & Jackson, M. (Eds.). (1999). *A challenge met / Un défi relevé: The definition and recognition of the field of education / La définition et la reconnaissance du champ d'étude de l'éducation*. Ottawa, ON: Canadian Society for the Study of Education / Société canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation. (ISBN 0-9685137-0-0). 207 pp. csse@csse.ca.

Egan, K. (1999). *Children's minds talking rabbits & clockwork oranges. Essays on education*. London, ON: The Althouse Press. (ISBN 0-920354-46-7). 200 pp.

Eliot, S. & Owens, W.R. (Eds.). (1998). *A handbook to literary research*. London & New York: Routledge in association with The Open University. \$85.00 HC; \$24.99 PB (ISBN 0-415-19860-7). 240 pp.

Fenwick, T. & Parsons, S. (2000). *The art of evaluation. A handbook for educators and trainers*. Toronto: Thompson Educational Press. \$39.95 PB (ISBN 1-55077-104-3). 244 pp. Thompson@canadabooks.ingenia.com.

Books Received

Hodapp, R.M. (1998). *Development and disabilities: Intellectual, sensory, and motor impairments*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press. \$54.95 HC (ISBN 0-921-48294-1); \$19.95 PB (ISBN 0-521-48338-7). 270 pp.

Holmes, M. (1998). *The reformation of Canada's schools: Breaking the barriers to parental choice*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. (ISBN 0-7735-1746-4). 293 pp.

Kilbourn, B. (1998). *For the love of teaching*. London, ON: The Althouse Press. ISBN 0-920354-45-9). 207 pp.

Lampert, M. & Blunk, M.L. (1998). *Talking mathematics in school: Studies of teaching and learning*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press. \$59.95 HB (ISBN 0-521-62136-4). 259 pp.

Lawton, S.B., Bedard, G., MacLellan, D., & Li, Xiaobin. (1999). *Teachers' unions in Canada*. Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises. \$24.95 PB (ISBN 1-55059-192-4). 215 pp. Temeron@telusplanet.net.

Nicolson, C.P. & Slavin, B. (Illustrator). (1999). *Starting with space: Comets, asteroids and meteorites*. Toronto, ON: Kids Can Press. \$14.95 HC (ISBN 1-55074-314-7); \$6.95 PB (ISBN 1-55074-327-9), 40 pp. Also in the same series, *The earth*, by C.P. Nicolson & B. Slavin, published in 1996 (ISBN 1-55074-314-7 [HC] & ISBN 1-55074-327-9 [PB]), and *The sun*, by P. Bourgeois and illustrated by B. Slavin. Published in 1995 (ISBN 1-55074-158-6 [HC] and ISBN 1-55074-330-9 [PB]). Info@kidscan.com.

Smith, S.J. (1998). *Risk and our pedagogical relation to children; On the playground and beyond*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press. \$19.95 PB (ISBN 0-7914-3594-6). 220 pp.

Thom, D. J. (2000). *The leadership for dignity of all: Thom's "resolved Christianity"*. Thunder Bay, ON: Lakehead University. (ISBN 0-88663-031-2), 103 pp. Douglas.Thom@lakeheadu.ca.

Wistow, D. & McKinley, K. (1999). *Meet the Group of Seven*. Toronto, ON: Kids Can Press. \$16.95 H. (ISBN 1-55074-494-1), 48 pp. Info@kidscan.com.



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

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

MCGILL JOURNAL OF EDUCATION
REVUE DES SCIENCES
DE L'ÉDUCATION DE MCGILL

EDITOR / RÉDACTRICE-EN-CHEF: *Ann Beer*

ASSOCIATE EDITOR / RÉDACTEUR ADJOINT: *Jacques Rebuffot*

MANAGING EDITOR / GÉRANTE: *Mary H. Maguire*

REVIEW EDITOR / DIRECTEUR DE LA CRITIQUE DES LIVRES: *Anthony Paré*

MEMBERS / MEMBRES: *Helen Amoriggi (Chair), Robert Lavers,
Lorna K. Rees-Potter, Ingrid Sladeczek*

MEMBER EX-OFFICIO / MEMBRE EX-OFFICIO: *Ratna Ghosh*

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT / ADJOINTE À LA RÉDACTION: *Ann Keenan*

SOFTWARE CONSULTANT / CONSEILLER EN LOGICIEL: *Jim Harris*

PUBLICATION DESIGN / DESIGN DE LA PUBLICATION: *McGill ICC*

COVER DESIGN / CONCEPTION DE LA COUVRETURE: *Deborah Metchette*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

WINTER 2000 VOL. 35 NO. 1

- 5 EDITORIAL: CULTURES, COMPARISONS, AND CONSTRAINTS
Ann Beer
- 9 FAMILY LITERACY AND CULTURAL IDENTITY:
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF A FILIPINO FAMILY IN CANADA
Guofang Li
- 31 "CANADIANIZING" AN AMERICAN COMMUNICATION TEXTBOOK
Jennifer MacLennan
- 53 L'EXPERTISE D'UN ENSEIGNANT ASSOCIÉ
Pierre Boudreau
- REPORT FROM THE FIELD**
- 71 ACADEMIC PRESSURE AND IMPACT ON JAPANESE STUDENTS
Steve Bossy
- 91 BOOK REVIEW
- 95 BOOKS RECEIVED

PUBLICATION GUIDELINES

DIRECTIVES DE PUBLICATION

PUBLICATION GUIDELINES. *MCGILL JOURNAL OF EDUCATION* accepts English and French articles in the form of theoretical essays, descriptive reports of research, reviews of books, and commentaries on current educational issues and policies. All papers submitted should be: double-spaced, in quadruplicate, in the format of the American Psychological Association style manual (4th edition), 15-20 pages in length, and accompanied by an abstract of not more than 75 words. The title page with author's name and address should be on a separate page. It is assumed that papers have not been simultaneously submitted to any other publication. Authors of accepted papers will be requested to assign all rights to copyright to the *Journal* by means of a standard form. The review period ranges from six weeks to three months.

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

All submissions should be addressed to the Editor, *MCGILL JOURNAL OF EDUCATION*, McGill University, 3700 McTavish Street, Montreal, Quebec, Canada H3A 1Y2. (Telephone: 514 398-4246; Fax: 514 398-4529; e-mail: keenana@education.mcgill.ca)

DIRECTIVES DE PUBLICATION. Le *REVUE DE SCIENCES DE L'ÉDUCATION DE MCGILL* accepte des articles en anglais et en français sous forme d'essais théoriques, de rapports de recherche descriptifs, de critiques d'ouvrages et de commentaires sur les politiques et les enjeux actuels dans le domaine de l'éducation. Tous les articles doivent être dactylographiés à double interligne, soumis en quadruple exemplaire, suivre la présentation du manuel de style de l'*American Psychological Association* (4^e édition), compter entre 15 et 20 pages et être accompagnés d'un résumé d'au plus 75 mots. La page titre portant le nom et l'adresse de l'auteur doit être volante. Il est entendu que ces articles ne doivent pas avoir été soumis simultanément à une autre revue. Les auteurs des articles acceptés devront céder tous leurs droits d'auteur au *Journal* au moyen d'un formulaire standard. Le délai de lecture peut aller de six semaines à trois mois.

Les références, les notes, les tableaux, les graphiques et les figures doivent être limités pour ne pas encombrer le texte de l'article ou distraire le lecteur.

Tous les articles doivent être adressés à la rédacteur en chef, *REVUE DE SCIENCES DE L'ÉDUCATION DE MCGILL*, Université McGill, 3700, rue McTavish, Montréal (Québec) Canada H3A 1Y2 (téléphone: (514) 398-4246; télécopieur (514) 398-4529; keenana@education.mcgill.ca).



In this issue

- 9 Family Literacy and
 Cultural Identity: An ethnographic
 study of a Filipino family in Canada
 Guofang Li

- 31 "Canadianizing" an American
 Communication Textbook
 Jennifer MacLennan

- 53 L'expertise d'un enseignant
 associé
 Pierre Boudreau

- 71 Academic Pressure and
 Impact on Japanese Students
 Steve Bossy