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MJE

The M^cGill Journal of Education

Educating Canadians for the Future

Jean J. Charest, PC, MP

Understanding and Reaching Adult Learners

Nancy K. Schlossberg

Adult Education in Isolated Communities

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Editor's Note

On October 8, 1986, **The Honourable Jean J. Charest, P.C., M.P., Minister of State for Youth**, made his initial address to the House of Commons. His address, in response to the Speech from the Throne, focuses on some issues that are of great concern to all of us in the field of education. While the Minister is basically addressing the needs of Canadian Youth, his remarks are relevant to educators of special populations - adults, minorities, handicapped, and many others.

We are presenting the basic text of Mr. Charest's address in the form of a guest editorial.

W.M.T.

Guest Editorial

Educating Canadians For the Future

I would like to (discuss) the specific challenges, opportunities and problems the current situation presents for young Canadian men and women. These challenges go beyond those encountered on the labour market. Rapid technological change has necessarily had a major impact on education and of course on our society.

This new era is the result of global changes that are occurring faster than ever before. The job world, in fact our whole culture, is going through a period of transition comparable to the industrial revolution. We are part of an international community that is both more competitive and more interdependent than in the past. The oil crisis in the 70s made this abundantly clear.

Change is the order of the day. Markets rise and fall at an unprecedented rate, and the demand for various skills is constantly changing and shifting.

There is no quick and easy way to deal with this reality, whether we are speaking globally or internationally. However, as a nation and as a Government, we have no right to ignore these facts, and we must acquire the approaches and strategies that will help us to manage change where possible and to avoid being alienated by change.

To deny these new realities would be nothing less than disastrous, not only for Canadians but especially for our Canadian Youth.

The Government must act as a catalyst, helping to define what the challenges are and where our collective responsibilities lie, and helping people understand what kind of opportunities the future holds in store. . . . (A) new culture based on the continuing acquisition of knowledge. . . opens up almost unlimited opportunities for society in general and for the Canadian labour market in particular.

The impact of technology on the job world is one of the main concerns of young Canadians. Our ability to integrate new skills and to create jobs commensurate with those skills is, for our young people, a reflection of our country's success. Success means the ability to adjust to this rapidly changing environment, where competition is becoming increasingly fierce.

If young people do not get adequate training, if they are not provided with the means to adapt themselves, they will simply not be in a position to preserve Canada's prosperity and secure our economic future. The Prime Minister recognizes it is urgent to properly integrate our young people into the labour force and, in that respect, . . . this Government's decision to link up the youth component to the Department responsible for employment matters is significant.

This new reality must also allow for participation by visible minorities, natives and the handicapped, who are an integral part of the gainfully employed population. I am committed to doing everything humanly possible to promote the interests of those groups, feeling as I do that there can be no genuine economic, social, and cultural progress without the full participation of all Canadian men and women.

New technologies in changing markets and the need for more advanced skills are the current challenges which our young people, who will be part of our labour force, should be able to take up. The training of that new, more flexible manpower in possession of more specialized knowledge, will require the co-operation of the young people themselves, of the teachers, the labour unions, the private sector, and all levels of Government.

The new technological era also entails other changes, new ways of defining work, a different view of hierarchy in the workplace, a new way of managing work and leisure hours. Actually, what we are talking about is a new lifestyle, whence the need for autonomy and innovation.

In the light of these changes, we are reviewing certain programs. In consultation with the provinces, the labour unions, and the business world, we will review such things as the apprenticeship training program, which to a large extent is funded by Employment and Immigration Canada. That review will take place over the next six months, with a view to determining the best possible avenues for getting labour and the training sector closer together.

We are also looking at measures to fight against illiteracy in Canada. In the same optic, we are considering action to encourage young people to remain in school as long as possible, and measures to prevent drug abuse and help young offenders.

To promote access to employment, we are constantly improving our occupational counselling and employment information programs and we are developing new training tools for occupational counsellors. In this regard, we are looking at the co-operation mechanisms between Employment and Immigration Canada and the provincial Departments of Education. In the same optic, the National Conference on Secondary Education, announced by the Prime Minister for the beginning of 1987, and the proposed National Advisory Board for Industrial Technology will help to define the concepts, to develop the new mechanisms, and to determine the levels of cooperation required for a better management of changes in these sectors.

Major progress was made in this direction a little over a year ago when the Canadian Jobs Strategy was implemented. This strategy represents a basic change in the federal policy as concerns training and job creation, especially for young people who, I should point out in passing, are the main users of these programs as a whole.

In summary, I shall be looking with the representatives of the provinces, the leaders in our society and young people at how to answer one basic question among others: what kind of direction do our young people need, not only to move successfully from the academic world into the active world, but also to become the nucleus of a labour force of international standing? The performance of Canada on the international scene is closely dependent on the answer to that question. In the short term, however, we must maintain our efforts in order to solve the unemployment problem among young Canadians, although the demographic process itself should progressively reduce the relative importance of this problem with which all industrialized nations are faced. In the present context, the ultimate irony is that we may face a manpower shortage in the years to come.

Statistics concerning unemployment among young people in all industrialized nations clearly indicate that everywhere governments must step up their effort with a view to integrate young people into the labour force during this transition period. In the United Kingdom, the unemployment rate among young people is nearly 22 percent. In France, it exceeds 25 percent, while in Italy and Spain, it exceeds 35 percent and 43 percent, respectively.

In Canada, the unemployment situation among young people is not as serious as elsewhere, and it is improving. It went from nearly 19 percent down to less than 15 percent over the past 18 months. The cynicism and despair expressed by some of our youth are not as acute as elsewhere and, while travelling throughout this country, I have noted clear signs of increasing assurance and optimism among our young men and women who

are aware that this country belongs to them and who are determined to develop it fully. The situation is not as critical as it is elsewhere, but . . . much remains to be done. The distribution of jobs at the national level is very uneven; youth unemployment varies from around 10 percent, its lowest level, in the Toronto area and goes on to exceed 30 percent in Newfoundland. For native young people, the situation is even worse.

The Government has a duty to identify policies and clarify objectives in order to deal with these problems. Alone, however, it cannot provide easy answers. All sectors have a role to play in helping Canadians adjust to a changing job world, and in its role as national coordinator, the Government must ensure that the measures being taken by various sectors complement each other.

This Government's jobs strategy reflects the realization that solving the problem of youth unemployment does not depend on how many jobs are created but also on the type of jobs, real jobs that are career-oriented, for which real training is provided. The jobs strategy makes it possible to take into account both the technological changes taking place on the labour market and the priorities of each participant. The strategy emphasizes autonomy and innovation, two factors that are now indispensable to economic growth.

The jobs strategy has no connection with any of the so-called band-aid solutions that may have been proposed before.

Taking its cue from this approach, the federal Challenge 86 program, aimed at creating summer jobs for young people, has set long-term objectives. With the support of local businesses and community organizations, Challenge 86 has helped create 90,000 jobs, which in most cases are related to the goals and aspirations of our young people.

The strategy's other programs, which run 12 months a year, are also based on these principles. The Job Entry program features on-the-job training and practical work experience which are a solid basis for young Canadians to begin new careers. Then there is the Innovations program to help those who have creative ideas and projects which propose fresh and innovating solutions to the labour market problems and create openings for technological applications.

(There is also) the importance of finding new ways to instill the spirit of entrepreneurship in the minds of young people. We have already begun to work on this and will soon be in a position to unveil a major program in this field.

New trends are beginning to appear, such as team work and a growing awareness of the importance of quality and flexibility. Unless they can readily adapt to the changing situation and make the best of it, neither young people nor the various labour market interests can ever look forward to a productive future. Only a positive and flexible attitude coupled with long-term planning can foster prosperity among individuals and organizations.

Given the scope of the challenge facing us, it is only through a concerted national effort that we will succeed in fully integrating young people into the economic activities of this country and into society as a whole. For my part, besides defending the cause of young people in Cabinet and encouraging them to take full advantage of all services and programs offered by the federal Government, I will strongly support all measures likely to give youth more opportunities to become active participants.

Mechanisms such as the Canadian Youth Foundation and the Advisory Council of Youth will make it easier for them to be directly involved in the quest for solutions to the employment problems and other questions which concern us all.

The era of new technology offers young Canadians more opportunities for training, employment, and personal development than any other previous period in history. All of us will have to use our minds and creativity to benefit socially and economically from these opportunities.

(We) are living during an exalting period of transition, at a crucial time when we can experiment with new methods and discover new concepts, values, and options to pave the way for a new society where all Canadians will be at home. If all of us, young people, educators, employer organizations, and union leaders, community leaders and elected representatives, are determined to get the most out of these opportunities, we shall prepare a great future for young Canadians and the nation, as a whole.

Finally, I am convinced that, like the previous generations, this one . . . will be able to overcome the obstacles it has inherited from others. Our basic message to young Canadians is that they must remember that Canada is still a country to be built and that they will build it for themselves and in their own image.

Jean J. Charest, P.C., M.P.
Minister of State (Youth)



"Seated Woman"

Nancy K. Schlossberg
University of Maryland

Understanding and Reaching Adult Learners

Abstract

Advisors, faculty, administrators who work with adult learners need to understand them. This understanding incorporates learning capacity, learning styles, readiness to learn, and participation in learning. Advisors, faculty, and administrators use this knowledge base to 1) increase their advising repertoire, 2) change the climate in their classrooms, and 3) make adult students feel they matter.

The adult learner, who enrolls in a university program, may encounter some situations that are frustrating and confusing. My awareness of these problems was heightened when I invited a friend to lunch during the preparation of this paper.

My friend, who has a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago and is now enrolled in a Master's degree in Social Work, made it clear that, as a former professor at another university, she felt robbed of dignity and degraded. Seeking to understand her better, I asked her what it feels like to be an adult learner? Also, were her advisors helpful? These two simple questions evoked an enormous outpouring. "Nancy, it's like being a bag lady. I carry two bags in the winter – one for books and one for boots. I shuffle around hoping a professor will invite me in to sit for a minute. I have no place to get messages. As to my advisor, she is a wimp. I went to her about substituting a course. She sent me to the Dean who would not see me. Back to the advisor I went. Unable to make the change herself, she did not intervene with the Dean."

Consider another example – John, a 28-year-old man who had graduated from high school 10 years before and now sought higher education. This young man, handicapped by a severe learning disability, had compensated for it. After all those years, he finally got up his courage and went to a nearby community college to register. John reports that his advisors were unsympathetic, lazy, and disinterested. As a result of their lack of assistance, he in fact, had to take off from work three different times in order to return and complete the registration process. His advice: energize advisors and tell them about commitment.

The landscape is not, however, universally bleak. Here is a success story. I interviewed Shirley – a 48-year-old woman about to complete her B.S. in business management. She has a 4.0 average. She credits her success to her own competence and organizational skills – and equally to supportive, energetic, and informed advisors. They were available, they knew the rules, they cared, and they delivered.

Clearly, as these vignettes illustrate, advisors are terribly important to students of any age and they can be "for better or worse." Most of us would like it to be "for better." I suggest that we can engage in some specific activities which can insure that we are in the category "for better." If we will, as a first step, really **understand** the adult learner, this understanding will suggest a number of ways to better **reach** this population.

Understanding Adult Learners

It is difficult to realize that by 2050 life expectancy will be 100 (Siegel & Taeuber, 1986, p. 98). This revolution in mortality will, of necessity, force us to rethink the meanings of age. Hagestad (1986) suggests that the common pattern of pressuring children to begin preschool earlier, rushing young people through high school, college, and then graduate school, does not make sense. Society might better help people think about ways to prepare more slowly and over longer periods of time for 80 years and more. She suggests that we need a life span slogan such as **Think 80**.

The implications for educators are enormous. The demographic revolution will force us to recast our assignment of education, work, and leisure "sequentially to the life stages of youth, adulthood, and old age." Changing "the relation between education and the stages of life" will be "a transformation as far-reaching as the 'discovery of childhood' described by Ariès" (Moody, 1986, pp. 191-2).

This change to lifelong learning, recurring education, or blended life plans requires a close look at the adult learner. Is the adult learner the

individual who has been out of school for several years and has decided to return? Is the adult student a person who decides to change gears and direction, entering professional training in midlife to late life? Is the adult learner a 50-year-old or a 30-year-old? Is the adult learner experienced or inexperienced? In other words, is there a definable entity known as the adult learner? Is there a distinct way in which adults learn?

In answering the question, Is there such an entity as the "adult learner"?, a case can be made for either position. Case 1: Yes, there is such an entity as evidenced by the growing number of articles and books on the subject demonstrating the special needs and capacities that distinguish them from traditional aged students. Case 2: No, there is no such entity as the "adult learner"; rather, adult learners are heterogeneous just as young learners are. Some would say that categorization itself causes difficulties. To say that the adult learner is a distinct category might be thought to feed into the "agism" of the current society. By making age the central variable, one might overlook other important characteristics of the adult learner or, worse, conclude that people at certain ages are simply too old to learn. On the other hand, denying the existence of adult learners as a distinct category may well lead to oversight of special needs of that population, needs which should be addressed by educator and policy makers. Of course, one could conclude that there is a distinct category known as adult learners, but within that category, there are wide and often dramatic differences.

This discussion is based on different assumptions about age. On the one hand there are those who see chronological age itself as the defining variable. For example, according to Levinson (1978), the issues of the 20-year-old are quite distinct from those of the 40-year-old. Levinson links adult behaviour to age and describes six distinct periods emphasizing sequentiality and similarity in the adult experience. This view has been widely noted in both the popular and scholarly press. Opposing these stage theorists are those scholars like Neugarten (1982), who analyze the complexities, varieties and heterogeneities of adulthood; who look at continuity and change across the course of life, but who are more concerned with the lack of predictability, with the surprises, with the unexpected things that can happen at any age to anyone. Neugarten concludes that people grow old differently. In fact, the scope of these differences becomes greater, not narrower.

Hagestad (1985) demonstrates the impossibility of assuming that adult lives follow an orderly, linear process. Actually, the process is circular. Careers are interrupted and started and individuals make loops in the age system. Examples of such loops would be a woman who becomes a college freshman at the age of 45 or a man who starts a new family at the age of 50. People engage in renewal activities all through adulthood; for example, in a given class one might find three grandmothers ranging in age

from 50 to 80. What we are seeing is a demographic change where four- and five-generation families may be the norm: where one can be both a grandmother and a granddaughter simultaneously.

Many educators talk and think about the adult learner as if there were such a recognizable, single entity for whom there is a set way of teaching, a set way of learning. It is tempting but wrong to assume that appearances and age can provide an understanding of what people think or feel, or how they behave. There is, we submit, a fluid life course. We are experiencing what Cross (1981) calls the "blended life pattern" in which one does not necessarily follow a prescribed life course – meaning one no longer goes to school, works, marries, and has children in that order. Some people at an unconventional age, are, for instance, marrying for the first time. Indeed, the facts about adult students that may really count are almost certain to be quite different from any current widely-held assumptions. Adults are a most diverse group, and, of course, people of all ages are heterogeneous and diverse; but generally as people get older, their idiosyncratic experiences and different commitments produce much more variability, not less.

Assumptions About Adult Learning

If our conclusion is correct – that adults are heterogeneous and variable, and that they become more so as they age – then, obviously, that truth has implications for how they learn. To understand the variability of adults as learners we will examine some data on their capacity to learn, learning styles, readiness to learn, and participation in education.

Variability – learning capacity

Although few would, I hope, subscribe to the notion that "you can't teach an old dog new tricks", the conventional wisdom does seem to be that intellectual functioning slows down with age. The newer data show that you can indeed teach old dogs new tricks, that learning, memory, competency do not necessarily slow down. In fact, given the proper environmental stimulation and good health, capacity can increase. Kohn (1980) and his associates demonstrated that learning capacity may increase for those men and women working in jobs assessed as substantively complex. Park's studies of memory contradict the usual findings that memory decreases with age. First, she shows the ineffectiveness of laboratory tests for understanding what occurs in "real" life. She concludes: "Although older adults may not remember as effectively as young adults both in and out of the laboratory, the encoding process and use of contextual information does not appear to be the locus of any qualitative deficits" (Park, 1986). With these new data, what do you say to a 55-year-old woman who wants to apply to a doctoral program in counselling psychology?

Variability – learning style

Even if we agree that capacity can be maintained and even increased, can we as advisers, counsellors, and teachers treat every adult in the same manner? Obviously not. Kolb (1981) contends that people learn differently. Some learn through **concrete experience**; others learn by **reflecting**; still others by **abstract conceptualization**; and some others by **active experimentation**. Although I have always had an aversion to the roughness of football, when my son began playing, I began understanding Kolb's work. The coaches teach by using all four modes of learning. The players had the concrete experience of being hit on the head and playing even with concussions; they reflected by watching videotapes of the game and discussing what they did that was effective and ineffective; they engaged in abstract conceptualization by studying a variety of plans and conceptualizing a "game plan" – how to engage in a winning game; they actively experimented by returning to the field and practising what they learned. Kolb's message was reinforced when I won a 20-year-old fight with my husband and convinced him to take dancing lessons. The teacher had us watch a videotape, showed us steps, made us promise to practise, and then insisted that we discuss the concept. Steve went to the lessons, with heavy heart and foot. He paid attention during the lesson but he refused to practise at home. He kept saying, "I learn by conceptualizing and visualizing; I have it in my head." One night we went dancing with friends, but when we entered the dance floor, Steve stood paralyzed. He could not translate what was in his head to his feet. He realized the importance of practising.

Variability – readiness to learn

According to one study, adults return to school primarily for career or family transition. Most women returned because of family transition followed by career transitions; but, for the most part, men's reasons were reversed (Aslanian & Brickell, 1980). I suggest that readiness for the learning transition can be understood by applying the Transition Model – a structured system for assessing an individual's readiness for any transition (Schlossberg, 1984).

Readiness depends upon measuring strengths and weaknesses in three key areas. The first is the **transition or situation itself**. Does the individual see the learning situation as positive, negative, dreaded? Does it come at a good or bad time? Is the individual undergoing other stresses? For example, a young woman with two children to support realizes that in order to move out of this restrictive lifestyle, she needs further education with a career focus. She is ready to learn because of career reasons but not ready in terms of caring for small children. One young man is very ready to learn. He sees the learning transition as positive and it is at a particularly good time in his life. We see that each potential learner is in a different place regarding the learning transition.

The second area predicting readiness relates to one's **inner strengths** – that is, one's ability to cope and to use many coping strategies. The data are clear on one point – there is no single effective coping strategy. At times, an individual needs to fight to change the situation itself; at other times, changing the meaning of the situation is all that is required: often, relaxing in the face of stress by running, swimming, meditating is helpful; and, finally, there are times when taking no action is the best strategy. Individuals who cope in a flexible manner, using a large repertoire of coping strategies, have better chances of adapting to the learning transition.

Support systems at the institution, at home, and in the community constitute the third area predicting readiness for a learning transition. In a recent study of adults engaged in non-traditional learning, we discovered that support is "a many splendored thing" (Schlossberg & Warren 1985). If you ask an adult learner if his or her significant other is supportive, the answer generally is in the affirmative. However, if you ask, "In what ways is your 'significant other' supportive; in what ways is your 'significant other' not supportive?", you assume that most people experience support as well as subtle, or not so subtle, sabotage. One woman, Virginia, left her job and returned to school full time. Her mother, who lived with her, was verbally very supportive. Yet right before class, Virginia's mother, who was immobile, would tell Virginia she needed something from the drug store. In addition, Virginia's friends kept telling her she was doing too much. After several months, Virginia withdrew from school.

Variability – participation in education

Cross suggests another way to understand why one adult participates and another does not; or even why one person might, at one time in life, participate, and decline to do so at another time. Cross identifies three sets of factors that keep us from learning: dispositional, institutional, and situational (1981).

The **dispositional barriers** result from the attitudes people have about themselves. Only recently a person of 50 told me she was too old to go to graduate school. Ask yourself if you agree that age should be a variable in considering learning.

Situational barriers are those that are specific to a given individual at a particular time. For example, many adult children are caring for older parents and young adult children. This kin-keeping is a situational barrier, on the increase, which prohibits people from taking on a new activity such as returning to school.

The third set of barriers are **institutional** ones. Does the institution accomodate adults? Is there flexibility in scheduling and in awarding money

to part-time students? Are secretaries on duty after 4:30? Adult learners attribute great importance to the institution. If there are policies, procedures, and activities that make it possible for them to take classes at convenient times, to buy books at off-campus locations, to reach advisors on the phone easily, then adult learners are encouraged to participate. If on the other hand, the admissions policies discriminate against older students, if financial aid is not available, if rules and regulations are rigid and do not fit in with the complex lives of many adults, then they will be discouraged from attending and remaining.

It seems clear, based on the previous discussion, that before advisors, counsellors, administrators can do something to and for adult learners, they need to understand that adult learners are not just a category. Some are bright, others dull; some are knowledgeable, others ignorant; some are energetic, others apathetic; some are anxious, others self-confident; some process information in a rigid manner, others handle and digest complex ambiguous material. They are of varying ages and places in the life span and from different social classes. In other words, there is tremendous variability. I have pointed out four areas where variability seems most relevant to our discussion of understanding and reaching adult learners. They are: cognitive capacity, learning styles, readiness for learning, and participation in learning. The critical question now becomes: Once we have a knowledge base about adults, how can we reach them?

Reaching Adult Learners

Our challenge, individually and collectively, is to vigorously pursue the goal of becoming sensitive and competent advisors for the future learners – adults. To illustrate, I will suggest a few new advising strategies, stemming from the knowledge we have of the adult's cognitive capacity, learning style, transition readiness, and participation. Perhaps there are many more.

Changing your climate

Bernice Sandler, Director of the Project on the Status of Women, American Association of Colleges, studied the ways in which women perceive the classroom climate as chilly (Sandler & Hall, 1982). Thinking back to our Bag Lady, would she have been welcome in your office? Do you establish a chilly or warm office climate for adult learners? Would you encourage or discourage an adult considering a degree program at age 50? There are so many ways in which our attitudes about aging influence the climate we create. These kinds of attitudes are often deeply ingrained and negative; they must be resisted with new data about successful aging and the possibility of increasing cognitive capacity as one ages.

Increasing your advising repertoire

If, as I believe we must, take Kolb's work seriously – that all of us learn differently – then effective advisors will strive to increase their advising repertoire. Let me illustrate with an example from the teaching role. I usually teach by abstract conceptualization. In a class designed to teach theories of adult development, I presented material in my traditional way – lecturing. After learning about Kolb's work, I realized that many of my students did not learn that way. I forced myself to expand my teaching repertoire. In order to have the students experience the different theories of adult development, I had them each think of something going on in their own lives and apply at least two different theories to their situation. In this way, I made the abstractions concrete. Then, I divided the room into four groups, each group representing one major theoretical position. The students saw a videotape of a middle age man. Each group debated the case from the point of view of the assigned theory. This forced them to experience the theories.

I realize there are tremendous differences between advising and teaching, but the process of expanding one's repertoire is similar. First, identify your usual style of advising. Then brainstorm additional strategies which will enable you to reach others whose style differs from yours.

Applying the transitional model

This model enables individuals to score their readiness for a transition. First, an individual assesses the transition itself, the support systems, coping strategies, and inner resources. This assessment permits identification of the problem area or areas. Once an individual sees which of these factors are causing problems, the individual can take action by controlling the transition, mobilizing inner strengths, or modifying external resources and supports. To be more specific, we have developed the Transition Readiness Quotient (Schlossberg, et al., 1986). After completing it, the individual computes a score. The score indicates whether the person is ready for the transition, and indicates which area needs to be worked on – the transition, the environmental supports, or the individual's coping style.

Advisors have reported the usefulness of this tool. In one class of returning students, the adult learners can clearly pinpoint what areas they need to shore-up and why they are having problems. Mostly, it should help them develop a time perspective about transitions.

Creating a place for adults to matter

The American Council on Education's Commission on Higher Education and Adult Learner commissioned the development of a self-study

guide. Representatives of over 200 institutions have attended workshops designed to prepare them to administer the guides on their own campuses. This environmental assessment is a first step to sensitizing the entire campus to the needs and importance of adults as learners (Commission on Higher Education and the Adult Learner, 1985).

In a recent study of adult learners and non-traditional institutions, a welcoming environment was defined by adults as having a place where they felt they mattered (Schlossberg & Warren, 1985). Our evaluation revealed a recurring theme through the interviews. It was the importance of mattering. The interviewees felt they mattered to an instructor, to the institution, to the program. This has stimulated research into the concept of mattering. Rosenberg, a sociologist at the University of Maryland, suggests that mattering is a motive that has been overlooked. In comparing delinquents and non-delinquents, he found that non-delinquents feel they mattered to teachers, to parents, to meaningful others who are not delinquent (1981). Rosenberg further suggests that mattering is important to retirees. If individuals retire and no longer feel that they matter, they are not likely to be very well adjusted. We contrast this with the midlife kin-keepers, who matter too much sometimes, like top administrators who also matter too much.

Mattering appears to be an important notion, and we are beginning to study the degree to which adult learners feel they matter to those of us in higher education. That is, the degree to which they feel they are appreciated; the degree to which they feel they are missed when they are not in class; the degree to which they feel that their success is a reflection on the professor. We will soon have a Mattering Scale that can be easily administered to learners. It will help identify areas on the campus that need improving so that learners feel they matter. You know how important it is for you to feel you matter – when you come to a conference, when you go to a workshop, when you teach a course. You want to feel you matter, that you are appreciated by your boss and by the people you supervise. And if it is that important to you, imagine how important it is to adult students. So, whatever the particular technique or the trend or the attitude is, if basically you can make your adult learners – who come in all sizes, shapes, colours, ethnic identifications, religions – feel they matter, then you have been a success.

The subject of adult learners is fascinating and manageable. It is successfully understood and implemented through a combination of theory and practice – seasoned with a healthy skepticism toward long cherished stereotypes. We can do it and do it better.

Adapted from the Keynote Speech delivered at the National Academic Advising Association, October 12, 1986, U.S.A.

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Adult Education In Isolated Communities

Abstract

There is a growing interest in the use of technology to supplement the current delivery of support services to adult learners in isolated communities. Educational institutions have adapted to the physical separation of student and institution in a variety of ways. This study will examine creative efforts to support students in remote areas by analyzing adult distance learner requirements, selected Canadian student service operations, and the creative use of technology.

Adults in isolated communities can more effectively serve their families and their community when they develop new skills and enhance their respect for themselves and their culture. Sometimes they need a little help from a friend or professional who is willing to go an entire mile to serve them. Jack Cram's (1985) research and teacher training program with the Inuit Indians of Northern Quebec entitled *Northern Teachers for Northern Schools* is an example of the power of respect for the dignity of individuals and their way of life. Self sacrifice, hard work, imagination, and a sense of humor and compassion can contribute to extraordinary gains.

While it is not possible to do justice in a few paragraphs to the substantial gains identified in his article, the following serve as a reminder of some of the exciting possibilities that exist if respect and imagination are skillfully intertwined:

- . In 1978, the first eight Inuit teachers received provincial certification.
- . McGill Senate, 1981, approved the McGill Certificate in Native and Northern Education.

. The first six McGill/Northwest Territories certificates were awarded in Frobisher Bay in June 1983. A further 11 were awarded in 1984.

. Besides the B.Ed. program in Frobisher Bay, a unique project for the training of Inuit to work as teacher training instructors has been developed by the Kativik School Board and the McGill program in Arctic Quebec (pages 118-123).

The numbers tell only part of the story. This field based training program, with a philosophy and student support service based on a respect for the culture and heritage of the clients served, made it possible for a northern pioneering group to teach in northern schools in a region where previously both the value and the feasibility of such an undertaking was questioned.

Throughout this study, technology will appear to have magical qualities. While it is true that scientific inventions can be used to free individuals restricted by isolation, it can also be used to enslave groups and individuals. The spirit of Jack Cram's project must permeate all efforts to provide support systems, regardless of the technology used.

Even enthusiastic northern educators recognize the limitations of field based programs. Cram wrote: ". . . but there are times when it seems as if there are not enough qualified instructors, or, indeed, enough money in the world to meet the voracious, yet heartfelt demand for training courses..." (page 126).

What will happen to the students who started the program, but for a host of personal reasons, were unable to complete their teaching certificate? Will they have to go to Montreal to complete their courses? The program received a \$400,000 grant over four years. In a few years, will it be possible to provide trips in Twin Otters that cost \$7,000 a day? In short, while exciting and effective programs are providing a host of new opportunities, creative supplementary alternative methods should be explored. This article examines some of the exciting opportunities and depressing realities in this area by focusing on the needs of adult distance learners, selected case studies of student service operations in Canada, and technology currently used to provide counselling and support services to distance education students.

Support Services for Distance Learners

Many educators have considered counselling and related support services an indispensable part of traditional campus-based post-secondary education. However, in distance education, counselling and student advocacy are only beginning to be recognized as an important part of the educational experience of the learner. Representatives of many distance education

institutions contend that their goal is to promote an attitude of independence. To reach their goal they develop learning packages which enable students to work on their own, with a minimum of contact with the educational institution. Unfortunately, as Dan Coldeway (1982) pointed out, "most students lack the experience to adapt readily to a totally andragogical system" (p.91). Dedicated instructors expend vast amounts of time and energy devising learning packages which will allow students to become completely independent of teachers and other students. They appear to have forgotten the importance of the social aspect of the learning experience. At the university level the pursuit of this ultimate achievement of instructional designers is not only futile, but misdirected. It is vital that the concept of a university as a community of scholars – in distance education, studying as external students – must be maintained. As Smith and Small (1982) stated, "external studies will, by definition, continue to be essentially a form of independent study but should never be a sentence to solitary confinement" (p. 137).

Who are distance learners?

Let us shift our focus from the challenges relating to the learning system to those relating to the type of learner that typically takes distance education courses. Studies have shown that the majority of distance learners are adults (Paulet, 1985). While it is true that many adults are self-sufficient, many are not. Their most recent educational experiences are typically part of their distant memories. They generally have a greater variety of educational backgrounds which range from less than high school to a university degree. They are not familiar with distance education. Their study skills, if they exist, may be "rusty" or inappropriate. Usually, they are part-time students. Consequently, they are constantly forced to choose between dealing with the demands of their studies and a host of other pressing demands in their environment.

Like all students, they approach educational institutions with a goal or aspiration in mind. Morgan, Taylor and Gibbs (1982) identified three main types of orientation to study (personal, vocational, and academic) which alter the ways students view their studies. Student satisfaction may be greatly affected by their ability to obtain courses and programmes that fulfil their prior expectations.

Students may be plagued with a variety of problems unrelated to course selection. Many are concerned about difficulties with administrative considerations such as examination systems and course content, design, and deadlines.

Having established that the students need a support service that can personalize and humanize the distance teaching system, let us examine

perceptions of the counsellors' role in serving these individuals. This examination will focus on the challenges and opportunities available to flexible professionals establishing their rights and responsibilities in this new medium of service.

Counselling distance learners

Counsellors are aware that the nature of their service is dictated, in part, by the employing institution serving the client. Distance learners require current information relating to opportunities available throughout the entire post-secondary system. For example, the admission requirements (open or selective) may dictate the institutions available for the potential student. The Open Learning Institute only requires that a student be a Canadian citizen. To enter Athabasca University an individual must be eighteen years old and a resident of Canada. Course registration and in-take dates for distance education students vary from continuous to fixed. While the Universities of Acadia and Athabasca operate on a year round continuous registration system, the University of British Columbia and the Open Learning Institute have six in-takes per year. A variety of systems have been developed to deal with final examinations. Students in isolated areas are frequently required to make arrangements for their own examination supervisor or proctor. Indeed, a counsellor must be flexible and well informed to serve distance learners.

Educators continue to disagree on the definition of counselling and the role of the counsellor. There is clearly overlap between advising and counselling both in the skills required of staff who perform these tasks and in the purpose of each function. Both advisors and counsellors help students cope with their environment and to acquire self-understanding. However, there are a number of significant differences and these peculiarities are relevant to the distance learner.

Currently, advisory services are more prevalent in distance education programs than counselling services. Advisors, typically, help students requesting information in such areas as program alternatives, financial aid, and a variety of special services. While an advisor may play a role in acting as a buffer between student and institution by explaining administrative procedure, in general, advisors are more problem-centred than person-centred. Students frequently turn to advisors for help with study strategies, time management, and approaches to writing different types of examinations. However, diagnosing and referring students with particular learning difficulties is usually carried out by someone with more specialized skills.

Counsellors themselves debate the purpose of counselling within an educational setting. Many practitioners would agree with Heffernan (1981)

that "counselling is conceived as a less direct process, one that is aimed at self-discovery, developing confidence and making personal choices" (p. 115).

In general, educational institutions have been reluctant to hire counsellors to work in the distance education setting despite the fact that adult learners face many personal and social problems when they return to education. (Many students have stated that they need help in developing decision making and goal planning skills.) In addition to service evaluation and institutional research, professionally trained counsellors could assist with programme and course development.

Varieties of support services

Although counsellors are rarely hired to work in distance education programs, a number of successful institutions have developed a variety of student support services. The nature of these services frequently depend on funding, organizational structure, and philosophy of the institution. Brief summaries of how selected institutions have developed creative ways of helping students are described in the next section.

A distance teaching institution which is part of the network of the Université du Québec, Télé-université, has developed a unique staff role, the animateur (facilitator). This person organizes workshops for small groups of students to serve a specified region (Caron, 1982). The animateur may also be asked to support students participating in teleconferencing. Unlike a tutor, the animateur is usually a non-academic specialist. Unfortunately, this unique service is used only in Quebec.

Community representatives (peer-counsellors) at the University of Western Ontario provide information and support to off-campus and distance education students. These modestly paid individuals perform the following duties: discuss problems of university courses with students; pass on information concerning the academic channels and contacts on campus; share personal experiences regarding managing university courses or programs with students; help identify strategies for academic planning; give the faculty of part-time and continuing education feedback on issues that relate to off-campus centres; and act as an ombudsman between student and Part-Time Continuing Education.

Tutoring, Advising, Teleconferencing

Unique programs

Athabasca University, serving over 8000 working adults located in all parts of Canada, has developed an elaborate support system. The Alberta

institution employs about 160 part-time tutors who assist students with course content. They also help students maximize their potential educationally and personally by providing information and support.

The Open Learning Institute (OLI), instituted by the British Columbia government in 1978, serves approximately 15,000 students, but has no counterpart to the Athabasca University counsellor role. The emphasis of the advisor role at OLI is on information-giving, academic advising, liaison and promotion, and administrative activities. About 120 tutors were hired on part-time six-month contracts and eight tutors were retained on part-time 12-month contracts. Working from their homes, they maintain regular contact with students through the mail and by telephone. While they are only required by contract to initiate one introductory telephone call, most tutors make at least three calls during a course. Teleconferencing is used by some tutors to reduce the sense of isolation felt by students.

While Brandon University has been involved in distance education delivery for only three years, it is well recognized for its off-campus teacher training programs in Africa, England, and Canada. Brandon University Northern Teacher Education Program (BUNTEP), with its regional coordinators, has been studied by many universities. The Project for Native Teachers (PENT) program received the most distinguished teacher training award program in North America, in Florida, in 1983. Counselling and support services are available in the well recognized programs in the university and need to be developed for all other distance learners at Brandon University. A student in the BUNTEP can receive counselling on a regular daily basis if necessary as each BUNTEP centre has a specially trained coordinator or centre administrator as well as access to a regional social worker and administrative support staff. The PENT student can also request counselling by phoning their office in Brandon. Other distance learners must be content with asking a secretary to relay a message to their instructor. There have been some problems with the use of the telephone service.

Weekly phone calls from the instructors and regular teleconferencing sessions have proven useful. The student services office has agreed to relay messages and provide some telephone and personal counselling services for students interested in distance learning. There are plans to list the courses in the Brandon University Calendar so that potential students in Northern Manitoba can be aware of available distance education courses through the traditional channels. A recent study (Paulet, 1985) has indicated that students are satisfied with the instruction and the quality of the print and audio-visual packages. They have requested additional local and group telephone counselling sessions. The study also showed that the request for education courses is more than 300% higher than the previous year. One can

only imagine how high this figure would have been with additional support services in place.

Use of technology

The next best thing to being there, is counselling through technology! While there is a growing interest in providing student support services through the use of technology, these services in distance education are delivered primarily through print, telephone, and in-person contacts.

Authors try to make their print materials "user friendly." Students taking OLI's PREP 001 course receive self-administered diagnostic tests and programme planning information on such topics as study skills and examination preparation.

While some institutions use audio-cassettes as a vehicle for communication between the tutor and the student (e.g., Waterloo), most institutions use audio-cassette tapes to supplement and enrich the print-learning package. Feasly (1983) pointed out why they are gaining in popularity. Audio-cassettes have several advantages: they are readily available, relatively inexpensive, portable, and students can stop and replay them at will. On one Athabasca University tape, designed to provide advising and counselling services, four students registered at the university talk about their experiences as adult distance education students.

The telephone is used a great deal in distance education because it provides fast, effective communication links between students, tutors, advisors, administrative staff, and counsellors. However, the effective delivery of tutoring and counselling services by telephone requires excellent communication skills. The following factors, identified by Mikiman (1984), should be remembered by all counsellors working with distance education students:

the counsellor (and tutor) has to rely on auditory cues such as voice tone, tempo, and inflection; voice quality and speech attributes; and language syntax and semantics in order to initiate and enhance communication effectiveness in telephone contact. (p.407)

A number of universities in Canada use audio, video, and computer teleconferencing. Carl (1983) described the Distance University Education via Television (DUET) system at Mount St. Vincent University in Nova Scotia. DUET uses cable television and video teleconferencing to deliver both distance education and to support students by providing the opportunity for interaction amongst students at the receiving centre and

interaction with the instructor at the broadcast classroom. He also pointed out that the broadcast classroom contains speakers for the telephone lines so that the instructor and students on campus can hear and speak with the students at the receiving centres.

Conclusion

Recent changes in technology and attitudes to adult education will expand the opportunities for student support-service personnel to assist adults taking distance education courses in isolated communities. Professionally trained individuals and volunteers, however, will have to become familiar with a unique delivery system. They will, also, have to remember the example given by Jack Cram in northern Quebec, namely, that the adults to be served, including their culture and heritage, are more important than the technology used to help them.

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"Karna"

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The Public School Myth: Quebec Education 1875-1960

Abstract

This article argues that Quebec public education, as measured by conventional criteria, was more fiction than fact before 1960. Specifically, it is charged that those who ruled education were neither accountable to the public nor representative of it. In addition, it is alleged that public education was unaccommodating to immigrant and minority groups.

There is reason to doubt the claim that the character and structure of *public education* in Quebec from the last quarter of the nineteenth century to the first half of the twentieth century was actually "public." More specifically, it is alleged that public education, as measured by conventional means, was more fiction than fact during the period.

What is in dispute is not that Quebec had a public school system. Indeed, a system of popular schools had been in place since well before Confederation. Rather, the contention is that the school system was flawed, that it did not subscribe to the commonly accepted definition of public education, namely, an enterprise which is publicly financed, publicly controlled, and open to the public. The remainder of this article will be devoted to showing that Quebec education between 1875 and 1960 did not meet two of the three criteria; that while it was maintained at public expense it was not truly under public auspices and was unaccommodating to immigrant and minority populations.

A word about the period is in order. The 1875-1960 period is known as the traditional era in Quebec education. The early date coincides with the 1875 Act which gave final form to a dual denominational school system and

which saw Catholics and Protestants go their own way in matters of learning. The high and impenetrable wall of separation between the two educational solitudes would remain intact for the next seventy-five years. The cutoff date of 1960 was chosen because it represents a watershed in Quebec educational history, marking the end of an old epoch and the beginning of a new one. A traditional system, rooted in division and clericalism, began to give way to a modern school system centred around secularism and pluralism.

Public Funding

As was mentioned previously, the question of the financing of public education is not being contested, though the amount of revenue raised and the method of taxation used are open to criticism. At any rate, during that period the local property tax was the principal source of school funding, supplemented by provincial government grants and tuition fees. Until the Second World War almost 90 per cent of public school income was derived from the property tax. Critics of the arrangement like to point out that the tax on property was a regressive device since it placed a financial burden on a specific and limited population. While the argument has logic on its side, it ignores historical reality. The fact is that long before the rise of public education and the introduction of more progressive forms of taxation, property was synonymous with wealth, and hence the favourite target of the ubiquitous taxman. This tradition was not easily put aside in the 1840s when the Quebec public school system was created. The point is that Quebec education between 1875 and 1960 was publicly financed, employing a mode of taxation that enjoyed widespread acceptance in its day. Moreover, in relying exclusively on the property tax for the raising of school revenue, Quebec was behaving in a manner consistent with the rest of North America.

Private Control of Public Education

To inquire whether a school system is under public control is to examine its decision makers and the mechanism by which they are chosen. It will be argued in this section that those who directed and managed Quebec education during the period were neither accountable to the public nor representatives of it, being more representative of special interests.

School Boards

In treating the question it behooves us to describe the administrative structure of public education for the 1875-1960 epoch. As with other provinces across the country, education in Quebec was a shared responsibility of local and central authorities. At the local level was the

school board, an educational fixture in the province since before Confederation. Many in number and varied in size, boards resembled educational fiefdoms, each possessing considerable powers in its own jurisdiction. In addition to collecting its own taxes, a board made important pedagogical and curricular decisions. At the provincial level educational authority was vested in the Council of Public Instruction, composed of a Catholic Committee and a Protestant Committee. But because the two committees rarely met together the council became in effect a paper organization. The two denominational committees, operating separately and independently of each other, were from 1875 the supreme authorities in public education. Subordinate and answerable to the committees was the Department of Public Instruction, headed by a superintendent.

The first thing that catches one's eye is that membership on the provincial committees and the school boards was not determined by universal suffrage. The ballot box played a limited role in Quebec public education before 1960. Here we must make a distinction between school boards in Montreal and Quebec City and those elsewhere in the province. Only in the latter were members elected, albeit by limited suffrage. Put simply, it was an election by and for property owners. Taxpayers alone were eligible to run for a seat on a board, and taxpayers alone were qualified to vote them into office.¹ On the other hand, for the forerunners of the Montreal Catholic School Commission and the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal and their counterparts in Quebec City, membership was strictly by appointment and was reserved for Catholic and Protestants, respectively. The power to appoint board members in the two cities belonged to the city and provincial governments, and in the case of the Catholic commissions to the local bishop as well.

The dispute here is less with the small school board and its propertied electorate than with the large city boards and provincial denominational committees, whose members were appointed and in some instances by persons other than government authorities. In order to make the case we must first review the 1875 Act, which fixed the organizational pattern of public education for almost a century. Central to the legislation was a provision to replace the Ministry of Public Instruction by the Department of Public Instruction. The author of the measure was the provincial premier, Charles Boucher de Boucherville, who was also minister of education. Historians are in general agreement that the suppression of the ministry was rooted in the belief that education and politics, like oil and water, do not mix; that the cause of education is best served when it is divorced from the tumultuous world of partisan politics. Better a superintendent who is a civil servant than a minister who is a politician, seemed to be the message.

Politics, education, and religion

Yet there is reason to suspect this interpretation. If politics, as charged by Boucherville and others, was the *bête noire* of education, how do we account for the fact that every superintendent for the next fifty years was an ex-politician? Indeed, the first office holder was Gédéon Ouimet, who two years earlier had been premier and education minister. Ouimet's active political career did not disqualify him from holding the superintendency for twenty years. His successor, Pierre Boucher de La Bruère, who held the post from 1895 to 1916, was no less a political figure, having been president of the Legislative Council (upper house) from 1882 to 1889 and from 1892 to 1895.

The underlying reason for the suppression of the Ministry of Public Instruction was not politics as such but a growing, often irrational, fear of the state. To many in the province, state participation in education posed a potential threat to the integrity of religious schools. Quebec Catholics were not indifferent spectators to the wave of anticlericalism sweeping across Europe, which produced in its wake lay schools under state auspices. To avoid a similar "tragedy" in the province, it was judged imperative that the state role in public education be curtailed. Thus the substitution of a superintendent for a minister was applauded as a step in the right direction. The architects of the 1875 Act did their job well. Their superintendent was without power and prestige, being an administrator whose duties included the distribution of government grants to schools and the publication of educational statistics. Nor was the superintendent top man in the educational hierarchy. Article 7 of the law stipulated that the "superintendent . . . is bound to comply with the directions of the Council of Public Instruction, or with those of the Roman Catholic Committee or Protestant Committee" (Statutes of the Province of Quebec, 1875, p. 51).

Loss of the public voice

In abolishing the education ministry the 1875 Act dealt a blow to the spirit of public education. From that time forward Quebec education was without an elected voice at the provincial level. Without an educational representative in government the people found it difficult to communicate their concerns and to participate in the making of educational policy for the province. Education became an affair of appointed officials and faceless bureaucrats, who worked behind closed doors, away from the prying glances of the public.

Public control of education was further eroded by changes in the character and composition of the Catholic and Protestant committees, which had been part of the Council of Public Instruction since 1869. When the education ministry was suppressed in 1875 the council was expected to

succeed it as power authority. Such, however, was not the case. Because the law divided the council into two distinct committees, they, rather than the council, became the supreme educational authorities in the province, a development confirmed by Superintendent Ouimet in his first report (Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Year 1875-76, 1876, p. 1). Stripped of its *raison d'être*, the Council of Public Instruction fell on hard times in the years ahead. Between 1876 and 1908 it met only thirteen times; from 1908 to 1960 it did not meet at all. Educational policy was discussed and decided not in a moribund council but in the two committees. In effect, the province had two "education ministries" since each committee operated independently of the other. In short, the Catholic Committee made policy for Catholic public education and the Protestant Committee for Protestant public education. Being that the denominational committees were the real power brokers in Quebec public education from 1875, their composition is crucial to the issue under review.

Role of the Catholic clergy

Certainly the most striking feature of the 1875 Act was that which accorded the Catholic clergy strong representation on the Catholic Committee. The law provided that all bishops whose diocese was situated in whole or in part in the Province of Quebec were *ex officio* members of the committee. The remainder of the committee was composed of an equal number of lay members appointed by the government. On the other hand, no special provision was made for religious members on the Protestant committee. Its size was to be half that of the Catholic Committee, with all members being appointed by the government.

The issue here is not that the episcopate was represented on the Catholic Committee, but that its membership was one of right and of such strength as to give it an advantage in the determination of public educational policy. Not only did the bishops hold half the seats on the committee, but they dominated the proceedings by dint of a favourable attendance policy. Minutes of the meetings reveal that the bishops had a far better attendance record than lay members, who normally included ex-politicians, judges, and other professionals (Audet, 1964, p. 120). One reason for this occurrence is that Article 11 of the 1875 Act permitted ecclesiastics the option of sending voting delegates in their place in cases of absence (Statutes of the Province of Quebec, 1875, p. 51). Curiously, this option was not extended to the lay members of the committee. At any rate, due to their strong representation on the committee, coupled with their active participation in its deliberations, the bishops were able to exercise a decisive influence on Catholic public education until 1960, being well positioned to block policies contrary to their church as well as to advance their own.

It would be tempting to read into the 1875 law the trappings of a clerical conspiracy. The temptation should be resisted, not because the Quebec episcopate was without the means for effecting an educational coup, but because the circumstances did not require it. There were highly placed politicians like Boucherville who were only too eager to serve the interests of the church. In fact, before tabling the 1875 bill in the Legislative Assembly, the premier sent a copy of the measure to the bishops for comments and suggestions. Not surprisingly, the great majority of them responded favourably to a proposal that promised them a key role in public education. With the notable exception of the ultramontane Bishop Bourget of Montreal, who reasoned that the episcopate could be more educationally effective operating outside rather than inside the Catholic Committee, the province's bishops encouraged the premier to go forward with his measure (Audet, 1964, pp. 80-92).

The 1875 bill was introduced in the Legislative Assembly on November 26. A month later it was law, having attracted little publicity and opposition along the way. Despite the failed attempt of English politicians to amend the bill in the direction of two superintendents (one Catholic and one Protestant), they voted in favour of the measure (*The Gazette*, 1875). Protestant educational authorities welcomed the legislation because, in strengthening the hand of the committees, the law accorded them greater autonomy in the running of their schools.

In conclusion, the 1875 Act was a ringing defeat for the cause of public education. In suppressing the Ministry of Public Instruction and elevating the role of the denominational committees, the law put public education squarely in the hands of non-elected officials and private authorities. Moreover, in granting the bishops a decisive position on the Catholic Committee, the act violated one of the fundamental tenets of public education, that it should be controlled by those who speak for the public. No amount of logic will alter the fact that a church or sect, be it Catholic, Protestant or other, is a private organization whose interests and loyalties are ultimately non-public. The strong clerical voice in Quebec education had a retarding effect on the progress of public education in the period under study. If Quebec was one of the last societies in North America to adopt free and compulsory education, the answer lies with a Catholic public policy in education.

Private Character of Public Education

The term "public" is a mainstay of contemporary life. In addition to public schools we speak of public parks, public libraries, and even pubs (short for public houses). We also speak of corporations going public and candidates running for public office. Whatever the context, "public" denotes that institutions or services are maintained for, used by, or open to the

people or community. This section will argue that Quebec education before 1960 fell short of the definition, that in outlook and behaviour the public school resembled a private school.

The Irish and Catholic education

The first point to be grasped is that Quebec public education evolved along dual denominational lines, a Catholic school for the majority French population and a Protestant school for the minority English population. This division sufficed in the first half of the nineteenth century but became problematical in the second half with the arrival of immigrants who did not fit neatly into the dual denominational mould. This development called into question a school system that was at once public and religiously based.

The challenge to Quebec education occurred mainly in Montreal, where most immigrants settled. Irish immigrants poured into the city in such great numbers in the decades preceding Confederation that by mid-century they counted 12,000 or 20 per cent of the population. The Irish "misfortune" was that most of them were English and Catholic, which placed them in an educational no man's land. If Irish parents sent their children to French Catholic schools, their language was at risk; if they sent them to English Protestant schools, their religion was in jeopardy. As things turned out the choice was made for them. Since public education was officially divided along religious lines and since religion was, unlike today, a more potent unifying force than language, the Irish population was compelled to enrol its children in French Catholic schools.

Although French Canadians warmly received Irish children as fellow Catholics into their schools, they were hard pressed to satisfy the linguistic needs of their clients. In the scheme of things, Irish youngsters attending Catholic schools received a bilingual education, some classes being taught in French, others in English. Unfortunately the standard of instruction in English was often poor owing to the fact that the teachers were native French speakers. The result was that usually children left school knowing French and English but knowing neither well. This situation gave rise to Irish demands for their own schools, administered and staffed by English Catholics.

The school was not the only centre of conflict between the two peoples. They also clashed over church matters. Just as Irish Catholics expressed the desire to be educated separately, so did they prefer to worship separately, to have their own parishes and churches. Spiritual relations between French and English Catholics worsened in 1866 when Bishop Bourget of Montreal reorganized the boundaries of the ancient parish of Notre Dame, in effect eliminating an Irish parish. Outraged at the prospect of seeing St. Patrick's transformed into a bilingual parish, Irish religious

and lay leaders petitioned Rome for a nullification of the bishop's order, winning relief in 1872 when a papal decree ruled in their favour.

In the opinion of some historians, the educational and spiritual conflicts between the Irish and the French may be attributed to the simple fact that they did not like one another. In the words of one writer: "Unlike the Scots whose relations with the French were reasonably happy, the Irish Catholics seemed to harbor some kind of natural antipathy towards the French" (Moir, 1971, p. 60). According to this view, cool relations between the two peoples were aggravated by language differences and economic rivalry.

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century Irish Catholics expressed dissatisfaction with the educational opportunities available to them, particularly in the realm of secondary and higher learning. A persistent complaint was that French secondary schools (known as classical colleges) were ill-suited to the needs of English Catholic boys, who aspired to McGill University or other English-language institutions outside the province. The classical colleges, it was charged, were in the business of preparing French Canadian boys for Laval University. Rebuffed in their efforts to acquire a greater margin of autonomy within the French Catholic school system, Irish Catholics embarked on a campaign at the end of the century to found their own institutions. The opening of Loyola High School and Loyola College, in 1896, and a second private secondary school, Catholic High School, four years later, proclaimed the population's determination to be masters of its own educational destiny. Heretofore English Catholic boys aiming for university matriculation did their preparatory studies at Collège Sainte-Marie, a French-dominated classical college.

It was not until the 1930s, a century after the first wave of Irish immigration to Canada, that English Catholics gained a measure of independence in Catholic public education, a belated recognition of the fact that a common religion was not sufficient to unite two peoples separated by language and heritage. The decade began with the establishment, in 1931, of D'Arcy McGee, the province's first English Catholic public high school. About the same time the first English Catholic school inspector was appointed. Finally, and most significantly, the end of the decade witnessed the acknowledgement of a separate and distinct English Catholic school curriculum. The traditional, clumsy practice of translating verbatim the French course of study into English was laid to rest. Thus on the eve of the Second World War the province's English Catholic population – composed by this time of many ethnic groups – had achieved its goal of an autonomous school system, albeit within a larger Catholic framework.

Jews and the Protestant schools

It should be clear that Quebec public education was not designed with a pluralist society in mind, that the dual denominational structure, reinforced by linguistic ties, proved to be an inappropriate system for those who were neither French Catholic nor English Protestant. The arrival in Montreal of Jewish immigrants in the second half of the nineteenth century posed new and more serious questions as to the legitimacy of public education. In short, could a Christian school system accommodate a non-Christian people? Jews were to discover early in the game that as non-Catholics they were *persona non grata* in Catholic schools. The social and religious climate of the day would not allow it. Nor were Jews knocking on the Catholic school door; they were little attracted to an institution committed to forming the Christian personality. From the outset they were drawn to the Protestant school, its English-language instruction, its nonsectarian approach to religion and its practical curriculum.

It would be comforting to report that Jews enjoyed full educational rights in Montreal's Protestant schools. It was not the case. For while Jewish children were nominally admitted to Protestant schools their right to be there was in doubt. The Superior Court of Quebec ruled in a turn-of-the-century decision that the rights of Jews were less than those of Protestants in public education. The case centred around Jacob Pinsler, a Jewish pupil, who was denied a Protestant Board of Commissioners' scholarship which he had won in competition and which carried with it free tuition during high school. Pinsler's father took the board to court in an effort to compel the commissioners to award the scholarship to his son. The decision rendered by the court stands as one of the most disturbing in provincial education history. The central question in the litigation was not that of a refused scholarship but the status of non-Protestants in public education. In ruling against Pinsler's petition the presiding judge held that "a resident of the Jewish religion . . . who does not own real estate, cannot claim as of right to have his children admitted to the public schools" (Pinsler, 1903). Public education was thus a right guaranteed to all Protestants, whatever their financial status; for Jews and other non-Protestants the right was limited to property owners. In short, in the realm of public education, some pupils were more equal than others.

Responding to joint demands by Protestants and Jews for remedial action in light of the Pinsler decision, the provincial government enacted legislation in the same year which declared that "persons professing the Jewish religion shall, for school purposes, be treated in the same manner as Protestants . . . and shall enjoy the same rights and privileges as the latter" (Statutes of the Province of Quebec, 1903, p. 155). The law also gave Jewish pupils the right to exempt themselves from religious exercises in

Protestant classrooms. In turn, Jewish property owners were ordered to pay their taxes to Protestant schools.

The 1903 law was perceived as a triumph for both parties. Jews appeared to acquire full rights in Protestant education and Protestant school officials won important tax concessions. Educational peace, however, was shattered several years later when Jewish community leaders claimed that as "Protestants" they were eligible for appointment to the Protestant School Board of Montreal. Their bid for membership on the board was supported by educational statistics, which showed that Jews represented a substantial and growing element of Protestant school enrollments in the city. In 1903, 23 per cent of those attending Protestant schools were Jewish; four years later the figure had risen to 33 per cent. The percentage of Jews in Protestant schools would peak on the eve of the First World War at 44. Protestant school representatives replied that Jewish membership on the board was neither stated nor implied by the 1903 law. In addition, they emphasized that the integrity of Protestant education, protected by Section 93 of the BNA Act, would be seriously compromised were Jews to be appointed to the Board.

The problem would not go away. For the next twenty years Protestants and Jews in Montreal clashed over the meaning of the 1903 law. In 1925 the question was submitted to the court for clarification. Three years and several appeals later the case came before the Privy Council in London, which rendered a landmark decision (Hirsch, 1928). In attempting to define the legal status of Jews in Protestant education, the high court was compelled to explain the education section of the Canadian Constitution, namely, Section 93 of the BNA Act. The court noted that Section 93 assigned educational responsibility to the provinces, except that no provincial legislature could pass laws which "shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any Class of Persons have by Law in the Province at the Union."

The Privy Council explained that Catholics and Protestants were "Class of Persons," meaning that the educational rights which the two denominations possessed in law in 1867 were inviolate. In 1867 there were three categories of public schools in the province: (1) denominational schools in Montreal and Quebec City; and (2) common and (3) dissentient schools outside the two cities. Section 93, said the court, offered constitutional protection to denominational and dissentient schools, but not to common schools. In other words, in the management and control of denominational and dissentient schools the educational powers of Catholic and Protestant authorities were not subject to infringement.

The Privy Council's ruling in the Hirsch case, while constitutionally sound, was socially regrettable since it conferred second

class citizenship on Jews and by implication on all non-Protestants, who were attending Protestant schools in Montreal. The court created legal havoc by voiding the 1903 law, holding that Jews could not be classified as Protestants for educational purposes. They were judged to have rights of attendance to Protestant schools but could not participate in their governance. Thus Jews could not be appointed to school boards in Montreal and Quebec City, and to the Protestant Board of Examiners, which certified teachers for the province.² In what appears to have been a constitutional sop, the Privy Council said in closing that since Section 93 did not "purport to stereotype the educational system of the Province" for all time, Jews were free to establish their own public school system in the two cities because such action would not "prejudicially affect" the educational rights of Catholics and Protestants. Jews, however, chose not to exercise this option.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Quebec public education bore a striking resemblance to private education during the period. While few youngsters were deprived of schooling as such, ethnic and religious minorities suffered the indignity of interlopers, neglected and manipulated by a system that catered to French Catholics and English Protestants. And while public schools in Montreal and Quebec City were in law open to all, the reality was quite different. Catholic schools were off limits to non-Catholics and their Frenchness militated against them providing suitable facilities for English-speaking pupils. Protestant schools, though less exclusive and more obliging than their Catholic counterpart, opened their doors to non-Protestants but balked at according them full educational rights. Where Quebec education went astray between 1875 and 1960 was in trying to serve two masters. Indeed, a public school that is bent on serving religious interests and, at the same time providing education for all, is flirting with the unattainable.

NOTES

1. Priests and ministers were exempted from the property qualification and therefore were eligible to run in school board elections.
2. A postscript to the Hirsch case is that a 1971 provincial law made Jews eligible for membership on the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal. Had the law come under judicial scrutiny, it probably would have been struck down since the ruling in the case was then and still is the law of the land.

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Improving Teaching Through Peer Evaluation

Abstract

Horizontal evaluation, a model for teacher evaluation based upon the structuring of dialogue in order to help teachers better understand the nature and influence of their decisions, is described and the results of a pilot study using the model presented. Through horizontal evaluation pairs of teachers analyzed the assumptions they held about teaching and learning and began to understand, critically, taken-for-granted aspects of schooling including problems of inequality, contextual constraints on teachers' work, and legitimacy of program goals.

Introduction

Teacher evaluation is widely understood as a key element in the improvement of teaching. The dominant model of evaluation arises from process-product research where the concern is to establish statistically significant relationships between teacher behaviour and tested student achievement (Brophy and Evertson, 1984). The effective teacher is the one who demonstrates those behaviours that have been shown mathematically to relate to achievement. The Florida Performance Management System is typical of this approach. A trained evaluator observes a teacher at work and notes the presence or absence of a list of 121 competencies (Florida, 1983). The Kalamazoo evaluation program is yet another example, but with a twist: teachers evaluate other teachers using an administrator developed rating scale of desirable teaching behaviours (Bartz, 1978).

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Both approaches are seriously limited as means for improving teaching: The narrow emphasis on behavioural change – behaviours presumably connected with increasing standardized test scores – reduces teaching to a technical rather than moral or ethical activity. The emphasis of process-product research on identifying general laws governing behaviour means that context variables which have a profound impact not only on what teachers do but on what students learn are ignored. And, questions relating to how teachers understand and think about their work, especially what they see as problematic, are relegated to insignificance. By ignoring how teachers think about and understand their work, these approaches to evaluation have the added consequence of curtailing teacher professionalism while encouraging the better and brighter teachers to leave the field in search of occupations that will allow more opportunities to express their initiative, creativity, and intelligence.

Fortunately, not all evaluation schemes are cut out of the same frayed cloth. Clinical supervision, at least in theory, takes a different slant, aiming to "enhance the learner's self-sufficiency and freedom to act" (Goldhammer, 1969, p. 55). To achieve this aim, clinical supervision relies upon a five-stage interaction of teacher and peer observer: Interaction begins with a preobservation conference during which time the observed teacher is expected to share aims. The classroom is observed and then the evaluator analyzes what took place and decides on a strategy for presenting the data that is most likely to affect desired changes. The observer and teacher then meet together in a conference during which perceptions are shared and plans made. The final stage is a post-conference analysis where the two teachers assess the quality of their interaction.

Unfortunately, as practiced within the public schools, clinical supervision frequently fails to achieve its aims. McFaul and Cooper (1983), for example, report that when peer teachers used the clinical supervision model, discussion centered on the tricks of trade while more substantial questions about the aims of their practice or about how they understood their work were ignored. They conclude that this failure was the result of the overwhelming negative influence of school structure. But, this may not be the only cause. The model itself might be partially to blame because it does not contain either a sufficient number or the right kind of safeguards to discourage it from being collapsed into a discussion only of teaching techniques. Specifically, the emphasis in clinical supervision on objective observation, along with the requirement that supervisors leave the teacher with concrete suggestions for improvement, and the failure of the model to provide an explicit means for analyzing the relationship between what a teacher intends to do and what actually transpires, likely elevates the importance of technical questions and issues.

If evaluation is to have a hand in developing teachers who know how and when to apply or change a recommended technique in order to achieve a desired aim; who are enthusiastic about their work, independent but willing, even eager, to talk with and learn from others about it; who analyze school aims and means in relationship to ethical social standards – who are, in short, professional educators – then we need to reconsider other models. Within this paper we describe a model of evaluation, horizontal evaluation¹, that represents a severe departure from the dominant model while building on the strengths of clinical supervision and correcting its weaknesses. This model links the concern for behaviour to what teachers think and feel and to the institutional constraints under which they work. To make our case, we present the results of a recent pilot study conducted using the model.

The Horizontal Evaluation Model

The aim of horizontal evaluation is to help teachers become students of their own practice, individuals capable of recognizing areas in need of improvement and of making appropriate changes. To accomplish this aim requires, first, that teachers together, both evaluated and evaluator, gain understanding of their practice. In order to make ethically responsible and reasonable decisions about practice, it is necessary to throw into relief the values and beliefs and the contextual constraints that influence teacher decision-making. The aim is not to gain compliance with a pre-established list of desirable behaviours, but rather to help teachers see practice as reflecting choices about educational values over which they have a measure of control. In a school this suggests that teachers should consider with others who share their interest in educating the young why they make particular decisions and the desirability of these decisions in relation to an articulated, although inevitably fluid, normative framework that requires constant justification.

Intention and practice

To accomplish this aim, it is necessary to structure teacher dialogue. Much like clinical supervision, horizontal evaluation begins with the teacher sharing intentions. Intentions are shared as a first step toward helping both participants better understand and critically assess the values underlying statements of purpose. Once intentions are shared and clarified, they are analyzed in relation to practice. However, teacher intentions should not be viewed as reified concepts, fixed forever more. Rather, emphasis should be placed on understanding aims as evolving in relationship to practice; the relationship between aims and means in teaching is dynamic and interactive. Accordingly, the discovery of discrepancies between ends and means is not an occasion for apology, nor necessarily for an adjustment in practice, rather, it is an opportunity to reconsider both. Moreover, the

discovery of congruence is not necessarily a moment to be celebrated but rather an opportunity to ask a different set of questions. Congruence is only desirable if the assumptions underlying both practice and intention are exposed, considered, and found to be ethically and educationally justifiable.

To make the consideration of assumptions more likely, horizontal evaluation provides several tools that guide the discussion of the relation between ends and means. These include communication analysis, historical perspective, and alternative methods.

Communication analysis

Communication analysis refers specifically to a process that uncovers the prejudgments embedded in speech. One relevant model for guiding analysis of what teachers say is Habermas' (1976) "Universal Pragmatics." Habermas has identified four validity claims present in every speech act: comprehensibility, truth, sincerity, and appropriateness (p. 1-68). These four claims establish the range of questions that can be asked of any utterance.

The first claim raises the question of whether or not a teacher's statement is understandable. Considering the truth of a statement such as "The students behaved as they did because they are in the low group" is a more complex undertaking. The issue is whether, or in what ways, the sentence can be a true description of those involved and of what happened. To get at this issue, a teacher might raise a series of questions about the accuracy of describing the group as "low." Coming to agreement on the "facts" of a situation is an essential element in establishing understanding.

The sincerity claim leads to questions about whether or not what is stated reflects the teacher's actual perceptions and feelings. What I say sincerely, therefore, indicates both my understanding and that which I accept as natural, common sense. Categorizing groups of students as high or low, for example, may well occur because such labels are taken for granted as having obvious meaning. A way of getting at this is by examining the feelings we hold about the categorizations we use to organize the social world which are revealed in our sincere statements. Potentially, our talk, when scrutinized, may disclose tensions or discrepancies between feelings and understandings and how we communicate them. Through this type of discovery, teachers can lay hold of the systematic distortions built into their utterances.

The final validity claim, is a statement appropriate, helps in separating what *is* from what *ought to be* – Is the labeling justifiable,

right? Inherent in this question is the belief that teaching is more than a matter of applying techniques artfully; it is a moral activity about which moral judgments are made.

When probing an utterance to gain understanding, it is not always necessary to ask questions which reflect each of the four validity claims: comprehensiveness, truth, sincerity, and rightness. It is often sufficient to work with one claim while being aware of the others. In practice, the direction of the discussion will suggest which of the claims need to be raised.

Historical perspective

In addition to raising questions about the validity of a statement, horizontal evaluation encourages teachers to see current practice in relation to past events. For example, if a teacher is working in an open classroom, discussion could include comparison of the past and current forms of the open classroom as well as the evolution of the idea in relation to developments within society.

Since educational ideas are filtered through perceptions, historical perspective includes analysis of the histories of teachers and students. If a teacher, for example, decides to make the students stay in for recess because they haven't finished their work, this decision can be partially understood as a response that has historical roots. In this instance, the focus of dialogue is not to find a better solution to the problem *per se*, but to expose the general themes that help mold classroom life over time.

Alternative methods

The concern of many evaluation schemes is to help teachers identify alternative practices that "work." The suggestion of alternatives is also part of horizontal evaluation; however, the purpose is different – to illuminate the educational implications of taking a different approach. For example, if the teacher is conducting a large group discussion, the observer might suggest that the class be broken into small groups. One reason for making this suggestion would be because the observer believes it is better suited to the achievement of the teacher's aims. But, the more important reason is to help both participants consider the educational possibilities inherent in a given situation and to help them make decisions based upon an understanding of the values reflected in particular choices.

Challenge statements

The final horizontal evaluation technique is the issuance of challenge statements. The purpose of challenge statements is to push teachers to

consider issues related to Habermas' rightness or appropriateness claim. A challenge statement is a counter-claim or contradictory explanation of an event that throws into question the ethical or moral justification of the challenged action. For example, if a teacher wants students to obey her classroom rules in all circumstances, the observer could raise questions about the appropriateness of her demand in the light of student and teacher rights. By so doing, the observed teacher should gain a deeper understanding of the normative framework that underlies classroom decisions.

It is important to keep in mind that challenge statements, like all horizontal evaluation methods, are not only issued by the observer but also by the observed teacher. Both share the task of constructing a dialogue that will enhance their understanding of teaching and learning.

The Study

To begin exploring the model and its potential for helping teachers come to understand teaching differently, we conducted a pilot study involving twelve elementary school teachers in a gifted and talented program, *Horizons*. To be candid, it should be clearly stated that because of the size and type of the teaching population studied, our findings are suggestive but limited in their generalizability. Six dyads were formed of the teachers' own choosing; four completed the study. In October, 1984, the teachers were given four hours of training in the use of horizontal evaluation methods. After the training, the teachers participated in a trial observation and conference in which they used the methods. These conferences were audiotaped and discussed in order to clarify confusion and provide feedback on the model's use. Each team conducted four observations and four follow-up conferences throughout the remainder of the school year which were audiotaped for later transcription and analysis. And, following the conclusion of the study, each participant was interviewed to gain additional understanding of the effect of the model. Transcripts were analyzed independently by the research team and three graduate students to identify patterns and discrepancies.

Results and Discussion

Three of the four dyads that completed the pilot study engaged in critical dialogue about practice. They raised a wide range of issues beyond the technical – how to do something – and they increasingly questioned intentions and the assumptions underlying practice. Moreover, as their understanding of practice changed, they modified what they did in the classroom. One dyad, however, failed, choosing instead to focus almost entirely on technical concerns. We have included data from both the

successful and unsuccessful dyads in order to understand better why horizontal evaluation might be effective with some pairs and not with others.

The successful dyads

The horizontal evaluation method most often used by the teachers was analysis of the relation of intention to practice. This method helped the teachers to assess critically taken-for-granted aspects of teaching practice. In one conference, for example, a question was raised about why teachers so frequently emphasized tests, reports, and writing samples. The observer wondered if centering a unit on products was consistent with her colleague's long-term aim of developing students' learning processes: "This is just something that came to my mind. We keep [teaching] these units. I think, sometimes, we have a disparity between wanting students to get material and our intention to teach [cognitive] processes. I think it's certainly a dilemma . . ." The discussion that followed centred on the conflict that often arises between a process aim and an instruction emphasis on products. Both teachers had been unaware of this tension. Once the problem was identified and discussed, they began to consider other educational possibilities.

In another conference the observer commented that the observed teacher seemed a bit frustrated when "Nobody got the one about what problems might [exist] if you have smaller children in your house with dangers." The observer posed a challenge to the teacher by suggesting that the students didn't respond because the teacher was fishing for a right answer and they didn't want to risk being wrong. Realizing that she had undermined her own stated intentions, the observed teacher commented that the students "must pick up on the fact that even though I'm having [a] very open-ended [discussion], in all the open-mindedness there is a right answer."

Relating intentions to practice revealed other inconsistencies between what teachers say and do. One conference focused on the teacher's intention to have students "be able to find sources for learning." The observer focused the discussion on a troubling habit: "I don't know if you're like me, but a number of times you said, 'We need to go look that up. We need to look into that further.' I say that a lot and then I never go do it." By being openly self-critical, an event common to horizontal evaluation but rare in other schemes, the observer opened the way for her partner to reflect more fully on her stated intention. "We got into the big magnetic field thing because I asked the 5th graders if they knew what a magnetic field was and they didn't. I said, well then, maybe *we* [emphasis added] need to find out . . . but I also need to find out." Through their interaction, both teachers were able to see conflicts previously hidden from view.

Discussion of the relation of intention and practice also led to consideration of problems of inequality. In one conference, for example, the observer noted that, "In terms of your intents, the first one [to make students feel worthwhile], you do that really nicely with the verbal kids." In approaching the issue in this manner, she confirmed that her partner had been successful in accomplishing at least part of her aim. Taking the hint, the observed teacher asked, "But not with the non-verbal kids?" The discussion that followed revealed an additional problem: most of the non-verbal students were girls. Through analyzing the situation together, the observer was then able to see a previously hidden inequality and consider possibilities for improving the situation.

In some dialogues, discussion of the relation of intentions to practice pointed to the influence of contextual constraints. For instance, several discussions centred on the procedures for admission into the gifted and talented program. Specifically, students were selected into the program through classroom teacher recommendations and high achievement test scores. One teacher commented that this procedure made it virtually impossible to achieve her aim "to encourage the abilities of all children in a sort of even-handed way [because] I can't take as many girls for math because they don't seem to have the interest or the motivation in that area." Awareness of inequality of this kind is a necessary first step toward confronting it. Not being able to alter admission procedures, the teacher commented that "When I do have a girl that's good in math, I really try to encourage her. . ."

These dialogue segments suggest that by carefully considering the relation of intentions to practice, teachers not only are able to identify unintended outcomes, but also to see how their aims are shaped by school structure and by their own values and beliefs. Through analysis new educational possibilities open up, institutional constraints are identified, and taken-for-granted assumptions about teaching and learning are thrown into doubt.

Communication analysis and historical perspective were also present in the dialogue of the more successful dyads. These methods encouraged the teachers to clarify program goals, such as developing higher level thinking skills, and lead to consideration of the proper role of a teacher in a gifted and talented program.

Most of the teachers in the study held as the primary aim of instruction that of developing higher level thinking skills. This said, they showed remarkable disagreement about what they meant. In one conference the teachers used communication analysis to clarify this intention. "If we consider knowledge and comprehension lower-level thinking, then application, analysis, evaluation, and synthesis are going to be higher level

thinking. . . It seems so easy to define higher-level thinking by using Bloom's taxonomy. But, for me, it's just getting beyond the memorization and regurgitation of knowledge." The observer responded: "In that sense, just making choices, even though you don't go through a long involved process of using criteria, and why is it that you chose this, would be higher level." Although the meaning of "higher level thinking" was not explored in any depth, the teachers did establish a shared understanding that allowed discussion to continue with greater clarity.

Communication analysis was used to understand better the internalized role of teacher. One observer noted, for example, that the peer teacher referred to herself in the third person, "You refer to yourself as Mrs. T. rather than saying, 'I.' Were you aware of that?" The peer teacher said that she wasn't and wondered if that tendency came from being a mother. The observer agreed, but also noted that "it removes you one step from [the students], it's real subtle." Understanding teaching as mothering legitimates certain kinds of teacher actions while making unlikely other actions. By exploring the use of language in this way, the observed teacher was able to consider how she was communicating to students much more than she consciously intended. Clearly, this was a realization she would not have made without being observed by a trusted peer. "I can't believe that [I refer to myself in the third person]. This is why [the evaluation process is] so beautiful because I would have never picked up on doing that."

Historical perspective also was used to understand better teacher role. In one discussion the focus was on the importance of maintaining classroom control. The observed teacher commented: "I have to say the only thing I felt uncomfortable about is I came from an educational system, the Catholic school, where the teacher was in control. When I have independent study going on like that and I don't know what everybody is doing, I get nervous wondering if people are wasting time or what not." After considering how she had been socialized into a particular view of what was appropriate teacher control, this teacher noted, with some pleasure, that despite her fears, the students did not seem to be wasting their time: "When I left [the room], they were working very well independently." Although she did not change her basic view of the need for teachers always to be in control, her view softened: "Maybe I need to give them credit for [working independently]."

These dialogue segments, and many others, indicated that teachers can critically reflect on their work and that perceptions and practice do change as a result. Moreover, when given the opportunity and the tools necessary for reflection, they are very much interested in issues beyond the technical. The teachers did question their taken-for-granted assumptions about the need to maintain tight control over students and they became

increasingly aware of the importance of attending to the unintended implications of practice. And, they saw issues contextually – as resulting from their own and their students' histories and that of the schools within which they worked. In sum, they understood teaching more broadly than ever before. They saw problems where formerly they had seen none, and they saw possibilities for improvement never before imagined.

The failed dyad

One dyad stands in stark contrast to the openness, trust, and non-defensiveness characterizing the three successful dyads. Ignoring the stated intention of horizontal evaluation and the training during which time the limitations of rating scales were noted, one observer created a scale to determine how effectively her partner achieved her aims. Mechanically, the observer assessed each stated goal and its achievement:

In meeting each one of your goals, I just gave you a rating. . . on your first long-term objective which was to foster joy in learning. I gave you a 'superior.' On your second long-term objective, which was to expose students to ideas they might not meet elsewhere, I gave you 'excellent.' On mere passive acceptance of information, I gave you a 'superior.' Now, on today's objectives, to find a subject that each child will be interested in learning and writing about, I gave you an 'excellent.' To share appreciation for things that are good and beautiful, a 'superior.'

Her partner did a similar kind of thing. Objectives were listed, and quick assessments were made.

In effect, the two teachers transformed the model to make it consistent with process-product forms of evaluation where hierarchical relations are seen as necessary and desirable. The teachers took turns playing the expert which made it virtually impossible to use the methods of horizontal evaluation appropriately. One result was that, unlike the other dyads, these teachers' relationship actually deteriorated as they continued to meet. If they ever respected one another, by study's end all respect was lost: "Now, in my case and Penny's (fictitious name), we're two different kinds of teachers. I'm more of a practitioner and I think Penny's more of a theoretician. And, she's a very, very intelligent person. I found myself thinking Penny might be getting more out of this experience if she were working with someone who was her intellectual equal." Neither teacher was able to break away from the belief that evaluation is fault-finding and expert-driven.

Penny did not view Samantha (fictitious name) as a legitimate source of feedback and therefore discounted discussion as a source of increased understanding. Moreover, she was unwilling to give Samantha useful feedback. Nevertheless, because they had committed themselves to complete the study, they kept meeting and talking. When problems were identified and explanations required, common sense and excuses ruled the day. When they occasionally did discuss a personal concern, they focused on issues which were of a technical nature. These issues were safe in the sense that teachers can talk about them endlessly without having to question any of the educational assumptions they hold. All that matters is that a solution "works." There were numerous examples of this kind of talk in their post-observation transcripts: "Maybe I tried to do too much in one lesson. I've begun to think – maybe I have too many objectives to try to accomplish in one lesson." "One of my greatest weaknesses is that I always bite off more than I can chew. I always do too much at one time." And, "It turned out to be an exciting experience except that it was just too much for one hour." The issue here is how to fit more content into less time, a technique question. Other technical issues were also prominent: When it is best to reinforce a student's response and how to use techniques picked up in district-sponsored workshops. Unfortunately, because these are safe issues, neither habit nor common sense were challenged.

By comparing and contrasting this dyad with the first three, we concluded that if the aim of evaluation is to increase teachers' understanding of their work through peer interaction, then it is necessary to establish non-hierarchical relations. We are not altogether certain why the failed dyad insisted on establishing hierarchy. Perhaps Samantha was correct – a different pairing may have produced better results. Clearly, teachers must have or must develop respect for one another if they are to learn from one another. We believe that had we provided feedback to Penny and Samantha about the quality of their relation they might have altered it. And too, it may have been that the training was inadequate. We will attend to each of these possibilities in our future work with teachers.

Conclusion

For three of four dyads, horizontal evaluation proved to be an effective means for helping participants question their taken-for-granted assumptions about teaching and learning. In the successful dyads, each participant had a stake in helping the other improve practice by coming to understand more fully what they were doing, why they were doing it, and the moral and ethical consequences of their actions.

Approaching the improvement of practice in this way leads to increased professional development. Part of being professional is taking on

the responsibility of monitoring members' work (Ritzer, 1977). After participating in the study, the teachers began to "see the role of the evaluator as part of being a teacher," an expanded role that they viewed positively. As one teacher put it: "I was pleasantly surprised how easy it was. I think before [the study] I had somewhat of a stigma about evaluation, but I found . . . when two people want it, when two people are trying to improve their teaching, it's a fascinating experience." Professionalism also requires that teachers see themselves as connected, less protective of selfish interests, and less competitive (Darling-Hammond, 1985). One teacher noted how horizontal evaluation might provide such a possibility: "If nothing else [it] could provide an atmosphere of awareness of what we're all doing together, and we will hopefully be unified."

Another teacher echoed this idea: "If teachers used horizontal evaluation, there might be less of a 'I have to protect my little group' [mentality]. I mean, like the first, second and third grade teachers do their thing, and the fourth, fifth and sixth will do their thing. I think there might be some efforts in terms of [establishing] unity." In addition, professionalism means having some control over one's work conditions (Darling-Hammond, 1985). After the study one teacher felt she had moved closer to this position: "You know that no one really has the right or the knowledge to tell us what to do. I guess this process would essentially be giving us back the power that we should have . . . and I think that this is the power we deserve to have as professionals."

Through participation in the study, the teachers believed they became more professional. This is an exciting outcome especially since evaluation, as typically conceived, is scorned by most teachers. It is scorned and feared because teachers generally have so little control over the process and receive so few benefits from it. Our findings are promising: When teachers are encouraged to help one another to understand better teaching, they not only improve technically, but also begin to develop and internalize a professional role which is an essential element in improving the quality of education.

NOTES

1. For a more complete description of horizontal evaluation, including its theoretical framework, see Gitlin, A. and Goldstein, S. (1987), A dialogical approach to understanding: Horizontal evaluation. *Educational Theory*, Winter.

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"Tom"

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Educational Issues As Seen By The Greater Superintendency

Abstract

The purpose of this paper was to determine if the educational issues during retrenchment faced by persons in key central office roles are the same or different from those which are present in more normal times. Also, the similarity between the issues and priorities of persons in the greater superintendency is explored. Questionnaires were distributed to personnel in central offices in British Columbia when the full force of retrenchment was underway and an 87% return rate resulted. Those in the superintendency had about the same personal profile as reported in the literature on superintendents elsewhere. Issues appeared to be the same as those in other places and times. But the issues did not match with priorities — issues were more political; priorities more task-oriented. Implications for more analytic research and policies on decentralization are explored.

It is axiomatic to state that retrenchment makes difficult times in education. Whether resulting from declining enrollments or a recession, retrenchment invariably means reduced resources and environmental turbulence for school districts. It follows that the outcome of retrenchment is a new set of issues for executive educators to tackle, those issues which grow out of the gap between resources needed and resources received, and those issues which arise from the context of legislative and policy changes in which districts become engulfed. The emergence of new issues would suggest a fresh look and analysis of what those issues are. New administrative skills would be required, and perhaps revisions in the substance of administrator preparation implied. Even new talent could be required for tasks which demand different understandings and different responses.

However, evidence gleaned from a decennial poll of American superintendents would indicate that the issues which face the administrators of local school systems have remained invariant across many years and differing circumstances (Cunningham & Hentges, 1982). While minor issues rise and fall, the major preoccupations of those at the apex of school districts have changed little. Concerns about funding and policies remain paramount. If constancy of issues is the case, then different strategies are implied. It is the old issues in a different form which require analysis. Skills needed are not particularly new ones, and the use of new talent may not be needed. Rather, inventive strategies and longer-term perspectives may be more appropriate. Clearly, these two views appear to be inconsistent.

Another facet of retrenchment is the idea that local administrators are diverted from their normal tasks. They are seen to preoccupy themselves with a defense of their "turf," to attempt to minimize the pain of contraction, and thus to find themselves distracted from priorities which they believe to be in the general educational interest. An alternate view would suggest that they take pride in rendering the best service possible under bad conditions and see their main priority as protecting and maintaining the institutions of education under their domain.

And just who are "they?" The superintendency has changed from the single school inspector of the past to a cluster of central office staff led by the chief executive officer today. Yet we know little about the persons who inhabit the greater superintendency. They may or may not resemble the American superintendents. It would seem important to know more about these people in view of the critical role these teams play in the formulation and execution of educational policy and administration at the local level.

The purposes of this paper are: to provide some data on persons who inhabit the superintendency and compare them to that reported in the literature; to determine if the issues facing them when under retrenchment are the same or different from those known from other settings and times; and to see if the issues which are addressed in hard times are coincident with the priorities which these persons have for the educational enterprise. The case of British Columbia will provide the Canadian perspective to help us address these implied questions.

Some Relevant Literature

Perhaps the members of the greater superintendency resemble superintendents *per se*. James (1981) believes that most central office administrators aspire to be superintendents one day. Thus, it may be useful to compare the profiles, views on issues, and priorities of those in the superintendency with the earlier findings on superintendents themselves.

The American Association of School Administrators (AASA) has commissioned a study on superintendents each decade for a number of decades. Cunningham and Hentges (1982), in the most recent version, reported on the profiles of superintendents in the United States, addressing background, education, and experience. They also considered the issues of concern to superintendents in the United States. Their findings have been incorporated when the outcomes are reported below.

In Canada, the Province of Alberta decided to have superintendents employed by local government units in 1970. As a consequence, Downey Research Associates (1976) undertook a study of superintendents per se and reported data on their education, experience, and present position. Their factual findings are compared when results are reported below.

Another study conducted in Canada and the only one on the greater superintendency which could be located, attempted to answer the "who are they?" questions addressed above. Auster and McCordic (1980) produced a report for the Ontario Ministry of Education and other agencies, including the Ontario Association of Education Administrative Officials. They focused on facets of the profile and roles of what they call "supervisory officers" in both public and separate school boards. Such persons included the "area superintendent" (who is labelled "assistant superintendent" in other jurisdictions), the "senior school business official" (sometimes called the secretary-treasurer elsewhere), and the "director of education" (almost always termed the "superintendent" in other places). While these roles and how they are carried out are the chief focus of their report, some profile data are presented which can be compared to the data gathered by this current research.

Two difficulties make such comparisons uncertain, however. One is the inclusion of business officials, a group not a part of the present paper because of their separate status and career tracks. The other is that data in Auster and McCordic (1980) are often shown without indicating the total number of persons who responded to a specific question. When this is the case, comparative percentages can only be estimated, particularly since the overall response rate was 33.9%. Moreover, they did not address the larger issues of concern or the high-level priorities of those in the superintendency. While mostly descriptive, their report is an extensive one (423 pages in all) and is recommended to those who seek a factual account of life in the superintendency in Ontario.

Research Methods

The instance of British Columbia was chosen because that province had felt the recent worldwide recession severely and the government was

faced with a sizeable revenue shortage. The decision was made to reduce expenditures in the public service. An immediate result was some severe reductions in the amount of resources available to school districts. Issues surrounding schools were highlighted in the media and many educators made a number of public statements concerning the provincial policies and their effects.

The research plan proceeded as follows: A questionnaire was drafted, based upon a search of the literature on the characteristics of superintendents and the issues and priorities of concern to them in other jurisdictions. Questions were compiled by Edgar M. Carlin, then a superintendent, and some items based on his personal expertise were incorporated. Bailey's (1982) guidelines for questionnaire use were followed. Endorsement and input were received from an advisory committee of the Association of British Columbia School Superintendents, a group whose membership includes senior district personnel with titles such as "superintendent" and "assistant superintendent." Alterations were made to include the committee's suggestions and further changes resulted in all responses having simple, numerical categories except where space was allotted to voluntary remarks concerning the issues mentioned. Wherever possible, standardized responses were requested.

The questionnaires were sent by mail to the superintendents in the 75 school districts in British Columbia. Each superintendent was asked to forward other questionnaires to the designated members of his or her superintendency in turn. A large number of questionnaires were returned within a month of mailing and superintendents were reminded by phone after this time when it became evident that no responses had been received from their districts.

While a total of 181 instruments were sent out, the rate of participation was very high, with 87% being returned. This rate compares very favourably with that of Cunningham and Hentges (1982) who report a percentage of 40 to 67 depending on their subsample, and with the 34% returns of Auster and McCordic (1980). The working sample size was 158.

Results

Professional and experience profile

The findings reported here are part of a study by Carlin and Brown (1985) which is available in unpublished form from the junior author. Persons in the greater superintendency in British Columbia are an average of 47 years old, with a range of 34-64 years. Auster and McCordic (1980) note that the modal age is between 46 and 50. Since teachers start their careers at about 22, those in the superintendency have spent their "time in the field."

Only five percent of members of the superintendency are women, a figure comparable to that in Ontario. While the reason for this disproportion in the number of males and females has not been explored, it appears that women have either not sought or been encouraged to apply for key central office positions.

English, social studies, mathematics, and science were the dominant choices as teaching majors for members of the superintendency. This pattern may be compared to a shift away from social studies and athletics coaching among superintendents in the U.S. and a shift towards English, drama, and mathematics (Cunningham & Hentges, 1982).

Persons having obtained the master's degree are also frequently occurring, evidenced by the fact that 91% attained this level of education. It would appear that the superintendency contains a well-educated set of professionals. Since the average year of graduation was 1971 and the range 1955-1983, some may not have undertaken much graduate-level work for a number of years after their teaching careers were underway.

A sizeable percentage of respondents (52%) have pursued their graduate work outside the province, more than in Ontario (estimated at 31%) or Alberta (reported at 40%). While master's degrees are often undertaken in the United States, doctorates are frequently from outside North America. Resoundingly, a master's degree in **educational administration** was reported by 71% of participants in the study. The relevance of coursework and the quasi-credential status of such a degree may be its attractive features. A modest percentage of persons (31%) have trained or practised a vocation outside education. This outcome would indicate that not all educators in the central office have had only one career.

When the responding central office personnel were former teachers, 58% marked that they practised as secondary, 39% as elementary, and 3% both in equal amounts, showing the partial dominance of secondary backgrounds. This result contrasts with that of the Ontario study, where according to Auster and McCordic (1980), 40% were secondary, 47% elementary, and 13% were both. In the United States, the pattern is more toward having those with elementary experience moving into the superintendent's role, according to Cunningham and Hentges (1982).

The average person who enters the superintendency has had 13 years of experience at the school level, somewhat longer than in Ontario. An overwhelming 85 percent of persons in the central office have held an elected position in a local teachers' association, while a relatively small percentage (23) have held such a post at the provincial level. It could be that many view the benefits of involvement in teachers' activities on a district-wide basis as instrumental in the career prospects of those now in the

superintendency. Somewhat more than half (55%) have been appointed from outside of their own districts, although this was much more true for superintendents (76%) than for other ranks (37%).

The rank of central office positions is reflective of their role labels: 42 percent are superintendents *per se* and 38 percent are assistant superintendents, with the remainder in other categories. The profile across the province for each district is one superintendent and one assistant superintendent, close to the Ontario results.

Generally, members of the higher-ranking central office staff have about the same personal profiles as do superintendents *per se* in other regions and times. They have two other striking commonalities. One is the kind of master's degree: in educational administration. It seems fair to ask how well such programs have prepared them for their central office roles. The other is the high proportion of persons who have served their local teachers' association in an elective capacity. Perhaps such offices are proving and recruiting grounds for those who aspire to senior administrative positions.

Issues in the superintendency

Persons in the superintendency in British Columbia school districts were presented with a series of problems gleaned from the literature on past studies and from a knowledge of recent events in the province. Respondents were asked to react to a total of 73 issues which were judged of potential importance. Each of these was rated on a scale from 0 to 5 with the attached labels: 0 – no concern; 1 – minor concern; 2 – some concern; 3 – moderate concern; 4 – sizeable concern; and 5 – major concern. Note that the midpoint on this scale is 2.5. The standard deviation of all respondents' scores (a measure of the spread) was calculated and may be interpreted as an indicator of *disagreement*. No missing values were encountered, which suggests that all persons answering the questionnaire were unusually conscientious in their willingness to share their views. Also, space was provided adjacent to each question which permitted written comments concerning it.

Ten issues

When the top ten issues were ranked in order of extent of concern among the personnel in the greater superintendency, the following issues emerged:

The first was provincial funding policies with a mean of 4.2 and a standard deviation (s.d.) of 1.0. The salience of this issue may be a product of the major retrenchment plans which were announced in July, 1983. It is

noteworthy that this issue received the highest level of agreement as to its importance among the leading problems. Some comments included: "policy is fairly sound; levels of support are (deleted)"; "intent is very fuzzy; don't always agree." But "financing schools" was also the major concern among superintendents *per se* in the United States, according to the survey conducted in 1982 by Cunningham and Hentges. Thus the recent legislation in British Columbia might not have been the factor that caused this outcome to be number one in rank. In fact, dollars have almost always dominated the list of concerns among district administrators.

Number two among leading issues was **present provincial legislation**, with a mean of 4.1 and a standard deviation of 1.1. This problem competed closely with the first, since it was only separated by a very small distance on the scale. It also may have been reflective of the same policy changes which were widely viewed as centralizing the locus of power to the Ministry of Education. Remarks included: "who writes that stuff?" and "has us in the tar-pits."

Third was the **provincial fiscal framework**, the name given to the method by which funds are allocated from the province to districts. This issue was given a mean concern of 3.7 with a s.d. of 1.3. The degree of concern seems almost universal. In the United States, planning/goal-setting was number two. Some comments were: "great for accountants and districts with heavy duty computers" and "needs polishing."

Next in the order of problems was **financial planning**, given an average concern of 3.6 and a disagreement score (s.d.) of 1.1. Some written notes were: "hard when the goal posts keep moving" and "every day is budget day under restraint."

The issue ranking fifth was **longterm educational planning** with a mean of 3.6 and s.d. of 1.2. Remarks were: "no evidence at the provincial level" and "how do you do this?" Note that the top five issues suggest a preoccupation with matters relating to the senior government in Victoria.

Sixth was **process necessary to dismiss an incompetent teacher** which had a mean of 3.5 and a s.d. of 1.3. This is the first problem dealing more with district management than with provincial policy. Staff and administrative evaluation ranked number five in the United States study (Cunningham & Hentges, 1982). Some comments: "some principals won't bite the bullet" and "process ok but takes too long."

Issues ranked seven to ten were also stressed quite strongly by the members of the British Columbia superintendency. Number seven was **quality of ministry support**, given a mean of 3.5 and a s.d. of 1.5. Remarks included: "Ministry what?" and "we have lost our advocate." As the issues

diminish in emphasis from first to seventh, the extent of agreement weakens since the standard deviation moves from 1.0 to 1.5. Eighth was **centralization of decision-making** at a mean of 3.5 and a s.d. of 1.4. Again, the concern seems to be with the recent policy changes. Remarks: "Ministry can't get its own act together, let alone run our show" and "we should be thinking about decentralizing."

Next was **expertise of the ministry in its advisory role**, which was given a mean level of concern of 3.4 and a s.d. of 1.4. Over the years, school district administrations have turned increasingly to lawyers and each other for advice. The importance of the Ministry of Education may have diminished also because of the local appointment of superintendents themselves. Comments were: "there is no one to advise" and "we ignore them."

Number ten made reference to **British Columbia Teachers' Federation policies** and probably reflected the teachers' strike which had occurred a few days before. The United States study rated "administrator-board relations" sixth. Cunningham and Hentges (1982) also reported that "Issues such as negotiations, strikes, and other forms of teacher militancy" were the top issues most likely to "drive superintendents out of their positions" (p.42). The average concern was 3.4 and s.d. 1.3. Remarks: "do they have any?" and "no longer child oriented – serious politics."

One general observation on the top ten issues might be made here. It is that issues directed at relations with the Ministry of Education in British Columbia are, overall, at a higher level of concern than those addressing the local delivery of educational services.

Also, it should be noted that there is some lack of congruence between the American series of studies and those from British Columbia. Cunningham and Hentges (1982) note that "assessing educational outcomes" ranked third and "accountability/credibility" ranked fourth in the United States. The absence of these issues from among the top ten may reflect the condition of retrenchment or it may come from a lesser concern about outcomes than is evident across the continent.

Observations

A small excursion into the data also produced some possibly notable results. It was possible to make some comparisons between the responses of the superintendents themselves and the other ranks. Two observations seem justified. One is that there was a substantial overall accord between the superintendents and the rest of the superintendency. The primary issues of concern were shared. And the very highest were fairly well agreed upon.

There is only one case of slight disagreement, and that is the process necessary to dismiss an incompetent teacher. Here, superintendents *ranked* it higher but *rated* it much the same concern on the scale from 0 to 5. The other observation is that in the scale ratings, almost all of the top ten issues were rated lower by the chief superintendents than they were by the others. In short, there may have been a greater level of anxiety about current and long-standing developments in British Columbia education among those in the superintendency's other roles than among those who served as chief executive officers.

Some aspects of the British Columbia context of public education may help the reader to interpret these results. When the data were collected, restraint legislation on all of the public service was in place. This included salary reductions and personnel layoffs. School board local taxing ability was frozen. Normal teacher layoff provisions were suspended; personnel could be laid off without cause; budgets were under severe central control and changed frequently. The Fiscal Framework, which works like a fairly precise cost-accounting mechanism, had been introduced, along with other financial devices which further centralized control in Victoria. A month before the data were collected, British Columbia experienced a controversial teachers' strike, and principals, as Teachers' Federation members, were forced to choose their loyalties between the Federation and their management responsibilities. It is most difficult to say how greatly the above results were influenced by those events.

Priorities of persons in the superintendency

Respondents were polled to uncover their concerns in a rather specific way on each of 73 issues, as discussed above, and in a fairly general way on a set of nine priorities. These general priorities were derived from a reading of the literature on superintendents and from a familiarity with events in British Columbia in the mid-1980s. It should be stressed that issues and priorities are different in key ways. The foregoing *issues* relate to problems confronting those in the superintendency. Further, they can be short-term in nature and change according to the latest crisis (with some exceptions such as the problem of the incompetent teacher). *Priorities*, in contrast, represent solutions to the on-going needs of the school systems. They are longer-term and address institutional requirements related to major trends in the larger society.

Each person was given 27 points, akin to \$27 million, to address the problems which were of the greatest magnitude to him or her. While some "spent" their allocation on one priority, almost no one distributed the "resources" uniformly. However, there was some evidence to indicate that not all persons understood the allocation scheme intended, so that corrections were made on a pro-rata basis when needed. For this reason,

results pertaining to priorities should be considered somewhat more tenuously than those on issues.

Priority rankings

The top priority was the **mandate**, described as action to "Review the mandate of the school system in order that there be a clarity of purpose and a priority of function for our schools." The mean for this priority was 3.72, which is not distant from that which would be produced by a uniform allocation (or chance) at 3.00. Its standard deviation (s.d.) was 2.4, which is again a measure of *disagreement* but which cannot be compared to the figures given for issues above since the scale here is from 0 to 27. It may be that concern about the mandate for public education is reflective of the level of debate about it across both Canada and the United States. Five ministers of education in the past eleven years have promised a review of the mandate for education in British Columbia. In fact, some mandates have been drafted and then laid aside. The rating for **mandate** may be a result of these intentions.

Second in the rank of priorities was **instruction**, indicated to be "The implementation of instructional strategies that lead to a mastery of knowledge for all students and a downplaying of the bell-curve." Instructional problems were given a mean of 3.65 (close to the mandate) and a s.d. of 2.4.

The next three priorities in rank were not far apart in terms of their averages of 3.55, 3.50, and 3.47. These were **finance**, **politics**, and **curriculum**, respectively. Priorities six and seven were **leadership** and **legislation**, rated at 3.21 and 3.10. A large drop in the means attached to the two remaining priorities was evident. **Traditionalism** and **participation**, at 1.78 and 1.05 respectively, are clearly low in the level of importance accorded by respondents.

It is interesting to note that members of the superintendency gave the *issue* of **centralization of decision-making** a high level of concern but considered the **participation** on the part of parents and citizens a low *priority* in their own districts.

When compared to the overall issues seen to be critical by members of the superintendency, the leading priorities showed a focus on "getting the job done" (**mandate** and **instruction**) more than on relations with the Ministry of Education (**finance** and **politics**) which are ranked third and fourth. This represents an inversion with the issues and may indicate members of the greater superintendency were not addressing the priorities they believed to be highly important.

Summary and Discussion

What is the personal profile of a member of the superintendency? This person: is a male; is age 47; has a master's degree in educational administration from outside the province; has 13 years of school-level experience; was once a secondary school teacher; has never been trained in or practiced a vocation outside education; has held an elected position for a local teachers' association; was appointed from outside the present district; and has spent 4.6 years in the present job. Generally, these characteristics correspond quite closely to those reported on superintendents and other senior educational personnel across the United States and in Ontario and Alberta.

What issues dominate in the superintendency? **Provincial funding policies and present provincial legislation** were the two leading issues rated of highest concern to members of school district central offices. When one compares the issues of most concern in British Columbia with those reported for the United States by Cunningham and Hentges (1982), there appears to be considerable agreement, especially among the top ten issues. In spite of the heated concerns of the moment, superintendents and their staffs shared similar problems with their counterparts in America. It would appear that overall, when under retrenchment the issues are not fundamentally new ones. Resources remain a high preoccupation and level of concern with legislation and policies of the government is high.

However, when asked about their priorities, those in the greater superintendency chose the need for a provincial **mandate** first, which may have indicated their wish to pursue the tasks of education. They may have perceived a discrepancy between the issues presented to them and the priorities which they would like to see addressed, since the issues were dominated by provincial policy matters while the priorities were more directed towards the delivery of educational services. Another way of saying this is that they appear to have been distracted from the need to "get on with the job."

What are some research implications for the results? A simple possibility is that persons in other roles, such as school board members, principals, teachers, students, and parents could be polled to solicit their views on the key issues facing education. Thus the scope of the study could be enlarged and the stability of issues under retrenchment could be tested for others as well. Another variation might be a more direct comparison of issues in places which have distinctively "good" and "bad" times, respectively. Such a comparison would avoid the present difficulty of having good and bad times mixed into the results currently reported in the literature. But the most informative direction would probably be a move from this rather descriptive study to a more analytic one. Particularly,

questions such as why some persons feel more concern about certain issues than others emerge as routes to explore. For instance, how do persons in the greater superintendency differ on the basis of their demographics, education, experience, and present roles with respect to their views on issues? If there are systematic variations, then it may be possible to account for them in this way, as is begun in this paper by the comparison between superintendents and those in other ranks.

Are there some policy implications? If the findings indicating that issues do not vary under retrenchment conditions are correct, then a number of possibilities and policy directions are evident. One is that the general public may have difficulty discerning between the usual level of concern about dollars and policies and the similarly-sounding concern registered by educators when under retrenchment conditions. The themes are the same.

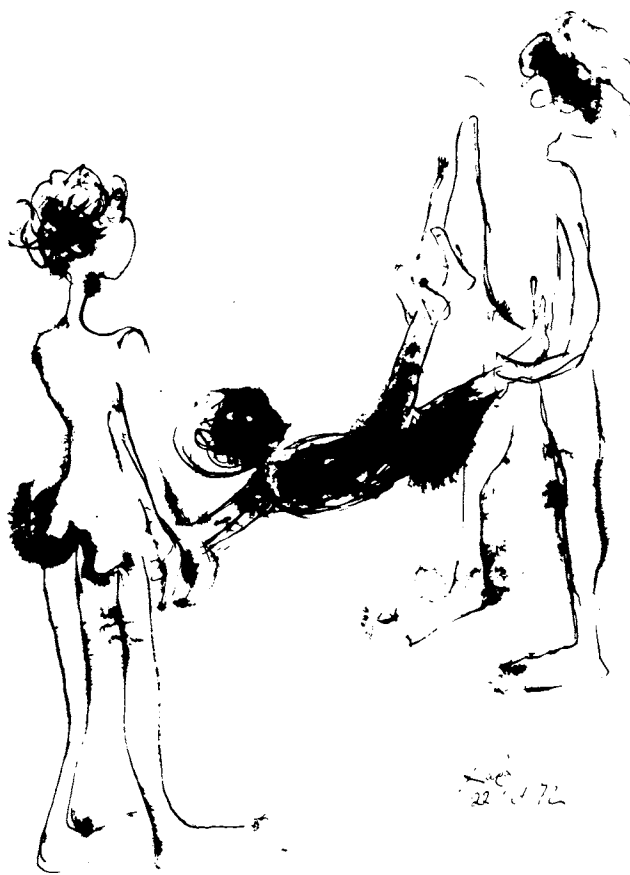
Another implication is that preparation for retrenchment conditions need not be distinctive from education or training for "normal" times. Under both, leaders at the apex of school district administration will continue to work with financial and policy issues, and hence their preparation for those roles would logically include an exposure to the major options evident in the study of educational finance and policy. Among those options is the possible need to gain some degree of financial independence from senior governments so that when revenues from that source become severely reduced, other sources can maintain the delivery of education. Thus the search for alternative resources may be a major option for the future of education.

The outcome that priorities become different from issues under retrenchment suggests that defence of local education is a more immediate matter than the improvement of schools. Educational leaders may be distracted by the "terror of the moment." They may perceive large-scale, centralized contraction as producing local chaos. Yet it is important to consider the long-term options even under conditions of disarray. One suggestion pertaining to possible local improvement is the adoption of some degree of decentralization within districts, thus permitting all personnel to share in the decision-making. Whether under adversity or not, the involvement of school-level personnel in decisions about resources may provide one way to improve the quality of decisions so that the education of children can be maintained or enhanced.

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"Child's Play"

Herbert L. Martin, Jr.
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Adolescents' "Rites of Passage": An annotated bibliography

Abstract

Adolescent behaviour has been an area of intense interest since G. Stanley Hall wrote his landmark volumes on adolescence. Since then such terms as "sturm und drang", rites of passage, and identity crisis have become a part of Education's language. This article with annotated bibliography addresses the themes of the transition from childhood through adolescence to young adulthood, and it offers a resource for teachers who wish to help their young students understand this transition through literature having naturalistic settings.

Many cultures around the world have stories centring around the theme of initiation. The initiation theme refers to that period in the lives of youths that helps them make the transition from childhood to the world of the young adult.

In traditional initiation ceremonies around the world, myths are usually told or reenacted in ritual form during the subject's initiation. Some traditions have had the young initiate go on a long hazardous journey, often involving fasting and a type of "vision quest" (Jung, 1964).

The vision quest idea mentioned here is taken from the Native American tradition in which it serves as the test or "threshold" that must be crossed successfully to become an adult and a functioning member of the tribe. However, this idea is also found in other tribal cultures, such as the aboriginal tribes of Australia, Central and South American Indians, and among many African tribes (Jung, 1964). Another important aspect of this vision quest experience often involves identification with an animal spirit which acts as a guide to greater illumination. For example, during the

vision experience, the young initiate may actually come to believe he is experiencing the world through the eyes or other senses of his Spirit Wolf, Bear, Eagle, or other animal. Often, the animal whose psychic identity the initiate "borrows" becomes a new part of the subject's name upon completion of the quest. This idea of the "accompanying" or "helping" animal spirit is referred to as a *totem*.

These ceremonies are believed to help the young initiate break the bonds of childhood and take on the responsibilities of a young adult. These rituals also serve to give one an individual sense of purpose as well as an understanding of one's place in the collective. Emile Durkheim maintained that these rituals rejuvenated and reaffirmed the morals and beliefs of the collective. By prescribing the *rites of passage* to mark crucial stages in the life cycle of each member of the community – what Arnold van Gennep (1908) called the individual's *life crisis* – rituals linked the individual to the group and the group to the individual, they insured group participation in the great events of the individual's life, they heightened his consciousness of the transformation he was undergoing, and gave him the courage to move on to the next stage ordained for him. Thus, in addition to ensuring group cohesion, rituals promoted the psychic health of the individual as well as the community (Neumann, 1954).

The pre-adolescent and adolescent students in our "modern" culture in North America are no less beset by the "dragons of youth." Yet, our present society provides few outlets and helping initiations to bring our young successfully through this period. Anyone who has ever been (or even talked to) a teacher of young adolescents, gets some idea of just how tumultuous this period can be for the teacher. But the real source of the difficulty lies deeply imbedded within each individual student. It is a period that **must** be suffered, a "threshold that must be crossed" (Campbell, 1949). It even appears that, in order for the experience to be meaningful and to have **any** transformative value for adulthood, the experience must be **difficult** – a struggle. That is basically what the teacher is seeing and what the student is experiencing during the middle school years. While there are no formal initiation vehicles set up in our present public school classrooms, there is a developing genre of literature that addresses this motif from the standpoint of diverse cultures. I refer to them as Hero/Heroine myths.

The following annotated list is by no means all that is available on the subject, but it is a way of identifying, for teachers, the things to look for in establishing a helpful bibliography for youths in the age group between 10 and 16.

A sample listing of

Children's Books on Heroine/Hero Myths (Annotated)*

1. Barch, F. *Brave Riders*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1959. This book describes a young boy's initiatory journey into manhood, an accurate portrayal of Native American culture.
2. Barnauw, V. *Dream of the Blue Heron*. New York: Dell, 1966. (Vision quest) Set in northern Wisconsin in the early 1900s, this story relates the identity struggle of a Chippewa boy, caught between his forest dwelling grandparents and his father, who works in a lumber mill. A resolution is achieved through his own experience.
3. Bates, B. *The Ups and Downs of Jove Jenkins*. New York: Holiday House, 1978. (Self-awareness) A young adolescent girl begins to make important decisions for herself and becomes aware of her importance to the family, during parental illness.
4. Bulla, R. *Charlie's House*. Illustrated by Arthur Douds. Corwell/Harper. 96 pp. Independent and outspoken, twelve year old Charlie Brig leaves his family in England and encounters danger and adventure as an indentured servant and later as a runaway. A skillfully written story of the insights into a child's role in the 18th century in both England and New World America.
5. Calhoun, Mary. *Big Sixteen*. Illustrated by Trina Shart Hyman. Morrow. 32 pp. (Black folk hero) So powerful was Big Sixteen that he even killed the Devil, with far reaching consequences seen forever afterward "if you ever see a light flickerin' down in the swamp at night." A storyteller's version of the Southern story of the black folk hero Big Sixteen, so named "cause that was the size of his shoe!"
6. Cate, D. *Never is a Long Time*. London: Thomas Nelson, 1976. A 12-year-old boy becomes aware of the rhythms of death and birth and sees himself as an emerging adult, an extended family situation.
7. Cooper, S. *Greenwich*. New York: Atheneum, 1974. A young girl, Jane, is asked to take part in a traditional, night-long spring renewal ceremony with other women of the village. Jane's sensitivity and compassion result in a great gift. A contemporary fantasy story set in Cornwall, England.

8. Distad, A. *The Dream Runner*. New York: Harper & Row, 1977. (Vision quest) This is a contemporary story of a young boy who sets off on his own vision quest and finds "something to live up to."
9. Frank, A. *Anne Frank: The Diary of a Young Girl*. New York: Doubleday, 1952. This is the story of a young girl's maturation over a 2-year period and describes her relationship to her changing body, her parents, and her first love.
10. Jones, W. *Edge of Two Worlds*. New York: Dial Press, 1968. Set in 1842, this is a beautiful story describing a mentor relationship between a 15-year-old white boy and a Native American silversmith teacher.
11. Kortum, Jeanie. *Ghost Vision*. Illustrated by Dugald Stermer. Sierra Club/Pantheon. This novel successfully mixes the supernatural with an excellent portrayal of everyday life among the Inuit people of Greenland. Panipag, a 12-year-old Eskimo boy, is frightened by his strange dreams and visions. Old Iruk, the tribal leader, convinces Panipag that he has special powers, and that the boy's dream, of Inuit teachings and happenings, are warnings to his people, who have strayed too far from the "old ways."
12. Lasky, Kathryn. *Beyond the Divide*. Macmillan. 264 pp. Meribah wins her struggle for survival. When her father is shunned by their Havish community, Meribah Simon leaves with him to join the 1849 gold rush. As the journey west grows more desperate, the two are abandoned by their fellow passenger. Her father dies and she has to survive on her own.
13. L'Engle, M. *A Wrinkle in Time*. New York: Dell, 1980. This story involves a young adolescent girl who struggles with feelings of hopelessness, and plays a key role in helping her family.
14. Lewin, Hugh. *Jafta*. Illustrated by Lisa Kooper. Carolrhoda. 24 pp. In this book, a small south African child introduces his world by comparing his feelings to those of various indigenous animals.
15. McDermott, G. *Arrow to the Sun*. New York: Puffin, 1974. (Initiation myth on self-development) A beautifully illustrated book that shows symbolically the transformation process of a Pueblo youth.
16. Mildiner, L. *Getting the Eagle*. London: MacMillan, 1981. (Vision quest) This is a contemporary story, set in the East end of London, that describes a failed vision quest.

17. O'Dell, S. *Island of the Blue Dolphins* (5th ed.) New York: Dell, 1980. (Initiation and self-discovery) A young Native American girl is stranded in the mid-1800s, alone on an island off the coast of California. This poetic tale records her struggle to survive (building a shelter, making weapons, finding food, fighting wild dogs) and her own personal discoveries.
18. Paterson, Katherine. *Rebels of the Heavenly Kingdom*. Lodestar/Dulton, 240 pp. Wang Lee, a young peasant, joins a secret, anti-Manchu, God-worshipping society, but becomes disillusioned with the violence and murder done in the name "Heavenly Peace." A novel set in China during the Taiping Rebellion in the 1850s.
19. Rogers, Jean. *Goodbye, My Island*. Illustrated by Rie Murroy. Greenwillow. 96 pp. Twelve year old, Esther Atoolie, feels regret and frustration as she leaves her beloved island, despite promises of a bright future in Nome. A poignant story of the last exodus of the King Island Eskimos from their homeland.
20. Sharp, E. *Nkwala*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1978. (A failed vision quest) A Native American boy of the Salish tribe, learns through persistence in a failed vision quest, an accurate and exciting experience.
21. Shura, M. *Seasons of Silence*. New York: Atheneum, 1976. (Self-discovery) This is a story of a young adolescent girl who comes to terms with family problems, painful feelings, death, loss of friendship, the beauty and healing powers of nature, life, and love.
22. Sperry, A. *Call it Courage*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1940. The story is about a 15-year-old South Sea Islander who takes a solo journey, by boat. He survives a terrible storm and wins his manhood.
23. Wojciechowsak, M. *Shadow of a Bull*. New York: Atheneum, 1964. (Self-discovery) The author describes the psychological struggle of a young boy who is separating his identity from that of a famous father, using the metaphor of bullfighting.

* This annotated bibliography is directed towards naturalistic settings and does not include books that relate to formal structured religious ceremonies.

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Book Reviews

John D. Dennison and Paul Gallagher.

**CANADA'S COMMUNITY COLLEGES:
A CRITICAL ANALYSIS.**

**Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press, 1986.
370 pp. \$16.95.**

Considering the dearth of literature relating to the Canadian community college, this study by John Dennison (University of British Columbia) and Paul Gallagher (Vancouver Community College) has scored well on two grounds: it continues the narrative and analysis begun by Gordon Campbell in his 1971 work, while at the same time it is so comprehensive, thoughtful and well-written that it is destined to become the definitive text for those interested in the field. The book, divided into two sections, the first outlining *Origins and History*, the second *Issues for the Future*, promises in the *Introduction* to be "intentionally judgmental and, it is hoped, controversial. . . to provoke discussion and debate about the future" of the colleges. Indeed, this is not an idle threat, and the authors successfully attack many sacred cows. Both authors have been longstanding students and observers of the Canadian community college, one as a university professor who has conducted ongoing research in the college area, the other with significant experience as a college president in two provinces. The book is rooted in well-documented research and includes comprehensive chapter notes and bibliography.

The first section spells out how each province created a college structure to suit specific provincial needs. Emphasized, by the authors, are the theses that (a) educational planners and administrators tend to understand only their own province, and (b) universities, as effectively as they could, manipulated to ensure that their own positions were in no way compromised as a result of the advent of the colleges. This section also outlines the history of provincial relations with the Federal government,

and, in particular, how the Quebec government introduced the colleges as tools for social and political change. No doubt, based on his lengthy experience as an educator there, Gallagher's acute insights about Quebec make for interesting reading indeed, as does the later analysis of general education in the colleges. In the next two chapters, the characteristics of colleges that distinguish them from universities are reviewed to good effect, followed by a discussion on the establishment of provincial systems.

In Part II, the authors challenge much conventional wisdom, for example, seriously questioning whether there is any justification for the same kind of governance for community colleges as universities. This is a topic of immediate interest in Ontario, with the just announced government response to the recent Pitman study. They go on to assert that, for example:

- . "Canada has not been on the cutting edge of post-secondary education, despite the massive public and private sums devoted to this endeavour."
- . "The plain facts are that college teaching has not been rigorously and systematically evaluated and that few resources have been devoted to improving the quality of instruction."
- . "It would be unrealistic not to admit that a portion of Canadian college staff members are doing little more than putting in time to retirement, even though they are still quite young."

Unfortunately, many of these statements are left hanging in the air, with insufficient supporting evidence, or without that essential following discussion in later chapters. The reader is left with some sense of frustration as to how these issues may be resolved.

The authors' global insights about the evolution of the community college in Canada are particularly provocative when they touch on the implications for the learning society. In their chapter on **Colleges as Institutions**, they assert a strong role for colleges as centres for the continuing education of adults, stressing the primacy of attention to the individual student and his/her personal learning objectives. The following chapters dealing with **Politics, Excellence** (section on **Research**) contain trenchant observations based on the experiences and biases of the authors. Gallagher's knowledge of and his personal involvement in the development of the Dawson College approach (collegiality and student parity), for example, have certainly influenced the discussion of the roles of the various constituencies. Two other comments serve to illustrate their constant ability to get to the heart of a matter with perceptive and concise penetration:

. "The CEGEPs have gained maturity but in the view of many observers they have grown old too quickly."

. "The single most damaging feature of the Canadian college movement has been the tendency for its members and others to evaluate these institutions on bases appropriate to other kinds of institutions."

One senses that the authors have tried to cover too much ground in their understandable efforts to be comprehensive. The book suffers to a certain degree from a relatively sparse use of examples. Also, although a handful of people are mentioned as being critical to the establishment of the colleges in the various provinces, few practitioners are singled out as having been instrumental in the development of the college movement, giving the work a certain arid and impersonal tone. They may have been simply reflecting the standard Canadian reluctance to identify heroic figures, which Americans tend to do with so much more panache, even when undeserved.

One weakness: One might have expected to have found here some discussion or outline of the variety of program characteristics or mix of colleges, variations between the systems, comparative breakdowns of Board composition, etc. Such data would have been more useful for the discerning reader to find among the Appendices than a map of college locations in Canada. The book, however, is immensely useful and calls out for early comments and response from Canadian practitioners to the many issues raised. Although blemished by some sweeping generalizations, it is otherwise encyclopaedic; it should become *must* reading. The book makes a major contribution to understanding the Canadian college movement, only now beginning to mature. Let us hope that it will not be another fifteen years before a definitive response is forthcoming.

Robert A. Gordon
Humber College, Toronto

Margaret Gillett.
DEAR GRACE: A ROMANCE OF HISTORY.
Montreal, Quebec: Eden Press, 1986.
246 pp. \$24.95.

Dear Grace may be viewed as a book of discovery mainly about the life of William Clow Ritchie, a Canadian doctor who graduated from the School of Medicine, Queen's University in 1889 and, after taking post-graduate studies in Edinburgh, emigrated to Australia. The central part of the book consists of a collection of twenty-seven letters written by Little from Scotland and Australia between 1889 and 1894 to Grace Octavia Ritchie.

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The two had known each other for about a year at Queen's where they had both been medical students. Grace Ritchie, who had previously been among the first women graduates in Arts from McGill University in 1888, spent a year at Queen's, then completed her medical studies at Bishop's University in 1891, when she became the first female to graduate as a doctor in Quebec. The author provides helpful background information about the families and lives of both of the principal characters before the correspondence began, and traces, as well, the succeeding events in their lives after the correspondence appeared to have ceased.

Only rarely do authors of historical biographical writing ever share with their readers the odyssey of the intellectual adventure involved in the conceptualization of their task, their search for data and the process by which those data are carefully pieced together to determine the necessary chronology and to provide the biographical descriptions that are eventually published. We are fortunate that in *Dear Grace*, Margaret Gillett shares that process with us at the very beginning of the book, taking the reader from the first probings in Quebec and Ontario, then on two journeys to Australia where, on each occasion, there are unexpectedly rewarding revelations and new evidence. The evidence found consisted of archival sources in both countries, including official records and newspaper items, as well as a personal diary, the recollections of descendant relatives and acquaintances, and valuable local historical sources. The result is that upon reaching the letters themselves the reader is challenged to continue the mental process of discovery already begun.

In going through these letters, readers will likely ask themselves what motivated this man's life as a doctor in Australia? Was it healing the sick and injured? the desire to make more money than was then possible in Canada? the opportunity to gain prestige and power in a small community? the sense of freedom and pioneering in a remote frontier town? or some combination of these motives? How did the relationship between William Little and Grace Ritchie develop over the years when this correspondence took place? Was the outcome of that relationship influenced by a growing congruence or incongruence in their values? What other powerful influences from more localized circles concurrently may have shaped and transformed their lives? The letters themselves provide rich material for reflecting upon these and other questions.

Some readers may yearn for more symmetry to the contents of the book than has been given. Here are the letters of Dr. Little, often fondly reminiscent of shared experiences and of friends and relatives in Canada and tinged with romanticism, but usually also filled with details of professional practice, frequently descriptive of local people and events, sometimes introspective. But where are the letters from Grace Ritchie to William Little? Alas, they have never been found. One wonders whether the author

of this book might have reconstructed Grace's letters from the contents of William's, as well as from contemporary developments in Canada, and from the accumulated knowledge of Grace Ritchie as a person, to provide that symmetry. The author decided not to sacrifice historical authenticity for speculation and drama.

However, there is perhaps one respect in which more symmetry may have been provided to advantage. While considerable information is provided by the author about William Little's new home in Warracknabeal and surroundings, including several excellent photographic illustrations of the social and economic life of that part of Australia, there is only very limited information about Lachute, Montreal, Kingston, Toronto and other such centres that are referred to in William Little's letters. It would surely be helpful to Canadian readers – and especially to Australian readers – to have more knowledge of the historical period in which Grace Ritchie lived. Such information might help them better to understand how Grace Ritchie received and interpreted the letters in the 1890s, and to judge whether William Little really became out-of-touch with the personal development of Grace Ritchie and the world in which she lived.

Dear Grace is a unique book in that it examines the parallel lives of two people. William Little has a career that at first surges forward, that then seems to slow with the onset of illness, that declines in personal and professional fulfillment and ends in premature death. By contrast, Grace Ritchie's is increasingly ascendant both in medical practice and national politics. She is blessed with good health and longevity, becoming a person of national prominence. Seen in that perspective, this book is an unfolding adventure where two lives touch each other like two flames that burn brightly together, then separate, one eventually flickering and extinguished, the other blazing on.

David C. Smith
McGill University

Books Received

The following is a list of books received by the M.J.E. 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.

A multicultural anthology for young readers. (1986). *Pieces*, 113 pp; *Of the jigsaw*, 230 pp; *Puzzle*, 169 pp. Winnipeg: Peguis Publishers. Financial assistance for the books provided by the Secretary of State, Multicultural Directorate, Manitoba Culture Heritage Development, and Manitoba Education. \$10. each.

Canadian Education Association. (1986). *Dollars and sense: How school boards save money*. Toronto: Canadian Education Association. 67 pp. \$6.

Farmer, Marjorie N. (Editor). (1986). *Consensus and dissent: Teaching English, past, present, and future*. Urbana Illinois: NCTE. 152 pp. \$10.00. NCTE members, \$7.50.

Harré, Rom, & Roger Lamb (Editors). (1986). *The dictionary of developmental and educational psychology*. Cambridge: The MIT Press. 271pp. \$9.95.

Kach, Nick, Kas Mazurek, Robert S. Patterson, & Ivan De Favere. (1986). *Essays on Canadian education*. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises. 244 pp.

Kohn, Rita (Comp.). (1986). *Once upon. . . A time for young people and their books: An annotated resource guide*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press. 219 pp. \$19.50.

Liscio, Mary Ann (Editor). (1986). *A guide to colleges for learning disabled students (Revised)*. Orlando: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 423 pp. \$39.25.

Morgan, James L. (1986). *From simple input to complex grammar*. Cambridge: MIT Press. 223 pp. \$33.50.

McLaren, Peter. (1986). *Schooling as a ritual performance. Towards a political economy of educational symbols and gestures*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. 326 pp. \$39.95.

Palmer, Imelda (Editor). (1986). *Melbourne studies in education*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press. 231 pp.

Ryan, Doris W. (1986). *Developing a new model of teacher effectiveness. Lessons learned from the IEA classroom environmental study*. Toronto: Ministry of Education, Research & Information Branch. 79 pp. \$4.

Secretary of State & Statistics Canada. (1986). *The class of 82. La Promotion de 1982. Summary report on the findings of the 1984 national survey of the graduates of 1982*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, Cat. #S2-168/1986E. 178 pp.

Wallace, Barbara, & Kathy Cooper. (1986). *The citizen's guide to lead. Uncovering a hidden health hazard*. Toronto: N.C. Press. 193 pp. \$9.95.

Weeren, Donald J. (1986). *Educating religiously in the multi-faith school*. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises. 103 pp.

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Daniel J. Brown is an associate professor in the Department of Administrative, Adult and Higher Education, Faculty of Education, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C. His primary area of interest is educational finance, with emphasis on school-based management and the attraction of alternative resources. A secondary interest is computers in education.

Robert V. Bullough Jr. is Associate Professor of Educational Studies and Chair, Division of Secondary Education, University of Utah, Salt Lake City. He is author of *Democracy in Education: Boyd H. Bode* (1981) and Co-author *Human Interests in the Curriculum: Teaching and Learning in a Technological Society* (1984).

Jean J. Charest, P.C., M.P., is, at 28, the youngest cabinet minister in history. He was appointed Minister of State for Youth in 1986, and in the same year, was appointed to the Cabinet Committee on Federal – Provincial Relations. He has been Vice-Chairman of the Canada – U.S. Inter-Parliamentary Group. Mr. Charest obtained his law degree from the University of Sherbrooke, and is a member of the Quebec Bar Association, and the Canadian Bar Association. He developed an interest in civil liberties while practising criminal law.

Andrew D. Gütlin is Assistant Professor of Educational Studies at the University of Utah. His work has focused on peer evaluation, teachers' work, and the reproduction of social inequalities.

Roger Magnuson is Professor and Graduate Program Director in History of Education and Comparative Education in the Department of Administration and Policy Studies in Education at McGill University. His primary research interest is in Quebec Education.

Herbert L. Martin, Jr., a native of Martinsville, Virginia, is Assistant Professor in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge. His specialty is cultural mythology and its application to multicultural education in elementary education. Dr. Martin completed his graduate studies at the University of Wisconsin in Madison.

Hara Papatheodorou was born in Athens, Greece, and now resides in Montreal where she studies, teaches and paints. She holds degrees in fine arts, in art history, and in art education from McGill University. Hara Papatheodorou has won awards and distinctions for her work in Europe and elsewhere. She has travelled extensively in Africa, Central Asia, Europe, North America, and India, where she lived for a number of years.

Robert Paulet is a psychologist in the Faculty of Education at Brandon University. As centre-coordinator of the university's most isolated teaching centre, Splet Lake, Manitoba, he served as administrator, student teaching supervisor, and instructor for the Brandon University Northern Teacher Education Program. As a Travelling Professor he taught courses for Inter-Universities North and Program for the Education of Native Teachers. He developed and delivered Brandon's first guided independent study course, *The Education of Children with Learning Disabilities*.

Nancy K. Schlossberg received her higher education at Barnard College and, Teachers College, Columbia University. Since 1974 she has been a full professor at the University of Maryland. She was the first woman executive at the American Council on Education where she established the Office of Women in Higher Education. Dr. Schlossberg's major interests and expertise are in the field of adult development, adult psychology, and career development. Her most recent book is *Counseling Adults in Transition*. Dr. Schlossberg is a Fellow of the American Psychological Association (APA), and the 1983 APA G. Stanley Hall Lecturer on Adult Development. She has served as member and chair of APA's Public Information Committee, and she was selected as a Distinguished Scholar at the University of Maryland in 1983.

Photography: Educational Media Centre

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Nancy K. Schlossberg a fait ses études au Barnard et à Teachers College de l'université Columbia. Depuis 1974, elle est professeur titulaire à l'université de Maryland. Elle a été la première femme à accéder à un poste de cadre supérieur au sein de l'American Council on Education, où elle a créé l'Office of Women in Higher Education. Ses principaux intérêts et sa spécialisation sont dans le domaine du développement de l'éducation des adultes, de la psychologie des adultes et du perfectionnement professionnel. Son ouvrage le plus récent s'intitule *Counselling Adults in Transition*. Nancy Schlossberg est membre de l'American Psychological Association (APA), et c'est elle qui en 1983 a été la conférencière G. Stanley Hall sur le développement des adultes. Elle a été membre et présidente du Public Information Committee de l'APA et a mérité la mention de Distinguished Scholar à l'université du Maryland en 1983.

Photographie: Educational Media Centre

Résumés

Understanding and Reaching Adult Learners **Nancy K. Schlossberg** **9**

Les conseillers, enseignants et administrateurs qui travaillent avec des étudiants d'âge adulte se doivent de les comprendre. Pour cela, il faut qu'ils soient en mesure d'évaluer leur capacité et leurs modes d'apprentissage. Conseillers, enseignants et administrateurs peuvent alors mettre à profit cette somme de connaissances pour 1) étoffer leur répertoire, 2) modifier le climat qui règne en classe et 3) donner à ces étudiants l'impression qu'ils comptent vraiment.

Adult Education in Isolated Communities **Robert Paulet** **19**

On s'intéresse de plus en plus à l'emploi de la technologie pour épauler la présentation de services de soutien aux étudiants d'âge adulte vivant dans des localités isolées. Les établissements d'enseignement se sont adaptés de diverses façons à cette séparation physique des étudiants et de l'établissement. La présente étude examine les efforts déployés pour venir en aide aux étudiants des régions éloignées en analysant leurs besoins, le fonctionnement des services qui leur sont destinés au Canada et l'emploi créatif de la technologie.

The Public School Myth **Roger Magnuson** **29**

L'auteur de cet article soutient que le système d'éducation publique du Québec, mesuré selon les critères classiques, relevait plus de la fiction que de la réalité avant 1960. L'auteur affirme notamment que les personnes qui régissaient ce système n'avaient aucun compte à rendre au public ni ne le représentaient. En outre, il semblerait que ce système d'éducation publique défavorisait les immigrants et les groupes minoritaires.

Improving Teaching Through Peer Evaluation

Andrew D. Gitlin 41
Robert V. Bullough, Jr.

L'évaluation horizontale qui est un modèle d'évaluation des enseignants fondé sur la structuration du dialogue pour aider les enseignants à mieux comprendre la nature et l'influence de leurs décisions, est décrite dans le présent article en même temps que les résultats d'une étude pilote basée sur ce modèle. Grâce à l'évaluation horizontale, des paires d'enseignants ont analysé les hypothèses qu'ils avaient sur l'enseignement et l'apprentissage et ont commencé de mieux comprendre certains aspects de l'enseignement qu'ils tenaient pour acquis, notamment les problèmes d'inégalité, les limites contextuelles imposées à leurs travaux et la légitimité des objectifs des programmes d'études.

Educational Issues as Seen by the Greater Superintendency

Daniel J. Brown 55

Le présent article a pour objet de déterminer si les problèmes éducatifs en période de compression aux quels se heurtent les personnes qui occupent des postes clés dans l'administration scolaire sont identiques aux problèmes présents en temps normal ou si elles en diffèrent. L'article analyse également la similitude qui existe entre les questions et les priorités des personnes travaillant à la surintendance. Un questionnaire a été remis aux employés des bureaux centraux de Colombie-Britannique alors que les effets de compressions se faisaient pleinement sentir, et 87% des personnes interrogées ont répondu au questionnaire. On a constaté que les employés de la surintendance avaient à peu près le même profil personnel que ce qu'en dit la littérature qui leur est consacrée. Les problèmes semblaient être identiques aux problèmes survenant en d'autres lieux en d'autres moments. Mais les problèmes ne correspondaient pas aux priorités (ils étaient de caractère plus politique tandis que les priorités étaient davantage infléchies vers des tâches). L'auteur analyse les répercussions que cela peut avoir pour une recherche plus analytique et une politique de décentralisation.

Adolescents' "Rites of Passage":

Herbert L. Martin, Jr. 69

Le comportement des adolescents est un sujet qui suscite beaucoup d'intérêt depuis que G. Stanley Hall a écrit ses célèbres ouvrages sur l'adolescence. Des termes comme bouleversement, rites de passage et crise d'identité sont entrés dans le langage de l'éducation. Le présent article et sa bibliographie annotée portent sur le thème de la transition de l'enfance à l'adolescence et à l'âge adulte, et c'est un ouvrage plein d'enseignements pour les professeurs qui tiennent à aider leurs élèves à mieux assumer cette transition.



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