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MJE

The M^cGill Journal of Education

Two Myths in New France Education

Roger Magnuson

Voice in Writing

Nicholas J. Aversa and Michael Tritt

Collegial Education in Quebec — A Bibliography

Andre E. LeBlanc

Frames, Minds, and Human Intelligence

Joe L. Green



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Editorial

Can We Interest You?

The **Journal** over the years has served as a forum for current ideas in the field of education **in general** and, because it is a publication that covers topics in a very broad field (education in all its dimensions), the matter of selecting articles from all those that are submitted for publication exacts a critical skill in decision making. If it were a journal that served an audience with a more restricted range of interests the matter of selecting those articles that will be published might be less demanding.

The variety and quality of the manuscripts and topics submitted to the **Journal** present a challenge to any editor because the job of editor is not simply a matter of deciding between which papers meet the criteria of scholarliness and good writing and those that do not, but, also, which topics will inform and excite the curiosity of educators with a diversity of interests.

It is with that last thought in mind we have put together this issue with the expectation -- and faith -- that the ideas expressed by these authors will appeal to the common basic interests of most educators. In our opinion they have something interesting and informative to say to us.

Prof. Magnuson challenges some of the previous held ideas about education and the rate of literacy in New France. One does not have to be an historian to find his historical research on the rate of literacy among women in New France a novel approach to retrospective fact-finding.

All of us are concerned about the quality of writing and that talent called creative expressiveness -- the ability to put oneself on paper -- which Profs. Aversa and Tritt and Mr. Lund have written about in a provocative manner. If one wants to become sensitized to his own writing style, these authors will set

you out on that quest.

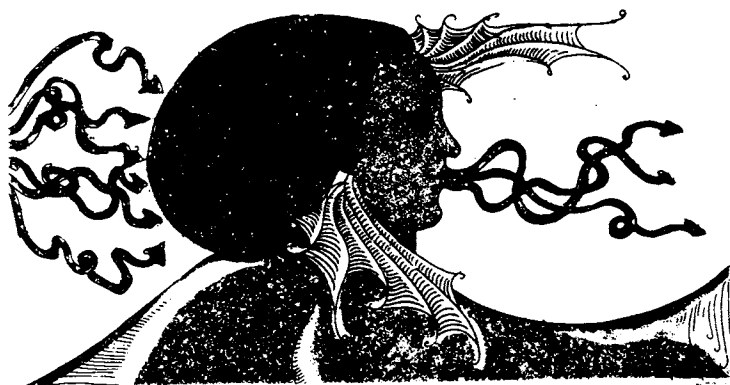
Not all of us will have the opportunity or the courage to move into the milieu of a foreign university and lend our skills and knowledge to assessing and developing their education curriculum, particularly in a country that is not well known to most of us. However, Profs. Boulianne and Weston, with clarity and precision, describe for us their experience and research findings from several years work with a university in Ecuador.

For some of us, standardized testing maintains elitism and has been viewed as demeaning to its "victims"; to others, it is a useful tool that provides an equitable, objective means of determining differences among students. Prof. Ungerleider nudges us with a challenging, and somewhat critical, review of the social and educational consequences of standardized testing. But Prof. Ungerleider's ideas are brought into better focus with Prof. Green's scholarly review of a book that projects the concept of "multiple intelligences". His review counteracts some of the concerns expressed by Prof. Ungerleider.

For those of us who are interested in Quebec's unique CEGEP system of pre-university education, Prof. LeBlanc brings together a valuable bibliography that surely can serve as a good start for any piece of research in that area of higher education.

If these articles do not prick your interests, perhaps next time there will be something for you.

W.M.T.



Two Myths in New France Education

Abstract

This article breaks with two traditional beliefs about early Canadian education by suggesting that girls' education equalled or surpassed that of boys and that the male Recollets were little involved in learning.

In deference to the principle that history is constantly being reviewed and reinterpreted, this presentation seeks to challenge two conventional beliefs about education in New France. Those who have written on education in seventeenth and eighteenth century Canada hold to the view that learning was more widespread among males than females and that the male religious order known as the Recollets was active in education. It is my contention that New France was an exceptional society in which the learning gap between the sexes was much less wide than believed or that existed in other lands.(1) Indeed, it is not beyond the realm of possibility that, in terms of basic literacy, females surpassed males in early Canada by the eighteenth century. It is also suggested that historians have been guilty of exaggerating the educational role of the Recollets. A review of the evidence shows that the Recollets, in contrast to the Jesuits and Sulpicians, were little involved in formal education, either as teachers or administrators.

Questions raised by Gosselin's writings

Dating from Amédée Gosselin's (1911) pioneering work on New France education, historians have subscribed to the view that schooling was greater for males than females in early Canada.

Ironically, Gosselin's declarations in favour of male learning were in reply to the comments of the nineteenth century historian Garneau, who had written glowingly of female education during the period. Gosselin reproached Garneau for having been extravagant in his praise of female learning, which he claimed was not supported by the documentary evidence. Gosselin's downgrading of female learning and his defence of male learning took the form of two arguments. First, he said that in eighteenth century Quebec and Montreal there were as many boys' as girls' schools. And while he admitted that girls' schools seemed to have enjoyed a numerical advantage in the country districts, he was quick to add that the institutional difference was balanced by the existence of lay school-masters, who wandered from parish to parish giving lettered instruction to boys. Second, Gosselin argued that the greater provision for boys' education was borne out by literacy rates as derived from signature counts. He said his own study of marriage and baptismal registers in selected parishes near Quebec confirmed his suspicions, that in every case males showed a higher signature rate than females (Gosselin, 1911, pp. 147-149). And while he was prepared to admit that the number of cases examined was not sufficiently representative to warrant a firm conclusion on the question, he was convinced it was indicative of the general condition in the colony.

Before dealing with the issues under review, it behooves us to say a word about the documentary sources of New France. At first glance they seem overwhelming, even intimidating. Faithful to the Gallic love of the written word, the early Canadians were in the habit of recording their intentions and actions on paper. In fact, the period abounds in government correspondence, official reports, laws and directives, which are seconded by a substantial clerical literature. Unfortunately, data on education are fragmentary and incomplete. Like the Romans, the early Canadians demonstrated a flair for census taking, but as with the ancients their enumerations did not include detailed information on the state of learning. The censuses of New France, dating from 1666, provide a demographic record of people, livestock, foodstuffs and buildings; on the other hand, they are largely silent as regards the learning achievements of the population. The absence of educational data is, however, neither surprising nor unusual. What must be remembered is that education was a marginal activity in earlier times, under private auspices and intended for a limited clientele. In New France as elsewhere there was little sense of education as a public enterprise, reflected in the absence of an education ministry or state apparatus, one of whose duties would be the collection and publication of statistics on learning. Failing the existence of official data on learning the educational historian of New France is at the mercy of incomplete and imperfect sources of information.

Some clues to literacy and learning

One of the most frequently used methods of determining the spread of learning in pre-industrial societies is to inquire into the literacy of the people, the assumption being that a person's ability to read and write is an index of schooling. As was noted above, the censuses and official records of New France are largely silent as to the lettered condition of the population. In the absence of direct evidence, we are forced to look elsewhere for clues to literacy and learning. An alternative method is suggested by the work of social historians, who have turned to signature counts in the belief that a close association exists between the capacity to write one's name and the ability to read and write.⁽²⁾ The argument is that if a person could write his name it is probable he could write other things; and if he could write he surely could read. A recent study in France found a strong positive correlation between the written signature and the ability to read and write. Researchers concluded that signature counts drawn from marriage registers in nineteenth century France corresponded closely with literacy tests given to military conscripts (Furet and Ozouf, 1977).

Of those instances demanding a written signature or mark in early societies, the marriage register is generally acknowledged to be the most reliable source. It enjoys several advantages over other official acts calling for a signature, namely, wills, petitions, deeds, baptismal, and notarial records. First, the marriage register was in place in most European countries as early as the seventeenth century. In Canada the Ordinance of 1678 decreed that the bride and groom sign the register and that the presiding priest certify whether the couple was able to sign. Second, the marriage registers meet the test of universality, of embracing the bulk of the population since it is known that most adults married.

Yet there are problems. The early records have been found to be incomplete and in some cases unavailable. Demographers at the University of Montreal estimate that more than a quarter of parish acts (birth, baptismal, and marriage registrations) in seventeenth century Canada are missing, either through neglect, loss, or destruction (Roy and Charbonneau, 1976). They also admit to finding widespread neglect of the Ordinance of 1678, that in almost 40 percent of the marriages performed between 1680 and 1699 the priest failed to record whether the couple could sign the register (Roy, Landry, and Charbonneau, 1977, p.65). And while such evidence does not invalidate the marriage register as a source of information on literacy, it does alert us to its imperfections.

It behooves us to ask whether other and more recent studies of marriage registers in New France sustain Gosselin's belief in greater male literacy. One of the most complete profiles of early Canada is that provided by Marcel Trudel (1973, p.146) who

dissected the population of 1663. Of 1,244 persons of marriageable age, he found that 59 percent of grooms and 46 percent of brides wrote their name, which seems to confirm Gosselin's conclusions. However, there is a hidden qualification in the statistic. Of the 3,000 plus persons living in the colony in 1663 less than 40 percent were native born, which suggests that the signature rate was more reflective of literacy and learning in France than in the new world. A look at marriage registers later in the period should provide a truer picture. Researchers examining marriage registers for the period 1680-1699 estimate that 42 percent of grooms and 30 percent of brides could sign their name, which they add was a higher rate than that found in France for the same period (Roy, Landry, and Charbonneau, 1977, p.67). On the other hand, a study of marriage registers in Montreal between 1657 and 1715 breaks tradition by revealing an almost identical signature rate for the sexes, being 45.5 percent for grooms and 43 percent for brides (Dechêne, p.467). Clouding the picture even more, a study covering marriage registers in three rural parishes (Rivière-du-Loup, St-Ours, and Boucherville) and one urban parish (Trois-Rivières) for the period 1745-54, shows a slightly higher signature rate for brides in three of the four parishes cited, that of St-Ours being the exception (Greer, 1978, p.299).

What conclusions, if any, may be drawn from the above marriage register data? Being that the statistical data are both incomplete and contradictory, they do not lend themselves to firm conclusions. The most that can be said about the evidence is that it introduces an element of doubt into the reigning belief about the supremacy of male literacy in early Canada. On the other hand, it must be admitted that if a convincing case for female literacy and learning is to be made, it will have to be made on other grounds.

Clues from number of schools

One obvious method of determining the extent of learning in a society is to count the number of schools in existence, a procedure that commends itself to New France since the sexes attended separate institutions. A frequently quoted statistic is that in the final years of the colony there were 44 **petites écoles** or elementary schools, including 25 for boys and 19 for girls. There were also a boys' **collège** run by the Jesuits and a seminary to train priests. Do these figures testify to greater educational provision for males? Not necessarily. The numerical distinction between boys' and girls' schools is not significant since it is known that schools of that era showed wide variation in enrolments and institutional durability. Some schools no more than appeared than they disappeared, done in by a lack of funds, a shortage of teachers or public indifference. Others like the Jesuit elementary school at Quebec had an unbroken existence

from 1635 to 1759. In addition, some schools had no more than a sprinkling of pupils while others were teeming with children. The boys' school at Château-Richer near Quebec limped along with a complement of five pupils in 1703. On the other hand, the school run by the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame in lower town Quebec around the same time reportedly had more than 100 girls in attendance. Thus while the available evidence confirms the widespread differences in school size and population, it is not sufficiently reliable or detailed to answer the more pertinent query, namely, whether on the whole boys' or girls' schools attracted more pupils.

A more promising approach points to the important role played by women, lay and religious, in the colony's social and educational development. What today would pass as a government department of health and welfare was largely the province of such heroic figures as Marie de l'Incarnation, Marguerite Bourgeoys, Jeanne Mance, and Marguerite d'Youville, which New France seemed to produce in abundant numbers. With the exception of Hôpital-Général in Montreal before 1747, females founded, staffed and administered the hospitals of the colony, caring for the ill, the poor, the elderly and the infirm. In the fashion of Lord Durham a century later the eighteenth century intendant Hocquart described the women of Canada as a bustling race, whose energies and talents carried them beyond the home (Hocquart, 1737, pp.40-62). The men of the colony came to depend heavily on the advice and assistance of their wives in commercial matters, and not a few women had a hand in business, managing the affairs of their husbands when they were away or deceased.

But it is precisely the active role of females in education that permits us to upgrade the learning achievements of girls in New France. Although it does not tell the whole story, indications are that there were more female than male teachers in the colony. The crux of the argument is that the bulk of known teachers in early Canada was drawn from the ranks of the religious orders; and in this regard the female orders enjoyed a distinct numerical advantage from the early eighteenth century. (The secular clergy, serving principally as parish clergy and preoccupied with pastoral duties, rarely performed as schoolmasters). In 1719 the colony numbered 236 female religious, including 106 Hospital Nuns, 68 Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame, 50 Ursulines and 12 others as opposed to 56 male religious, including 18 Sulpicians, 16 Jesuits, 12 Recollets and 10 Charon Brothers. On the eve of the British invasion of Quebec in 1759 the female orders continued to hold a healthy lead over their male counterparts. In that year there were 89 Hospital Nuns, 70 Notre Dame Sisters and 45 Ursulines as against 20 Sulpicians, 25 Jesuits and 24 Recollets (Trudel, 1956, pp.140, 222).

To be sure, the numerical gap between the male and female

orders requires a measure of qualification. Of the female congregations only the Notre Dame Sisters and Ursulines specialized in education. Still, the Hospital Nuns were not strangers to teaching. The hospital in New France sometimes doubled as learning centre as the nuns taught girls their letters and catechism. Indeed, thanks to a financial subsidy from Bishop Saint-Vallier, a boarding school was established at Quebec's Hôpital-Général in 1725. Between ten and fifteen girls were in residence annually and received instruction in reading, writing, religion and music (d'Allaire, 1971, pp.120-121). It may be wondered whether Hôpital-Général in Montreal under the Sisters of Charity did not also play an assisting role in education. In 1749 Madame d'Youville promised the Crown that if her order were granted recognition, it would not only attend to the poor and unfortunate but would provide for the instruction of girls (Ferland-Angers, 1945, pp.104-105). Whether this promise was fulfilled is not clear, though tradition suggests that the Grey Nuns taught letters to orphans under their care.

Even with the exclusion of the Hospital Nuns from the sample, the number of Ursulines and Notre Dame Sisters was almost double that of male religious in 1759. The numerical advantage of the female orders, with or without the hospital sisters, may be traced in the first instance to their willingness to recruit Canadians which cannot be said of the two leading male communities. The Jesuits and Sulpicians, who provided much of the male educational leadership in New France, always remained modest in number by reason of their preference for European members. The Recollets, on the other hand, actively recruited locals (17 of their 24 members in 1759 were Canadian). However, as will be shown later, the Recollets were little involved in educational pursuits, rarely serving as schoolmasters or taking the initiative in organizing schools.

Roles of religious orders

The numerical distinction between male and female teachers becomes even wider when note is taken of the contrasting occupational roles of the orders. Female religious were more likely to specialize in teaching since they were limited in their occupational choices. As a rule, the Notre Dame Sisters and the Ursulines concentrated on teaching young girls while the Hospital Nuns devoted their time and energy to nursing and welfare. Male religious, on the other hand, were less likely to take up classroom duties because of the competition of other demands on their abilities. In addition to teaching, male religious were called upon to serve as parish priests, missionaries, military chaplains, and explorers. There is some evidence to the effect that pedagogy did not have as much appeal for the male as for the female orders.

One gets the impression that the Jesuits did not assign their best talents to the classroom, that the instruction of colonial boys paled beside the attractions of the missionary campaign. Teaching assignments at the Jesuit college in Quebec seem to have been reserved for novice priests or those in the twilight of their spiritual career. The latter tended to be older missionaries, some of whom were physically and psychologically spent from labouring many years in the field missions. In the words of a Jesuit historian, the teachers at the Quebec college included old missionaries "brisés par les années ou les travaux" (de Rochemonteix, 1896, pp.366-367). A representative figure is Father Claude Pijart, who after stints among the Nipissings, Algonkins, and Hurons, became in 1657 at the age of fifty-seven a teacher at the college, where he taught classes in rhetoric and philosophy until the age of eighty. Moreover, it appears that young clerics regarded the instruction of French boys as little more than a stopgap, something to tide them over to the real business of conquering Indian souls. If the Jesuits alternated between missionary work and teaching, the Sulpicians, who operated primarily in the Montreal region, became parish priests, missionaries, and schoolmasters. Teaching appears not to have been an occupational option for the Recollets, whose penchant for the active life made of them missionaries, military chaplains, and parish priests.

It is worth noting that the combined efforts of the three male orders could not match the educational reach of the Congregation of Notre Dame. Quite simply, the female congregation founded more schools in more places than any other authority in New France. In addition to running and staffing schools in Montreal, Quebec and Trois-Rivières, the Notre Dame Sisters maintained the only known school in the populous eighteenth century town of Louisbourg (Johnston, 1984). And had the Seven Years' War not intervened, chances are that the sisters would have answered a call to open a school in Detroit (3). Moreover, in the countryside of New France, where three-fourths of the colonial population lived, the Congregation was alone among the orders in bringing a measure of formal learning to the rural parishes from the second half of the seventeenth century, though the secular clergy established several boys' schools east of Quebec. The nuns' male competition in the rural districts came principally from the Charon Brothers, a lay teaching order based in Montreal. However, the brothers did not open country schools until 1721; and then they were unable to sustain their efforts for long owing to the collapse of the community before mid-century. As for the Notre Dame Sisters they continued their teaching duties in uninterrupted fashion up to and beyond the fall of New France.

Lay schoolmasters

A possible equalizing element in the discussion is that the teacher corps of New France included a fair number of lay schoolmasters, for the colony always had a chronic teacher shortage. Prominent among this group were notaries, whose knowledge of letters and lack of clients steered them into teaching. The records show that the Jesuits and Sulpicians were not averse to employing lay instructors in their schools. Martin Boutet, who had a wife and two daughters, taught mathematics and hydrography at the Jesuit college in the late seventeenth century. He was succeeded in his post by another layman, the cartographer Jean-Baptiste Franquelin. Furthermore, the Sulpicians' most celebrated teacher was the layman Antoine Forget, who is credited with introducing Lasallian methods into Montreal classrooms.

That lay schoolmasters made an educational contribution in the French colony there can be no doubt; that their participation was such as to give an advantage to male learning is far less certain. What must be recognized is that in number and behaviour lay schoolmasters were a lesser breed. Teaching for them was less a calling or way of life than an occupation and consequently was marked by irregularity and impermanence. Rare was the lay *maître d'école* who adopted teaching as his life's work. And while the documents of the day fail to reveal the existence of lay schoolmistresses in New France, it does not necessarily follow that lay females were pedagogically inactive. There is evidence to the effect that in the murky area of informal learning females contributed to the dissemination of elementary literary skills. From an examination of parish histories we learn that lay women sometimes performed as volunteer teachers in districts without a school. In a seventeenth century seigneurie near Trois-Rivières the wife of the local notary and another married woman taught children to form their letters, invoking the image of the dame school of old England (Douville, 1946, p.92). Furthermore, there is reason to believe that when the teaching of letters occurred in the family circle, it was a female affair. Because most lay females in the colony were tied to the home, it was they rather than their footloose husbands who took learning initiatives. Marguerite Denys, whose husband was seigneur in Sainte-Anne de la Pérade near Trois-Rivières, instructed her children in reading and writing at the manor (Anon., 1895, p.7). And Madame Marie Bégon, whose letters constitute a lively record of polite society in eighteenth century Quebec, reportedly taught her daughter Latin, geography, and history.

The point to be drawn from this discussion is that the female orders, thanks to their superior numbers and pedagogical inclinations, supplied more educational hands than their male counterparts, which, it is suggested, translated into greater

learning opportunities for girls in New France. In light of the evidence it is not unreasonable to conclude that by the end of the French period in Canada females approached or equalled males in basic literacy. Support for this assertion draws further strength from the post-war comments of British and Canadian authorities, who acknowledged the superior educational credentials of females. If in 1789 Chief Justice William Smith and the French bishop Hubert quarreled over the number of literate persons in each parish, they were in agreement that females were better educated than males (Upton, 1888, p.390). Finally, while it is indisputable that males as opposed to females achieved a higher quality of literacy during the time of New France by dint of their advanced learning opportunities and their dominant hold on the ruling and administrative positions in society, the companion notion that basic literacy favoured males is in need of revision.

Role of the Recollets

We now turn our attention to the question of the educational role of the Recollets in New France. The Recollets, a branch of the Franciscan order, were the first missionaries to establish themselves in Canada, arriving with Champlain in 1615. Expelled from the continent by the English capture of Quebec in 1629, they would not return to the New World until 1670, by which time a French colony was in place. The Recollets were nothing if not active. The retiring life of the monastery did not suit their adventurous, temporal spirit, which saw them play a variety of roles. While initially committed to the evangelization of the Indians, they later expanded their interests and energies, becoming parish priests, confessors to civil and religious leaders, and military chaplains (during its tenure Lake Champlain's Fort Frédéric counted eleven chaplains, all of them Recollets).

Did the Recollets make an educational contribution in New France? To judge by the comments of nineteenth and twentieth century Quebec historians, from Garneau to Gosselin to Groulx, the Franciscans, in the fashion of the Jesuits and Sulpicians, were educationally active, performing as schoolmasters and maintaining schools. Although more circumspect than others in describing the Recollets as occasional schoolmasters, Louis-Philippe Audet, the dean of Quebec educational historians, joins with Gosselin and others in affirming the existence of a Recollet school in Trois-Rivières (Audet, 1951, p.5). Gérard Filteau, for his part, goes much further, claiming that the Franciscan order ran schools not only in Trois-Rivières but in Quebec and Montreal as well (Filteau, 1978, p.134). An English Canadian historian offers a similar assessment:

The Recollets had schools in Montreal, Trois-Rivières and Isle Royale, in addition to sponsoring and teaching in parochial schools when named to parish charges by

the bishops. When they assumed the chaplaincy duties at Fort Frontenac and Detroit, they opened some of the first schools for French and Amerindian children at posts in the upper country. (Jaenen, 1976, p. 102)

The thesis of this part of the presentation is that Recollet participation in New France education is largely a myth, sustained and nourished by succeeding generations of historians. Two arguments are advanced in support of the revisionist position. First, hard evidence is lacking to justify the prevailing view that the Recollets were educationally active in early Canada. Indeed, the traditional case for Franciscan participation seems to be based less on documentary sources of information than on assumption and unsupported declarations. It is charged that historians have fallen into the trap of concluding that inasmuch as the Recollets were regular clergy they must have followed in the educational footsteps of the Jesuits and Sulpicians. Second, in outlook and life style the Recollets were unlikely pedagogues and educational sponsors. Close to the common people with whom they identified and from whom they recruited members, most Recollets were not cut out for the republic of letters. To be sure, there were exceptions to the rule, but such persons tended to be French-born and products of the seventeenth century.⁽⁴⁾ With the Canadianization of the Recollet order in the eighteenth century, a modest literary tradition all but disappeared, for the native-born members were little attracted to learning and its dissemination. Peter Kalm, the distinguished Swedish visitor to the colony in 1749, was perhaps not far off the mark when he described the Recollets as intellectually second rate, saying "they do not torment their brains with much learning" (Kalm, 1937, vol.II, p.453).

When historians speak of the Recollets as schoolmasters they do not mean the members functioned as casual or part-time teachers, that is to say, as parish priests teaching a bit of catechism to boys. Such informal instruction was an outgrowth of the spiritual obligation and was practised by many clerics. Nor are they referring to the Recollets as missionaries, to the fact that the latter sometimes taught French letters as well as Christian doctrine to the Indians. Rather they mean that the Recollets performed as regular, full-time teachers, instructing colonial boys in the rudiments of reading, writing, counting, and religion in a formal school. If it is true that the Franciscans were schoolmasters as claimed, why is it that such persons cannot be identified? As far as can be determined, no historian has succeeded in naming a single Recollet schoolmaster in early Canada. Of 43 Recollets listed in the **Dictionary of Canadian Biography** between 1670 and 1760, only two are described as having pedagogical connections. Prior to being admitted to the Franciscan order in 1756, Leger-Noel Veyssière reportedly taught at a Sulpician school in Montreal for two years (*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol.IV, p.752). Patrice René's biographer

credits him with opening a boys' school in Port Royal around 1708 (Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol.III, p.552).

What may be said of the claim that the Recollets maintained schools in the towns of Montreal, Quebec, and Trois-Rivières during the French period? It should be noted by way of explanation that the religious order founded churches and religious houses in the three centres. But such establishments must not be confused with schools. Indeed, there is not a shred of documentary evidence to indicate that the Recollets sponsored schools in Quebec and Montreal. And as regards Trois-Rivières the evidence is circumstantial at best. As parish clergy of Trois-Rivières from 1617 to 1683 and from 1693 to 1777 the order was in a position to supply teachers and to provide a margin of educational leadership. Indications are that the Recollets left the task of teaching to others. The notary, Séverin Ameau, taught in the town in the 1650s as did another notary, Jean-Baptiste Pottier, who arrived in 1700 after having served as schoolmaster in Lachine near Montreal. During the 1720s and early 1730s two members of the Montreal-based Charon Brothers, Antoine de La Girardière and François-Simonet, performed as schoolmasters in the town, being succeeded by the soldier Pierre-François Rigaud who continued until 1738. One authority speculates that the Recollets assumed teaching responsibilities at this point and carried on to the end of the period, though he is unable to name names and to provide any documentary evidence in support of the claim (Jouve, 1934, p.283). Indeed, a more recent study of educational facilities in seventeenth and eighteenth century Trois-Rivières makes no mention of the Recollets, either as schoolmasters or educational administrators (Douville, 1969, pp.39-60).

Leaving the question of schoolmasters aside, did the Recollets of Trois-Rivières take educational initiatives? In other words, were they responsible for maintaining a school and engaging schoolmasters the likes of Ameau, Pottier, La Girardière, and others? The case for a Recollet-run school appears to rest on a single piece of documentary evidence, an 1822 petition addressed to Lord Dalhousie by the citizens of Trois-Rivières in which the petitioners declared that the Recollets "ont constamment entretenue une école gratuite pour les petits garçons en cette ville".(5) The statement is suspect on several grounds. First, it was made in the nineteenth century, some sixty years after the fall of New France. The passage of time has a way of dulling memories and transforming beliefs into facts. Second, and more significantly, it is unclear whether the petitioners were referring to Recollet involvement in education since the British takeover in Canada in 1760 or since 1670 when the order first arrived in the town. Moreover, it is difficult to reconcile the above with the fact that the Recollets died out in Canada before 1800. Until more reliable evidence is forthcoming, the conventional belief in Recollet participation in education in

Trois-Rivières during the French period cannot be maintained with conviction.

A clue in Louisbourg

Curiously, the key to unlocking the Recollet educational puzzle may lie not in Trois-Rivières but in the distant seaport of Louisbourg. The most intriguing aspect of the eighteenth century fortress town is that its only known educational facility was a girls' school, administered and staffed by the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame between 1727 and 1758 (Johnston, 1984). As a bustling garrison town filled with naval types, administrators, clerks, merchants, and other literate types and boasting a population of between 2,000 and 3,000 in the 1740s and perhaps triple the number on the eve of the British capture in 1758, Louisbourg was fertile ground for a boys' school. It is suggested that the answer to this incongruity may be found in the clerical situation. The parish clergy and military chaplains of Louisbourg and surrounding Ile Royale were Recollets, who in keeping with their simple ways did not attach much importance to the spread of learning. Their detractors, who included the town's civil and military leaders, accused them of ignorance, coarse behaviour, and neglectful of their spiritual duties. Bishop Saint-Vallier, who was personally responsible for sending the Notre Dame Sisters to Louisbourg to open a school, was severely critical of the parish clergy. In 1727 he wrote to the Recollet provincial in Brittany, asking for priests for Louisbourg who were "more learned and more reserved in their conduct, eating among themselves and not looking to dine and sup with ship captains and fishermen who think only of drinking" (Lemay, 1930). While the "ignorant" friars were the despair of the civil and religious leadership, they enjoyed the popularity and respect of the ordinary people, who praised them for their simple piety, frugal ways, and unpretentious behaviour. The Recollets of Louisbourg call to mind the worker priests of our own century.

In conclusion, if the Recollets were active participants in New France education, it is a well-kept secret. The available evidence does not support such a role.

NOTES

1. Literacy studies for seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe have consistently revealed higher levels for males. In France, Louis Maggiolo's famous inquiry of the last century found that in the period 1686-90, 29 percent of the bridegrooms and 14 percent of brides across the country signed the marriage register. The figures for 1786-90 were

- 48 and 27 percent respectively. Recent French studies confirm the historical pattern. See especially François Furet and Jacques Ozouf (1977). **Lire et écrire: l'alphabétisation des français de Calvin à Jules Ferry**. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit. Even in colonial New England, acknowledged to be one of the world's most literate societies of the day, there was a pronounced difference between the sexes. Literacy rates for men and women in mid-seventeenth century New England were 60 and 30 percent respectively; in the eighteenth century 90 and 45 percent. Kenneth A. Lockridge. (1974). **Literacy in Colonial New England**, pp.38-39. New York: W.W. Norton.
2. See, among others, Michel Fleury and Pierre Valmary. (1957, janvier-mars). Les progrès de l'instruction élémentaire de Louis XIV à Napoléon III. **Population**, 12, 71-92; R.S. Schofield. (1968). The measurement of literacy in pre-industrial England, in Jack Goody, (Ed.), **Literacy in Traditional Societies**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; David Cressy. (1980). **Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and writing in Tudor and Stuart England**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
 3. In the 1740s Bishop Pontbriand received several requests from the inhabitants of Detroit, asking for three sisters to come to their area to set up a school. Although the prelate approved the request, the worsening military situation compromised the project.
 4. Brother Gabriel Sagard, who spent most of his two years (1623-24) in Canada among the Hurons, recorded his impressions in **Le grand voyage au pays des Hurons**. Later he published a four-volume **L'histoire du Canada**, which traced Recollet activity in New France. Chrestien Le Clercq's twelve-year apostolate among the Micmacs is described in **Nouvelle relation de la Gaspésie**. A more famous work is **Premier établissement de la foy dans la Nouvelle-France** (1691).
 5. Several authorities, including Odoric-Marie Jouve and L.P. Audet, cite the 1822 document. See also Benjamin Sulte. (1932). **Mélanges historiques**, 19, p.21. Montréal: Editions Edouard Garand.

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Voice in Writing

Abstract

There is a need to clarify the concept of "voice in writing". Theorists, who advocate writing as a "process", (Romantics) see "voice" as an all important but nebulous quality of good writing. Rhetoricians (Classicists), on the other hand, can specify those features of language which constitute "voice". Teachers who attend to such rhetorical features will be better able to comment on "voice" in student papers, because they will have a more concrete body of information to draw upon. The writer chooses a mask and invents an audience. By manipulating language, he can control the "voice" he wishes to present to the reader.

No matter what pitch of frankness, directness, or authenticity he may strive for, the writer's mask and the reader's are less removable than those of the oral communicator and his hearer. For writing is an indirection. (Walter Ong)

The concept of "voice" in writing needs to be demystified. Current theorists, who advocate writing 'as a process', suggest that "voice" is important but mysterious. There is vagueness in the naming of the attributes of the concept. Sometimes it is equated with tone, distance, attitude, style, ethos, authenticity, honesty, truth-telling. So the mystifying process grows. But vagueness is no help in pointing out this quality in student papers nor in praising it when teachers confer with students about their

writing.

Classical rhetoric provided an almost endless number of specific features of language. There was a name for virtually every stylistic choice. As rhetoric fell into disuse -- especially in this century with the emphasis on the "plain style" -- the richness of this tradition seems to have been forgotten. That may explain the confusion of the current talk about voice. Bringing closer together the extremes of the classical (structure, "rules", atomization of devices) and the romantic (the naturalistically arrived at, the spontaneous, the mysterious) seems a useful and more complex approach to composition. There is no monolithic writing process, Janet Emig (1982) reminds us; there are writing processes. It is not either/or but both/and.

What is "voice"?

Let's look at the confusing way voice is discussed to get a clearer picture of the problem. Peter Elbow (1981) on voice:

...writing was most fun and rewarding to read that somehow felt most 'real'. It had what I am now calling voice. At the time I said things like, 'It felt real, it had a kind of resonance, it somehow rang true.' ... Writing with no voice is dead, mechanical, faceless. It lacks any sound.... It would take an extra step of revising -- and revising consciously and for the sake of voice -- to change her written words so as to break out of that **language construction** into a **saying of words** on paper.... Writing **with voice** is writing into which someone has breathed. It has that fluency, rhythm, and liveliness that exist naturally in the speech of most people when they are enjoying a conversation. Some people who write frequently, copiously, and with confidence manage to get voice into their writing.

Writing with **real voice** has the power to pay attention and to understand -- the words go deep. I don't know the objective characteristics that distinguish writing with real voice from writing with mere voice. (pp.3-4)

Elbow is equating voice in speech with "voice" in writing. "Voice" in writing, however, is merely a construct of the mind, a metaphor. The situation is complicated by isolating "real" voice, "mere" voice (that isn't real?), and voiceless writing. Although he cannot identify the objective characteristics of voice, he is, nevertheless, implying that they exist. Consistent with a Romantic view of the composing process, voice is a "new and mysterious standard". Ken Macrorie (1978), quoting Mary McCarthy, contributes to the mystique of voice:

What's confusing is that style usually means some form of fancy writing -- when people say, oh yes, so and so's such a 'wonderful stylist'. But if one means by style, the voice, the irreducible and always recognizable and alive thing, then of course style is really everything. (p.161)

Are style and voice synonymous then? Is voice the single criterion by which we judge the vitality of a piece of writing?

Is the Ken Macrorie of **Telling Writing** equating voice with honesty, sincerity?

In that paper, a truth-telling voice speaks, and its rhythms rush and build like the human mind travelling at high speed. Rhythm, rhythm, the best writing depends so much upon it. But as in dancing, you cannot get rhythm by giving yourself directions. You must feel the music and let your body take its instructions. (p.150)

The Romantic view that the poet and the poetry are inextricably connected is reflected in "You must feel the music and let your body take its instructions." The inherently good person can only have a "truth-telling voice." The overflow of powerful emotions generates the "rhythm, rhythm" and the writing source is in feeling "the music."

In 1979, in a checklist of the qualities of good writing, Donald Murray writes: "Voice: Good writing is marked by an individual voice. The writer's voice might be the most significant element in distinguishing memorable writing from good writing" (p.69). Here Murray is saying that memorable writing has voice. "Memorable" adds to the confusion. Some functions of writing do not require this quality.

And in a checklist, where do we look for "voice" if our intuitions are unreliable?

In 1984, Murray tries to further clarify the concept of voice by naming individual characteristics of it:

Voice gives a text concern, energy, humor, individuality, music, rhythm, pace, surprise, believability. . . . Voice is the writer revealed. Voice is the character of the writer, and the point of view of the writer towards the subject, the caring of the writer, the honesty of the writer. (p.144)

Murray is all-inclusive in describing voice in this passage. "The point of view of the writer towards his subject" defines the

point of view of the writer towards his subject" defines the literary concept, tone. "The character of the writer" suggests the classical rhetorician's understanding of ethos. The "honesty of the writer" is reminiscent of the 18th century doctrine of sincerity. The "energy", "individuality", "music", "rhythm", "pace", suggest the qualities of the speaking voice that can find their way into a piece of writing.

Speech and writing

It seems clear that process theorists have typically regarded voice as a generic term for the personal element in writing rather than talking about it as that quality of speech which is simulated in writing. To recognize the complexity of that personal element it is necessary to look at what happened when writing became widespread and distinguished itself from speech. Walter J. Ong (1977), in describing the shift from orality to literacy, explains the nature of contrivance, a point which seems absent in the current talk about voice.

With the advent of writing and the application of rhetorical principles to written persuasive discourse, the power of the speaker to influence is radically changed. The sounds of the words are translated to marks on a page. The speaker is removed from his audience. The writer must de-center and imagine what a reader needs to know. The reader is left to "re-create the text." In *Interfaces of the Word*, Ong (1977) writes: "In writing and print, the narrator is distanced because his voice is not alive, but visually mummified for visual-aural reprocessing" (p.295). The word "mummified" is particularly apt. Words on a page are, in effect, well-preserved corpses. The reader reprocesses the silent word, giving the written discourse metaphorical life, that is, "sound". "Silent reading", writes Donald Wesling, "must supply the voice on the basis of what is known about speaking and about style in writing" (Wesling, p.31). Because sound is absent from the written word, we now talk of "voice" metaphorically, to include the person behind the voice. When we discuss voice, then, we speak "nostalgically," yearning for an aspect of the speaking voice which cannot be re-called.

"Voice" and rhetoric

The modern rhetorician, well versed in the dynamics of the ethical, emotional, and logical appeals, has been able to speak less ambiguously about voice in the modern context of that word. "Elocutio" or the stylistic features of speaking and, later, writing was perhaps the most clearly articulated aspect of classical rhetoric. Most current discussions of voice subsume what had been called "elocutio". What Macrorie and others have called honesty or truth-telling or authenticity or sincerity were, in

classical rhetoric, included under the rubric of "ethos". The problems of tone, attitude, and distance did not apply when the speaker was present before his audience. Gesture, tone of voice and timbre of voice made clear his meaning.

Persona

In the writings of Wayne Booth, Walker Gibson, Richard Lanham, Richard Ohmann and Harold Martin, among others, the topic of "voice" is given a complex and more concrete treatment. The point of departure for this complexity is the awareness of the contrivance of the self. When we write we determine the "voice" we want to assume. This "voice" is variously equated with "character", "personality", "persona". "Persona" is a mask or a disguise. The notion of a "real" voice, the notion of a **univocal** understanding of voice, does not take into account the necessity of the writer to adopt a "mask" with regard to audience and subject matter.

We use the word (mask), then, in a metaphorical sense -- it is as if the author, as he 'puts on his act' for a reader, wore a kind of disguise, taking on, for a particular purpose, a character who speaks to the reader. This persona may or may not bear considerable resemblance to the real author, sitting there at his typewriter; in any case, the created speaker is certainly less complex than his human inventor. He is inferred entirely out of the language; everything we know about him comes from the words before us on the page. In this respect he is a made man, he is artificial. (Gibson, 1969, pp.3-4)

Several levels of complexity are implied by Gibson: the author creates a persona and invents an audience. This implies that there can be more than one persona, more than one invented audience. This comes closer to expressing the scope of voice. Simplistic attempts have not gone far enough; they have been expressed as dichotomies rather than as spectrums or ranges of possibility. Language has been classified as formal or literary or informal or colloquial, standard or substandard, familiar or formal. The division of writing into "English" -- writing which for the most part distances the writer from his audience -- and honest, or truth-telling writing (Macrorie, 1978) or theme-writing and authentic writing (Coles, 1978) or voiceless writing and writing with voice (Hammond, 1985) does not do justice to the complexity of stances that a writer can take toward his subject matter and his audience.

Stance and metaphor

What does take into account the complexity of these stances? Wayne Booth (1972) and others consider the significant factors in any communication effort: 1) the available arguments about the subject itself, 2) the interests and peculiarities of the audience, 3) the voice, the implied character of the speaker. What happens when this balance is not maintained is so various that the range can only be hinted at. When the writer underplays the personal relationship between him and his audience focusing exclusively on statements about his subject he assumes what Booth calls "The Pendant's Stance". Too much emphasis on the effect and not enough attention to the subject leads to the "Advertiser's Stance". Too much emphasis on the self, the personality, the "charisma" and not enough emphasis on the subject matter leads to the "Entertainer's Stance". Walker Gibson's categories include the Tough, the Stuffy, the Sweet. "The Tough Talker, in these terms, is a man dramatized as centrally concerned with himself -- his style is I-talk. The Sweet Talker goes out of his way to be nice to us -- his style is *you*-talk. The Stuffy Talker expresses no concern either for himself or his reader -- his style is *it*-talk. These are three extreme possibilities: the way we write at any given moment can be seen as an adjustment or compromise among these three styles of identifying ourselves and defining our relation with others" (Gibson, 1966, p.x).

Other theorists discuss the "possibilities" or choices that a writer has in taking a stance toward his audience and subject matter in varying metaphors: Martin Joos' (1967) categories range from frozen to intimate; Hartwell's (1982) range includes "The Bubble Gum Voice", "The Neutral and New Voice of Journalism", "The Bureaucratic Voice", "The Detached, Discursive Voice", and "The Committed Personal Voice". Richard Lanham (1974), Martin Ohmann (1976), Graves and Hodge (1979) and others emphasize the complexity of voice and choice of stance by focusing on the deliberate dishonesty and disengagement of the self in opaque styles.

Features of language

Not only have these writers and others described the stance that the writer takes toward his subject and audience but they have also described the features of language that contribute to that stance. Walker Gibson, perhaps more than others, has articulated a list of useable stylistic features in trying to characterize "voice" in writing. Although many of these features are derived from classical rhetoric, Gibson has put them in a form that could be used as a tool by the writing teacher. Gibson proposes sixteen grammatical-rhetorical qualities as elements of isolating styles, of accounting for distinctions that we feel in the voices addressing us (Gibson, 1966, p.115). Gibson's quantification

includes **questions about word-size** (proportion of monosyllables and words of more than two syllables); **questions about substantives** (number of first and second-person pronouns and imperatives, e.g., "you understood"); **whether the subjects of the finite verbs are mostly neuter nouns**, or whether they refer to people); **questions about verbs** (the proportion of finite verbs to total words, what proportion of these finite verbs are forms of **to be**, what proportion of these verbs are in the passive voice); **questions about modifiers** (what proportion of the total words are true adjectives, how many of these adjectives are themselves modified by adverbs, what proportion of the total words are noun adjuncts); **questions about subordination** (the average length of the subordinate clauses, e.g., "included"; proportion of the total passage inside such clauses, frequency with which subject and main verb are separated by intervening subordinate structures, length of these interruptions); **other effects of tone** (frequency of the determiner **the**; sentences without subjects, without verbs, or both; presence or lack of contractions; occurrences of marks of punctuation: parentheses, italics, dashes, question marks, exclamation points.)

Styles

While this list appears to be formidable, requiring clarifications for many students to understand the grammatical terms themselves, we can talk about voice without the metaphorical vagueness which now pervades the current talk. Since "style" and "voice" are being equated, is it not useful to have some way of quantifying stylistic features of writing that the student can use in revising his drafts, in making the choices of how to present the self? The writer now has a concrete list of attributes that he can use in "modulating" his voice to make it closer to the way he wants to "sound".

Less clinically than Gibson - but helpful in his specificity none the less - Hartwell (1982) describes some of the features of what he calls the "Bubblegum Voice": It uses lots of questions in an attempt to talk to the reader, to make her feel part of the story; it uses funny spellings for words to make them closer to spoken words; it's filled with quotes, italics, and exclamation points. These devices help to bring into writing the sounds of spoken language. He also suggests that the bubblegum writer is a bit uneasy about words, thus calling attention to them. This style uses rhyme, plays with the sounds of words, and uses puns, slang, and clichés (pp.61-62).

Hartwell is less dense than Gibson in naming some of the qualities of the bubblegum style, yet he does not fall into the vagueness trap in his description. In the revision stage of writing, a student could "dialogue with his emerging text" or "refine the inchoate 'inner speech'" to conform more closely to the way he

wants to "sound" by avoiding those qualities of the bubblegum style which make his text sweeter and stickier than he wants it to be.

Richard Lanham uses different categories. He calls "The Official Style" the kind of writing that frequently appears in text books and in the academic bureaucracy's official pronouncements — among other places. Lanham defines the basic elements of this style:

1) It is built on **nouns**, vague, general nouns. These are usually of Latin derivation, 'shun' words like **fixation**, **deviation**, **function**, **construction**, **education** **organization**. 2) These are often, as in the game, modified by adjectives made up from other nouns like them, as in 'incremental throughput' or 'fractional input'. 3) All action is passive and impersonal. No active intransitive verbs and no direct objects. Never 'I decided to fire him' but, 'It has been determined that the individual's continued presence in the present personnel configuration would tend to the detriment of the ongoing operational efficiency of the organizational unit in which the individual is currently employed.' 4) Nothing is called by its ordinary name. You don't decide to bomb a town; instead, 'It has been determined to maintain an aggressive and operational attack posture.' You don't set up an office, you 'Initiate an ongoing administrative facility.' 5) The status quo is preserved even in syntax. All motion is converted into a stasis. The Official Style denies, as much as possible, the reality of action. You don't dislike someone, you 'maintain a posture of disapproval toward' him. You don't decide to hire someone, you 'Initiate the hiring situation.' (Lanham, 1979, p.69)

Lanham is exhaustive here in describing the "Official Style" precisely because this will enable the student "to translate into and out of" it. "Into and out of" indicates that Lanham is not didactic about "voice". Voice, or how the writer wishes to present the self, involves the possibility of choosing the Official Style as one of his options.

The explicit naming of stylistic features enables the writer to become self-conscious about the available choices he has when he writes. The various kinds of styles (The Official, The Bubblegum, The Entertainer's, etc.) are not explored to demean and banish them. They are explored to enable the writer to be wide awake about how he wants to come across to a reader and to make him aware that he has choices that he can make to approximate this objective. The moral implications of some of these styles, while they may appear reprehensible to some, do not take away the possibility of somebody choosing them for his

purposes, base or noble. Their usefulness here is to give the writer a greater self-consciousness. He need not remain in a somnambulant state when he comes to write.

This notion of self-consciousness, connected with an "ethic of clarity" is explained by Donald Hall (1968) in his introduction to **The Modern Stylist**:

(The writer) does not have to become good in terms of conventional morality, but he must become honest in the expression of himself, which means that he must know himself.... If the style is really the man, the style becomes an instrument for discovering and changing the man. Language is expression of self, but language is also the instrument by which to know that self. (Hall, pp.6-7)

Students' writing

If Coles, Macrorie, Applebee, and the experience of hundreds of teachers are to be believed, the essays that students write are pathetically alike: they are distanced, disengaged, predictable; they contain the received wisdom of any given topic, are falsely authoritative, misjudge an audience, and are dishonest or at least lacking in passion, self-consciousness, spontaneity, etc. How can we move them from this point and show them the range of possibilities that are available to them? If theme writing (Coles) is stuffy (Gibson), official (Lanham), pedantic (Booth), bureaucratic (Hartwell) then can we not encourage a voice that is looser, tentative, and has the pretense, at least, of sincerity, personality, wit, probity, fair-mindedness?

Even though Gibson (1969) has applied his criteria to the fiction of recognized authors, he has not done so with the kind of student theme that we get everyday. To illustrate the workability of his schema, let us comment on an excerpt from a student paper written in the Stuffy voice.

In life, there is a thin line between sanity and insanity. The mind is a very delicate organism, therefore it does not take much pressure to turn a rational human being into one who has crossed the boundary of social and moral acceptability. Under the proper conditions, man can traverse his breaking point. It also may not take much to push a stable society into social collapse. **Satan in Goray** is a harsh depiction of the extent to which a society can be stripped of all its beliefs and morals in the pursuit of an impossible goal. It shows how quickly the people of this town can turn away from their faith when the infrastructure -- the fabric of their society -- has been

shattered. (From a sophomore college essay)

The teacher and student can first ask the general questions that Gibson suggests: "Is the voice I hear in these sentences primarily a writer's voice or a talker's? How am I being asked to respond to this persona -- are we friendly and intimate or distant and unsociable?" (Gibson, 1969, p.46). Can we not go beyond the questions that Gibson raises to also ask: Is this person excited or passionate about what he is writing? Does he seem to care about what he is saying? Who is he talking to? Does he show any tentativeness about what he is saying? Do you think the writer is self-conscious, that is, do you think he knows how he is coming across? Do you think the writer convinces the reader that he freely chose the topic? Do you think the writer misjudges what the reader wants to hear and how he wants to hear it? Do you think that the writer imagines himself writing in the same type of voice as that of his fellow students?

Should the student come to her teacher and ask how the paper could be changed to sound more like she wants to sound, now that she realizes that she is being pedantic and stuffy, and presuming that she is not sounding this way because she feels she **needs** to -- presuming all this -- what can a teacher do? Taking only a small number of available categories suggested by Gibson, Lanham and others, how can we help the student see what's wrong with her paper? We might suggest that she avoid vague, general nouns, obscure words, and overuse of the passive. Perhaps she might change some of the polysyllabic words to monosyllabic words; try a **contraction** or two, or a **fragment**; use a fuller range of marks of punctuation including the parenthesis and dash and italics. The result might be something like the following:

How thin is the line between sanity and insanity?
The mind -- delicate as it is -- can't take pressure and easily gives in. The same thing can happen to a people. **Satan in Goray**, a novel by Isaac Bashevis Singer, dramatizes this collapse. When a goal is hard to reach, people abandon even their faith if the outer support of society is destroyed.

Now that the paper has been translated she might realize the fact that there is not much that is significant there. Isn't she choosing this voice, therefore, to conceal what she does not know? And if this is so, the task of getting her to choose a voice that is closer to the reader, less distanced, might be harder than we imagine.

Writing consciousness

If one of the important goals of teaching composition is to bring the writer to increased consciousness about his writing, then what is being said about voice is giving the student a schema for looking at how he "sounds". Further, as the student becomes increasingly aware of the range of voices he can choose from, he has the power to find the appropriate rhetorical stance. And the writer is left to decide what is appropriate. He may choose voices which seem strident to us, or pretentious to us. But that's his business. If we confine ourselves to comments like: "I don't like the way you sound here," or if he comes to that conclusion himself and **does not know how to do anything about it**, in what ways have we helped him to become a self-sufficient writer, an author?

In our classrooms, we might broaden the concept of revision to include aspects of voice and style. Through mini-lessons where these stylistic features can be presented, to process logs where students consider, specifically, the voice that is "heard" in their writing, students can be brought to a new level of self-consciousness. In a process log about an autobiography assignment written in a classroom where specific characteristics of voice and style were given some emphasis, a sophisticated level of self-consciousness is apparent:

I like to sound humorous in my writing and make people laugh; I guess it's my style.... When looking over my writing I found parts of some chapters where I appear confused. My story voice sounds more like talking than writing. If I remember correctly, in my expository writing, I had to be very explanatory.... In my autobiography, I'm telling the reader what happened in my life; I'm talking to the reader. In the expository paper, I'm explaining to the reader; I'm making the reader laugh.... I'm starting to be aware of how I want to present myself and my views. My portrait in the autobiography is athletic, funny, worrisome, active, and cautious. (Chris Brown, seventh grader at Great Neck Middle School South)

Are there other ways in which we can avoid the onslaught of the pedantic voices we are now getting in our writing classrooms?

In part, the problem is inherent in our wanting the students to say something significant -- usually about literature. High school and college, we tell ourselves, are not the places to encourage "personal narratives" or "creative" writing. But that's the paradox. We can't have the student write "essays" that are not "attempts", "a trying out", implicit in the essay tradition from Montaigne to the present. Our assignments, or our failure to engage in exploratory talk, or exploratory (free) writing, signal to

the student that he must write about what he does not know, or knows only imperfectly. Would the student whose paper we looked at earlier have written in a stuffy voice if the assignment had not read, as it did: "Respond to **one** of the following topics in a **four page** (1000 word) typewritten essay: **Topic No. 5:** "More important, it is the vivid detailing of the convulsions that rend human beings when the fabric of a stable society is torn to tatters by a revolutionary drive toward the impossible. Discuss." What cues about how to sound is the student given, when the assignment is worded in this way?

There already exists in Moffett's **Active Voice** (1981) a program that does not oversimplify the process of moving more abstractly from personal knowledge to the essay. Moffett's "I", "You", "It" is precisely the chart that most of us must follow to avoid the falsetto voice of the theme. The writer grows intellectually, has a chance to try on masks, and can then express with integrity and honesty what he now knows he wants to say.

In **The Plural I** (1978), Coles describes the almost torturous route away from theme-written papers as students are brought to recognize the voice they project. Students write and then the class and the writer decide whether they want to "sound" this way. They try on different voices. Gradually, slowly, they find the voice that is closest to the way they want to sound. Whether it is in the loosely designed assignment sequences of Moffett or the more patterned ones of Coles, or simply in the naturalistically arrived at "something to say" favored by the process people, there is no primrose path to perfect pitch.

Conclusion

The importance of voice in the process approaches to teaching writing and the traditional interest in ethos and style investigation among the rhetoricians have made it more incumbent upon all of us to search out the rapprochements between the two approaches to writing and to see them more holistically rather than to emphasize the differences. What each field of inquiry can offer to the other makes the most sense. What becomes a paradigm shift more? It is no longer useful to talk about the process and product, about focus on the writer, focus on the writing, about "mystics and mechanics." Aren't we all interested in the final product but don't we disagree, sometimes vociferously, about the means to get there? Could the process people not benefit from the riches of the two-thousand-year-old tradition of classical rhetoric, and could the rhetoricians not profit by some of the practices of the process people especially in the generation of a text? If this reunion could take place, then an important quality of writing such as "voice" could be demystified. All writing is indirection. All talk about it need not be.

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Faculty and Curriculum Development:

A McGill project in Ecuador

Abstract

The authors spent some thirty weeks at the Universidad de Guayaquil, Ecuador, between 1983 and 1985. The project, sponsored by the Canadian International Development Agency, was aimed at improving university teaching and initiating curriculum reform. Over the three years, seven professional development courses were offered to professors in education, medicine, engineering, and architecture. The frameworks of two centres to improve university teaching were established. An extensive survey evaluating the curriculum of the Facultad de Filosofía, Letras, y Ciencias de la Educación (Faculty of Education) was prepared. Based on these results, some specific recommendations for curriculum change were made and some initial steps were taken to get the process underway.

Exchanges among academic institutions can be professionally rewarding and culturally enriching, particularly when they take place over an extended period of time. The exchange between McGill University and the University of Guayaquil, Ecuador extended over a three year period, from 1983 to 1985. The McGill team, headed by the authors, spent approximately 30 weeks on the site during this three year period. The experience was interesting, challenging, and rewarding.

Ecuador

General description

Ecuador is a small country (283,000 sq. km.) which straddles the equator on the west coast of South America (ecuador means equator in Spanish) and is divided from East to West into four very distinct geographic regions: the Amazon basin (Oriente), the Andean highlands (Sierra), the coastal lowlands (Costa), and the Galapagos Islands in the Pacific, approximately 600 miles from the coast. Its 8,945,000 inhabitants are divided among Indians (40%), Mestizos, mixed Indian and European (40%), Europeans (10%), and Blacks and Asiatics (10%). Virtually all the population is located either in the Costa (51%) or in the Sierra (46%).

Only 41% of the population of Ecuador is urban and the largest concentration is in the two major cities of Guayaquil and Quito. Guayaquil, with a population of approximately 1,500,000 is the largest city, the most important port, and the main commercial and industrial centre of Ecuador. Quito, the capital, with a population over 800,000, is located high in the Andes and was also the Northern capital of the ancient Inca Empire. There are four other urban centres with populations over 100,000, the largest of these being Cuenca (approximately 150,000) also in the Andes. Seven other centres have between 50,000 and 100,000 people.

Since 1979 Ecuador has had a democratically elected government, and there have been two constitutional and peaceful transfers of political power since that time. Six years may not be considered a democratic tradition, but perhaps more a democratic trend.

Approximately 47% of the active labor force is engaged in agriculture, and, until the exploitation of oil in the Amazon in 1972, Ecuador's main source of wealth came from agriculture and from the sea. Other than oil, the major exports are sea food (particularly shrimp), bananas, cacao, coffee, and sugar. Agriculture is still underdeveloped and 72% of the land is covered by forests.

Today Ecuador suffers the economic plights of all Latin America: high foreign debt, inflation, and unemployment.

Education

Economic and social problems have had a decisive impact on education in general. Approximately 15% of the population over ten years old is illiterate, and less than 50% of the children between the ages of six and fifteen attend school.

Institutions of higher education are underfunded and some are badly overcrowded due to political decisions to eliminate tuition and entrance requirements beyond completion of secondary school. Furthermore, professors are poorly paid, forcing virtually all of them to hold a second full-time job.

The University of Guayaquil has a population of approximately 60,000 students. Its Faculty of Education alone has some 10,000 students. The university suffers from all the problems mentioned above, particularly since it is one of those which has eliminated tuition and entrance requirements. The result has been a rapid growth in enrollment with which the university infrastructure and available resources are ill equipped to cope. Considering these constraints, this project had to centre on realistic and very limited objectives.

Project Planning

Contacts between Ecuador and McGill International started in 1980. However, it was the visit of the Director of the Department of University Planning for the University of Guayaquil to McGill in April 1982 with a specific request for assistance in university teaching and curriculum development which initiated the current project.

The first six week phase in Ecuador (July-August 1983) consisted of orientation, needs assessment, and specific planning for subsequent years. In addition, some initial steps were taken towards the stated objectives of improving university teaching and initiating curriculum reform by offering a course in instructional design to professors of their Faculty of Education and by gathering some preliminary data on that faculty's curriculum.

A Master Plan was prepared that summer and amended over the following two years. Faculty development was to concentrate first on the Faculty of Education by providing a series of courses for a selected number of professors. Similar courses were to be offered later to other units of the university. Secondly, the improvement of university teaching was to be supported by the establishment of a university-wide centre for teaching and learning services. Finally, the curriculum development project was to centre only on the Faculty of Education.

Faculty Development

Courses.

Some aspects of faculty development were relatively straightforward, if time consuming. Professors from Education, Architecture, and Engineering and Medicine were given a total of

seven courses aimed at improving course development and course planning, educational theories and practices, curriculum theory, research design, and second language teaching. These courses were designed to expand professors' knowledge base, and to provide practical skills and applications of that knowledge. All courses were given in workshop form to allow professors to apply these various skills using the context of their own institution and academic discipline.

Although offering courses was a relatively straightforward operation it was by no means without difficulties. First, the instructors had to adapt to the milieu and level of the professors. This could be a delicate matter requiring diplomacy since it involved dealing with university colleagues and not with conventional students. The second problem was the lack of textbooks and other materials readily available in Spanish in Ecuador. Some textbooks were obtained from other Latin American countries, but at considerable expenditure of time, effort, and money. The third difficulty, linked to the other two, was the preparation of adequate and relevant practical material in Spanish, materials and assignments for workshops that coincided with existing realities and coped with lack of resources. The preparation and teaching of these courses was challenging, if not inordinately complex.

Centres for improving university teaching

In the third year a considerable amount of time was devoted to the planning and development of structures for two centres for the improvement of university teaching: a university-wide institute responsible to the Vice-Rector (Academic), and a centre within the Faculty of Education responsible to the dean of that faculty. Issues such as the mandate of the centres, their orientation, and human and physical resources had to be considered within the context and the reality of the University. These centres will have to carry on the professional development work begun in part by this C.I.D.A. project.

The Institute for Formation and Improvement of University Professors has been functioning informally for many years by offering pertinent professional development courses to interested professors. Usually these courses were given by professors brought in from foreign institutions. As demands for courses related to updating curriculum content and modern teaching techniques increased and evidence of deficits in instructional competence accrued, the need for an institutional centre dedicated to on-going professional development became clear. Therefore, with full administrative support the Institute was formed. Its mandate is the promotion of change and innovation in the teaching-learning process, stimulation of overall professional development of the professoriate, which will include updating

within their areas of academic specialization, modernizing methods for planning, instruction and evaluation, and developing research skills. A long term plan has been elaborated to achieve these ambitious goals in a series of stages.

The planning for the first stage, which will begin implementation this year, demonstrates the desire of the administration to take immediate, and some might say, drastic action. After the selection and training of professors to staff the Institute a curriculum of 16 courses will be offered. This curriculum is directed towards development of instructional and research skills; e.g., research design, statistics, curriculum planning, instructional design, educational evaluation, techniques for university teaching, learning techniques, planning for higher education. Faculty members may elect to take any individual course or they may enroll in a program which will award a Certificate in University Teaching. The entire program includes a package of courses and the completion of a special project, for a total of 30 credits taken over a period of approximately two years. The administration is trying to encourage faculty members to take the Certificate by offering a salary increase upon successful completion. Considering the financial problems of the University and professors, this reward system (something which is usually absent and sorely needed in North American universities) should provide substantial motivation for professors to become involved in teaching improvement and research efforts. New professors will be required to complete the Certificate before receiving a permanent appointment. Future plans for the Institute include the gradual addition of consulting services for individual faculty members to diagnose and deal with specific instructional problems.

A Centre of Educational Sciences has also been developed within the Faculty of Education. Its goals are similar to those of the Institute, however the program is less structured. Workshops, seminars and courses have been and will continue to be offered in response to requests from members of the Faculty, principals and teachers in secondary schools, and other members of the University community.

The redundancy of these two organizations is recognized by the University but was unavoidable due to various political factors. Regardless of problems which may arise during implementation, the University is demonstrating a serious commitment to the development and improvement of teaching and research within the institution.

This phase of faculty development was both more complex and more challenging than offering courses since it required functioning directly within the administrative structure of the university.

Curriculum development

Curriculum development with the Faculty of Education became a most challenging and interesting aspect of the project. It was obvious from the beginning that it would be inappropriate to attempt a complete reform of the curriculum given the time and resources available. Even with more time and resources, curriculum revision is so complex a process and is linked so intimately with historical development, with social, political, and economic conditions, and with well established institutional practices, that consultants, particularly those coming from another culture, must tread very carefully. Therefore, the emphasis was to provide an objective and systematic analysis of the curriculum, highlighting its major strengths and weaknesses, to make some very basic recommendations, and to start to implement some of these with the approval and participation of the Faculty of Education. Furthermore, since all the work was done with a faculty team from Education, the whole process was to become a model the faculty could follow to pursue curriculum reforms further.

The curriculum

The Faculty of Education grants the degree of "Licenciado" after completion of a five-year programme following secondary school. The programme has three components that run parallel to one another over the five years. The first is academic specialization in one of the following disciplines or combination of disciplines: philosophy, Spanish language and literature, history and geography, foreign languages, commerce and administration (accounting), chemistry and biology, maths and physics. The second component focuses on general culture, and the third on pedagogical training. General culture and pedagogy courses are common to all students. There are fourteen courses in pedagogy, all are compulsory and all are taken in the same sequence over the five year period (see Table 1). The "Licenciado" allows the recipients to teach in secondary schools or in university. In fact, the majority of the professors in the Faculty of Education hold only the "Licenciado" degree.

Needs assessment

During the initial phase of the project in Summer 1983, a small team from the Faculty of Education met with one of the McGill consultants to determine the parameters and the process of the proposed curriculum reform project. The participants from Education expressed in very general terms some of the dissatisfaction with the existing curriculum, and more specifically, if intuitively, some of its perceived strengths and weaknesses. After further discussions, including a review of basic principles of

curriculum, an examination of the current curriculum in comparison to other models, and the analysis of the course objectives and content of the professional education courses, it was agreed to proceed with an empirical study of the Faculty of Education's curriculum. It was agreed further that this study would take the form of a survey of the graduates of the Faculty of Education. This survey was to request secondary school teachers to express their perception of the pertinence and effectiveness of their training at the Faculty of Education. This was a novel approach, certainly in Ecuador, to curriculum analysis - an assessment by the graduates of the system.

Table 1
Education courses in the Faculty of Education

Year	Courses
I	General Pedagogy General Sociology
II	General Psychology General Didactics
III	Pedagogical Problems in Secondary Education Special Didactics Developmental and Adolescent Psychology Audio Visual Education
IV	Evaluation and Statistics School Legislation Psycho-Pedagogy Orientation to Student Teaching
V	Methods and Techniques of Research History of Education

Curriculum survey

The survey questionnaire was based on the objectives and content of the fourteen professional education courses of the Faculty of Education. These courses were selected because they are the common and compulsory core of the curriculum, and the ones concerned most directly with the professional training of teachers, regardless of their area of academic specialization. The Education team agreed to test and validate the questionnaire, and to approve its final version. Furthermore, it agreed to administer the questionnaire to secondary school teachers in the Guayaquil area.

Purpose. The object of the questionnaire was to obtain, from practising secondary school teachers who had graduated from the Faculty of Education, first their perception of the relevance of the curriculum to their current task as teachers, and second, of the effectiveness of the preparation they received to operationalize the knowledge and skills taught.

Development. The first draft of the questionnaire was prepared in Montreal during the Fall-Winter 1983-1984 by the authors. A list of some 112 specific operations was prepared from those documents, and based on a study of the literature on teacher competencies, these operational items were organized into a dozen categories.

This initial draft was reviewed in Guayaquil during the summer, 1984, with one or more professors responsible for teaching each of the fourteen courses. The operations representing the objectives and content of the course were discussed and these items were then revised so that they represented accurately what was actually taught.

After extensive field testing, the final version of the questionnaire contained seven demographic items, five open-ended questions and 46 operational items divided into three broad categories: instructional process, theories and foundations, and other professional attitudes and activities.

The main part of the questionnaire asked teachers to give their opinions on how pertinent to their work the content of the curriculum was and how well the Faculty had prepared them to perform these various operations. For example, they were asked to evaluate the importance and preparation of such operations as: formulate learning objectives, develop tests based on objectives and content, identify students with problems and obtain adequate help for them.

The open-ended questions sought broader and more personal comments regarding, for example, the most outstanding aspects of studies in the Faculty of Education, the weakest areas of studies,

lacunae in the programme, and factors which impeded a better preparation.

Administration. The Faculty team undertook to select as large, representative, and balanced a sample as possible from the graduates of Education who were teaching in the Guayaquil area. The sampling took into consideration both public and private schools at various socio-economic levels.

The team was briefed on how to administer the questionnaire. There were 250 questionnaires distributed by hand in fourteen schools. Of these 207 were collected and 204 were usable.

Results. The results of the questionnaire focused on five major factors. The fact that all of the forty-six items were given a high rating on the five point Importance Scale in fact validated the existing curriculum. All the topics taught currently in the Faculty of Education were seen as important by the secondary school teachers. Furthermore, the teachers did not identify any serious gaps in content. This was supported also by the responses to the open-ended questions.

Second, it was indicated that the areas of academic specialization, theories and foundations, and interpersonal skills were taught better than those concerned with the practical applications of the teaching-learning process (instructional planning, preparation in specific teaching strategies, and practice teaching).

Third, there was a significant difference between the importance of the curriculum items and the actual preparation students received at the university to prepare them for their professional role. Although discrepancies between preparation and practice are not unusual in professional programmes, the significant gap which exists here between these factors warrants serious attention.

Fourth, there seemed to be a substantial amount of redundancy in the curriculum. Each of the forty-six operational items were traced back to the course or courses of origin. It was found that twenty-eight are taught only in one course, thirteen are taught in two courses, four are taught in three courses, and one is taught in four courses. Overlap in itself may not be necessarily bad if it is used consciously to reinforce specific concepts or skills or to present the same material at a higher conceptual level at a later stage in the programme. However, this was not the case. The interviews with professors teaching these courses confirmed that operational items were included in the courses without knowledge or consideration that these might appear elsewhere in the curriculum.

Finally, of those factors that the teachers felt impeded their preparation, inadequate teaching by faculty (competence and attitude of professors), and physical resources (libraries, laboratories, classroom space) were cited as the most critical. Interestingly, the actual structure of the curriculum, considered rigid by North American standards, was not indicated as a major impediment.

Conclusions. Since it could be said that the actual content of the curriculum was, in fact, validated by the questionnaire, and that its structure was not questioned, it did not seem necessary to consider changes in structure and content but rather to concentrate on those specific areas of weakness identified by the questionnaire. More emphasis should be placed on the actual methods and techniques of teaching and on the actual application of these in the practice teaching component.

Also, those factors external to the actual curriculum that have an important bearing on the quality of professional preparation have to be addressed. The quality of teaching is one of these. Professors should be more up to date in their knowledge of content and in their application of teaching methods. They should take more care with class preparation, have more consideration for student achievement, and refrain from undue absenteeism.

Finally, although political activities on campus, strikes and other work stoppages, and politically influenced professorial appointments are not specifically curriculum issues, all hinder effective teaching and professional preparation.

Recommendations to the Faculty of Education

Making recommendations based on a study such as this one can be difficult. The application of some recommendations could depend on social, economic, and political issues beyond the competence and control of those trying to implement change, and might even run counter to well established ideological and political university policies. Therefore, recommendations beyond the ability of the Faculty to implement readily were seen as counter-productive. It seemed more realistic and profitable to focus on a few critical issues that could be addressed by the Faculty, taking into account its current situation and resources.

Since neither the content nor the structure of the curriculum were perceived as weaknesses by the secondary teachers, it seemed pointless to engage that issue. Changes in curriculum structure can lead to administrative changes, and sometimes even to new philosophical orientations. Such changes often require a great deal of energy to implement and do not necessarily address

the critical issues. Administrative and structural changes are used sometimes to create the illusion of reform. Activity is often mistaken for progress.

The central issue here was not really the curriculum itself but the emphasis and the implementation of the curriculum. It was, specifically, the process of the professional training received that was questioned and criticized. The problems of effective teacher preparation centered on the lack of emphasis on the instructional process itself and on practice teaching, the competence and attitudes of the professors, the physical resources of the university, and political activities.

Therefore, only two recommendations were made in the report presented to the Faculty of Education in April 1985. The first was to establish a curriculum committee for the Faculty. Its task would be to study this report, decide on appropriate areas requiring further study, and set priorities addressing those weaknesses seen to be most critical. The committee could work on making changes to stress the instructional process and the practice teaching dimensions of the curriculum and to try to minimize the overlap and redundancy in the content of the fourteen education courses.

Since professor attitude and competence is critical to the application of any change, the second suggestion stressed continuing professional development of faculty. Professors need to upgrade their own knowledge and skills in order to apply the curriculum more effectively. Well planned and continual professional development activities could help with this particular situation.

Implementation of some recommendations

Perhaps the most important aspect of curriculum reform is to involve faculty members directly in the process, and to work with them closely to develop ways and means to achieve limited objectives leading to substantial improvement. Since the improvement of the actual courses themselves was seen as an appropriate place to start, a series of workshops on what was essentially course alignment and course improvement were conducted in June 1985. These three-day workshops stressed the instructional process dimensions of the various courses and practical applications where possible and desirable. Furthermore, the workshops themselves directly involved the professors in making specific and realistic changes, and became a model for them to follow when continuing the process of course reform.

Summary of the project

The project ultimately centred on two major objectives; improving university teaching, and curriculum reform in the Faculty of Education. Immediate action was taken to improve teaching by mounting a series of courses in learning theories, curriculum development, instructional design, research design, and second language teaching. Professors from Education, Architecture, Engineering and Medicine participated in these courses.

However, the most important and, it is hoped, the most lasting activity to improve university teaching was the establishment of two centres for teaching improvement services; one university-wide and another for the Faculty of Education. These centres are to continue to pursue professional development goals by producing courses, seminars, and workshops aimed at improving teaching.

The objective concerning curriculum reform in the Faculty of Education was met, in part, by the analysis of the curriculum, by the formulation of realistic recommendations based on the results of the questionnaire, and by the workshops on course alignment and course improvements. Furthermore, the various courses offered over a period of three years have made a start toward addressing one of the major concerns of the Faculty. This need was confirmed by the curriculum survey, upgrading the course content and teaching methods of the professors. Granted, courses were offered to a very limited number of professors, but a start has been made on professional development of faculty, and what is also important, Faculty members have been able to observe a model and a method of professional development over a three-year period. The model of workshops on course improvement, the model of professional development courses, and the establishment of a centre for teaching and learning should provide the Faculty of Education with an initial infrastructure with which to continue the process.

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NOTES

1. Information about Ecuador has been selected from: **The 1983 South American Handbook**, Bath, England, Trade and Travel Publications, 1982, 1, 395 p.

2. Information about higher education in Ecuador has been selected from: Mercedes A. de Hernandez, "Notas sobre la Universidad Ecuatoriana", in **Revista de la Universidad de Guayaquil**, no. 2 (45), Mayo-Agosto, 1981, pp. 149-183.
3. Réal G. Boulianne and Cynthia B. Weston (co-authors), **Análisis de la Relación entre la Preparación Profesional y la Práctica Docente: Resumen de Resultados de una Encuesta de Egresados de la Facultad de Filosofía, Letras y Ciencias de la Educación, Universidad de Guayaquil, Ecuador**, Montréal, Canada, and Guayaquil, Ecuador, March 1985, 128pp.

Personal Journal Writing: Selecting the ethnographic method for enquiry

Abstract

After identifying the need for additional research into the writing process, particularly relating to expressive writing in the form of personal journals, the researcher explicated his personal assumptions regarding some of the values of this mode of self-expression. The ethnographic approach to research was introduced, with key tenets and assumptions serving as a basis for the review of several specific qualitative studies of the composing process. Commentary on the suitability of this approach to the personal writing experience led to the conclusion that an ethnographic approach would be essential to account for the highly interactive and subjective nature of the journal writing episode.

Three summers ago, while travelling through the Orient and Europe for four months, I began to keep a daily journal, in the form of an ongoing series of extended letters home to a friend in Canada. I soon realized how valuable this personal writing was becoming for me, by providing me with the means to reflect on my daily experiences, to make sense of my novel and often challenging environment, and to discover new facets of my own underlying perspectives and motivations, all within the medium of my personal written expression of my thoughts and feelings.

In recent years, educators have been becoming increasingly aware of the tremendous potential that personal journal writing can have for allowing students to engage in a meaningful writing activity, using their own powers of written self-expression to come to a greater self-awareness (Craig, 1983; Myers, 1980; Staton, 1980). Presently, additional research is necessary for the

furthering of our understanding of the writing process as it takes place during the transaction between an individual and the emerging piece of self-created literature.

Central to any systematic exploration of a phenomenon is the selection of a particular methodological paradigm. This paper presents a rationale and justification for the application of an ethnographic approach to the study of journal writing, and indeed, of all language-using situations. Before discussing this potentially effective approach to examine the transactional nature of personal writing, it seems appropriate to present some of my personal assumptions regarding journal writing.

Personal assumptions regarding journal writing

The following tenets were formulated through my own experiences with this form of self-expression, and each has been confirmed in the talk and writings of numerous other keepers of journals. They point to the importance of allowing students the opportunity to engage in this type of writing in any classroom where the personal experiences and language of the learners are placed in the forefront.

- Journal writing elicits "spectator-role" reflection through the individual's personal language.
- The journal is an effective tool for imposing an order on experiences and aiding in the formation of a world representation.
- Journal writing allows for the focusing, editing, and revising of one's inner stream of consciousness.
- Journal writing involves the deep and honest communication with oneself, and should therefore be respected with absolute privacy.
- Reflective writing elicited by journal writing can lead to a realization of the importance of writing and language to all understanding; this could, in turn, lead to a synthesis of school with life.
- By exposing an individual to his or her own underlying meanings, journal writing may lead to a greater self-awareness and self-understanding.
- Because journal writing encourages an individual to reflect, write, react, and interact, it is effective in broadening the total writing experience.

While these are not an exhaustive reflection of my complex

system of beliefs and values, they indicate the perspective from which I will be establishing the most appropriate methodology for enquiry into this area of language research.

Ethnographic enquiry: Introduction and assumptions

The term "ethnography" applies to a wide body of qualitative research methodology, into which several types of enquiry may be classified. "Naturalistic" studies involve the natural setting as the direct source of data, with the researcher as the key instrument, assuming that human behaviour is significantly influenced by the setting in which it occurs. Qualitative research is descriptive, involving the detailed recording of a situation or event, with the expectation that everything which occurs has the potential of being a significant clue to unlock a more comprehensive understanding of what is being studied.

Ethnographic researchers focus on the "human" aspects of each situation, and are concerned with the processes involved in each individual's personal interpretations of significance for that situation. An inductive approach is employed in the interpretation of collected data, as abstractions are formed as the features of the situation are examined; rather than testing hypotheses, an interpretive researcher seeks to emerge with a "grounded theory" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982, p.29).

One area of ethnographic research which is especially concerned with the study of experiences from the perspective of the individual(s) involved is phenomenology. This approach requires that researchers investigate the events and interactions of individuals with an intent "to gain entry into the conceptual world of their subjects in order to understand how and what meaning they construct around events in their daily lives" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982, pp.31-32).

In summary, then, qualitative research represents a fundamental rejection of the quantification of all aspects of human belief and experience, and seeks instead to describe the complex social reality as a mosaic, reflecting the world how it is, and not how we wish it to be.

Ethnographic studies of the writing process

The ethnographic research paradigm assumes that, in any exploration of a language-using situation, all aspects of the context of a situation, including the researcher's presence, are an integral part of the process and should be described and studied as such. The pioneering and highly influential work of Emig (1971) introduced the potential efficacy of such a descriptive method of reporting on the composing processes of twelfth grade

students. By observing students in the context of their school classrooms, she sought to discover the important aspects of the nature of their composing strategies, as well as their attitudes toward writing.

Rather than setting an artificial writing task in which to observe certain pre-established variables, Emig entered the world of the students, and through careful interviewing and naturalistic observation, created "writing biographies" for a relatively small number of students, including one in-depth case study. Her technique was replicated, in part, by Mischel (1974), who also closely examined one student writer using a qualitative case study approach. In this way, both researchers were able to develop an idea of what was important to these individuals in this setting, rather than be constrained by a discussion of only one or two variables such as pausing time and subvocalization behaviour. As a result, their examination of the composing process attempted to describe a multitude of the interactive components of every writing situation, including the context for writing, the nature of the stimuli, pre-writing and pre-planning, composing aloud, reformulations, and teacher influence.

Central to the discussion of the findings of these two studies was the distinction between "reflexive" and "extensive" writing; students were typically engaged in far more extensive, or school-sponsored, reportorial writing, than the more expressive, self-directed, reflexive mode of composition. A major focus of the implications for this research was a plea for more composing experiences for students requiring the reflexive mode, involving a shift from the teacher-centered classroom to a writing environment which would be more conducive to creative self-expression in language.

When Pianko (1979) set out to characterize the composing processes of several college freshmen writers, she incorporated a plan of research which embodied the descriptive, qualitative dimensions associated with ethnographic enquiry. By combining her carefully recorded aspects of the behaviours of the students while writing, with in-depth interviews about the strategies employed, and about general attitudes, feelings, and past experiences with writing, Pianko was able to analyze more fully what writing meant for each of the students she observed. Taking into consideration the multi-dimensional nature of writing, she examined all of the variables she could identify in light of what she learned from the personal interviews, toward the development of an interpretation of the composing process for these students.

The ethnographic approach enabled Pianko to identify a need for more incorporation of student interests and motivation in the writing programs offered in schools, and to outline specific strategies for teachers to employ in order to engender the

positive attitudes their students would need in order to become more fluent with bringing their thoughts into their personal written language. While providing directions for teachers to foster the effective transaction between students and their written expression, this method of enquiry resulted in the substantiation of a number of potentially valuable classroom practices, such as personal journal writing, as effective means of providing such stimulation for students.

In his interpretive study of personal journal writing as an instrument for exploring self-definition, Myers (1980) identified several important dimensions of this type of self-expression, by relating his review of the literature on journal writing in psychology, literature, and religion, to the actual written accounts of student teachers who had kept journals during their practicum experience. Synthesizing these views and reflections on this process into a dynamic thematic model, Myers was able to explore the phenomenon of personal writing from the perspective of those actually involved in the writing. With his subjects as informants, and himself as the only instrument with which to gather and interpret data, Myers succeeded in applying an ethnographic approach to a highly personal, and seemingly unquantifiable event, to produce a thematic interpretation which further illuminated this dimension of the writing process.

Limitations of the ethnographic approach

One major criticism of the type of qualitative research described above is that it lacks generalizability, due, in part, to the lack of controllable variables, and the relatively small, nonrepresentative samples employed. To a large extent, this is a valid assertion, since ethnographers do not purport to directly apply their findings to any other situations. Rather, by describing fully as many aspects of, and interactions within, the situation in which they are researching, they seek to make explicit all of the significant factors affecting the process they are interpreting.

Ethnographers would argue that the experimental approaches to the study of language-using situations produce data which are not generalizable because they deal with a distorted linguistic event. Where key aspects of the language process are not allowed to transact, it appears highly tenuous to expect a clearer understanding of real language situations. By seeking patterns within and across language events, qualitative researchers attempt to incorporate all instances of language into their ever-evolving theories. As Harste, Woodward, and Burke (1984) assert, "being able to explain all observed behaviours of language users during a language event provides a sounder basis on which to generate theory -- to generalize -- than does explaining a subset of behaviours one finds convenient" (p.90).

With qualitative research, the highly personal involvement of the researcher results in some degree of "observer effect". Considered to be an integral part of the research setting, the ethnographer is often the sole data-gathering instrument and therefore risks "colouring" all of the findings, with personal beliefs and perceptions affecting all interpretations of observed situations. This is addressed by the methods that ethnographers employ to minimize such problems, such as the observation of people acting within a natural setting, the modelling of interviews after conversations between trusting parties, and most importantly, the careful consideration and explication of one's own biases and assumptions throughout the gathering and reporting of all data.

Perhaps the greatest limitations of this type of qualitative research involve the factors of time constraints and an overabundance of data to interpret. By producing comprehensive, "thick" descriptions of the phenomenon under examination, qualitative researchers invariably generate a tremendous amount of raw data in the form of field notes, transcribed conversations, and interview notes, which must be analyzed and synthesized to discover key patterns or personal meanings. There seems to be no sure way of totally eliminating this problem, since narrowing one's enquiry may result in the overlooking of crucial dimensions of the process being studied.

Choosing an interpretive approach

Because of the intensely personal and idiosyncratic nature of the creation of one's world representation through personal writing, it seems evident that any investigation of this process must necessarily take into account the underlying subjective dimensions of such an experience.

This was indicated by the findings of Butler (1981), who discovered in his work with student teachers that "journal writing achieves depth and importance to the extent that it portrays emotions, and that it is through the expression of feelings that the writing becomes fluent, or even impelled" (p.79).

The interpretive approach to research, according to Carr and Kemmis (1983), allows for the careful interpretation of any actions, such as journal writing, "by reference to the meaning that the individual actor attaches to them" (p.88). By accounting for the multiplicity of underlying assumptions, values, and intentions that an individual brings to any situation, interpretive research provides a rich source of information from which the true meanings of that person may be illuminated.

Viewing such a subjective phenomenon as journal writing from a positivistic, experimental approach would involve the negation of some of the most crucial aspects of this form of

self-expression. Entering this area of research with a set of explicit theories to be tested, while seeking scientific explanations to enable the formulation of generalizable causal laws, would contradict the very nature of the individualized process which takes place. The wealth of underlying values and feelings which are implicit in the effective generation of written self-expression in this mode would be denied by the experimental paradigm, which assumes a value-free context in which to research educational questions.

In this expressive writing situation, the "objective" social reality assumed by the experimentalists simply does not exist; the deeply subjective nature of this activity is best observed from an interpretive stance, in which its "reality is understood by understanding the subjective meanings of individuals" (Carr & Kemmis, 1983, p.86).

Conclusions

It appears evident that an ethnographic approach to research relating to personal journal writing would provide educational researchers with the most appropriate means of illuminating this complex and subjective experience. My own experience with journals has shown me that the personal writing episode can be a valuable and rewarding opportunity for self-expression. As my self-created text becomes composed on paper, newly-conceived ideas emerge from this written formulation. This recursive process of cognition and comprehension during writing seems to me to be just another form of the moment-by-moment interpretive processes by which we all continually make sense of what is happening around us.

Since our experiences are interpreted and made meaningful by our representing them with our language, teachers should become aware of the importance of the personal journal as an excellent means of facilitating this sense-making process in the lives of their students. Allowing students the opportunity to engage in this valuable written dialogue with themselves seems to be an essential first step in leading them toward a mastery of more and more of the communicative function of language and of the total writing process.

Interpretive explorations of this writing process would allow for a deeper, qualitative understanding of how individuals interpret and define their reality through their personal language. It is my belief that this approach can provide educators with an invaluable tool for discovering the teaching strategies which can best enable students to become more effective communicators with themselves, and with their world.

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Collegial Education in Quebec — A Bibliography

The Parent Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec (1961-1966) was to set the stage for a far-reaching reassessment and reorientation of Quebec's educational system. Measure after measure - even to the recently judged unconstitutional Bill Three on school board reorganization - found its inspiration in this five volume treatise on socio-nationalistic change.

Unquestionably the most unique proposal of the Parent commissioners was their call for the creation of a new type of institution that was to be inserted between secondary and university studies, and that was to be called an "institute" (1). Born of the idea of melding together under one roof both pre-university and professional/vocational instruction, this new layer of education was to have the following objectives: raise the level of attendance and reduce the number of early drop-outs; provide greater educational opportunities for the general population; improve the quality of pre-university and professional/vocational studies; and provide the students with a better preparation for life.

With the adoption of the General and Vocational Colleges Act in 1967 (2), the foundation was set although the title "institute" was put aside. To harmonize and build upon Quebec tradition, the term "college" found its consecration in the law. The general public was, however, to have the last word by its adoption of the French acronym, CEGEP (3). For a society in full ebullience, as was the case of Quebec in the middle years of the quiet Revolution, the CEGEP was to be the people's school, the promise of a future for their children in a modernizing nation state (4).

In 1984 forty-four public colleges and twenty-six private colleges (5) provide instruction to 157,060 full-time students. These institutions also serve as the base for a flowering adult education sector. In total the provincial government allocates \$665,234,300 in operating grants to insure that the mission of the CEGEP is met and another \$54,061,900 in grants for the private colleges. As a result college attendance has become the norm and these institutions have turned into provincial wide dispatching centres of human talent for the universities and the job market: future engineers, doctors, accountants . . . and ready-to-go data programmers, radiologists, executive secretaries These new college graduates have made their mark in all domains, including two who have become provincial cabinet ministers. Praise has come from all quarters including the prestigious Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (6).

On the flip-side of the coin, one notes periods of massive labour unrest, criticism about students who still cannot read and write effectively, high drop-out rates, and invectives from employers who find college graduates undisciplined and ill-prepared. Whither the truth?

Behind all of this, one thing is for certain: the CEGEP is here and here to stay. However, this offspring of the Quiet Revolution remains a largely unknown upstart despite its unique configuration. One has only to thumb through the select bibliographies of higher education that regularly appear to appreciate the situation. Perhaps this is to be expected. Critical distance is a prerequisite to sound research. On the other hand, one cannot go forward very long without a searching look at what has taken and what is taking place.

The following bibliography has been constituted to prod interest. Its focus is the general college scene in Quebec, and there is a desire to touch as many facets of collegial existence as possible (7). Also there is a conscious attempt to include as many English language works as one can identify, and as the reader will note the listing is not impressive. Taken as a whole it is obvious that the cited entries do not all measure up to the same standard. Comprehensiveness does not always result in quality. This caveat sounded, proceed with ease. The bibliography guides the way (8).

NOTES

1. Quebec. **Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec**, Vol.II, Chap. 6.
2. Quebec. **General and Vocational Colleges Act**, 1966/67 Chap. 71.

3. CEGEP comes from: Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel.
4. The French accepted the idea of the CEGEP with open arms. At one point it seemed like every community in Quebec wanted its own college, and the political infighting was ferocious. On the English side just the opposite was the case. It took two years before the first English college opened its doors, and the Establishment soothsayers predicted a speedy demise of this anachronism. Instead three other English colleges speedily appeared. By the mid 1970s the English population by and large had been won over.
5. Quebec. **Private Education Act**, 1968, Chap. 67 set the stage for the creation of a network of colleges created to supplement the public interest. Normally an outgrowth of an existing denominational classical college, these colleges follow the same curricula as the public CEGEP's. They are operationally funded to a large extent by the provincial government. The remainder of the funding comes via tuition charges. For the most part the private colleges have a small enrollment, pre-university studies dominate, and religious organizations are at the helm of the institutions.
6. O.E.C.D., **Examen des politiques nationales d'éducation: Canada**, Paris, 1976, 51-52.
7. Numerous articles, reports, and theses have appeared that are related to a particular college. For a good selection of these items, consult both Breton and Dessureault.
8. The author wishes to thank Jean-Luc Roy of the **Centre d'animation, de développement et de recherche en éducation** in Montreal for having brought numerous citations to his attention.

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The Social and Educational Consequences of Standardized Testing:

A point of view

Abstract

Standardized testing has figured prominently in Canadian education from the 1920s to the present, affecting the life chances of Canadians for education, jobs, and happiness. This paper examines the historical and sociological foundations of the testing movement and the consequences for the people whose lives are affected by the tests they take.

The curmudgeon of American print journalism, H.L. Mencken, was fond of saying that "no one ever went broke underestimating the intelligence of the American public." With testing a 300-400 million dollar industry, Mencken was certainly correct. It is nevertheless the case that testing is more than a lucrative industry. Standardized tests are administered and interpreted within a particular social frame of reference. The consequences of how one scores on tests affect one's life chances -- for education, for jobs, and for happiness. This paper will examine the historical and sociological foundations of the testing movement and the consequences for the people whose lives are affected by the tests they take.

Historical and sociological foundations

In less than one hundred years, standardized testing has grown from infancy into an enormously profitable and influential industry. The rapid growth of the testing movement and its general acceptance were related to a number of developments. These included the rapid expansion and transformation of the

economy, the gradual sophistication of testing methods, the belief in innate intelligence, and the expansion of educational systems and their functions. The change from an agricultural economy to a manufacturing economy deeply affected our conception of human worth. The shift of economic power from the countryside to the city and the emergence of an achievement-oriented social system permitted the development of a set of social beliefs which could not have existed in an agrarian society based upon lineage. In agrarian societies, attempts to change one's social position were inconsistent with the idea of a social hierarchy based upon birth. Ability, ambition, and effort did not affect one's position in an agrarian society. With industrialization, birth gave way to achievement as the basis for locating people in the social structure. This transformation provided the social context for the development of methods for testing achievement.

Pioneer theories. During the latter part of the 19th century, influential people such as Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), William Graham Sumner (1840-1910), and Charles Darwin's cousin, Francis Galton (1822-1911), were applying ideas from the biological and physical sciences to society. Spencer, who coined the term "survival of the fittest," believed that homogeneity was inherently unstable. He reasoned that the process of increasing social differentiation would eventually result in "the establishment of the greatest perfection and the most complete happiness." According to historian Richard Hofstadter, Spencer held the view that:

...the pressure of subsistence upon population must have a beneficent effect upon the human race. This pressure had been the immediate cause of progress from earliest times. By placing a premium upon skill, intelligence, self-control and the power to adapt through technological innovation, it had stimulated human advancement and selected the best of each generation for survival. (Hofstadter, 1969, p.39)

According to Spencer, social theory should recognize the selection principle from biology and refrain from violating it by "the artificial preservation of those least able to take care of themselves" (Hofstadter, 1969, p.44).

The rapid development of the use of standardized tests of intelligence and ability depended in large part on their claim to be scientific and unbiased. Francis Galton believed that intelligence tests could be used to divide humanity on the basis of innate differences and thereby provide the means to control the production of "fine human offspring" (eugenics). Galton's **Hereditary Genius: An Inquiry into its Laws and Consequences** was published in London in 1869. Galton proposed to "...range men according to their natural abilities, putting them into classes separated by equal degrees of merit, and to show the relative

number of individuals included in the several classes..." (Galton, 1869, p.26). Galton coined the term "eugenics" to refer to:

...the science which deals with all influences that improve the inborn qualities of a race; also with those that develop them to their utmost advantage...the aim of Eugenics is to represent each class or sect by its best specimens; that done, to leave them to work out their own common civilizations in their own way. (Collini, 1979, pp.201-202)

Galton, who founded the Eugenic Society in 1870, had studied men of science, "genius", and the Fellows of the Royal Society. His investigations had persuaded him that nature was much more influential than nurture and that the upper social strata produced a larger number of talented individuals.

The development of the concept of "statistical correlation" by Galton's protege, Karl Pearson (1857-1936), and the enunciation of the idea of "factor analysis" by Charles Spearman furthered the belief that it was possible to design scientific, objective, and unbiased tests of innate intelligence (Martindale, 1960). Karl Pearson, Galton Professor of Eugenics at London University and Director of the Francis Galton Laboratory, argued that biological factors "...are dominant in the evolution of mankind; these and these alone, can throw light on the rise and fall of nations, on racial progress and national degeneracy." Pearson estimated that ninety percent of a person's capacity was determined by heredity. He was among those of the period who argued that education should vary for individuals and groups in relation to their abilities (Spearman, 1904).

First tests. By 1905, Alfred Binet and Theodore Simon had produced the first scale for the measurement of intelligence. When Galton's volume was issued in North America in 1914, it was followed by literally hundreds of studies of genius. In North America, Lewis Terman, Henry Goddard, and Robert Yerkes were the leaders of the testing movement. As early as 1912 Henry Goddard had begun to administer the Binet-Simon intelligence test to immigrants. Then, in 1916, Lewis Terman of Stanford University translated and adapted the Binet-Simon scale and published the first Stanford-Binet intelligence scale. This scale was revised in 1937 and again in 1960 and is still one of the most widely used tests. Finally, in 1917, Robert Yerkes of Harvard University developed the "Alpha" and "Beta" intelligence tests which were administered to two million American army recruits (Terman, 1916, 1937; Kamin, 1974).

Although Binet had been careful to state that the Binet-Simon scale measured competence and not a genetic quality, the Binet-Simon scale was soon labelled as a measure of innate intelligence. Without evidence, educational psychologists of the

period made a leap of faith to the position that general intelligence as measured by intelligence tests was an innate quality; Terman, Goddard, and Yerkes were among those who subscribed to this belief.

Impact of economics and war. In the first 20 years of this century, industry experienced a period of soaring production, rapid growth, and the concentration of capital. This combination of changes demanded an increase in the number of workers with specific productive, managerial, technical, and clerical skills. Corporate capitalism was faced with the problem of having to select suitable trainees who would provide the largest return on the investment involved in training. Intelligence, achievement, and vocational tests offered corporations an ideal way of selecting from the mass of available workers those trainees who would most efficiently "repay" the costs of training through their contributions to production.

The First World War increased the need for more educated and skilled labour organized into a pyramid-shaped structure. New tests helped to provide justification for this hierarchy. Because of the "scientific" stature accorded to the belief that intelligence was innate, workers could be classified on the basis of "intelligence" scores and taught to accept their location in a workplace that was structured inequitably. Psychological tests thus provided both the means by which workers could be efficiently selected for training and the rationale for the maintenance of an acquiescent workforce. Private corporations saw the development of these tests as a natural and beneficial part of running the economy.

Uses in education. Standardized tests of intelligence and ability were also considered scientific tools that could be used to classify people of different races and social classes in order to determine who should be educated. "Intelligence" and associated achievement tests were thought ideally suited to the rapidly expanding education systems which were geared to serve the industrial structure. These tests offered what seemed to be an unbiased scientific means of measuring students and maintaining the hierarchical education system.

The rise of universal education systems and the expansion of higher education in Britain and North America paralleled the vast economic changes taking place during the first two decades of the century. In Britain, the educational system was gradually extended largely as a result of pressure from members of the working class who were demanding better education for their children. In North America, working class pressure and the massive tide of immigrants helped bring about the expansion of the educational system. Intelligence and ability testing made it possible to select and stream the increased numbers of people who wished to have access to the educational system.

North American school systems were based on an ideology of equality. Schools and colleges used the new tests to classify students and to preserve the appearance of equal opportunity. The scientific status of these tests provided an easy and seemingly legitimate way to select students by ability. Educational reformers argued that these tests would allow schools and teachers to "fit education to the individual needs of students." Education had become a hierarchical meritocracy firmly supported by "objective and unbiased" test scores.

Nativistic viewpoints. Nativism, protection of the interests of native inhabitants against those of immigrants, is a persistent theme in the literature devoted to intelligence. For Canada's first comprehensive survey of a provincial school system, the Putman and Weir **Survey of the (British Columbia) School System**, Professor Peter Sandiford undertook an "...objective survey of the intelligence and school achievement of the pupils of the Province..." In a sub-section of his assessment entitled "The Mental Capacity of B.C. Students According to the Place of Birth," Sandiford wrote:

The object of this study was to determine the influence of immigration from various centres upon the general intellectual level of the B.C. community. If the people coming into the Province are of higher intelligence than those already in it, the general level will be raised. This, of course, is a result greatly to be desired. On the other hand, continued immigration of inferior stock can end only in disaster. (Putman and Weir, 1925, p.458)

A paragraph later, Sandiford elaborated upon the nativistic theme he had developed above:

The low intelligence of pupils born in Continental Europe and the rest of the world is the outstanding feature of this investigation. These high school pupils, normal school and university students have a median intelligence quotient lower than 100; that is, lower than that of the community as a whole. Immigration from these areas lowers the average intelligence of the population. (p.459)

Later in the report, Sandiford describes the mental capacity of the Japanese and Chinese pupils enrolled in Vancouver Schools. Recognizing that "...tests involving a use of English language would not be fair..." to Japanese and Chinese pupils, the testers used a battery of fifteen tests to assess the intelligence of 155 Chinese and 150 Japanese pupils. The subsequent discussion reveals a number of things. First, the nativistic viewpoint that characterized the earlier discussion of intelligence is unmistakable. Second, Sandiford contradicts his earlier expression of the

desirability of raising the general level of intelligence by immigration:

...it will be seen that the Japanese are superior to the Chinese and both are greatly superior to the average white population. The superiority is undoubtedly due to selection. In the main it is the Japanese and Chinese who possess the qualities of cleverness, resourcefulness, and courage who emigrate to British Columbia; the dullards and less enterprising are left behind. This superiority of emigrant stock is no new phenomenon in world history. There are those who maintain that Great Britain owes her eminent position in the world to the fact that only the clever and sturdy could secure a footing on her shores.... But from the political and economic standpoints the presence of an industrious, clever, and frugal alien group, capable so far as mentality is concerned, of competing successfully with the native whites in most occupations they mutually engage in, constitutes a problem which calls for the highest quality of statesmanship if it is to be solved satisfactorily. (p.508)

Acknowledging the "great superiority of the Japanese and Chinese alien groups over all others," and the fact that "the Japanese in B.C. are probably the most intelligent of all the racial groups which make up the total Canadian population" (p.509), Sandiford remarked that:

These facts have very great importance for B.C. Here we have an alien group whose mental capacity is greatly superior to that of the native stock. (p.508)

Social class differences. The discussion of intelligence was not confined to the expression of nativistic sentiments. The discussion also evinced the social class distinctions of the time:

There is a distinctive change of intelligence level with parental occupational grouping.... In all cases, children of professional workers head the list by a wide margin. Intelligence sufficiently high to achieve success in a profession is handed down to children. This is a matter of social significance. (pp.455-456)

The relationship between socio-economic status and intelligence reported by Sandiford in Putman-Weir simply mirrored results reported earlier for German, Belgian, and English children and continued to be a consistent finding in the literature. In a study of children in Regina during the 1960s, Kennett (1972) found evidence of the positive relationship between socio-economic status and intelligence test scores, favouring upper socio-economic status children. A similar relationship was obtained by Holmes

(1981) in a more recent study of children in British Columbia.

Eugenics. There is little doubt that eugenics provided part of the frame of reference for the interpretation of Sandiford's data. In the conclusion to the subsection concerned with socio-economic differences and intelligence, Sandiford expressed the connection clearly:

...the children of professional people are, on the whole, more intelligent than others and, eugenically, this is the group in which large families should be encouraged. (Putman and Weir, 1925, p.458)

Sandiford's notions about eugenics seemed benign in comparison to what was taking place in Alberta at approximately the same time. Describing the early eugenics movement in Western Canada, Chapman (1977) wrote:

In hopes of reforming society, Social Gospellers, Progressives and women's suffragettes advocated a philosophy of progress based upon the application of science to society which in this instance was eugenics. As support for such a theory permeated all levels of society, the post-1916 era saw the United Farm Women of Alberta adopt a eugenics programme in 1922. Six years later in 1928, the United Farmers of Alberta enacted Canada's first legislation concerning sterilization of the mental defective. (p.9)

Testing continues to figure prominently in Canada's education system. As of March 1985, the provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Quebec, and Newfoundland administered compulsory final examinations to students at the secondary level. The number of examinable courses ranged from a low of seven in Alberta to nearly 150 in Quebec. In the five provinces administering compulsory final examinations, examination marks are combined with the marks awarded by teachers to determine the final marks awarded to students (Schulz, 1985).

Seven provinces -- British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba, Quebec, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland -- are engaged in student assessment programs designed to assist in the evaluation of curricula and programs of study. Three of the seven -- Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland -- use commercially prepared tests (Schulz, 1985). In most provinces, commercially published tests, including the Canadian Test of Basic Skills, Canadian Cognitive Abilities Test, Differential Aptitude Test, Gates-MacGinitie Reading Tests, Metropolitan Achievement Test, Stanford Achievement Test, and the Stanford Test of Academic Skills are used to make a variety of educational decisions ranging from those about the placement of individuals to the efficacy of programs (Educational Research

Institute of B.C., 1984).

The impact of standardized testing

Advertising copywriters have long known that the social imagery of a few people standing out from the crowd is a successful inducement to consume. The voice-over on a recent Chevrolet Monte-Carlo television commercial said it simply: "Put a little distance between yourself and the crowd." Although it has created enormous profits for advertisers and merchants who have used it, this social imagery was not created by a Madison Avenue genius. It finds its origins in the economic and social transformation that accompanied industrialization and in the rapid development of a technology for testing human abilities. Prior to industrialization one's position in society was affected primarily by birth rather than ability. Emphasis upon achievement and the development of a technology for measuring intelligence and other abilities provided a social environment in which three basic ideas could develop. These ideas shaped and continue to shape our thinking about the worth of human beings in our society. The three ideas are:

1. People should be judged by their abilities;
2. Abilities can be represented by a mathematical distribution which depicts a few people standing out from the mass of people; and
3. Human beings of extraordinary ability are not bound by the same conventions which bind "normal" people. (Sennett and Cobb, 1973)

The social imagery of a small group of people standing out from the crowd has had a profound affect on our view of education. The pattern of attitudes which grows out of this social imagery creates social, educational, and occupational consequences which are deeply disturbing.

Structure of tests. Standardized tests have traditionally served three major functions: evaluation, selection, and restriction. The growth of the testing movement has seen the development of a technology and a vocabulary that in some ways mystifies what the tests reveal about the people they are purporting to describe. The idea that the distribution of certain abilities in a population may be represented by a bell-shaped curve or "normal distribution" is not well understood. A bell-shaped distribution occurs in mathematics when the measurement of an entity is determined by the influence of many other factors, each of which are of equal and independent influence.

In the construction of standardized ability or intelligence

tests, developers seek to have the individual items which make up the test differentiate among the individuals taking the test. Test items are produced so that on some items only half of the people in a particular age group will answer the items accurately. The same population will answer correctly most of the items developed for younger people and will not answer correctly very many of the items developed for older people. In addition, the test items are developed to minimize the correlation among test items. As a consequence, the size of any given test score is determined by many independent responses of equal influence. This fact is obscured by the tendency to think about intelligence as if it were a measurable entity to which numbers can be assigned on a single value scale. Although we tend to think of intelligence as something tangible, it is, in fact, simply a convenient label for the sum of a person's responses to the individual items which make up the test.

Assumptions of test-makers. In approaching the construction of tests, developers assume that all people of a given age have had the same opportunity to develop the capacities being measured. This assumption is buttressed by the related assumption that the abilities being measured are genetically determined. These assumptions are bolstered by the development of tests which are **reliable**. Tests are developed in such a way that any given score does not change its position in relation to other scores over time. In other words, standardized tests are constructed to be insensitive to change (Feuerstein, 1979).

The construction of standardized tests of ability and intelligence proceeds on the basis of assumptions which run counter to the purposes of education. The process of education assumes that people change over time and that the rate and nature of the changes can be affected by systematic instruction. Standardized intelligence tests assume that what people are, today, is what they will be in the future. In other words, most standardized tests assume the inequities among people which they reveal are immutable and will continue to characterize the same individuals in the future.

The technology of standardized testing is of limited utility in improving student performance. It is nevertheless the case that standardized tests of intelligence and ability provide the basis for the comparison of student performances. And, such comparisons have inevitably led to selection. Based upon the notion that one should fit education to the needs of individual students, schools have used standardized tests of ability and intelligence as the means for deciding whether and what types of instruction should be made available to students. Standardized tests have been used as the basis for grouping elementary students within classrooms; for deciding whether secondary students should be allowed to pursue vocational, academic, or commercial programs; and for moving students out of the school system into

the work force.

The use of standardized tests for grouping elementary students within classrooms and streaming them into particular programs at the secondary level is based upon two related assumptions. The first is that there is a connection between student abilities and instructional method or program. The second assumption is that student achievement can be maximized if students of different abilities receive different types of instruction. Grouping by "intelligence" and ability has a long record of failure in producing increases in student achievement. Results of studies indicate quite clearly the groups of mixed ability do about as well as groups of students with similar abilities.

The notion of ability grouping is appealing: logic seems to dictate that teachers can teach most effectively when differences in student ability are minimal. However, several authoritative reviews suggest that ability grouping *per se* is unlikely to have a positive effect on student achievement. In fact, the typical results are that such grouping has no effect or only a minor positive effect on the achievement of students in the high-ability classes, but has clearly negative effects on the achievement and attitudes of students assigned to low ability classes. (Good & Brophy, 1984, p.273-274)

The opportunities of students from working class backgrounds in Britain, the United States, and Canada have been restricted by the use of standardized tests which tend to reinforce the disadvantages imposed by their economic background. By confirming the limitations imposed by background conditions, standardized tests make it more difficult for children from working class origins to reverse their economic situations through access to educational opportunities. Because people's lives are affected by the educational opportunities that are made available to (or withheld from) them, the decision to provide or withhold certain opportunities on the basis of standardized test scores becomes a political and economic decision.

The British "Eleven Plus" examination provides a clear example of the way tests have been used to determine which type of education the students would receive. Following the Second World War a tripartite system of secondary education was established and a battery of tests was administered to all students in publicly financed education. Students who performed well on the examination went on to the grammar schools which offered an academic curriculum leading to a professional occupation. Students who performed less well were assigned to technical schools which offered a curriculum leading to skilled technical occupations. The students who performed least well, by far the

largest group of students, were assigned to secondary modern schools which offered a general curriculum that was designed to prepare them for the unskilled jobs they were expected to fill.

Conclusions

During most of this century, examinations were used in such a way as to control access to the secondary and post-secondary education for the majority of students in Canada. The demands of working class and immigrant groups for better and more education were blunted by the use of standardized tests. The "scientific" status of these tests provided justification for the restriction of educational opportunities. Today, the practice of making opportunities available on the basis of what are typically regarded as in-born abilities is as strong as it was a half-century ago.

All students should have access, within the constraints of what a given school can offer, to a program of studies that is challenging, **yet appropriate to their needs, abilities, and aspirations.** (B.C. Ministry of Education, 1984, p.10)

Today, members of particular ethnic and economic groups are consistently over-represented in some programs and under-represented in others. In Canada, participation rates in post-secondary education differ substantially by social class and region, revealing an inequitable distribution of opportunity for young people from different backgrounds (Guppy, 1984).

When the basis for educational decisions rests upon information provided by standardized tests of intelligence and ability, we can be certain that the inferences being drawn from the test data are influenced by some estimation of the person within an economic, political, or social frame of reference. Because of their bias in favour of white, middle-class students and their use in determining the opportunities available to students in school and people in the workforce, standardized tests have helped to perpetuate discrimination against people from low income and minority backgrounds and to preserve existing social inequalities.

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Frames, Minds, and Human Intelligence:

A review essay

Howard Gardner.

FRAMES OF MIND: THE THEORY OF MULTIPLE INTELLIGENCES.

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xvi 440 pp. \$23.50 hardcover; \$11.95 paper.

Intelligence is one of those elusive words which for centuries has plagued efforts to speak precisely about human achievement. While observers have long recognized the complex nature of intelligence, progress towards meaningful discourse has suffered from the failure to develop an adequate theoretical basis for the concept's employment in the language. Howard Gardner's **Frames of Mind: The Theory of Multiple Intelligences** is a significant advancement in the direction of such a theory.

Frames of Mind is Gardner's seventh book since the appearance of his **The Quest for Mind** in 1973. While in many respects a synthesis of Gardner's work, it is also seminal in its multidisciplinary and macrocosmic approach to the problem it treats: the question of how the human mind works. Gardner, a MacArthur Prize Fellow associated with Harvard University, the Boston University School of Medicine, and the Boston Veterans Administration Medical Center, draws upon several domains of knowledge, particularly psychology, biology, and anthropology, in his treatment of this **mysterium tremendum** called intelligence. This he does in a non-technical, highly readable argument which advances the debate over the nature of intelligence considerably beyond the conventional issues of information-processing, psychometric theory, symbol systems, and I.Q. The result is a reduction of intelligence to seven possible types, which he classifies as "human intelligences". These categories, which he takes to be logically exclusive of each other except, with qualification, in the cases of the last two, include linguistic

intelligence, musical intelligence, logical-mathematical intelligence, spatial intelligence, bodily-kinesthetic intelligence, and two kinds of personal intelligence: intrapersonal and interpersonal. Each type is characterized through the utilization of evidence and examples drawn from a range of diverse fields of knowledge. The book, like Gaul, is divided into three parts: Background (four chapters), The Theory (eight chapters), and Implications and Applications (two chapters).

Gardner's theory falls generally within a two-hundred year tradition (notwithstanding such religio-classical statements as the seven knowledges of the Upanishads or the Apostle Paul's elaboration of God's gifts to man as outlined in I Corinthians 12, verses 8-11) traceable to Franz Joseph Gall and Joseph Spurzheim, the phrenologists who based the ostensible differences in human potential on certain suppositions about the size and shape of the brain as discerned through differences in human skulls. In this same tradition were the theories of L.L.Thurstone, the psychometrician, who argued in favour of a "family" of some seven primary mental abilities, and J.P. Guilford, who identified 120 "vectors" of the mind. Against such models is that of the British psychologist, Charles Spearman, who postulated an overriding, general "g" factor generic to all forms of intelligence and measurable through the use of tests. In retrospect, it is not surprising that such blindly empirical and decidedly microscopic views would give way to a broader notion of intelligence, as they did to the "structuralist" model of the Swiss psychologist, Jean Piaget. It was Piaget who illustrated the inadequacies of the Binet-Simon program through his theory of general structures of the mind explainable through a concept of cognitive development operating under the control of stage theory.

Interestingly, Gardner argues that,

Piaget's model of development assumes relatively less importance in non-Western and pre-literate contexts, and may, in fact, be applicable only to a minority of individuals, even in the West. The steps entailed in achieving other forms of competence -- those of an artist, a lawyer, an athlete, or a political leader -- are ignored in Piaget's monolithic emphasis upon a certain form of thinking". (p.20)

Indeed, contends Gardner, only through a broadly anthropological perspective do the employment of psychology and biology yield a meaningful theory of mind.

From the popular quarter, no doubt, the immediate interest in Gardner's book will be in his choice of intelligences and in the anthropological data utilized in their support. For example, one cannot help but find intriguing his argument for spatial intelligence, in which Gardner discusses a number of loosely

imagery and then to transform that imagery; the capacity to produce a graphic likeness of spatial information; and the like" (p.176). The isolation of these capacities in the individual is illustrated through the example of remarkable drawings from an autistic child. Anthropologically, they are illustrated through such cases as the Puluwat natives of the Caroline Islands, whose remarkable navigational skills continue to fill Western-trained navigators with awe, and the Eskimos, whose spatial abilities are approaching legendary proportions as some "60 percent of Eskimo youngsters reach as high a score on tests of spatial ability as the top ten percent of Caucasian children" (p.202).

The examples with which Gardner illustrates other forms of intelligence are equally intriguing, though philosophically, it is doubtful that anyone will spend much time attacking his theses that intellectual abilities are multiple and complex in nature, or that the concept of intelligence, as defined by the conventional instruments associated with its measurement, is grossly inadequate. Indeed, Gardner emphasizes that ". . . there is not, and there can never be, a single irrefutable and universally acceptable list of human intelligences" (p.60). But, for him, this hardly justifies pessimism in the quest for a more defensible classification of human intellectual competencies. Indeed, we should proceed for the following reasons.

Because there is much recent evidence emerging from scientific research, cross-cultural observations, and educational study which stands in need of review and organization; and, perhaps above all, because it seems within our grasp to come up with a list of intellectual strengths which will prove useful for a wide range of researchers and practitioners and will enable them (and us) to communicate more effectively about this curiously seductive entity called the intellect. In other words, the synthesis that we seek can never be all things for all people, but it holds promise of providing some things for many interested parties. (p.60)

Having thus qualified (and perhaps weakened) his case with what amounts to disclaimers (there can never be. . .) and a tautology (something for everyone), Gardner sets forth what he calls the prerequisites of an intelligence, of which he claims there are two, and the criteria of an intelligence, of which he claims there are eight. Accordingly, the prerequisites have to do with "the kinds of abilities valued by human cultures (for) we must account for the skills of a shaman and a psychoanalyst as well as of a yogi and a saint" (p.62).

For Gardner, the prerequisites of an intelligence are (i) that what he terms an "intellectual competence" must entail a set of skills of problem solving -- enabling the individual to resolve genuine problems or difficulties that he or she encounters and,

when appropriate, to create an effective product -- and (ii) that it must also entail the potential for finding or creating problems -- thereby laying the groundwork for the acquisition of new knowledge. The point of these prerequisites is to recognize the importance of the role played by general culture and cultural context on the meaning of intelligence (pp. 60-61). Gardner seeks here to justify his notion that intelligence in any of its variant forms is not an *a priori* matter, but is to be understood in terms of some kind of mental abilities complex set within a particular cultural context. This means that a particular intellectual capacity might fail to qualify as a discretely recognized intelligence under certain cultural conditions, while in a different culture it might well qualify. Gardner gives examples, such as (i) the ability to recognize faces, and (ii) the acute use of sensory systems, as in the possession of keen gustatory or olfactory senses. Gardner maintains that

Other abilities that are certainly central in human intercourse also do not qualify. For instance, the ability used by a scientist, a religious leader, or a politician are of great importance. Yet, because these cultural roles can (by hypothesis) be broken down into collections of particular competencies, they do not themselves qualify as intelligences. From the opposite end of analysis, many skills tested for perennially by psychologists -- ranging from recall of nonsense syllables to production of unusual associations -- fail to qualify, for they emerge as the contrivances of an experimenter rather than as skills valued by a culture. (p.61)

It seems plain that Gardner is correct, at least hypothetically, in his identification of these prerequisites (or, as philosophers might call them, "conditions") for the presence of an intelligence. But his case is weakened considerably by his lack of argument on their behalf. For example, if we are to accept the necessity of culture and its complex of values as a condition for an attendant intelligence, it is presumptuous to rule out the skills of a politician or a religious leader. Such may well be the case if we assume the meanings attached to political and religious leaders in modern, industrial societies, but this is not necessarily true of primitive or aboriginal societies. One has only to conjure up images of certain "political" leaders among nineteenth-century American Indian tribes, such as Cochise of the Chiricahua Apaches, who, though he inherited his position of leadership from his father, personified the attributes of Chiricahua intelligence through the exercise of his leadership; or Sitting Bull, Chief of the Hunkpapa Sioux and the most famed of the Sioux chiefs, who was both a religious and a political leader. It was he who gained the deference of the entire Sioux nation because of what surely was understood in his culture as the supreme example of intelligence. As one member of his own band noted, with stark

simplicity, "Sitting Bull is 'big medicine'." The point is simply that Gardner cannot a **priori** rule out as an intelligence those abilities associated with political and religious leadership if he is to argue the necessity of a cultural prerequisite or condition for the presence and meaning of an intelligence.

Gardner makes passing reference to other "efforts to nominate and detail essential intelligences, ranging from the medieval trivium and quadrivium to psychologist Larry Gross's list of five modes of communication (lexical, social-gestural, iconic, logico-mathematical, and musical). . ." (p.61). Surprisingly, he includes Paul Hirst's list of forms of knowledge as such an effort, contending that on an a **priori** basis, Hirst's forms and the other aforementioned efforts constitute acceptable classifications which indeed may prove crucial for certain purposes. But as a **priori** schemes, Gardner asserts, they fail the essential test for an empirically grounded set of faculties of intelligence. While neither Hirst nor his critics would wish to claim that his forms of knowledge are intended as intelligences by any stretch of their meaning, Gardner is mistaken in his understanding of them as a **priori**. Hirst is quite careful to explicate his forms as a **posteriori** lest they be taken in some Platonic or Kantian sense. Indeed, it is not at all clear why Gardner even brings up such knowledge classifications as the trivium and quadrivium, or Hirst's forms, since their object is knowledge, not intelligence.

Basic to Gardner's thesis is what he terms the criteria of an intelligence, which he presents in unordered fashion as the eight "signs" of an intelligence. In his words,

Here I outline those considerations that have weighed most heavily in the present effort, those desiderata on which I have come to rely in an effort to nominate a set of intelligences which seems general and genuinely useful. The very use of the work **signs** signals that this undertaking must be provisional: I do not include something merely because it exhibits one or two of the signs, nor do I exclude a candidate intelligence just because it fails to qualify on each and every account. Rather, the effort is to sample as widely as possible among the various criteria and to include within the ranks of the chosen intelligences those candidates that fare the best. Following the suggestive model of the computer scientist Oliver Selfridge, we might think of these signs as a group of demons, each of which will holler when an intelligence resonates with that demon's "demand characteristics". When enough demons holler, an intelligence is included; when enough of them withhold approbation, the intelligence is, if regrettably, banished from consideration. (p.62)

These criteria include potential isolation by brain damage;

the existence of idiot savants, prodigies, and other exceptional individuals; an identifiable core operation or set of operations; a distinctive developmental history, along with a definable set of "end-state" performances; an evolutionary history and evolutionary plausibility; support from experimental psychological tasks; support from psychometric findings; and susceptibility to encoding in a symbol system.

Unfortunately, Gardner is unable to offer a satisfactory model for the utilization of these criteria. As he admits, their employment is quite subjective in that we do not know how to bring them to any clear and objective use. Moreover, the criteria are insufficiently differentiated, some a function of purely biological consideration, others a function of the social sciences. Questions loom, such as, "Are the criteria of equal weight in determining an intelligence?" Stated differently, "Are they only nominally different, or are they hierarchical in their interrelationships?" Finally, even if we were able to agree that, say, three or four of them are sufficient to justify an intelligence, "How are these to be used as instruments of measure?" At best, Gardner offers what amounts to a general hypothesis about multiple intelligences rather than a useful theory, even one of description.

While he takes intelligences to be derived **a posteriori** through the prism of culture, Gardner is remarkably Aristotelian in his notion that "intelligences should be thought of as entities at a certain level of generality, broader than highly specific computational mechanisms (like line detection) while narrower than the most general capacities, like analysis, synthesis, or a sense of self (if any of these can be shown to exist apart from combinations of specific intelligence). . . . It is thus a mistake to try to compare intelligences on all particulars; each must be thought of as its own system with its own rules" (p.68). All of this is conceptually quite unsettling, for Gardner seems to be positing something akin to a structuralist explanation for any intelligence while rejecting the proposition that "particulars" are either logically or ontologically prior to an intelligence. If the structuralist assumption may be said to suffer with the assignation of (say) musical intelligence to an idiot savant, it is also logically inappropriate if one is to assign to an intelligence the conceptual status of an entity apart from the assemblage of particulars that constitute its basis. Linguistically, at least, Ockham's Razor would seem to be a most helpful tool in resolving this issue. Yet, Gardner's concern is not so much with the ways that words like intelligence, giftedness, creativity, knowledge, abilities, skills, and other cognates function in any culturo-linguistic context, but is instead concerned with ". . . the various intelligences chiefly as 'sets of know-how' -- procedures for doing things" (p.69).

Howard Gardner's thesis that intelligence is a multi-faceted concept is **prima facie** valid, and his book is a most valuable

hypothesis, but a hypothesis at best. The overriding problem involved in understanding this hypothesis as it is presented is, however, not an empirical one, but is clearly philosophical, requiring an adjustment in the basic construct. Gardner's thesis breaks down at the point of his (correct) identification of culture with problem identification and problem solving. These are necessary conditions for the presence of an intelligence. Ostensibly, cultures, which include very different languages, are so entirely divergent at any point in time that it becomes necessary to examine the meanings of intelligence as they are culturally couched in language. Failing this, assumptions surrounding the idea of intelligence in one cultural context, however liberal and enlightened, will inevitably find their way, however tacitly, into the search for intelligence's meaning(s) in other cultures. Anthropology and language study are essential tools in the resolution of this problem, but they must be philosophically employed. Until this is done, we cannot attach meaning to such statements as that of the Hunkpapa Sioux tribesman who noted that "Sitting Bull is 'big medicine'."

Nonetheless, **Frames of Mind** stands as a new benchmark from which discussions of human intelligence must proceed. Howard Gardner is to be applauded for planting the seeds of an original theory of the human mind, one which is certain to elevate future dialogue considerably beyond the level that has hitherto characterized so much of the debate surrounding intelligence.



Book Reviews

Elliot W. Eisner.

**THE EDUCATIONAL IMAGINATION:
ON THE DESIGN AND EVALUATION OF SCHOOL PROGRAMS.
Second Edition.**

New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1985.

386 pp. \$41.45.

In *The Educational Imagination*, Elliot Eisner discusses curriculum development and, to some extent, evaluation and research from a wide variety of perspectives. This book is not intended to be a guide for the designer, the evaluator or the researcher, but it is intended to provoke thought about the fundamental assumptions and issues inherent in the curriculum field. The author raises questions and rarely proposes single solutions; the reader is taken through a stimulating and sometimes frustrating analysis of the educational system.

Eisner carefully defines and distinguishes among kinds of curricula and the assumptions, values, and perspectives underlying each approach. He places the field of curriculum development in its historical and social context. The process of curriculum planning is discussed in some detail, including the roles various institutions and individuals most often play. Considerable attention is paid to the role of the teacher; teaching, evaluation, and even educational research are portrayed as artistic endeavors. Five examples of educational criticism (a form of evaluation or qualitative research modelled on art criticism) are provided to highlight this perspective.

Overall, *The Educational Imagination* is a thoughtful and readable analysis of the area of curriculum development. It is important, at this time, to emphasize the complexity of the teaching and learning process, and to consider the assumptions underlying our approaches to the design and evaluation of curricula. During the 1970s, educational research, teacher training, and graduate programs in education attempted to emulate "scientific" approaches. As a result, the best research was seen to be that which employed an experimental design, carefully controlling for all "variables" (individual student and teacher

differences; environmental differences) and examining the effect of a specific treatment. At the same time, teaching materials were carefully and systematically developed, yielding step-by-step hierarchical designs with criterion-referenced measures of mastery at each step. Educators are now beginning to realize that in our attempt to be scientific and to create a technology of teaching we have perhaps overlooked much that is important in education.

On the other hand, it is essential that we do not discard the gains that were made through the scientific or systematic approaches and Eisner is, at times, in danger of encouraging this. He argues, for example, against the use of behavioural objectives on the grounds that they do not describe more complex types of student learning. At the end of one section on the limitations of objectives, we find the statement, "The multiple choice test is simply not adequate for everything" (p.116). This illustrates the implication, found throughout the book, that the systematic design of instruction leads to an assembly line type of approach which may be suitable for training programs, but not for education.

If the reader takes care not to be persuaded to discard all course objectives and burn all the educational research journals, **The Educational Imagination** is likely to provide some valuable insight into the processes of curriculum design and evaluation.

P.A. Cranton
McGill University

R.D. Kellough and P.L. Roberts.
A RESOURCE GUIDE FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS:
PLANNING FOR COMPETENCE.
New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1985.
512 pp.

This resource guide for elementary school teachers is a sensible handbook for beginning teachers and teacher educators. The volume is concerned with the whole aspect of teaching competency and how to develop the skills needed to be considered "a competent professional". As in other texts of this genre there are the usual chapters about planning instruction, writing and classifying instructional objectives, and dealing with classroom management situations. These are cohesively presented with practical examples for teachers' use. However, unlike the book **Classroom teaching skills** by Cooper et al. (1982, Heath Pub.), a well known guide to teaching, this new resource book includes three chapters with handy instructional guidelines for the teaching of reading, writing, computers, science, the arts, physical education, and a foreign language. Additionally, each chapter is followed by appropriate questions for class or group discussion and a selected list of readings and references on the topic of the chapter. A good example of the usefulness of this guide is the excellent chapter on looking for a job and on writing a resume as

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well as on how to prepare for an interview.

Unfortunately this guide is American in origin and conception and various suggested applications may not be appropriate for Canadian teachers. In particular, there is a list of state credential requirements. Nevertheless, Canadian educators using this volume in teacher training programs could easily provide student teachers with an updated list of Provincial requirements for employment as teachers. For those educators who wish to plan for competence in teaching, this guide is a sensible, pragmatic tool which could be of value to student teachers or practicing elementary school teachers.

Lila F. Wolfe
McGill University

André Lacocque, Pierre-Emmanuel Lacocque.
THE JONAH COMPLEX.
Atlanta, GA.: John Knox Press, 1981.
168 pp.

Mircea Eliade, in his forward to this book, points up that it is the interdisciplinary approach -- from textual criticism and theology to contemporary psychologies and historical events -- which confers a unique value on this work. Further, the authors, in their preface, state that one of their aims is to demonstrate that existential psychology in cross-cultural rapport with biblical disciplines is able to provide a language that can be understood by our contemporaries.

But is Jonah a theological pamphlet or a psychological symbolic tale? The authors see Jonah as a biblical narrative in story form asking of the exegete to be more than a biblical theologian; of the literary critic or psychologist to reach beyond the usual boundaries of those disciplines. Further, Jonah can be read only if the *Sitz im Leben*, the historical setting in life, be carefully pondered.

André and Pierre-Emmanuel Lacocque present us first with their translation of the four short chapters of the Book of Jonah. In the nine sharply focused chapters of their book they take us through the genre and setting of the Book of Jonah, its nature as symbolic narrative, then into four chapters analysing the question facing Jonah, and finally two last chapters analysing the call in Jonah and in each of us, to authenticity, and a final examination of the Jonah Complex. A brief yet comprehensive summary concludes the work.

The authors' key concern is stated early, on the page facing the table of contents, in a quote from Father Mapple's sermon in Moby Dick:

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The authors' key concern is stated early, on the page facing the table of contents, in a quote from Father Mapple's sermon in Moby Dick:

And if we obey God, we must disobey ourselves, and it is in this disobeying ourselves, wherein the hardness of obeying God consists.

The setting for the narrative and problem is relatively clear cut. Jonah is asked by God to go to Nineveh to proclaim that her evil has flown in God's face. But Jonah sets sail rather to Tarshish not understanding God's concern for the Ninevites and seeming indifference to the plight of the Israelites. God intervenes (the episode of the whale), and again entreats Jonah to arise and to go to Nineveh. The Ninevites repented, risking that God's anger might change to mercy. God indeed relented. Jonah remains resentful and perplexed.

Two lines of thought and question proceed from this: the one regarding God's treatment of Israel and "other nations" symbolized in Nineveh, and Jonah's mystification in the face of this brand of justice; the other dealing with Jonah's sense of vocation and response seen as a question facing Everyman.

These two lines of thought find their marriage in the carefully considered study in chapters 3 to 6 examining the development from anonymity to calling, the emergence from numbness to meaning, the delicate balance of faith and doubt, and the sensitive study of God's and our interpretation of justice.

Jonah is faced with a call, as we all are, with the struggle involved in hearing the "inner" and "outer" voices. The authors point out that the Jonah in us wishes rather to regress to the motherly womb (the sea, the whale's belly), i.e. to a stage before an existential decision must be made. He still prefers the uncertainty of a perilous escape to "Tarshish" to the mysterium tremendum of God's revelation and of human performativeness. Rather to die than to become. Rather the hate of the Ninevites than the love of God.

The Ninevites, sinful, were chastised, confronted, yet despite appearances they intuited that there was a way out of the impasse. "Who knows whether God will not turn and repent and turn away from his fierce anger that we perish not?" Here, it is the nonspeculative "who knows?" that people of hope oppose to hopelessness, speaking God's very language.

The last major tableau of the book dwells on the call to authenticity as mirrored in Jonah, and recognizable in us all, i.e. a move beyond self-actualization to self-transcendence, a voice, an outer voice that utters a commandment to go, to leave a given situation in order to enter another one that will be revealed in the very process of obedience. In surrendering to the beloved One, Jonah passes from anonymity to the stage of the authentic self.

The temptation to run away is the "Jonah-and-the-whale" complex. The Jonah Complex moves to the authentic by death to the inner voice, despite pain and lack of full insight. Our authors quote Abraham Maslow:

Each step forward is a step into the unfamiliar and possibly dangerous. It also means giving up something familiar and good and satisfying.

The Jonah Complex is a fear of actualizing one's vocation, i.e. to serve God, rejecting the sublime and sacred in life. The resolution comes in listening to the outer voice, shifting one's fascination with oneself to a level of full humanness and respect for life. Albert Schweitzer is quoted:

The highest knowledge is to know that we are surrounded by mystery.

The study eventually leads us to consider God's invitation to the seemingly unjust decision to pardon the Ninevites, and Jonah's complex before this awesome and mysterious self-fulfillment. We find ourselves wrestling with the mystery of God's ways and the psychological realities of our response before life-oriented decisions.

This book is a brief but clear and provocative statement of two unique yet intimately connected issues presented temptingly to those of us who choose to dwell on, and are comfortable with, archetypal questions where the disciplines of psychology and theology may meet. The study is truly "a mirror of our souls".

The book plan knows clarity and precision, the chapters exhibit exquisite unity. Documentation is thorough; an excellent bibliography and index are provided.

Thomas A. Francoeur
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.

Brazier, Paul. (1985). Art history in education: An annotated bibliography and history. London, England: Heinemann Educational Books. 72 pp. \$10.

Canadian Educational Association. (1985). The school calendar 1985-1986. Opening and closing dates, number of working days and prescribed holidays in Canada. Toronto: Canadian Educational Association. 12 pp. \$4.00.

Canadian Education Association. (1985). Mainstreaming: Some issues for school boards. Toronto: Canadian Education Association. 36 pp. \$4.00.

Cooper, Jan, Rick Evans, Elizabeth Robertson. (1984). Teaching college students to read analytically: An individualized approach. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. 59 pp. \$5.00; Members, \$4.50.

Daum, David, and Carol Morey. (1985). TOEFL preparation. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd. Teachers handbook: 83 pp. Student workbook: 108 pp.

Friesen, John W. (1985). When cultures clash: Case studies in multiculturalism. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd. 171 pp.

Harvey, Brian. (1985). Computer science logo style: Intermediate programming. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press. 319 pp. \$19.95.

Myers, Miles. (1985). The teacher-researcher: How to study writing in the classroom. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. 177 pp. \$13.00; Members, \$10.00.

Gouvernement du Québec. (1985). Terminologie de l'éducation. Québec: Ministère de l'Éducation. 108 pp.

Willinsky, John. (1985). The well-tempered tongue: The politics of standard English in the high school. New York: Peter Lang Publishing. 163 pp. \$23.20.

Vancouver: Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction,
University of British Columbia, 1984.
(By Roger Magnuson, 93)

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- Adelman, Clem, Ed.
Uttering, Muttering. Collecting, Using, and Reporting Talk for Social and Educational Research.
 London: Grant McIntyre, 1981.
 (By Chris McCormick, 99)
- Akmajian, Adrian, Richard A. Demers, Robert M. Harnish.
Linguistics: An Introduction to Language and Communication. (Second edition).
 Cambridge, Mass: M.I.T. Press, 1984.
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- Bercuson, David J., Robert Bothwell, J.L. Granatstein.
**The Great Brain Robbery:
 Canada's Universities on the Road to Ruin.**
 Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1984.
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Résumés

Two Myths in New France Education Roger Magnuson

Cet article s'écarte de deux croyances traditionnelles sur les débuts de l'éducation canadienne en suggérant que l'éducation des filles égalait ou surpassait même celle des garçons et que les Récollets faisaient peu d'apprentissage.

Voice in Writing Nicholas J. Aversa Michael Tritt

Il est nécessaire d'explicitier le concept de "voix dans l'écriture". Les théoriciens de "l'optique processus" (romantiques) considèrent que la "voix" est une qualité essentielle mais nébuleuse de la bonne écriture. Les rhétoriciens (classicistes) d'autre part, sont capables de préciser les caractéristiques du langage qui constituent la "voix". Les enseignants qui s'occupent de ces caractéristiques rhétoriques seront mieux en mesure de faire des observations sur la "voix" dans les devoirs de leurs élèves, car ils disposent d'une plus grande masse de données à ce sujet. L'écrivain choisit un masque et s'invente un public. De par sa manipulation du langage, il arrive à contrôler la "voix" qu'il souhaite présenter à son lecteur.

Faculty and Curriculum Development: Réal Boulianne **A McGill project in Ecuador** Cynthia Weston

Les auteurs ont passé quelque 30 semaines à l'Universidad de Guayaquil en Équateur entre 1983 et 1985. Ce projet, financé par l'Agence Canadienne de Développement International, avait pour but de parfaire l'enseignement universitaire et d'amorcer une réforme des programmes d'études. Au cours de ces trois années, sept cours de perfectionnement professionnel ont été offerts aux professeurs de sciences de l'éducation, de médecine, de génie et d'architecture. On a conçu les bases de deux centres visant à

parfaire l'enseignement universitaire. On a d'autre part préparé une enquête importante pour évaluer les programmes d'études de la Facultad de Filosofía, Letras y Ciencias de la Educación. D'après ces résultats, plusieurs recommandations sur les changements à apporter aux programmes ont été formulées et des mesures préliminaires ont été prises pour mettre le programme en route.

**Personal Journal Writing:
Selecting the ethnographic
method for enquiry**

Darren E. Lund

Après avoir déterminé le besoin de recherches complémentaires sur le processus d'écriture, notamment en ce qui a trait à l'écriture expressive qui apparaît dans les journaux intimes, le chercheur a exposé ses hypothèses personnelles au sujet de certaines des valeurs de ce monde d'expression. L'optique ethnographique de la recherche est présentée, les principes et les hypothèses clés servant de base à l'analyse de plusieurs études qualitatives particulières du processus de composition. Les remarques sur l'à-propos de cette démarche pour l'écriture personnelle ont abouti à la conclusion qu'une optique ethnographique est essentielle à la justification de la nature éminemment interactive et subjective de la rédaction d'un journal.

**The Social and Educational
Consequences of Standardized
Testing: A point of view**

Charles S. Ungerleider

Les tests normalisés occupent une place prédominante dans l'éducation canadienne depuis les années 1920, ce qui a toujours eu une incidence sur les chances des Canadiens en matière d'éducation, d'emploi et de bonheur. Cet article porte sur les fondements historiques et sociologiques du mouvement pro-tests et sur ses répercussions sur les gens dont la vie est affectée par les tests qu'on leur fait subir.

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Intending authors should realize that the **Journal's** readership extends well beyond the ranks of academics and professionals in education to which they are likely to belong. While the content of an article is expected to stand up under the scrutiny of specialists in its field - during the process of review before its acceptance for publication - its language and tone should **not** follow the conventions of scholarly writing in such a way as to shut out the non-specialist. (Unless they are of exceptional clarity, the **Journal** does not normally accept articles intended for specialist audiences alone.) The terminology employed should be accessible to intelligent lay readers; and notes, tables, and other apparatus of the formal paper should be omitted or else kept to the minimum necessary for the purposes of an interested reader. In short, the **Journal** asks for the lucidity that is a hallmark of the expert.

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All such contributions should be addressed to the Editor, McGill Journal of Education, 3700 McTavish Street, Montreal, Quebec, Canada H3A 1Y2.

Les futurs auteurs doivent comprendre que les lecteurs du **Journal** dépassent largement le groupe de spécialistes et de professionnels de l'enseignement dont font partie les auteurs. Bien que le contenu d'un article doive être en mesure de supporter l'examen des spécialistes dans le domaine - au cours de l'étape de révision précédant l'acceptation du texte destiné à la publication - la langue et le ton ne devraient **pas** suivre les règles de la rédaction savante au point d'être hermétique aux non spécialistes. (A moins qu'ils ne soient d'une limpidité exceptionnelle, le **Journal** n'accepte normalement pas d'articles destinés à un auditoire composé uniquement de spécialistes.) La terminologie utilisée doit être accessible aux lecteurs intelligents mais profanes; les notes, tableaux et autres éléments en retrait du texte doivent être omis ou du moins réduits au minimum pour répondre à l'intérêt du lecteur. En d'autres termes, le **Journal** demande aux auteurs de faire preuve de la lucidité qui est un trait propre aux spécialistes.

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