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MJE

The M^cGill Journal of Education

Updating Skills for Effective Leadership

William L. Johnson

Karolyn J. Snyder

Les parents et la micro-informatique scolaire

Avigdor Farine

Christophe Hopper

Human Rights and Educational Policies

Douglas Ray



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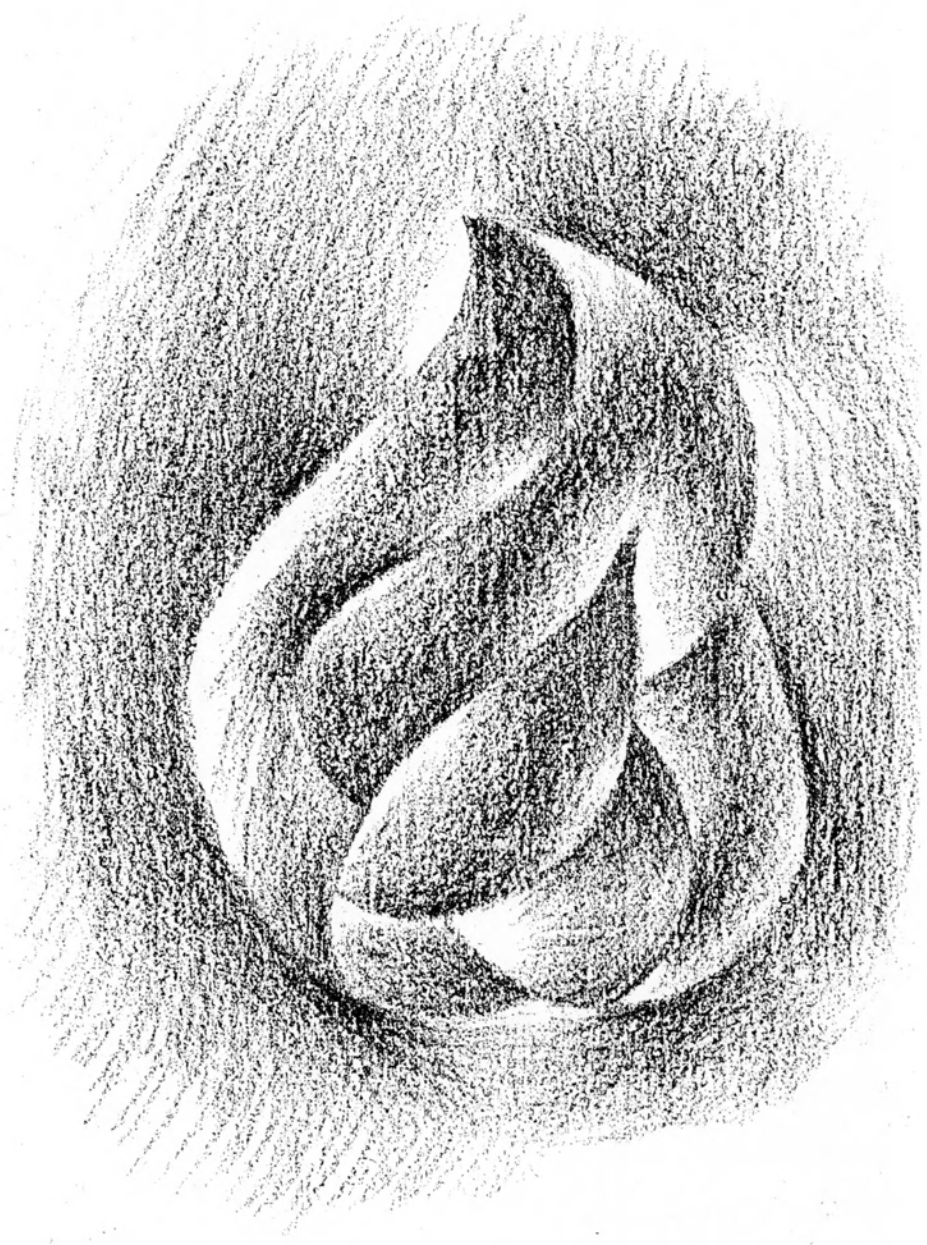
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Editorial

Highlighting Canadian Educational Issues

It is seldom that in one issue we examine so many of the critical issues that are unique in many ways to Canadian education. Canadian content in the curriculum, the effects of human rights legislation on educational policies, and the role and place of religious education in the schools are some of the topics examined in this volume.

Professors Silva, Pupo, and Green have written an enlightening critique of the Symons Report which was commissioned by the AUCC to examine the ramifications and effects of appointing to Canadian universities large numbers of foreign scholars, particularly in relation to its effect on Canadian content of studies in Canadian universities. To say the least, their careful analysis of this report and the eventual reactions (or non-reactions) of Canadian educators raises questions about the mission and usefulness of special commissions.

The national sensitivity to human rights and the long range outcomes on legislation that effect school policy and curriculum are carefully documented and expanded upon by Professor Ray. His attempt to clarify the uses and misuses of human rights advocacy on school policy sensitizes us to how powerful a tool human rights legislation can be.

Religious education in the schools, especially in Quebec, definitely is a sensitive topic for many people. Mr. McKay presents a sensible and logical approach to develop a framework for teaching about religion in the schools. Rightfully so, he emphasizes that religion is embedded in our culture and has a profound effect on the lives of many of our students; thus the topic cannot be ignored.

Professors Farine and Hopper, and Professors Johnson and Snyder, "top off" this issue with current and relevant topics in education today. It is important to consider how parents are reacting to the extensive use of computers in the schools of Quebec and elsewhere. There is a definite need, as Johnson and Snyder demonstrate, to develop effective administrative leadership if schools are to fulfill their mission.

The historical examination of the Montreal Mechanic's Institute and its early experiment in adult education, written by Professor Keane, will surely be of interest to those who find the history of Montreal fascinating. In addition to being interesting historical reading, the article gives a boost to the authenticity and usefulness of adult education.

W.M.T.

William L. Johnson
Ambassador College, Texas

Karolyn J. Snyder
University of South Florida

Updating Skills for Effective Leadership

Abstract

This article first provides a definition of instructional leadership which is based on an analysis of effective school studies. That analysis is reported in the basic categories of school improvement planning, staff development, program development, and school assessment. Next, the authors discuss the development of a needs instrument which was designed for school districts to assess their instructional leadership needs. Finally, an assessment of administrators' perceived training needs in three school districts in the Midwestern United States is discussed. The findings are then related to the changing role requirements and training needs of school administrators.

In the past few years, instructional leadership has emerged as a central job thrust for principals. Edmonds (1979) and Austin (1979), for example, conclude from their studies that instructional leadership is a key to an effective school. Moreover, a Rand study (Rand Corp., 1979) reported that principals are powerful enough to prevent or foster any kind of change within their schools, dubbing the principal as the "gate-keeper" of change. There has been a proliferation of studies in recent years confirming that strong instructional leaders are a primary factor in effective schools.

From the growing body of research literature on effective schools, we know that the principals of such schools tend to be strong programmatic leaders. They establish high standards, frequently observe classrooms, and foster a learning environment (Edmonds, 1982).

Even though the research literature corresponds with our intuitions about good schools and effective leadership (Purkey & Smith, 1985), the

potential for error exists. This potential resides in simplistic interpretations concerning the characteristics of instructional leadership. Acquiring or developing instructional leadership within a school requires more than simply exhorting principals to be strong leaders and go forth and lead. In fact, most principals today are simply not prepared to meet the school's needs for instructional leadership (Rallis & Highsmith, 1986).

Considering the difficulty in making sense out of the many studies on instructional leadership, it will be shown that the studies can be grouped and understood more fully in terms of work and management patterns. This article synthesizes the important elements of productive schools in terms of four basic categories: school improvement planning, staff development, program development, and school assessment. Over fifty school studies were analyzed to determine work and management patterns. First, these findings will be reviewed. Second, the details of this research on the training interests of educational leaders in three school districts in the Midwestern United States will be reported.

Research on Instructional Leadership

School improvement planning

An analysis of various research reports verifies that goal oriented school planning exists in successful schools and is collaborative in nature. Planning tasks include setting school improvement goals which relate to instruction, assigning goal-tasks to teams who plan and carry out their plans collectively, and holding individual teachers accountable for their role in the school's success (Brookover & Lezotte, 1979; Glenn, 1981; Lieberman & Miller, 1978).

Staff development

Staff development programs, which are school-based and linked to improvement goals, are the most effective programs. In successful schools, staff development is viewed as an essential variable to improvement efforts and is planned by teachers and administrators together to address skills that are transferable to the classroom (Glenn, 1981; Lieberman & Miller, 1978; Miller & Wolf, 1978). Clinical supervision, in-service training and performance planning, and evaluation of staff are examples of staff development programs.

Program development

In effective schools, administrators communicate instructional standards to teachers, and coordinate schoolwide curriculum, instruction,

and testing. Teachers plan and carry out programs together, providing a climate of high achievement expectations for all students. The instructional program is characterized by adaptability and consistency in general and by clear and timely instructional cues, reinforcement, correctives, and feedback by active student participation (Coulson, 1977; Klausmeier, 1982; Marcus *et al.*, 1976).

School assessment

Furthermore, administrators in successful schools develop a school wide accountability model. Measures of schoolwide productivity are evidenced in student achievement gains, work group productivity, and staff behaviour and performance. Students in effective schools are recognized for their accomplishments (Brookover & Lezotte, 1979). Interestingly, researchers have reported virtually nothing about teacher evaluation systems which correlate to any extent with achievement gains.

It is not surprising that, in many studies conducted over the past several decades, educational leaders continually reported their initial administrative training programs limited both in content and methodology, and that such programs addressed school maintenance functions. Further, on-the-job learning appears to be a major source of influence on task performance. Knowledge and skills for effective leadership are either fragmented and piecemeal or are lacking altogether in in-service training programs (Pitner, 1982). Staff development programs for the administrative team tend to respond only briefly to current topics, ignoring emerging basic skills and knowledge. What is needed is a combination of certification and in-service programs for school leaders which provide topic overviews and, more importantly, the basic skills for effective school leadership.

Methodology

In an effort to determine particular skill needs of principals in school districts, a needs assessment questionnaire was developed. Administrative training desires were assessed in seven areas: 1) planning for school growth; 2) the principalship; 3) personal awareness; 4) creative problem solving; 5) staff development; 6) the school as a system; and 7) collaborative long range planning. These subscales and a brief content description of each follows.

The category **planning for school growth** focused on the principal's personal school planning tasks and included organizational analysis and action planning dimensions. The next category, **principalship**, consisted of questions expressing concerns for school leadership, planning, organizing, motivating staff, and controlling school activities. The **personal awareness**

category addressed personal interests about personality characteristics, self-concept, and administrative style effectiveness and their effect upon job performance. The fourth category, **creative problem solving**, addressed techniques and processes which can be used in solving real school problems in a collaborative mode. Fifth, **staff development** questioned needs relating to in-service training, clinical supervision, performance planning, and evaluation for staff members. Sixth, **the school as a system**, addressed questions about environmental factors, such as federal, state, community, parental, and district pressures, and factors which are internal to the school such as students, programs, achievement levels, and staff competency. Finally, a **collaborative long range planning** category included questions about procedures for schoolwide goal setting, team level action planning, monitoring, and evaluation of school goal success. The questions from all seven categories were then randomly assigned to the survey instrument.

Sampling procedures

The number of cases used in the instrument validation was 442. This number was arrived at by having at least five times as many subjects as try-out items (Lemke & Wiersma, 1976; Nunnally, 1970). The respondents were elementary, middle, junior high, and secondary principals and assistant principals, superintendents and assistant superintendents, supervisors and curriculum directors from school districts in Arizona, Kansas, Missouri, North Carolina, and Texas.

Instrument analysis

The collected pool of data was submitted to factor and subscale analysis (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner, & Bent, 1975). Instrument validity was established by two methods. First, content validity, which involves essentially the systematic examination of scale content to determine whether it covers a representative sample of the domain to be measured, was established. This was accomplished in the following manner: each subscale area was reviewed and questions were written which were believed to be representative of the behaviours, attitudes, or characteristics to be measured. Seventy-six questions comprising seven subscales were written. (Representative selection of items and sensible test construction are cited by Nunnally [1967] as the standard means of ensuring content validity [Anastasia, 1976; Ebel, 1956; Huddleston, 1956; Lennon, 1956].)

Next, construct validity, which is the extent to which the test may be said to measure a theoretical construct or trait was established (Anastasi, 1976). Internal consistency of the items (Nunnally, 1967), was arrived at by factor analysis. The factor analysis method employed was principal components. This method was selected as the most appropriate factor

analytic methodology since the study was to investigate the total variation of the scale items without regard to whether the variance was common or unique. Scale items were retained in the instrument only if they had a factor loading greater than or equal to .30. The rule often used in this context is to consider factor loading less than .30 as not substantial (Kim & Mueller, 1978).

In the initial principal components analysis, thirteen factors were extracted using as the criterion eigenvalues greater than 1.0 as the cutoff for extraction of factors. The 76 x 13 factor matrix was next rotated in an attempt to reduce the number of factors. Both oblique and varimax rotations were performed. The factor structures were then reviewed. It was concluded that, as the number of factors to be rotated was reduced from thirteen to seven, the 51 x 7 varimax rotated factor matrix was the more logical. The original 76 questions were hypothesized to be contained in seven subscales. Seven subscales were confirmed in the varimax rotated factor matrix.

Table 1 indicates that 51 items remained in the instrument following the elimination of 25 items suggested as inappropriate by the factor analysis. These 51 items were grouped into seven meaningful components: planning (nineteen questions); the principalship (five questions); personal awareness (six questions); creative problem solving (five questions); staff development (five questions); the school as a system (five questions); and goal setting (six questions).

TABLE 1

Item Numbers, Specific Subscales, and Factor Loadings for the Instrument

Item Number on Instrument	Specific Subscale	Factor Loading
51	Planning	0.53643
19	Planning	0.44132
20	Planning	0.42469
23	Planning	0.56416
28	Planning	0.48922
29	Planning	0.54881
30	Planning	0.40853
31	Planning	0.53440
33	Planning	0.47156
34	Planning	0.43055
35	Planning	0.45006
37	Planning	0.50075

Item Number on Instrument	Specific Subscale	Factor Loading
38	Planning	0.52190
39	Planning	0.65509
40	Planning	0.54036
44	Planning	0.40738
46	Planning	0.53442
48	Planning	0.55914
49	Planning	0.57047
14	Principalship	0.41312
17	Principalship	0.44634
18	Principalship	0.40187
22	Principalship	0.56485
24	Principalship	0.52183
26	Personal Awareness	0.73853
27	Personal Awareness	0.73157
32	Personal Awareness	0.40379
36	Personal Awareness	0.64508
45	Personal Awareness	0.69274
47	Personal Awareness	0.52278
10	Creative Problem Solving	0.64388
11	Creative Problem Solving	0.67645
12	Creative Problem Solving	0.46134
13	Creative Problem Solving	0.45535
15	Creative Problem Solving	0.40104
21	Staff Development	0.41496
41	Staff Development	0.71802
42	Staff Development	0.46332
43	Staff Development	0.71799
50	Staff Development	0.46679
7	School As A System	0.40592
8	School As A System	0.71327
9	School As A System	0.71176
16	School As A System	0.36231
25	School As A System	0.30542
1	Goal Setting	0.53643
2	Goal Setting	0.42218
3	Goal Setting	0.53402
4	Goal Setting	0.46474
5	Goal Setting	0.48904
6	Goal Setting	0.46491

Evaluation of the reliability of the instrument was accomplished through use of the Kuder-Richardson generalized reliability formula, coefficient alpha (Cronbach, 1951; Ebel, 1965; Novick & Lewis, 1967). This formula was appropriate since a Likert scaling format was employed in the instrument form.

The Cronbach alphas for these subscales follow: planning (.94); personal awareness (.86); staff development (.82); the principalship (.82); creative problem solving (.82); goal setting (.82); and the school as a system (.76).

Application of Cronbach's alpha to the 51 questions on the final instrument version yielded a reliability coefficient of .96, which is considerably higher than the minimum value of .50 often cited as necessary for the evaluation of group achievement and slightly larger than the value of .90 cited as necessary for the assessment of individual achievement (Cronbach, 1970). Anastasi (1976) has posited that it is desirable for reliability coefficients to fall in the range of .80s or .90s.

Findings and Discussion

One hundred thirty-eight elementary, middle, and high school principals and assistant principals, as well as some central office supervisors, from three Midwestern American school districts were surveyed. The respondents reported a concern for training in all the areas surveyed. Participants were expected to select a range of six levels of need: "One" indicated no desire for training; "Six" indicated a desire for assistance with school implementation. The following definitions were used to guide the participants' responses:

1. **no training:** skill unrelated, therefore no need exists for training
2. **no training:** competency high, therefore no need exists for training
3. **training – awareness level:** training desired at a beginning level
4. **training – initial practise:** have some skill/knowledge; desire guided practise)
5. **training – skill refinement::** have skill and knowledge; desire guided skill refinement
6. **assistance with school implementation:** have skill and knowledge; desire help with implementation

The six points on the instrument reflected a skill/training range.

Of the seven categories surveyed, respondents reported that they desired training in all categories, with the desires ranging between "awareness" (category 3) and "initial practice" (category 4). Table 2 outlines the specific preferences for training of all the administrators surveyed. New knowledge and skill in all categories are perceived as important to their role success.

TABLE 2

*Ranking (High-to-Low) of the Need Indices
for the Instructional Leadership Surveys*
(All Educational Leaders n=138)

RANK	AREA	NEED INDEX
#1	PLANNING FOR SCHOOL GROWTH (questions relating to organizational analysis and school leadership planning)	4.268
#2	CREATIVE PROBLEM SOLVING (questions relating to cooperative decision-making)	4.257
#3	THE PRINCIPALSHIP (questions relating to instructional leadership expectations)	4.255
#4	STAFF DEVELOPMENT (questions relating to clinical supervision, training, and teacher evaluation)	4.253
#5	COLLABORATIVE LONG RANGE PLANNING (questions relating to cooperative goal setting and action planning, monitoring and evaluation)	4.216
#6	PERSONAL AWARENESS (questions relating to the leader's self-concept, personality, and leadership style, and their influence on instructional leadership behaviours)	4.052
#7	THE SCHOOL AS A SYSTEM (questions relating to school goals, organization, performance, program, technology, and management, and how together these guide the school improvement process)	3.878

Planning for school growth, which focused on organizational analysis and school leadership planning, emerged as the area of greatest interest and concern. Last in rank was **the school as a system** which was the category describing the school's ecology and the many organizational factors which work interdependently to influence achievement results. While all seven categories were distinct from each other, each seemed to represent an area of concern for principals in providing effective instructional leadership.

It appears that those studied perceive the task dimensions surveyed as a desirable focus for their own professional development. Further, the skills necessary for successful collaboration, organizational assessment and analysis, and a knowledge of how personal characteristics influence leadership, all appear to be important to the administrators for the successful implementation of instructional leadership tasks.

Each school district and professional organization needs to devote priority attention to these skill needs in particular, augmenting workshops on what teachers can do. Furthermore, principals can benefit from continuous coaching by peers and from their efforts to develop and implement new skills. A feedback mechanism of some sort is essential to the eventual successful development of expertise in instructional leadership.

Summary

The principalship has shifted from an emphasis on just administering policy to a focus on leading instructional improvement efforts. Principals want the skills necessary to become successful instructional leaders.

This study of principals reinforces these observations. Because of a major redefinition of the principalship, principals themselves are faced with a need for new job knowledge and skills. Further, principals want training in the elements of annual schoolwide, team-level and individual teacher planning, coaching, and evaluation. In addition, they want skills for designing successful staff development programs, providing on-the-job teacher coaching, monitoring performance and program development, implementation, and evaluation. Moreover, in addition to the tasks of instructional leadership, principals also want to know how to involve others in cooperative planning and action successfully.

The message for role development is clear: if principals are expected to perform new tasks and accomplish different kinds of performance results from that for which they are trained, their development in a new set of knowledge and skills must become a distinct priority. Moreover, experiences during this research necessitate not only a report of those

findings of what principals say they want, but also to challenge the supervisors of principals to foster skill development by combining initial training in instructional leadership tasks with continuous on-the-job peer and supervisory coaching. Principals may be expected to help transform schools in newly defined parameters; they must be provided with necessary skill development activities for their success.

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Les parents et la micro-informatique scolaire

Abstract

The authors conducted a survey of parents' opinions concerning computer use in Quebec schools. The analysis of 4399 completed questionnaires, from both French and English-speaking school committee members, reveals trends in parents' expectations, fears, and perceptions of their role in the use of computers in education. The authors compare the parents' point of view to the "official" point of view as expressed by education officials and opinion leaders. In conclusion, the authors suggest certain measures which may address parental concerns.

Parents, écoles, et ordinateurs

Le débat public autour de l'implantation des applications pédagogiques de l'ordinateur (APO) fait souvent état des prises de position politiques, des mesures administratives, des attitudes des enseignants, et des considérations technologiques et économiques. La place des parents dans ce débat n'est pas toujours évidente. Ceux-ci ont, cependant, un point de vue particulier qu'il faudrait considérer, puisqu'il est essentiel au débat et constitue par surcroît un facteur important dans le processus d'implantation lui-même. Pour ces raisons, le but de notre étude était de mieux connaître le point de vue des parents face à l'usage de l'ordinateur à l'école.

Les parents, comme l'ensemble des citoyens, se sentent concernés par l'ordinateur puisqu'il est souvent perçu comme un facteur de changement dans leur vie personnelle, non seulement dans leur travail, mais aussi dans leurs loisirs et habitudes de consommation. La révolution technologique fait donc naître chez les parents des attentes particulières: comment l'école doit-elle préparer les enfants à vivre et à travailler avec les nouvelles

technologies? Cependant, à ces attentes s'ajoutent des craintes face à l'implantation de la micro-informatique scolaire.

Dans d'autres circonstances, telles que l'application des nouveaux programmes d'études ou l'adoption de nouvelles méthodes d'enseignement, les innovations pédagogiques relèvent des éducateurs. Le professeur est maître de la situation: il adapte sa pratique professionnelle aux nouvelles exigences et explique les changements aux parents. Or, la situation est différente dans le cas de l'informatique où des parents peuvent avoir un niveau de connaissances et de motivation supérieur à celui de l'éducateur. Dans ce contexte changé, quel est donc le rôle des parents? Quels rôles les parents se verraient-ils attribuer dans l'implantation des APO à l'école?

Par ailleurs, on sait que le grand public acquiert progressivement certaines connaissances utiles en micro-informatique, souvent par l'expérience pratique en milieu de travail, à mesure que l'usage de l'ordinateur se répand. Par conséquent, on peut se demander quel est le niveau des connaissances des parents et quelles sortes de connaissances ils voudraient acquérir au sujet de l'implantation de la micro-informatique scolaire.

Nature de l'enquête

La meilleure façon de répondre à ces questions, nous croyions, était de nous adresser directement aux parents eux-mêmes et c'est par l'entremise de la Fédération des Comités de Parents de la Province de Québec (FCPPQ) que nous souhaitions atteindre ce but. La coopération de cette dernière a été exceptionnelle. Nous avons préparé un questionnaire en français et un en anglais qui ont été acheminés par la FCPPQ durant le mois d'avril 1986 à tous les comités de parents et, par leur entremise, aux comités d'école. Des 5000 questionnaires acheminés de cette façon 4399 questionnaires remplis (4071 de parents membres des comités d'école francophones et 328 de parents membres des comités d'école anglophones) nous été retournés, ce qui représente un taux de réponse de 88%. Une centaine de questionnaires ont été mis de côté, n'ayant pas été complétés adéquatement. Le taux de réponse élevé montre le grand intérêt des parents pour ce sujet, suite, notamment, aux controverses qu'il a soulevées.

Nous disposions déjà de certaines données concernant les enseignants et les directeurs d'école. Une étude sur la micro-informatique et les enseignants est déjà parue (Berthelot, 1985), portant sur le perfectionnement des enseignants et leurs attitudes et opinions à l'égard des APO. Une autre enquête a été réalisée auprès d'un échantillon de directeurs d'école aussi (Farine et Hopper, 1987). Dans ce contexte, il nous a paru particulièrement opportun de poursuivre une recherche complémentaire auprès des parents, pour mieux connaître leur point de vue.

Le questionnaire se voulait ouvert. Il nous a permis de recueillir des données sur le nombre de micro-ordinateurs par école, leur utilisation, la participation des parents, la possession d'un appareil personnel et les différences selon la région ou le groupe linguistique. Plus particulièrement, il nous a permis de connaître: 1) les attentes des parents face aux APO; 2) leurs craintes quant à l'implantation des APO, et 3) la perception des parents de leur rôle face aux APO.

Caractéristiques générales

Avant de considérer les points de vue exprimés par les parents, il est utile d'indiquer les caractéristiques générales des répondants et du milieu scolaire de leurs enfants.

La majorité de nos répondants (76,2%) est composé de femmes et 55,6% d'entre elles sont dans le groupe d'âge 35-44 ans. Environ 44% des répondants ont complété le collégial. Les hommes sont plus âgés, plus scolarisés et relativement plus nombreux que les femmes à posséder un ordinateur. Les réponses nous sont parvenues de toutes les régions du Québec. On peut noter une forte concentration de la région de Montréal avec 32,4% des réponses.

Les enfants de nos répondants fréquentent le primaire à 84,3% et le secondaire à 15,7%. Environ 58,9% de ces écoles primaires sont équipées de trois ordinateurs ou moins (12,1% n'en possèdent aucun). La moyenne provinciale d'appareils par école primaire est de quatre au moment de l'enquête. Les écoles secondaires sont mieux équipées. Environ 54% possèdent onze à trente appareils par école et 15,1% possèdent trente appareils et plus. La moyenne provinciale est de onze appareils par école au moment de l'enquête. En 1985-86, le ratio élèves/appareil au Québec était de 52:1. A titre de comparaison, selon les média d'information, en Ontario, il y a déjà et il y aura d'ici 1989 encore plus d'ordinateurs dans les écoles de l'Ontario que dans les écoles du Québec. En 1985-86, leur ratio élèves/appareil était de 38:1 (Danvoye, 1987). A propos, notons que très peu de parents ont fourni des fonds pour l'achat d'équipement.

Qui s'occupe de l'implantation des APO? Elle peut relever de la direction, des enseignants, ou d'un "autre." Ce dernier peut être le conseiller pédagogique, un parent, une personne-ressource, un compétent intéressé ou la secrétaire. Les ordinateurs sont utilisés, en partie, hors programme de cours. Dans une école secondaire, par exemple, 85% du temps est alloué aux cours, 15% aux loisirs.

L'intégration de l'ordinateur à l'école étant récente, peu d'institutions scolaires offrent aux parents des facilités pour favoriser l'utilisation de cet

appareil. En tout cas, seulement 15,5% d'entre eux mentionnent les sessions de sensibilisation pratique ou les cours pour les parents. Quand il y en a, ces cours sont généralement offerts par le service de l'Éducation des adultes. En outre, 15,7% des répondants disent que les parents ont été invités par l'école à participer à des projets APO. Combien de parents sont impliqués dans ces projets? De un à six parents dans 4,5% des écoles des enfants de nos répondants; sept parents et plus dans 3,6% des écoles, où certains disent créer des petits didacticiels pouvant aider à l'enseignement des matières scolaires.

Plus d'un tiers des parents (34,4%) possèdent un ordinateur ou se servent d'un appareil au travail. L'éventail des utilisations est très intéressant. On se sert de l'ordinateur pour des études, pour l'enseignement, pour la recherche, pour la bureautique, pour la robotique, pour suivre la bourse, pour des achats hebdomadaires, pour certaines recettes très en demande, etc. Environ 27% des enfants des répondants ont accès à un micro-ordinateur à la maison; 35,8% ont accès chez des amis ou chez des membres de la famille, lors des visites, mais la période d'utilisation est courte. Par ailleurs, quelques répondants notent que le fait que certains enfants ont un ordinateur à la maison et d'autres ne l'ont pas, leurs parents ne pouvant pas se le permettre, crée des inégalités dans l'apprentissage de la micro-informatique.

Avis exprimés: attentes, craintes, rôle des parents

Attentes: Un premier regroupement d'attentes formulées par les parents porte sur l'utilisation de la micro-informatique. Au primaire en particulier, l'enfant ne doit qu'être sensibilisé à l'ordinateur, l'utilisant en tant qu'outil pédagogique (il doit "l'appivoiser," indiquent certains parents). La micro-informatique ne serait pas une matière en soi mais devrait plutôt contribuer à l'apprentissage des matières de base, telles que le français et les mathématiques. On devrait laisser au secondaire le côté technique, notamment la programmation. Ce n'est donc qu'au secondaire où la micro-informatique, devenue objet d'apprentissage, devrait être considérée comme une matière en soi.

Un deuxième regroupement d'attentes porte sur la disponibilité à l'école d'appareils, de locaux, et de matériel didactique approprié (62,0% des réponses). On s'attend, en effet, que les écoles soient dotées de ressources matérielles adéquates pour permettre l'implantation des APO. Une attente particulière, exprimée avec force, est celle du besoin ressenti d'avoir des enseignants qualifiés dans la matière (20,7% des répondants).

D'autres souhaits: que l'ordinateur ne remplace pas l'enseignant; que l'implantation des APO soit rationnelle; que les parents soient renseignés

sur les APO et le vécu scolaire à cet égard; qu'il n'y ait pas de favoritisme dans la distribution de micro-ordinateurs aux écoles (à des écoles "plus enthousiastes," disent quelques répondants) ou dans l'utilisation des appareils à l'école même ("ce sont les mêmes classes et les mêmes élèves qui sont favorisés").

Craintes: Quant aux craintes, presque un tiers (32,7%) disent n'en avoir aucune; certains ajoutent: à condition, bien sûr, que les APO ne soient pas mal parties. Une crainte majeure est celle de la dépendance face à l'ordinateur. On se fierait trop à "ce nouveau dieu" qui risque d'entraîner la paresse intellectuelle et la minimisation de l'effort personnel ("on oubliera l'utilisation de la tête et du crayon"). On craint aussi que l'enseignement de la micro-informatique ne se fasse au rabais à cause du manque d'enseignants qualifiés dans la matière et que cette dernière soit enseignée au détriment des matières de base. De plus, bon nombre de parents insistent que l'école manque d'appareils et d'autres équipements nécessaires, tout en craignant que le sort de la micro-informatique ne soit celui de l'audio-visuel.

Rôle des parents: Quant au rôle des parents dans l'implantation des APO, la majorité y voit un rôle d'appui et de collaboration. Un autre regroupement des réponses concernant la perception du rôle des parents met en relief la fonction de "surveillance" et de contrôle ("rôle de chien de garde"), point de vue exprimé surtout par les répondants masculins. On voudrait alors avoir au moins un droit de regard sur l'intégration de la micro-informatique à l'école. Certains parents se verraient jouer un rôle plus limité, souligné surtout par les répondants féminins ("rôle d'observateur averti et informé") ou ne jouer aucun rôle actif étant donné leurs faibles connaissances dans le domaine. D'autres ont de la difficulté à définir leur rôle face aux APO et s'interrogent justement.

Autres perceptions: Bon nombre de répondants disent que les parents devraient être bien informés dans le domaine de la micro-informatique et recevoir un perfectionnement (des cours), comme préalable à la définition du rôle des parents dans l'implantation des APO.

Quels sont les meilleurs services d'information et de perfectionnement permettant aux parents de mieux contribuer aux APO? A grande majorité, les parents soulignent les cours d'informatique, les sessions d'information offertes par la commission scolaire et le contact avec des enseignants ou des parents qui ont de l'expérience en APO.

Quel genre de services d'information les parents désirent-ils obtenir d'un centre d'information sur l'implantation des APO? A grande majorité, les répondants soulignent les rapports sur le vécu en APO dans les écoles, des informations sur les diverses utilisations de l'ordinateur et des descriptions

d'expériences impliquant les parents dans les APO. Cependant, quelques répondants nous ont indiqué qu'ils n'en veulent pas du tout, qu'ils ont terminé l'école et qu'ils ne veulent pas y retourner en tant qu'élèves.

Quant à l'enthousiasme des groupes d'intervenants dans l'activité éducative (directeurs d'écoles, enseignants, commissions scolaires, élèves, parents), concernant les APO, les parents trouvent que les élèves sont les plus enthousiastes. Les enseignants et les parents le seraient moins: les enseignants à cause de leur lourde tâche et du manque de formation appropriée; les parents, à cause de leur manque d'information. Les directeurs scolaires, selon certains, seraient plus enthousiastes s'ils possédaient les équipements nécessaires à l'implantation des APO. La commission scolaire est plus ou moins enthousiaste, pour des raisons budgétaires.

Témoignages et réactions des parents

L'analyse statistique des grandes tendances (attentes, craintes, rôle des parents, autres perceptions), révélées par les réponses aux questions particulières, se complète ici par un essai d'interprétation des remarques ajoutées par les parents et des commentaires écrits à la fin du questionnaire. Les témoignages et réactions des parents se composent d'anecdotes, de faits divers, de racontars et d'interrogations qui traduisent bien leurs préoccupations.

Un thème qui revient avec force est celui du manque d'ordinateurs et d'autres moyens, surtout au primaire. Des appareils "ambulants" se baladent d'une école à l'autre pour deux ou trois semaines. Des micro-ordinateurs sont sous-utilisés ("ils sont dans un placard", indiquent certains) par manque de personnel qualifié, de logiciels appropriés, de locaux ou d'autres équipements. Les répondants observent des inégalités: des écoles plus "enthousiastes" ont réussi à obtenir des ordinateurs et d'autres non; on privilégie certaines classes d'une même école et même certains élèves de la même classe. Par ailleurs, selon les répondants, la majorité des enseignants ne sont pas motivés soit par manque de compétence dans la matière, soit par manque de temps.

Pour eux-mêmes, les parents auraient voulu en savoir plus sur la micro-informatique, pour pouvoir mieux se prononcer sur le sujet, pour pouvoir aider leurs enfants en micro-informatique comme dans les autres matières scolaires et pour ne pas se sentir dépassés par les événements.

Un petit nombre de parents s'impliquent dans les APO. Certains répondants se demandent si les parents sont toujours les bienvenus à l'école. Par ailleurs, bon nombre mentionnent le coût de la chose. En somme, il semble que l'enthousiasme d'au moins une partie des intervenants, les

parents inclus, s'estompe, alors qu'il était si fort il y a trois ou quatre ans, lors du début du projet gouvernemental de doter les écoles d'ordinateurs.

Les parents, surtout ceux qui ont des enfants au primaire, s'interrogent sur l'impact de l'ordinateur. On se fierait trop à lui; il encouragerait la paresse intellectuelle; les contacts humains seraient brimés, à cause de l'écran cathodique, la santé visuelle se détériorerait. En constatant ce qui se passe dans l'implantation de la micro-informatique scolaire, bon nombre de parents s'interrogent sur la pertinence de l'intégration de l'ordinateur au primaire.

Par ailleurs, les parents se posent toutes sortes de questions: L'intégration de l'ordinateur est-elle mal partie? A-t-on de nouveau mis "la charrue devant les boeufs?" Ne fallait-il pas suivre un plan directeur? Les enseignants ne devraient-ils pas être formés avant même d'acquérir des ordinateurs? Et pourquoi cette incompatibilité entre les appareils? Certains d'entre eux sont déjà désuets. Et les coûts! Dans le cadre des restrictions budgétaires actuelles, l'école aura-t-elle la possibilité d'utiliser les ordinateurs (manque de disquettes, d'imprimantes, de papier)? Et les écoles qui n'en possèdent pas, seront-elles bientôt équipées? Où est l'égalité des chances à cet égard?

D'autres réactions portent sur l'utilisation de l'ordinateur: Va-t-on enseigner la micro-informatique au détriment des matières de base? N'y a-t-il pas exagération, en "pitonnant" des heures et des heures? Si l'ordinateur encourage une paresse intellectuelle, que restera-t-il de l'effort mental?

Ceci ne veut pas dire que les parents ne croient pas à la micro-informatique. La grande majorité y croit. Ils ont des attentes, comme des craintes. Ils veulent que leurs enfants puissent "apprivoiser" l'ordinateur et plus tard, au secondaire, puissent faire de la programmation. Les craintes portent sur la difficulté d'atteindre ces objectifs.

Quant au rôle des parents dans l'implantation des APO, voilà tout un débat; des "oui" et des "non." La majorité s'y donnerait un rôle d'appui et de collaboration. Ceux qui disent "un rôle limité" ou "aucun rôle" ajoutent parfois que c'est à cause de leur manque de connaissances dans le domaine. Certains notent qu'il est difficile d'entretenir l'intérêt des parents, bien que ces derniers expriment le désir de suivre des cours, d'être informés, pour pouvoir aider leurs enfants en micro-informatique. Rappelons à cet égard le commentaire avancé par un répondant de la région de Montréal qui dit: "C'est un beau rêve d'initier et d'impliquer les parents. Nous offrons des cours et la participation est moins de 5%."

Qu'est-ce qui décrit le mieux notre répondant? C'est un parent soucieux de l'intégration de l'ordinateur. Il croit à la micro-informatique,

mais un cri se dégage: manque d'ordinateurs, manque d'équipement, manque de formation appropriée chez les enseignants, appareils non-utilisés. Pour beaucoup, l'implantation des APO est mal partie. Les parents dont le niveau de connaissances en micro-informatique est supérieur à celui des autres intervenants scolaires, veulent qu'on les écoute. Pour résumer: "une chose est sûre, ajoutent certains parents, les ordinateurs ne nous laissent pas indifférents."

Discours "officiel" et discours des parents

Il est intéressant de mettre en parallèle le discours "officiel," tel que les extraits suivants de Trempe, Bordeleau, et Ouellet peuvent le représenter, et le discours vibrant des parents, fait essentiellement d'attentes, de craintes, et d'interrogations.

M. Robert Trempe, sous-ministre adjoint à l'administration, MEQ, lors d'un discours prononcé au colloque 1986 de l'Association québécoise pour l'utilisation de l'ordinateur au primaire et au secondaire soutenait que

les commissions scolaires doivent avoir une vue très claire des objectifs qu'elles poursuivent en introduisant la micro-informatique dans les écoles. Elles doivent faire partager ces objectifs par le plus grand nombre possible, y compris les parents pour lesquels, selon M. Trempe, l'introduction de ces nouvelles technologies risque de compromettre un peu plus l'apprentissage des matières de base. Les commissions scolaires sont de plus en plus conscientes qu'il leur faut un plan directeur qui les amènera à faire le choix dans la distribution de leurs appareils, dans les exigences d'implantation, dans l'effort à fournir pour permettre aux enseignants de maîtriser ce nouvel outil. Les commissions scolaires devront également bien percevoir l'impact des choix qu'elles feront du type de micro-ordinateurs, compte tenu du parc qu'elles possèdent déjà et des logiciels disponibles et utilisables sur ces appareils. (1986, p. 18)

Nous sommes convaincus que les parents applaudiraient ces mots et souscriraient à ces souhaits qui répondent à un certain nombre de leurs attentes.

Par ailleurs, en quoi devrait consister l'initiation des élèves au monde de la micro-informatique? Selon Bordeleau (1986), pour le primaire, les objectifs de formation portent sur la familiarisation avec l'ordinateur, son utilisation créatrice, comme aide et soutien à l'apprentissage. Au secondaire, l'initiation à l'ordinateur doit être plus poussée, menant l'élève à acquérir une

compréhension générale des changements technologiques. Voilà un point de vue qui rejoint, dans ses grandes lignes, les attentes exprimées par les parents, notamment, leur interrogation sur la place de l'ordinateur au primaire.

Visiblement, cependant, on n'est pas encore sorti du tâtonnement dans l'intégration de l'ordinateur à l'école. Comme disait Ouellet (1986), directeur des services de l'enseignement de la **Gestion du réseau informatique des commissions scolaires**:

Une tournée de plusieurs commissions scolaires nous a démontré un intérêt pour cette technologie, mais nous a également révélé beaucoup d'interrogations quant à sa généralisation possible; interrogations portant surtout sur la disponibilité des ressources humaines, matérielles et financières requises et sur la façon d'établir un plan d'action. (p. 1)

Ces douloureux constats trouvent leur écho dans le discours des parents qui déplorent justement le manque de logiciels et d'équipements, le manque de formation appropriée chez les enseignants et l'essentiel, le manque d'objectif éducatif et de plan directeur. Par ailleurs, bien des parents se plaignent avec force que leur école manque d'appareils. Surtout dans les régions éloignées, ils se sentent défavorisés et soulignent l'inégalité dans la distribution des ordinateurs. D'autres prétendent qu'on ne peut rien faire de valable avec un appareil ou deux par école.

Finalement, on est à même de constater que le discours "officiel" n'est pas en contradiction avec le discours né du vécu des parents. Pourtant l'écart entre les deux discours se creuse de façon palpable. Pourquoi? Pour commencer, le discours "officiel" ne se rend sans doute pas jusqu'aux parents qui pourraient y trouver un certain réconfort mais qui semblent dans les faits peu informés des intentions officielles. Plus important encore, les perspectives des deux discours sont diamétralement opposées, même si leurs contenus se ressemblent à s'y méprendre... car le message est essentiellement le même: plan, objectifs, appareils, logiciels, perfectionnement des enseignants, suffisance et distribution équitable des ressources; l'ordinateur outil d'apprentissage au service des matières de base au primaire, objet d'apprentissage seulement au secondaire. Mais alors que le discours officiel est tout tourné vers l'avenir, le discours des parents est braqué vers le présent. Nécessairement alors, l'un constate des "besoins" et planifie, tandis que l'autre constate des "manques" et les déplore. **Le discours des parents est essentiellement réaliste, alors que le discours officiel est souvent idéaliste**: "Chaque commission scolaire, chaque école et même chaque enseignant doivent avoir un plan d'action qui puisse s'harmoniser avec un plan plus global pour pouvoir bénéficier des expériences et des acquis collectifs" (Ouellet, 1986).

Conclusion

Quelles politiques peut-on conseiller aux commissions scolaires et aux écoles pour mieux répondre aux attentes des parents concernant l'implantation des APO, pour atténuer leurs craintes à cet égard et pour permettre aux parents qui le désirent de jouer un rôle dans cette implantation? Toute mesure qui favorise un climat de confiance, même si la mesure est symbolique, contribuera à réduire la dissonance causée par les perspectives contradictoires qui font opposer discours "officiel" et discours des parents.

1. On devrait, comme le demandent les parents, commencer par les renseigner davantage sur le vécu en APO à l'école de leurs enfants.
2. On devrait ensuite les sensibiliser à la micro-informatique, pour qu'ils puissent mieux comprendre ce que fait leur enfant à l'école et parfois l'aider, dans la mesure qu'ils peuvent le faire.
3. On devrait consulter les parents qui ont un niveau supérieur de connaissances en micro-informatique. Dans le cas de l'informatique, certains parents peuvent avoir un niveau de connaissances et de motivation supérieur à celui de l'éducateur.
4. On devrait faciliter les achats d'ordinateurs par les parents, les joignant à ceux de l'école (achats collectifs à prix réduits), si ce n'est pour le besoin de compatibilité entre les appareils et pour le besoin de coordination entre le travail fait à l'école, l'utilisation d'un appareil personnel, et le travail de l'élève à la maison.
5. Une autre suggestion vise à répondre à l'impression exprimée par un grand nombre de parents de ne pas apercevoir de plan directeur guidant l'implantation des APO dans les écoles. Que ce soit au niveau du Québec ou localement dans chaque école, les parents ont besoin de savoir qu'on suit un plan directeur et d'être informés de ses grandes orientations. Ils seront alors rassurés que l'implantation des APO est bien engagée.

Selon nos données, les parents veulent collaborer à l'implantation des APO. Ceux qui ont des connaissances, même s'ils ne sont pas nombreux, veulent le faire tout de suite. Ceux qui n'en ont pas, veulent le faire suite à une certaine sensibilisation. L'école devrait savoir mettre à profit ces ressources humaines si importantes.

Note d'auteurs

Notons que le terme répondant (et autres termes) décrit autant les femmes que les hommes.

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Edward T. Silva
University of Toronto

Noreen Pupo
University of Toronto

Barry Green
University of Toronto

Foreign Scholars, Canadian Content: Symbolic politics and the Symons Report

Abstract

Little is known about Canadian higher educational commissions. To help fill the gap this paper analyzes the Symons Report of the AUCC Commission on Canadian Studies in terms drawn from material and status politics theory. It inspects the origins, method, and responses to the Symons Report. Overall, it interprets the report as a cultural defense of managerial authority in the face of popular attack. It argues that both the managerial defenders and the popular attackers win and consolidate symbolic victories at somewhat different levels. Some limits of the arguments are noted.

Commissions obviously play a part in the shaping of higher educational policy. Yet, they remain something of a mystery. For example, Pilkington notes that the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) has a "puzzling" record of "...launching large studies ... and then either not ensuring their completion, or ignoring them when they were tabled ..." (1981, p 186).

To move a few steps towards a fuller understanding of such commissions in Canadian higher education, a tentative analysis of one of the AUCC studies mentioned by Pilkington (The Commission on Canadian Studies), chaired by Thomas H.B. Symons, is offered. First, the theoretical position is sketched briefly. Second, the Commission and its reports are discussed within these theoretical terms. Finally, some of the limits of this frankly explorative effort are noted.

Understanding commissions: A socio-political framework

Louis and Perlman (1985, p. 59) suggest that commissions have a socio-political dimension. Commissions are quite extraordinary interventions between some sponsoring organization and its constituencies. As such, they are clearly intended to signal a serious willingness by the sponsor to spend scarce material and symbolic resources to study some topic of considerable interest to that group. This resource allocation in itself tokens the importance of the concerned constituency. And, finally, there is a clearly implied promise that the recommendations brought forth by the study will be seriously advocated by the sponsors, despite the commission's lack of enforcement powers.

How is any particular commission within this vision to be understood? First, a sociopolitical framework that addresses material and symbolic dynamics is needed so that what is at issue for the organization sponsoring the commission, its constituencies and even the public at large can be seen better. Second, an analysis of the commission's report is desirable. What were its method and findings, especially as seen from the viewpoint of its sponsors and its constituencies? Third, some idea of the reception given the report upon its publication, and in its later implementation, is useful.

Suppose that commissions, and their sponsors, are implicated in two main types of socio-political struggle which often overlap and intermingle. On the one hand, there is an essentially material politic. This is the well-known, more or less continuous fight among better or worse organized interest groups and social classes. Here each seeks to use state policy, and all other means, to maximize its own ends (e.g., Miliband, 1968).

Symbolic politics, on the other hand, is less widely appreciated. Its dynamics arise from cultural differences. It involves the more or less continuous struggle among better and worse organized "status groups" seeking to use all the means at their disposal to maximize their social honour in the wider community (Collins, 1979). Status groups in Canada include the French and English charter groups since they are populations sharing a common culture. They therefore have the potential to give rise to all sorts of expressive associations rooted in reality defining symbols. For example, the English-speaking status group has given rise to both *Canadian Forum* (Mills, 1978) and the Orange Order (Houston & Smythe, 1980).

Symbolic political struggles are likely to intensify in times of rapid social change since status group positions in the community's prestige hierarchy are likely to be changing. A series of possibilities occurs at such times. Declining (or rising) status groups may give rise to expressive

associations which may mount (or defend against) ameliorative (or coercive) symbolic crusades. Such crusades may be lost (or won). If won, victory may be consolidated (or frittered away) when the victors (or their opponents) follow up (or neglect) their expressive gains (e.g., Gusfield, 1963).

It is thought that status group politics have a special significance in Canadian policy formation. On the one hand, the officially multicultural Canadian mosaic is potentially a fountain head of status group pressures on all levels of public policy. On the other hand, Canadians are arguably costive ("up-tight") on questions of authority (Friedenberg, 1980). If this is so, then, in times of rapid social change, sustained symbolic movements contesting social policy will tend to defrock authority from its cloak of legitimacy. Eventually, authority without legitimacy will beget its own demise (Gerth & Mills, 1946). Accordingly, in Canada many sustained symbolic crusades occur, during which policy makers experience their authority being attacked. When this happens, they will reasonably meet such challenges by creating expressive associations of their own, such as study commissions without enforcement powers.

Within this framework, the AUCC's Commission on Canadian Studies is seen as a successful interest group response to a potentially coercive symbolic crusade. It will be argued that during the 1960s both the public sector and higher education grew rapidly. A rising wave of nationalism fostered an expressive campaign against non-Canadians hired to staff the expanding university system. This campaign symbolically criticized those managing Canada's higher learning and threatened to undermine their authority.

Accordingly, the AUCC, as the nation's university managers' common interests association, appointed its own expressive association (the Commission) in response to this symbolic crusade. Eventually, its Commission affirmed the nationalists' symbolic claims against immigrant scholars. However, in declaring the nationalists victorious, the Commission's report advanced ameliorative rather than coercive recommendations. The report also ignored its sponsor's managerial responsibility for hiring non-resident faculty. In so doing, it is argued, the commission defused a potentially coercive symbolic threat and laid the basis for a consolidation of its creators' authority.

In the beginning: A sponsor and its Commission

Founded in 1911, the AUCC is an interest group which brings together the top management of Canada's higher educational institutions to confront problems and issues of common concern (Pilkington, 1974). Thus, a commission "to study, report and make recommendations upon the state

of teaching and research in various fields of study relating to Canada at Canadian Universities" was only one of several AUCC inquiries mandated at its 1970 annual meeting.

However, the issue addressed by this Commission on Canadian Studies was somewhat less routine and more politicized than most AUCC inquiries. During the 1950s and 1960s, the public sector expanded very rapidly (Armstrong, 1979). This expansion was important for the Commission in several ways. In Quebec, the rapid expansion of the state sector was one important policy element of the "Quiet Revolution." In turn, workers in the expanded public sector in Quebec provided one social base for the perhaps less quiet French-Canadian cultural revitalization of the 1960s and 1970s. The importance of this Quebec experience for the rest of Canada lies in its example. It showed that increasingly articulate cultural revivalists largely based in the expanding state sector could successfully advance claims for a greater share of the community's social honour both politically (Milner, 1977) and educationally (Postgate & McRoberts, 1976). Similarly across the nation, an English-Canadian nationalism arose, one rooted in the new professionals employed to staff the rapidly expanding state from coast-to-coast (Resnick, 1977). Encouraged perhaps by the accomplishments of the French-Canadian cultural revitalization, English-Canadian nationalities increasingly advanced their own status group's claims for social honour. These two cultural revitalization movements, arising out of several decades of state expansion, provided the Commission with its general setting of rapid social change and mobilized status groups advancing new claims on the community's hierarchies of social honour.

Rapid state expansion also provided the particular setting for the Commission's work. State spending on schooling at all levels increased greatly. For example, the proportion of GNP spent on education was 4.4% in 1960. In 1970, it was 9.0% (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1975). Such increases in educational expenditures produced policy strains at all levels. One of the most pronounced involved post-secondary personnel. A very significantly expanded higher educational system required a matching enlarged professoriate. Several possibilities existed. On the one hand, this enlargement could be made by hiring non-Canadian academics on "temporary" contractually limited appointments to set up and staff, for a short while, the expanding system. Then, a new generation of "Canadian produced" professors could continue the expanded enterprise and the foreign academics could go elsewhere. Alternatively, one could hire the best and brightest available non-Canadian professors to staff on a more permanent basis the growing graduate and undergraduate facilities.

Historically, the permanent foreign option had been chosen. Canada's higher education managers have long relied on other university

systems to supply much of its staff (e.g., Falconer, 1928). During the expansionary 1960s, this tradition was maintained. As a result, Canada soon found its academic new-hire lists filled with foreigners. As such hiring accelerated, questions emerged. First, if foreigners held permanent academic posts, where would the Canadians with new doctorates work once the expansion had reached its limits? Was the assumption that newly graduated Canadians would find work outside the academy (or the country) via the same impersonal international labour market forces that traditionally had brought academics to and from Canada (Evans, 1976)? Second, could the newly hired expatriate professors adequately instruct their students in the details of English-Canadian culture? Responding to such questions, English-Canadian nationalists successfully mobilized much of the English language media in a campaign to save "Canadian culture" from the immigrant – particularly American – professoriate taking up the new university posts (Resnick, 1977).

The substance underneath the nationalists' concern is seen in citizenship data reported on the 20,952 full-time staff at 111 Canadian universities and colleges in 1970, the year the AUCC sponsored its commission (*University Affairs*, 1971). Inspection of these data yield three generalities. First, overall, some 61.5% of the staff were Canadian. Further, the Canadian presence in six broad academic specializations – humanities, languages, and the pure, biological, physical, and social sciences – was relatively constant at roughly the six-out-of-ten proportion in the overall sample.

Second, the proportion of American citizens, while significant, was relatively small. It was 15.3% over all. Thus, they were not even a majority of the 38.5% non-Canadian staff. However, American faculty were somewhat above their 15.3% "share" in three areas of symbolic concern: the humanities (24.0%), languages (17.4%), and the social sciences (20.2%). Third, if scores of non-nationals had been hired to meet the university's rapid expansion in the 1960s, they had been hired by faculty administrations who themselves were overwhelmingly Canadian (87.8%). From these somewhat slender roots emerged the expressive anti-Americanism that surfaced so frequently during the debate over staffing the rapidly expanding higher educational system. Moreover, the vulnerability of the system's largely Canadian managers to claims of mismanagement on the basis of symbolically unacceptable hirings may also be noted.

The Commission report

In the midst of the staffing debate, the university managers' authority and their handling of considerable public resources to expand higher education came under closer than usual public scrutiny. The AUCC's

essential response to these pressures is suggested by the Commission's view of its own route:

While some people clearly felt that the Commission should begin its activities with the ceremonial burning of the American flag on the steps of the Parliament Buildings, others...denied the need to give any serious attention at all to the question.... However, most members of the academic community and of the general public who spoke out on the subject indicated their wish for a thoughtful and thorough inquiry into these questions, rather than an exercise in either flag-waving or in cultural amnesia, and this is the path the Commission has endeavoured to follow throughout its work. (p.2)

To chart this middle way between American flag-burning and Canadian cultural amnesia, the AUCC chose one of its own: Thomas H.B. Symons, founding President (1960-72) of Trent University (*Canadian Who's Who*, 1980, p. 959). With \$250,000, the one-member commission was launched in 1972. For three years, Symons and a staff of 19 sifted and winnowed its harvest "[e]ssentially... looking for... sensitivity to the Canadian context or perspective" (p. 5) in the nation's higher learning.

In 1975, the Commission issued its first two volumes packed into a densely printed 350 page book. The Report began with a multifaceted rationale for an academic sensitivity to things Canadian. From a policy perspective, the most central was its titular theme ("To Know Ourselves"), arguing that greater self-knowledge is necessary for more effective societal problem solving. Then, the Report inventoried the Canadian content that fosters such self-awareness in five areas: 1) the curriculum, particularly in 21 social-cultural disciplines ranging from art history to women's studies; 2) teaching and research in science and technology; 3) professional education programmes in 10 areas from agriculture to social work; 4) Canadian Studies at community colleges and abroad; and 5) a support infrastructure of archives, audio-visual media, and private donors.

With overwhelming regularity, the Commission found a substantial and deplorable insensitivity to Canadian materials in all areas. In this way, the Commission's Report upheld the symbolic claims made by the English-Canadian nationalists. But it did so while de-emphasizing both managerial responsibility and coercive reforms.

The Report's internal logic: Methodological issues

The Report offered impressive rhetorical support for the English Canadians' symbolic crusade, but methodological problems deeply flawed its

internal logic. The Commission's judgment of massive insensitivity to Canadian content was based on specialists' briefs and discipline data that were neither systematic nor conclusive. The Report's usual method of establishing scholarly neglect was, first, to assert the need for a Canadian perspective in a discipline, and then to marshal negative evidence, often in the form of quotations from briefs by subject-matter specialists, along with some descriptive statistics, such as the proportion of non-Canadians teaching (or even studying) the subject.

Such evidence is problematic. The brief quotations offered neither systematic nor scientific proof. They functioned instead to highlight documents which were rather self-serving and one-sided. Stating the proportions of non-Canadians involved in higher education alone did not provide direct evidence for a lack of sensitivity to Canadian content or context. In fact, the Commission offered little solid documentation of the thesis that non-Canadians were substantially different from Canadians in their teaching or research. Without systematic data showing such a correlation between faculty citizenship and Canadian content, the issue remained uncertain. Moreover, it is a faulty assumption that Canadians study and teach Canadian issues. As a result of such methodological matters, it was impossible to estimate the precise amount of self-awareness present (or absent) in the many areas inspected.

Indeed, the Report's unsystematic methodology suggests its essentially rhetorical posture. Between flag-burning and cultural amnesia, the Symons Report repeatedly upheld a symbolic correlation between citizenship and curriculum, between nationality and instruction. It thus seems to have responded to the public pressures which brought about its creation. Interestingly, the Report did not reflect upon the possibility that foreign faculty were hired by administrations with a significantly higher proportion of Canadians than the staff at large. In stressing the rhetorical correlation between content and citizenship while neglecting the analytic link between administration and hiring, the Report seems to be symbolically supporting the stewardship of higher education's top management – the very group mounting the Commission itself. In this way, the Symons Report may be seen as having served the vested collective interests of its sponsoring association's membership. It seems to have defended the decisions made by constituted academic authority in the teeth of the nationalists' potentially coercive symbolic crusade.

The Report's internal logic: Analytical and managerial issues

Along with the methodologically flawed correlation between nationality and instruction, the Report assumed a questionable analytical correlation between instruction and learning. The Report did not analyze

how such learning "about ourselves" will effect societal problem-solving nor did it question the limits and impact of this learning.

The Report overlooked the main sociological reasons students participate somewhat "inefficiently" in higher education in Canada; for example, status affirmation and labour market certification (e.g., Lennards, 1980). As a result, the Report seemed to adhere quite unrealistically to something of an "absorption" theory of instruction – roughly, that the students efficiently soak up the content poured upon them. Assuming such "efficient absorption," the Report insisted that increasing the Canadian content of instruction would lead to a more self-knowledgeable public. The Report then further assumed that with a heightened Canadian consciousness, graduates would, in turn, crystallize public opinion to guide governments toward "more informed" public policy positions.

Even if all these assumptions within this model are granted, the crucial questions remain. On the one hand, how much Canadian content is necessary to increase national awareness to a level sufficient for the most effective societal problem-solving? On this matter, the Report was silent. Further, given that only a small proportion of the Canadian population attends post-secondary schooling, it seems that a very long time would be required to increase national awareness very much in this way.

On the other hand, questions may also be raised regarding the Report's implicit liberal-democratic position. The uses of citizen self-knowledge in the public policy process may, in fact, be structurally limited (Clement & Drache, 1978; Porter, 1965). The alternative Canadian elite-pluralist model holds that established political and economic vested interests affect critical policy input, thereby pre-empting very meaningful citizen participation, except perhaps at election times. Put in the Report's titular terms, "knowing ourselves" as liberal-democratic when in fact this may not be the case, leads, perhaps, to a false understanding of present needs and problem-solving possibilities.

Beyond such analytical issues are some managerial matters. While the Report suggested that curricular content be somewhat re-focused to include Canadian and local content, it did not encourage any formal monitoring of teaching nor did it address the issue of staffing. The recommendations did not urge any coercive action against immigrant academics. There were no suggestions, for example, to require recently landed immigrants to apply for Canadian citizenship as a condition of continued academic employment. Neither was it required that funding agencies buy out the employment contracts of foreign senior professors, nor that junior immigrant academics be offered termination and relocation incentives.

Significantly, the recommendations made no mention of revising the authority arrangements that granted work to so many non-Canadians in the nation's higher educational system. The Report accepted the essential legitimacy of the university managers' decisions to staff the universities with immigrant scholars. There were no suggested plans of affirmative action or compensatory curriculum to bring Canadians and Canadian content in higher education up to a more "acceptable" standard. Rather than such coercive sticks, the Report favoured ameliorative carrots – tens, hundreds of recommendations to the professoriate – and assumed that rational and well-intentioned academics would be persuaded by the reasonableness of the Report itself.

In sum, the Report did not answer several important questions: 1) how increased faculty attention to Canadian content would increase Canadian consciousness among students; 2) how much of an increase in such awareness would be necessary to shape public policy; 3) how increased awareness would enter the public policy process; 4) how Canadian and local content in the classroom would be monitored; and 5) how staffing issues or imbalances would be met. Why did such substantive questions remain unasked? It is suggested that the Report's occasion required symbolic answers to convert a potentially delegitimizing nationalist campaign into a consolidation of authority for the managers of Canada's higher education.

Responses to the report

Two levels of responses to the Commission's report are especially interesting, given the proposed framework. First, what did the public-at-large and the significant constituencies think of the report at the time of its publication? Second, what was the fate of the report's recommendations?

Some sense of public sentiment can be gained from the treatment of the report in the mass media. In the words of *Canadian Forum* (1976, p. 15), "Newspaper, radio and television commentaries . . . generally expressed shock and surprise at the report's account of the state of Canadian studies, and sympathy for the report's positive recommendations . . ." Thus, in the means of mass communication that had been mobilized in the nationalists' campaign, the report was seen as a great success. It was viewed as authoritatively affirming the correctness of their symbolic crusade to save their culture from mistreatment by the newly hired foreign professors. Nor did interest in the report subside. In 1978, an abridged paperback edition was published to disseminate the Commission's analysis to its concerned constituencies.

The professoriate itself, in a sense the object of the Commission's work, responded remarkably positively to the report. Academic reviewers

usually saw the study's results as correctly affirming the nationalists' efforts, and they found much to support in the recommendations (e.g., Gibson, 1977; Horn, 1976; Masleck, 1976; McDougall, 1976; Sullivan, 1976; and, generally, *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 1976, 1977). Significantly, almost no academic reviewer seemed to find methodological flaws in the report's analysis, a surprisingly uncharacteristic response (for an exception, see Blishen, 1977).

Only a very small section of published academic opinion failed to see the report as a symbolic victory. These very much minority views saw university managers as the nub of whatever problems might exist in the nation's higher learning (e.g., Evans, 1976; Miller, 1977). The most extreme of these views, in fact, rejected the Commission's middle path between burning the American flag and cultural amnesia. Rather than accept the ameliorative cast of the report's recommendations, they suggested all sorts of coercive remedies, such as terminating contracts (*Canadian Forum*, 1976).

What then was the fate of the Commission's recommendations? Pilkington has noted the AUCC's record of launching large studies without following up on their findings. She points toward "parochial attitudes" (for example, "a reluctance . . . to accept national solutions") and academic defensiveness as major barriers to widespread implementation of such findings (1981, p. 186). To this, of course, must be added the lack of enforcement powers usual to Commissions. Further, in the case of the Symons Report, the inherent difficulties in precisely pinpointing the repercussions of the nearly 1,000 general and 300 specific recommendations should be noticed, particularly in a time of continuing fiscal restraints (Skolnik & Rowen, 1984).

Nonetheless, in a close study of the overall response to these recommendations after five years, Page (1981) found a positive, if slow, effort. In a detailed examination of 48 institutions, he reports a very wide variety of formal and informal responses. More courses contain Canadian content. More professors hold Canadian citizenship. More Canadian Studies programmes are underway. Overall, the climate for a continuing Canadianization of higher education seems "more positive than before" (p. 127), despite the chill of continuing financial cutbacks.

In sum, then, the immediate responses from the Commission's significant constituencies were quite positive. On the one hand, both the mass media and academic reviewers saw the report as verifying English-Canadian symbolic claims on what should be taught and researched in the nation's newly expanded post-secondary schooling. Further, they generally seemed to accept the report's essentially ameliorative recommendations. In

so doing, the media and the professoriate publicly affirmed, and thus renewed, the authority of those managing the nation's higher education. On the other hand, the Commission's recommendations seem to have avoided the limbo usual to such items. Page's findings of a slow, but broad, implementation signal the possibility of a growing and substantial victory for the nationalists. Taken together, we see in these two levels of responses both a symbolic consolidation of the managerial authority as well as a symbolic victory and consolidation for the English-Canadian nationalists.

The Commission's third volume

In 1984, fourteen years after receiving its sponsor's mandate, the Commission published its third and final volume (Symons and Page, 1984). In it, the Commission both struck some old themes and ventured into some new territory.

Continuing with the themes of the relatively successful nationalist crusade, Symons and Page reiterated the need for a significantly Canadian curriculum. For example, they continued to assert that a correlation existed between faculty citizenship and course content. They also held that too many non-Canadians were still being hired to fill the posts available. Responding to fiscal restraints, they stressed that underfunding would endanger the full development of Canadian studies in all areas.

The bulk of this third volume, however, moved beyond such older themes into a new area: higher educational planning. Here the Commission explored post-secondary enrollment projections and employment demands. On the one hand, it projected a decline in the number of students in the 1980s, followed by an increase in the 1990s. On the other hand, it pointed to a potentially lost generation of highly qualified labour power in the 1980s (as, for example, doctoral graduates who fail to find academic employment), followed by yet another round of foreign hirings to meet labour shortages in academe and elsewhere in the 1990s.

To avoid these problems, the Commission recommended a national higher educational planning strategy in three parts. First, a public relations effort would regain popular and decision-maker commitment to higher education. From such commitment would flow the funds necessary to solve these problems. Second, new non-traditional students would be found to firm up declining enrollments (for example, attracting more adults). Third, financial supports and placement services would be developed to ensure both broader recruitment and more effective employment opportunities for degree holders. Interestingly, while each of these parts would require considerable public funding for their design and implementation, Symons and Page saw no need for governments to participate in the actual planning itself. Public

funds were thereby to support the private planning capacities of higher educational managers.

The essence of the Commission's third volume, then, is quite consistent with its first two volumes. On the one hand, it affirms the continuing Canadianization of the nation's higher learning. On the other hand, it continues to urge a consolidation of managerial authority. It offers a new way (planning) to avoid the pitfalls of the past (the hiring of foreigners), centreing that process in a significant expansion of its sponsor's functions.

The public and constituency responses to the Commission's third volume were much more muted and less wide-spread than the responses to its earlier publication. While duly and positively noted in the mass media, little public debate and few follow-up stories appeared. Academic response was usually positive (e.g., Savage, 1984), with some minority negativity (e.g., Mathews, 1984). The faculty also reasserted its critical spirit, noting technical and statistical problems (e.g., Black, 1984; Lamay, 1984; Monahan, 1984).

How is the less intense and more critical response of the Commission's constituencies to the third volume to be understood? Perhaps the first volumes of the Commission's Report were sufficient to their task of giving serious attention to the concerns of its constituencies, especially if Page (1981) has correctly traced an increasingly positive climate for Canadian studies in the higher learning. In this way, perhaps the affirmation found in the third volume was belated "icing on the nationalists' cake" of symbolic consolidation. There is, after all, something anti-climactical about a Commission reporting its finding fourteen years after its birth, and nine years after the initial symbolic victories of both its sponsors and their constituencies.

Summary conclusions

Since little seems to be said about the impact of commissions on Canadian higher educational policy-making (and perhaps because fools rush in where angels fear to tread), material and symbolic elements were combined into a framework for understanding such effects.

Looking at the AUCC's Commission on Canadian Studies, it was argued that it emerged in the midst of a symbolic crusade. English-Canadian nationalists seeing an expanding higher learning increasingly staffed by non-Canadians felt their social honour threatened. They found their voice in the mass media and became recognized as a force undermining educational authority. To protect managerial interests and authority, the AUCC moved

to blunt criticism of decisions in staffing the expanding post-secondary system. It created a Commission to judge the cultural nationalists' vision. Over fourteen years and in three volumes, the Commission's report upheld the essential citizenship-equals-curriculum correlation suggested by the nationalists. Here the cultural nationalists gained a symbolic victory for their crusade. And, from the available evidence, it appears that this triumph has been followed up with something of a symbolic consolidation as the climate for Canadian studies improved.

Further, it is believed that since the Commission's report satisfied the nationalists' symbolic demands, higher learning's top managers accomplished something of a re-legitimization of their authority. Their power was renewed as authority. This occurred when the wider nationalist public, its media spokespersons, and academic reviewers all generally accepted the report's ameliorative recommendations. This acceptance affirmed the recommendations as normatively sufficient points of departure for managerial decisions, as in the case of future hiring and curriculum. Indeed, the planning scheme, belatedly proposed by the report's last volume, projects such normatively renewed power into new areas of authority.

Since these views are offered quite tentatively and in an exploratory spirit, it is important to notice some limits of this analysis. First, it is in no way believed that this analysis of the Symons Commission will fit all other AUCC sponsored studies. In particular, it raises a question as to whether or not symbolic constituencies and status groups were mobilized before the commissioning of the Pike Report (on accessibility), the Bonneau-Corry Report (on the rationalization of research), and the Carrother-Trotter Report (on university planning), all mentioned by Pilkington (1981, pp. xii, 186). If such mobilization did not occur, then there would be little reason to anticipate the symbolic defenses of authority that were found in this analysis. However, given the very great emphasis placed on cultural identity and hierarchy in Canadian society, it would be difficult to believe that status group dynamics were absent in all other higher educational commissions – whether those of the AUCC or others. For example, it is conjectured that commissions with legislative origins would be vulnerable to the same status group dynamics influencing parliamentary elections (as, for example, at the provincial level).

Second, although a particular mix of material and symbolic dynamics has been stressed in the present analysis, in no way is the validity of other "mixes" of symbolic and material dynamics in Canadian higher educational policy contested. Rather, the utility of all frameworks which permit both material and symbolic elements to enter into policy analysis is emphasized. Accordingly, it is expected that other analysts will find other "mixes" useful for similar material and symbolic studies of

Canadian education (see, e.g., Schechter, 1979). The question of the relative validity of theoretical traditions is left open to another occasion. What is important at the present moment is to see the importance of symbolic as well as material dynamics in higher education commissions and policy formation in Canada.

Finally, it is not in any way believed that any sort of conspiracy or cabal existed within the AUCC (or the Symons Commission) to plan the Report, or to consciously manage its effects, or, out of self interest, manipulate responses along the lines of this analysis. Indeed, it is thought that Canada's university managers and its Commission were faced with many, many other issues and problems which must have seemed much more pressing and fundamental than responding in detail to the nationalists' symbolic crusade. In fact, it is precisely in this context, this analysis has its virtue. It taps essentially unthought through assumptions and values deeply embedded in both the multicultural and managerial symbolic worlds of Canadian Higher Education. Here the essential point is to urge that these symbolic worlds be brought more fully into this analysis of commissions and their dynamics.

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Alexander McKay
*Protestant School Boards of
Montreal and the South Shore*

A Framework for Religious Education

Abstract

The author constructs a general framework for religious education based on two hypotheses. The first is related to notions of the appropriate objectives for religious education in the public school setting, and second, these objectives have been linked to several theories of human development so that a trajectory or general framework emerges. As such, the conclusions drawn are based on theory rather than practise or classroom experience. The purpose is not to provide a methodological guide for the teaching of religious education, but rather to isolate and expand upon conceptions of the appropriate theoretical bases for the objectives and structure of religious education.

Of all aspects of human culture and history, perhaps none has exerted more influence than religion. Religion has to a large extent shaped man's world view, caused tension, and given inspiration. As philosopher Bernard Lonergan has written: "It is a region of human culture, an integral part of the social order, an explicitly acknowledged part in a tribal or national tradition" (1985, p. 120). In other words, religion has been and continues to be an important cultural phenomenon.

What role then should religion play in today's public education? Indeed, should it play any role at all? Is religion an aspect of human affairs that should remain the exclusive domain of the home and place of worship? These questions may simply, if not somewhat superficially, be dispensed with by making two basic acknowledgements. First, we may accept Lonergan's proposition that religion is an important cultural phenomenon, both past and present. Second, we may acknowledge the Deweyian notion that education is, in large part, a means whereby students are better able to

interact with their social environment and its attendant culture (Ozman & Craver, 1986). Once these two propositions are accepted, it can be concluded that the combination of religion and education is appropriate and necessary. "It can be said that since religion is an important cultural phenomenon it becomes a major concern of general education" (Engel, 1974).

If it is accepted that religion should in some way be incorporated into general education, then it becomes necessary to ask another series of equally important questions. What form should religious education take? What are the specific objectives? How may these objectives be structured?

The purpose of this essay is to answer these questions by outlining a specific philosophy of religious education. The first part of this essay will delineate two major objectives of religious education. The second part will be an attempt to outline a structural pattern for religious education that is in line with cognitive, spiritual, and psychosocial approaches to human development.

The Objectives of Religious Education

Before making any detailed discussion of the objectives of religious education, an important qualification must be made. There is a clear distinction between the teaching of religion and teaching about religion. The teaching of religion is aimed, among other things "at evoking commitment." Teaching about religion involves an inquiry in which understanding and awareness are sought (Phenix, 1974). Looked at another way, one may distinguish between education and worship. In the words of Philip Phenix, worship "is not an attempt to teach, but to proclaim and to celebrate" (p. 61).

It may be argued, with some justification, that the teaching of religion and understanding, with freedom of choice, are not mutually exclusive; the two can go hand in hand. However, the circumstances in which this form of teaching is appropriate are quite limited. For example, a priest or nun may indeed be an excellent and appropriate teacher of religion for the homogeneous student body of a Catholic school. Such a teacher can facilitate understanding as well as belief.

The reality of the public school setting is, however, more often than not, quite different. Whether it is organized, as in Quebec, along confessional lines or not, the modern public school is usually representative of a cross-section of society at large. In other words, the student body is clearly heterogeneous in terms of its religious-cultural make-up. Within such an environment Phenix's distinction becomes relevant in that "to proclaim and to celebrate" a particular religious tradition becomes

inappropriate in the public school setting, because it becomes an attempt to persuade or evoke commitment. Such teaching can be offensive and unfair to students committed to other faiths. As well, religious education, if it is to achieve maximal educational goals, should not be a forum for competing traditions, each trying to attract adherents, but, rather, one where a variety of philosophies are explored in an equal and objective manner. Within such a structure, students ultimately have a true freedom of choice.

Thus within the multicultural environment of a public school setting, the implications of Phenix's distinction are clear. The attempt to evoke commitment or to proclaim religious traditions becomes a violation of a fundamental pedagogical principle of democratic education. It can be viewed as an attempt to impose certain values or beliefs. No matter how well intentioned, instruction of this sort within a multireligious public school setting amounts to indoctrination.

In contrast, an attempt to develop, as the primary aim, an understanding and awareness of religion serves a valuable purpose and remains within the bounds of a democratic education. This is not to say that a class in religious education must ignore the spiritual aspects of religion. To the contrary, religious education classes can be legitimately viewed as a vehicle whereby students may explore how religion might become part of their own spiritual existence. The religious education class can be a forum where students may ask ultimate questions regarding mystery and God. However, unlike the clergyman, "the teacher should serve as a referee of equality of representation, not as an advocate of any particular position" (Phenix, 1974, p. 61).

The objectives of religious education can be divided into two distinct and yet interrelated categories: cultural and spiritual. Both of these categories will be examined.

The cultural aspect

It might be said that religion is eighty percent culture and twenty percent faith. The influence of religion on culture cannot be denied, because it often makes up an integral part of a person's cultural identity. If one views a society in terms of its diversity, then religion often constitutes a major determinant of its multi-cultural dimension.

Viewed in the Canadian context, this aspect of cultural make-up is further amplified. The historical tension between French-Canadian Catholics and English-Canadian Protestants provides an obvious example of how religion contributes its influence to the cultural diversity of Canadian society. From a sociological perspective, however, Canada is much more

than the union of two distinct cultures divided by language and religion. Canada is a truly multi-religious society and each religious tradition plays a significant role in shaping the cultural identities of its adherents. E.T. Pryor, manager of the 1981 Census of Canada, describes the diversity and importance of religion in Canada in the following way:

Canada is one of the few countries in the world collecting census data on religion. Identification with or adherence to specific religions has been viewed as an important determinant of Canadian values and cultural views. To portray the diversity of religions in Canada, for the 1981 census over 80 religious groups were coded and classified. Although the number of Canadians responding "no religion" amounted to 7.3% of the population, that also means that almost 93% did declare a religion. (Pryor, 1984, p. 6)

Aside from demonstrating the general importance of religion in shaping Canadian culture, Pryor's statement also raises several additional points regarding Canada's religious character. First, the vast majority of Canadians do have some type of religious identification, which further demonstrates the degree to which Canada maintains a religious character and second, that there is an increasing tendency towards a diversity of religious identification. There is a substantial and growing number of adherents of Eastern non-Judaean-Christian religions now living in Canada, for example, adherents of Islamic, Hindu, Sikh, and Buddhist faiths (see Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1983).

The implications of such a diversity are profound. History has shown us that when diverse religious traditions come into contact, tension, alienation, and violence are often the result. In less extreme cases, religious minorities tend to be isolated and ghettoized within society. An environment characterized by ignorance, misunderstanding, and hostility often occurs.

If Canadian society is viewed within this context, it is important to consider what education can do to help alleviate or prevent these problems. If we view the educational system as an instrument of social change in which democracy and tolerance are promoted, it becomes appropriate that the study of religion be incorporated into the school curriculum.

Thus, we come to the first major objective of religious education. In light of Canada's increasingly multi-cultural fabric, students should acquire a basic knowledge and awareness of the various religious traditions. This would consist mainly of an objective examination of particular religious traditions from a cultural perspective. To quote Philip Phenix:

The most productive way of dealing with religion in most school situations is to take the secular disciplines of history, of literature, of art and architecture, of music and dance, of geography, of sociology and anthropology, of psychology and philosophy, using them to enter responsively and evidentially into the study of the rites, institutions, beliefs, and codes of religion. (1974, p. 68)

From Phenix's perspective, a religious education class is as much a study of sociology as it is a study of religion. The aim is to promote tolerance and understanding through the development of a knowledge and awareness of diverse religious traditions. This orientation for religious education has been accepted by the Protestant sector of the **Quebec Ministry of Education**. In the words of the Comité Protestant, "Pupils should acquire a general knowledge of other people's beliefs and cultures so that they can communicate and live together (Gouvernement du Québec, 1984, p. 4). This belief lessens the threat of prejudice and hostility that are often the result of ignorance while harmony and understanding are promoted through knowledge and awareness.

The study of religious symbols. In order to explore the content of this type of religious study one may view each objective in terms of its relation to a particular form of religious symbolization. The terminology used by Ira Progoff (1963) in his delineation of religious symbols clearly illustrates the relationship between the two distinct objectives of religious education and particular forms of religious symbolization. Thus, the objectives of religious education can be divided into two distinct streams; and each objective can be attached to a distinct form of religious symbolization.

It can be said that most religious traditions are a form of collective symbolization. The beliefs, orientation, worldview, and essence of religion are given form and transmitted through symbolization. In other words, "religions exist in symbolic forms" (Spinks, 1963, p. 68). If a religion is viewed in terms of being a series of symbols, then a further distinction between two basic types is possible.

Progoff formulated a classification of formative religious symbols which are delineated either as representational (concrete social aspects) or elemental (abstractly theoretical elements.) If the objectives of religious education are viewed through this classification system then a clear relationship between each objective and Progoff's delineation of symbols can be drawn. (As will be elaborated upon later, Progoff's classification system is also useful for relating the objectives of religious education to developmental theory.)

By returning to the cultural aspect of religious education, the relationship between Progoff's system of classifying symbols and the objectives of religious education can be illustrated. The cultural objective corresponds to representational symbols in that

...representational symbols belong to the social sphere of life. They are formed by combinations of images that draw their meaning from the context of the cultural beliefs in which they arise. Thus the flag of a country is a representational symbol. The uniform of a soldier, or the vestments of a priest, the structure of a church, or temple, or mosque, are representational symbols. (Progoff, 1963, p. 94)

These examples of representational symbols correspond to the first objective of religious education because they tend to emphasize the social or cultural aspects of religion rather than the more spiritual aspects which relate to elemental symbols.

The festivals, dress, and art of the various religions are further examples of representational symbols. An examination of the basic rites, institutions, and beliefs of different religions through the use of representational symbols can contribute significantly to a student's knowledge, awareness, and, most importantly, tolerance of various religious traditions.

This type of study may be seen as having little to do with religion at all, and that the essence and meaning of religion have been ignored. It focusses strictly on "knowledge as the medium of understanding reality" and is divorced from "mystery as the ultimate reference of religion" (Miller, 1967, p. 118).

It is not suggested that religious education should ignore mystery; but, rather, that a representational study constitute the starting point of religious education for several reasons: (1) it helps meet the educational objective of increasing knowledge, awareness, and tolerance, (2) it lays the foundation for a deeper and more spiritual examination of religion, and (3) the representational phase of religious education is appropriate for younger students while the more spiritual/elemental phase is better reserved for older students.

The spiritual aspect

The second major objective of religious education deals with the more spiritual aspects of religion. Once students have become familiar with

the basic surface characteristics (representational symbols) of various religions, then they can begin to explore how their own questions concerning God and mystery are dealt with by different religions.

Again, if religion is viewed as a series of symbols, then it can be said that one of the objectives of religious education is to "provide visualizing symbols by which a person can grasp a working knowledge of our connection to the infinite" (1). In other words, the objective is to explore, in a comparative manner, how different religions conceive of humanity's connection to the infinite. In sum, the objective is to help students understand what the notion of God means and thus gain a comprehension of the essence of religion. In so doing, students, if they so choose, may explore how religious interpretations of God and mystery may be incorporated into their own lives.

Such a study would involve Progoff's (1963) elemental symbols of religion which function as the visualizing apparatus through which students can grasp "the kinship of man to the rest of creation" (p. 95). The elemental symbol differs from the representational symbol in that, according to Progoff, it "cannot be known in any fixed formulation or concept because its nature is not limited to finite forms which can be described in the intellectually structured laws of science" (p. 97). In other words, these symbols express man's connection to the infinite by means that are abstract and metaphorical. These symbols are a crucial object of study because they communicate the central or core beliefs of most religious traditions.

The elemental or spiritual aspects of religion can be explored through the critical examination of religious literature such as the Bible, Koran, and Torah. The myths and stories of these documents embody the essence of their respective traditions. As Tad Dunne (1985) has written, "without stories, we would have no way to symbolize, let alone to understand, what happens to us" (p. 152). Whether these stories were intended to be interpreted literally or symbolically by their authors is a matter of debate not relevant here. What is relevant is that much of the symbolism and imagery of these stories can be viewed as metaphors of God and mystery.

In the context of this article, the religious story or myth will be considered as fiction; however, it is fiction with a difference in that its key element is a symbolic truth. As Dunne (1985) writes,

By truth we do not mean an accurate reporting of evidence, nor even a plausible explanation of the events that really happened in a specific time and place. Truth in fiction is about the actual possibilities of the human soul. (p. 159)

Many religious stories deal with questions of mystery, God, and love. Since these are not tangible, concrete entities, and are rather in the realm of sensation and consciousness, they can only be dealt with in a symbolic fashion. This perhaps more than anything is the essence and purpose of religious stories and myths.

The critical examination of such myths and stories can provide visualizing symbols of the human connection to the infinite. Students can begin to establish a personal point of contact and a philosophy in regard to spiritual questions when a particular story or myth is examined in terms of its symbolic or elemental meaning. In so doing, they are able to reflect on how each tradition approaches spiritual issues and can thus explore for themselves how they will deal with such questions. As well, "the basic principles of the nature of religion, of transcendence, of faith" become known to the student (Phenix, cited in Engel, 1974, p. 70).

It should be pointed out, that as with the representational symbolic aspects of religion, the same pedagogical principles of objectivity apply to the elemental symbolic aspects. In part, the objective is to explore how religion can be used to answer spiritual questions as opposed to teaching students how to use it. Just as the political science teacher explains how Marxist theory answers economic questions without encouraging his students to become Marxist, the religious education teacher facilitates an investigation of how religion answers spiritual questions without encouraging students to become religious. To violate this principle is to invade the domain of the church and to subvert the purpose of a democratic education.

Thus far, the two main objectives of religious education, representational and elemental symbols and their aims, have been outlined. The two objectives need not be completely divorced from each other. Attempts to understand the cultural, representational aspects of religion "without reference to God have always proved contradictory and reductionist" (Shea, 1978, p. 58-59). If these two objectives are viewed in light of a cognitive developmental approach to human development, then an appropriate pattern or framework for religious education emerges. Within such a framework the emphasis of each objective corresponds to a specific developmental stage. In the following section it is proposed that the structure of religious education should follow a developmental approach.

A Structure for Religious Education

The preceding section defined two distinct categories of religious education objectives based on the idea of religion consisting of a form of collective symbolization. The first dealt with concrete or representational symbols and the second dealt with abstract or elemental symbols.

The next step in constructing a framework for religious education is to give these objectives a structure or sequencing pattern. Developmental psychology can be used as a guide for setting the structure. In other words, developmental theory can be linked to the objectives in such a way that an appropriate structure emerges.

Developmental psychology has theorized that children pass through various phases or stages of development on the road to adulthood. In each stage the child thinks, sees, and perceives in a different way. The implications of this view on the content and methodology of instruction at various levels of the educational process are profound. In the words of Gage and Berliner (1975),

The ways in which students develop intellectually, socially, and emotionally at different stages in their childhood and youth also have a bearing on how they should be educated and taught. (p. 13)

It is possible to conclude that educational objectives should correspond to how the child, at a particular stage, views phenomena and problems. The developmental theories of Jean Piaget, James Fowler, and Erik Erikson provide useful tools for sequencing the two objectives of religious education outlined above.

Piaget's cognitive development. Jean Piaget made a significant contribution to modern developmental psychology in establishing, among other things, the importance of cognitive processes in the psychological functioning of children (Mussen *et al.*, 1974). According to Piaget there are four major stages of intellectual development: (1) sensorimotor (0 to 18 months), (2) preoperational (18 months to age 7), (3) concrete operational (age 7 to 12), and (4) formal operational (age 12 onwards). During each stage the child employs a different system of thought when confronting various phenomena. For the purposes of applying Piaget's stage theory to the objectives of religious education, it is necessary to consider only the concrete operational and formal operational.

Most children enter the stage of concrete operational thought during the years of middle childhood. They can then begin to develop the ability to think logically when confronted with problems of a concrete nature. The word concrete implies the actual presence of objects or events (Glover *et al.*, 1983). According to Piaget, "the form of possibility characterizing concrete operations is nothing more than a limited extension of empirical reality" (Inhelder & Piaget, 1958, p. 250). Put another way, in the world of the concrete operational child, "there are few if any abstractions, but there are a multitude of distinctions that make all the difference" (Reimer *et al.*, 1983, p. 29).

In contrast to concrete operations, formal operational thinking represents a significant advance in cognitive ability, in that the child begins to reason on the "basis of hypotheses, or of proposition" (Mussen *et al.*, 1975, p. 189). The significant advances of this stage at this point can best be summed up in the following way:

In the formal operational stage the student becomes capable of logical thinking with abstractions, that is, with the possible as well as the here and now. He can draw conclusions, offer interpretations, and develop hypotheses. His thought has become flexible and powerful. (p. 189)

The notion of abstractive thinking, or, as Walter Conn calls it, "imaginative speculation," enables the student to enter a whole new realm of thought (Conn, 1981, p. 80). The basic distinguishing factor between concrete and formal operational thought can be summarized by noting that concrete thought is attached to empirical reality while formal thought involves imaginative speculation.

Progoff and Piaget. If the two developmental stages of Piaget are viewed in light of Progoff's categorization of religious symbolization a clear link can be made between the two. Progoff's representational symbols, which correspond to the first objective, require only that the student be capable of concrete operational thought. The representational symbols are concretely empirical rather than abstract. Therefore, concrete operational children can fully comprehend their meaning. However, the elemental symbols, which correspond to the second objective require a much more sophisticated thought process. They deal with the most profound of abstractions and therefore require the imaginative speculation of Piaget's formal operational thought.

An important clarification regarding the educational implications of the linkage of Progoff and Piaget must be considered. Piaget's work emphasized the cognitive processes that a child employs when solving an intellectual problem, but it does not implicitly imply that a concrete operational child cannot be aware of an abstract concept. For example, the work of David Heller has clearly shown that children of the concrete operational stage do conceive of such religious abstractions as the concept of God (Heller, 1986).

However, when concrete operational children are asked to interpret a religious myth so that they can comprehend Dunne's "truth in fiction," it is asking too much. Concrete operational children are not cognitively prepared to attack an intellectual problem that requires an abstract pattern of thought. In other words, while concrete operational children may be aware of the

abstract concept of God, they cannot use imaginative speculation to distinguish between the literal-empirical reality of a myth and its abstract "truth." In sum, they have not yet acquired the formal operational tools of thought required to make such a distinction. Perhaps, in no other discipline, is the importance of making such a distinction as great as when one undertakes to study the meaning of religious literature.

Fowler's stages of faith. The problem of children's ability to interpret religious stories and myths has been the object of study by James Fowler, formerly a professor at the Harvard Divinity School, who has systematically worked out six stages of faith development in children and adults. It is not surprising that Fowler's stages of faith development are linked to Piaget's developmental stages in that they "are dependent upon age and maturation" (Helminiak, 1987, p. 58). As well, Fowler bases his stage descriptions "on the how of faith rather than on the what or the content of faith" (Fowler, 1980, p. 143). In sum, like Piaget, Fowler puts the emphasis on process rather than content. While Fowler is more concerned with faith *per se*, his stages of development are of interest here because they tackle the problem of children's ability to understand religious stories.

Of Fowler's six stages of faith development, two are of particular interest because they roughly parallel Piaget's stages of concrete and formal operations. His second stage of faith is called mythic-literal faith. This stage corresponds to Piaget's stage of concrete operational thought in that it covers the years seven to twelve, and because it denotes the child's inability to think abstractly. Central to this stage of faith development is the idea that children are unable to critically formulate the meaning of religious stories and, instead interpret them in a one-dimensional, literal way. As Fowler (1980) writes:

Stage Two does not step back from the flow of its stories to formulate reflective, conceptual meanings. For this stage the meaning is both carried and trapped in the narrative. (p. 45)

In contrast, Fowler's third stage, called synthetic-conventional faith occurs during the years of adolescence. This stage of faith is a reflection of Piaget's formal operational thought in that the adolescent is now able to interpret myths and stories in terms of critical reflection rather than through a mythic-literal acceptance of subject matter (Helminiak, 1987). According to Fowler (1980), "literalism breaks down" (p. 146).

If the linkage of Piaget, and Fowler is viewed in terms of the objectives of religious education, it appears that students are cognitively prepared to tackle the representational-cultural objective when they have reached the concrete operational stage because the objective only requires a

literal interpretation and the use of representational symbols. Most importantly, students are not prepared to meet the elemental-spiritual objective until they have acquired formal operations; it requires an abstractive process of thought which concrete operational children do not possess.

Thus far, the contributions of developmental psychology have been applied to the objectives of religious education in terms of cognitive preparedness. The same type of application can be made in terms of a student's felt needs and psychosocial development.

Application of Erikson. Erik Erikson has descriptively analyzed eight stages of emotional, social, and personality development, in which each stage is characterized by a particular psychosocial crisis. As a person successfully resolves each crisis, he thereby gains the ability to cope with the problems presented at the next stage (Lingren & Suter, 1985). Like Piaget's theory of cognitive stage development, Erikson's theory of psychosocial development can be linked to the objectives of religious education.

Of Erikson's eight stages of development, stage five, called identity versus identity diffusion is of particular interest here. This stage, like Piaget's formal operations, usually occurs during the years of adolescence. During this stage:

Young people engage in a search for who they are in terms of social, occupational, and sexual roles, as well as their ideological, religious, and/or ethnic identity. (Lingren & Suter, 1985, p. 82)

Simply stated, in Erikson's view adolescents are in search of a personal identity, or in other words are trying to determine who they are (Manaster, 1977).

While the identity-identity diffusion stage of development can be linked to both of the objectives of religious education, it is of particular interest in regard to the spiritual objective. Key to this stage of development, and parallel to the search for identity, is the search for "a basic philosophy, ideology or religion, which will provide the anchoring trust in life and society" (Maier, 1969, p. 63). The implication is that it is during this stage that students will seek answers to spiritual questions, and look for truth in a confusing world. In the words of Erikson (1982), the adolescent

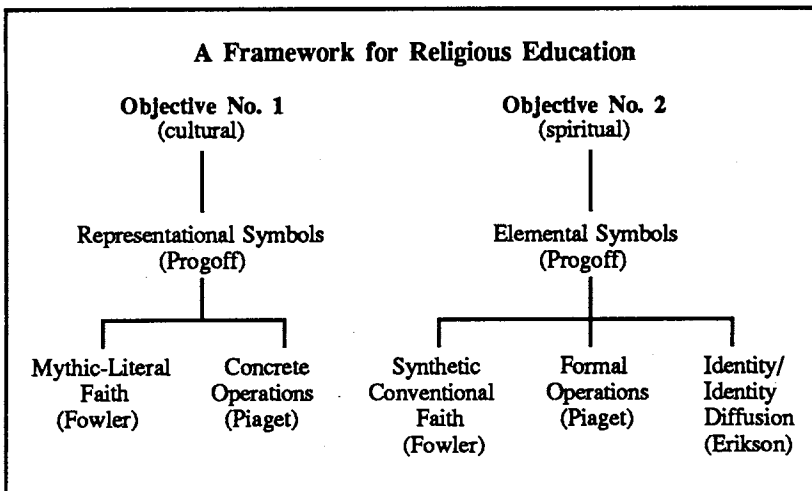
... harbors some sensitive, if fleeting, sense of existence as well as a sometimes passionate interest in ideological values of all kinds – religious, political (and) intellectual. (p. 73)

The characteristics of the identity-identity diffusion stage link it primarily to the second objective of religious education in which abstract, philosophical questions are explored. It is also in line with Piaget's stages of development in that in terms of age, the spiritual objective takes on a particular importance during the adolescent years.

It can be argued that stage five adolescents are in reality in search of "ideological hammers" with which they will rule their worlds. They are indeed sensitive to ideological principles. If in a misguided fashion, the adolescent obsessively grabs hold of an ideological principle, to the exclusion of all others, then the result is indeed negative rather than positive. To produce religious fanatics is not the objective.

However, as Erikson's work shows, in their quest for identity, adolescents will become interested in philosophical views and ideologies. They are searching for ideas to have faith in. The second objective seeks to explore how philosophical views of God and mystery are incorporated into various religious traditions. By objectively exploring, in a comparative manner, how different religions answer philosophical questions, the religious educator does not implicitly encourage the obsessive adoption of an ideological principle. The teacher neither proclaims nor denies the validity of a particular viewpoint. However, students must be free to choose, if they so wish, to accept or reject certain viewpoints. To deny them this opportunity is to ignore their right to inquire into the meaning of life.

A graphic illustration of this framework is presented here.



Conclusions

The purpose of this article has been to construct a philosophy of religious education, which begins with a commitment to objectivity and equality of representation. Two major objectives of religious education have been applied to theories of cognitive, faith, and social development. As a result a basic framework for religious education has emerged (see above).

The primary implication of such a framework is that religious education can be divided into two distinct parts or streams, with each corresponding to a particular form of religious symbolization which in turn corresponds to particular stages of human development.

The two objectives cannot be completely separated from each other. The implication of this framework is that the first objective should receive its primary emphasis during the elementary school years because it involves representational symbols, and it only requires a literal-concrete form of thought which is characteristic of elementary school children. The second objective should receive its primary emphasis during the secondary years when students become capable of understanding the abstract, philosophical essence of religion and the function of elemental symbols. They then possess the intellectual capacity as well as the felt need to explore such questions.

NOTE

1. This definition was arrived at through discussions with Professor Moira Carley of McGill University.

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Human Rights and Educational Policies

Abstract

Human rights have become a new and powerful tool for organizing, selecting, and explaining competing educational ideas. They are used as arguments by advocates, as defences for minorities – and sometimes they are misused. Teachers and students are now clarifying rights, responsibilities, and reasonable limits by society. The obligations of governments for informing citizens and teaching children are now being accepted, and courses and teaching materials are being developed.

Human rights education introduces a new and very exciting prospect for the educational challenges that face school administration. By refocusing old debates in different ways, new possibilities that may have been ignored are introduced. The focus on human rights transforms some competing demands into systematically related examples of the same set of principles, that can be viewed as alternatives, or pursued together. Education about human rights alters some of the power relationships that have served to keep education following traditional lines. The potential for shaping constructive change is thereby introduced.

Awareness of human rights

The struggle for human rights has developed very powerful organizing principles and negotiating tools, with their influence well demonstrated in several recent challenges of provincial legislation concerning education (Figure 1). In these examples, governments have been neither consistent winners nor losers, but the decisions suggest how frequently the courts may influence future policies.

Figure 1
Provincial Legislation Challenged in the Courts

QUEBEC	Language could not be a surrogate for religion as the primary basis of organizing schools.
ONTARIO	"Public School" defenders could not prevent the province from extending full funding for separate high schools.
MANITOBA	Century old laws, which established English as the only official language for Manitoba, were declared to be unconstitutional.
ALBERTA	Compulsory attendance laws could not be used to force religious minorities to send their children to public schools.

The courts have not been the only source of challenge. Many individuals and various organizations (Task Force, 1978) have also realized that recognition of human rights provides potentially strong arguments for reorienting traditional educational policies and practises. Historically, many of our existing systems emerged as partial or initial approaches to safeguard human rights. Compulsory education, the certification of teachers, and the requirement that boards must provide schools and hire teachers are examples from the nineteenth century. Judging from the cases reported in Figure 1, it is not easy to predict the outcomes of some challenges that might arise. One that is likely to be addressed concerns the archaic and implausible prescription of "Duties of Teachers," which is sometimes exempted from the protection of the human rights codes of provinces. To this date, there have been no challenges under *The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*.

Teachers' collective rights

Through most of Canadian school history, teachers could be hired and dismissed at the will of a local board (Enns, 1963). Their contract relationship to the board was that of master and servant, with very few statutory protections (McCurdy, 1968). When federations were created during the last sixty years, they were very hesitant in claiming rights for teachers, but their express purpose was to protect and further the rights of their members in every appropriate way (Gilliss, 1987). What was "appropriate" gradually changed over time, for the official and widespread public opposition to teachers' unions at first made confrontation counterproductive

(MacKay, 1984, p. 246). It was only after trade unions won a legitimacy in both the United States and Canada during the mid-thirties that teachers were able to think in terms of compulsory membership, collective bargaining, and (ultimately) strikes. There is an important distinction between the right to associate (form unions) and to strike. The first associations preceded the legal right to strike by many decades, but both organizing and striking rights were won comparatively early in Canada. By contrast, the first legislation in the United States requiring boards to bargain salary schedules with the teaching profession was not enacted until 1959, in Wisconsin (Valente, 1980, p. 211).

The basic expectation that a federation will protect the interests of its members (Gilliss, 1987, p. 28) has recently been subjected to a demanding test that it be rooted in the human rights of the pupils and the community, rather than exclusively in the interests of the teacher. For example, the Alberta Teachers' Association broadened its mandate to recognize its responsibilities to the pupils and to the public, responsibilities which arose out of its status as a public monopoly. This conversion was virtually obligatory after the Ghitter Commission (1984) recommended several readjustments to the Alberta school system following a reappraisal of "The Keegstra Affair" (1) and the manner in which it was mishandled (Bercuson & Wertheimer, 1985; Mertl & Ward, 1985).

At the community level, human rights are involved in school closings – even when the closings result from legal strikes or lockouts. In this case, the interests of those directly involved are not adequately represented by the current participants of the teachers' union, board, and (sometimes) provincial legislators. As was demonstrated by public reaction during the 1987 strike of primary teachers in Toronto Metro, a strike or lockout can be conducted according to the rules but may still cause great public resentment and win no friends (*Toronto Star*, October 8, 1987, and *Sunday Star*, October 18, 1987). Are human rights actually being abused by the current mechanisms for settling disputes, or do the media merely reflect the hyperbole of parents or newspaper editors? Can we find analogies in the way family laws now require that the interests of children be taken into account (for example, in divorce actions) and perhaps even be protected by their independent advocate?

Pupils' rights

At the personal level, the rights of the child/pupil have been safeguarded recently in ways that stem from the recognition of human rights. There are numerous arguments for extending the legal concept of "human being" so that children and pupils are legally protected (Ayim, 1986; Besharov, 1985). In consequence, "cruel and unusual punishments"

are rarely meted out in schools today (Pamenter-Potvin, 1985). The right to freedom of expression by students has been better defined (MacKay, 1984, pp. 301-303) so that it is no longer likely that children who are "improperly dressed" in blue jeans and knitted shirts will be sent home. This actually happened, with the board's right to regulate school dress upheld in court. However, the judge's criticism of the foolishness of this "lawful" exercise of power by the board, and the attendant bad publicity, resulted in the regulation being withdrawn. Now children regularly attend schools dressed or groomed in ways that would once have been considered objectionable (Choukaslos, 1981).

The shibboleth that parents are the best (or necessary, or adequate) protectors of the interests of the child has recently been subjected to a more rigorous legal test (MacKay, 1984, ch. 6). The right of the child to reasonable privacy has been affirmed, thereby denying access to school records by unauthorized persons (Humphreys, 1980), restraining invasions of lockers (MacKay, p. 219-222), or even searching of childrens' bodies (Balderson, 1983).

Reasonable limitations

Teachers and principals sometimes find themselves to be the victims of well meaning but misguided zealots for children's rights. Bergen (1982) provides a balanced exploration in "Should schools provide appeal procedures for disciplined students?" It is clear that overzealous reference of school matters to the courts may lead to such a reaction as that of **The Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation**, which resolved that false accusations of teachers – particularly alleging sex offenses – should be punished severely. Teachers' reputations may remain tarnished even after acquittal.

Because of legal obligations that arise out of international law, Canada is expected to impart an understanding of human rights. The process through which this is imparted is important. Children need to know the nature of **human rights** – to be able to distinguish them from rights confined to a particular group (members of the glee club) or those that apply also to non-humans (e.g., animal rights). Children also need to learn that rights entail obligations, but that these are not the result of a bargain, such as, "You respect my language claims and I will support your fish" – a proposal that Trudeau scornfully denounced in 1980 as a basis for constitutional change (*Globe and Mail*, July 5, 1980). Children must realize that if there is a particular right – to legal justice, for example – it is a right which every person must have, and which every authority must therefore respect. In the extreme (as in the Keegstra case) it may be necessary to limit the exercise of rights, but not to discredit in advance any right or any person's right to claim it.

The promotion of human rights

It may be possible at an early age to stimulate children's understanding of human rights, obligations, and reasonable limitations upon these rights. These concepts, in most cases, are best illustrated in international law (Humphrey, 1984, pp. 75-76), *The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, and various provincial laws. They have not yet been rigorously applied in the school curriculum.

The conscious promotion of human rights in the Canadian population is a relatively recent national objective. *The Constitution Act of 1867* empowered the Federal government to make laws for "the Peace, Order and Good Government of Canada," and many authorities have stressed the relative ease with which Canada has been governed – perhaps because of this constitutional principle. For a century schools lauded law-abiding citizens, advocated the vote, and praised loyalty to God, family, and flag. Recognizing a duty beyond these civic ideals came as a result of widespread recognition of flaws in the public and private record of Canadian immigration and employment laws in the first half of the twentieth century (since documented extensively, for example, by Abella & Troper, 1982; Adams, 1975; and Broadfoot, 1979). Particularly in the period since 1945, objectives have been raised to reflect emerging international standards.

During the interval since the United Nations proclaimed *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights* – a document which Canada did not support until the last moment (Humphrey, 1984, p. 71) – there has been a gradual warming to the idea. Canada passed its first federal *Human Rights Bill* in 1960. *The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* provides a much stronger safeguard at the heart of the present Canadian Constitution. All provinces have provincial human rights legislation which prohibits discrimination in most situations, and affirms important rights of children, women, persons with disabilities, and the poor (Tarnopolsky, 1982). Unfortunately, these documents are ordinary legislation which can still be readily amended and abrogated by governments when enforcement proves to be inconvenient. Only *The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* is really difficult to ignore in this way – and even it can be temporarily over-ridden by a determined government.

Human rights education

Human rights education may have many potential meanings. Only John Calder (no date) has prepared and published a serious course book in this area for Canadian high school students. Several courses deal with aspects of human rights in senior secondary grades (Ray, 1984), but there remains a need for early intervention through research based instruction on

the essence of human rights and some of its basic applications in Canada. Education of the population that has completed initial schooling is even more haphazard, but provincial human rights commissions are introducing modest programs. According to the advice received by **The Canadian Human Rights Foundation**, in a nationwide survey of the human rights education provided and desired in schooling (see Figure 2), such instruction would best address the mainstream needs of Canadian students. These suggestions accorded very well with those proposed by international authorities on human rights education (Bernstein Tarrow, 1987; Torney-Purta, 1982).

Figure 2
Teaching Human Rights:
Principal Canadian Educators' Recommendations*

Start in elementary grades, just after the children can read, and before they have acquired too many prejudices from adults.

Teach through all suitable subjects rather than making human rights a detached abstraction that has no place in ordinary activities.

Teach in a way that reflects human rights rather than discusses them. Involve the children.

Ensure that the teachers have adequate materials to accomplish the objectives without strenuous preparation.

* Stan Urman. (1986). Human rights education: A legal and moral imperative. *Canadian Journal of Education* 11(2), 383-87.

The course discussed here has been developed by **The Canadian Human Rights Foundation** over the past several years (Urman, 1986); it has been pilot-tested in French and English in six Canadian provinces and may soon be adopted or adapted in some. It introduces the basic concepts of human rights, responsibilities, and reasonable limitations to elementary grades, together with key applications in Canada.

Human rights education, as part of the curriculum, has some theoretical advantages over other approaches to bringing into the mainstream the type of education required for Canada. The first characteristic is that the approach is not based upon the value systems of part of the population but upon provincial, federal, and international law. Although most laws reflect the interests of their original sponsoring groups and may exist at the expense of others, they have the potential for winning wider approval

because they are debated by a diversified legislature. Hortatory approaches are replaced by research based, developmental, participatory, and interdisciplinary methodology and examples. The desired goals can be achieved without adding additional courses to an already overcrowded curriculum. Human rights education aims for a curriculum that is exciting, with supportive activities so that the pupils employ their new knowledge and skills in many typical situations.

The teachers' needs are met by having extensive teaching support materials, an opportunity to choose among alternative exercises for achieving a particular goal, and evaluation materials designed for the particular units. Further support materials and programs are necessary if success is to be achieved from the initial instruction with the units.

Conclusion

Policy makers usually reject piecemeal decisions that would set precedents that might hobble future actions. They prefer decisions that are consistent with research or philosophically derived systems of data. If these are universal, so much the better, for it is desirable to reduce feuding about "which set of values" shall be chosen. It is the job of administrators to ensure that these decisions are based upon adequate research, and that courses based upon them are ready for effective classroom use.

Such appears to be the case for Canadian school administrators today. Rather than responding to the advocates of particular causes, it may be possible to deal with many worthy ideas as examples of a set of principles that ideally stand together. Even though it is impossible to know all such examples, the general structure can be identified and supported. It is therefore possible to address the personal interests of the pupil, the community aspects of the social, religious, or linguistic group; and obligations to uphold justice even within international society. In Canada, these relationships theoretically correspond with objectives of our system of government, and imperfections are capable of being addressed. These analytical tools, more than the details of social systems that may be used incidentally to define, illustrate, or explain it, are the outcome of a good human rights education.

An earlier version of this paper was presented as a discussion opener to the Ottawa School Board Administrators, October, 1987.

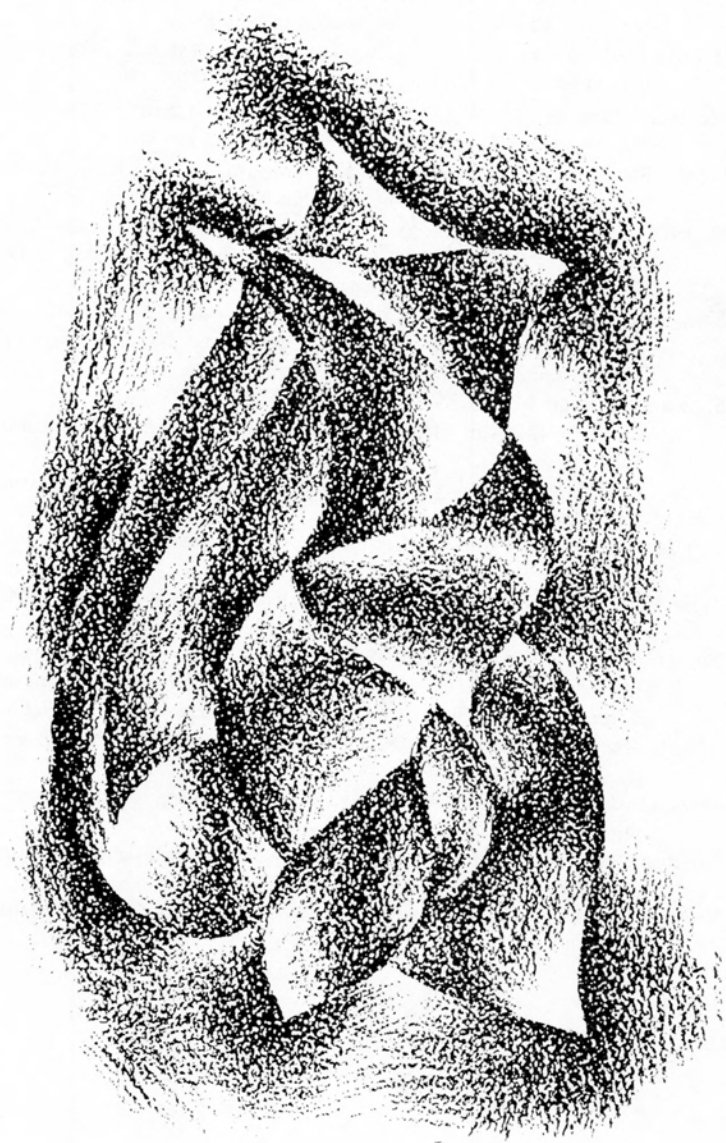
NOTE

1. James Keegstra was a social studies teacher who taught his students from books that were not authorized for use in schools, despite cautions to follow the curriculum. For this he was eventually fired and decertified. Because the books and his teaching alleged that the World War II holocaust was a hoax, he was later charged with a criminal offense of teaching hatred to an identifiable group. The principal and superintendent were criticized for failing to stop Keegstra much earlier, and the Alberta Teachers' Association was criticized for overzealously defending the rights of the teacher instead of merely insisting that Keegstra be provided with an adequate defence (Schwartz, 1986).

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Patrick Keane
Dalhousie University

Priorities and Resources in Adult Education: The Montreal Mechanics' Institute (1828-1843)

Abstract

This study explores a pioneer experiment in popular adult education in Canada. It examines the explicit and implicit priorities of Montreal Mechanics' Institute between 1828 and 1843, and the resources mustered to realize them. The project's viability is discussed in relation to contemporary social, economic, and political conditions. This highlights some of the multiple conflicts inherent in a prescriptive philosophy of adult education even before the advent of a distinct working class consciousness.

Today, only two of the hundreds of mechanics' institutes founded to provide adult education in North America appear to remain in operation – those of Montreal and San Francisco (Keane, 1984). This paper explores the explicit and implicit priorities established by the former, and the human and material resources mustered to realize these priorities in the formative fifteen years prior to attempts at public recognition. First, the Montreal foundation is placed in the context of the international "useful knowledge" movement, and then in the context of local, social, and economic conditions. Next, the institute's original promoters, their priorities, and their resources are explored. After noting the interregnum highlighted by the 1837 Rebellion, the new administration's promoters, priorities, and resources are similarly examined. Finally, the validity of this early experiment in adult education is considered from the perspective of goal attainment.

Useful knowledge

"Useful knowledge" was popularized in Britain and North America from the 1820s. It was conceived largely as a form of adult continuing

education in those fast-developing sciences assumed to have a broad cultural and vocational application. It was deemed to be of particular value to skilled workers educated in the apprenticeship system. While such folk heroes of this system as Benjamin Franklin and James Watt had benefited from independent study, it was felt that some institutionalized form of adult education was needed to disseminate the new knowledge more widely. Accordingly, the traditional (middle class) model of a voluntary society was utilized, and an international network of agencies was developed to serve this new student body.

These agencies, usually termed **mechanics' institutes**, reflected the generic term for skilled workers in the male-dominated technical trades. The institutes showed a surprising degree of similarity in their priorities, and in the kinds of resources they endeavored to obtain, whether they were located in Scotland or in California. They were dedicated to the proposition that the power and wealth of the Industrial Revolution rendered possible unlimited progress for all, but more particularly for those who chose to benefit from recent advances in scientific and technical knowledge. Disdaining liberal and classical education which was considered as suited more to the elite of an outmoded, hierarchical, agrarian society, they urged the merits of those sciences which had applicability to the workplace. Such advocacy seemed especially relevant in the New World, where isolation, novelty, change, and opportunity put a premium on innovation. It also proved sufficiently flexible to incorporate a wide range of subjects, although specifically excluding controversial politics, economics, and religion, and implicitly excluding recreational and leisure time interests.

The curriculum philosophy was a prescriptive one, formed largely by middle class sponsors, and was marketed enthusiastically, often in the face of Tory opposition or workers' diffidence. "Useful knowledge" constituted a middle ground in adult education, broader than the elementary religious and moral education acceptable to some Tories, yet narrower than the education for social, economic, and political change sought by some working class leaders. Its promoters sought to marshal sufficient resources to channel an undoubted interest in the "marvels of science" into avenues of advancement that would not be disruptive of the status quo. As the classical world had valued knowledge for its own sake, and the medieval world for its contribution toward salvation, the perception now was that of Francis Bacon or René Descartes – that "knowledge is power."

Contemporary Montreal

Montreal, like San Francisco, was facing substantial population growth and industrial development at the time its mechanics' institute was founded. In both cities, the new colonists differed from the host culture in

being largely English-speaking. Demobilized soldiers, sailors, and marines came to Montreal in large numbers after the ending of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, followed by settlers fleeing economic hardships, in the 1830s, and the Irish famine of the 1840s. Montreal's population of some 18,000 in 1821 grew to over 91,000 four decades later (Cooper, 1969). The newcomers varied from the skilled and prosperous to the destitute and disease-ridden, and their influx led to racial and religious dissension. In 1828, when the institute was established, a prosperity long based on the fur trade had given place to a more diversified economy, directed by a powerful and prosperous merchant class, who sought to retain for Montreal the economic, if not the political, primacy of the Canadas, by deepening the channel to Quebec to render Montreal an ocean terminal. Needed harbor improvements were however delayed until 1830, when the merchants secured the appointment of harbour commissioners to direct the work. Similarly, it was not until 1833 that property owners replaced the appointed justices of the peace with their elected city council.

In the twenties and thirties, traditional commercial employments were supplemented by a growing brewing and distilling industry, and by the development of small industrial establishments, particularly in the largely English-speaking ward of St. Ann. John Molson Sr., who in 1783 entered the city's brewing business, had in 1809 commissioned the first steamboat to be built in Canada, and in 1821 introduced a steam engine into his brewery. It "performed erratically, but it was a giant step into the industrial age" (Woods, 1983, p. 72). While this founder of today's corporate giant had found it necessary to visit the inventors, James Watt, in England, and Robert Fulton, in New York, his work was nevertheless facilitated by Montreal already possessing a "surprisingly sophisticated metalworking industry" (p. 34). Thereafter, marine engineering, boosted by the adoption of the steam engine, developed alongside the manufacture of carriages, soap and candles, drugs and paint, rope, newspaper type, shoes, and clothing.

The influential Scottish entrepreneurs were complemented by increasing numbers of New Englanders, although French-Canadian participation was not to be significant until the end of the period covered by this study. One theory attributes the latter circumstance to a *mentalité* inhibiting entrepreneurial activity. Another theory suggests that "they lacked technical competence, or because their capital resources were insufficient" at a time when owners were "still the master craftsman, engineer, works manager, and possibly even chief salesman" in these small plants (Ekirch, 1951, pp. 94-95; Tulchinsky, 1977, pp. 204, 229; Yves, 1969, pp. 426-430). By 1830, Montreal was credited with having nearly five hundred industrial plants and some thirteen hundred employees, many highly skilled and representing the classic participants in mechanics' institutes (Bruchesi, 1943).

Initial promoters and priorities

The founders of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute who met on November 21, 1828, represented the French-speaking and the English-speaking population, the establishment and the forces of change. The meeting was chaired by the Rev. Henry Esson, a Presbyterian minister, educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen, Scotland, who later joined the faculty of Knox College, Toronto (Campbell, 1887). His St. Gabriel Street church was the ideological home of many of the city's Presbyterian merchants, and his personal contributions included the founding of a local school, the Montreal Academical Institution. The promotion of "useful knowledge" was to be undertaken frequently by such nonconformist ministers, particularly the Unitarians, although its secular context was more likely to deter Anglican and Catholic clergy.

Others who joined the first governing body included Louis Gogy, Swiss-born sheriff of Montreal, as president; Louis J. Papineau, a seminary educated seigneur of Montebello and French-Canadian speaker of the Assembly, as a vice-president; John Molson Sr., noted earlier, as a vice-president; Horatio Gates, Massachusetts-born wholesale staple merchant and fellow director with Molson of the Bank of Montreal (1817); and Sir James Kempt, governor of Quebec, as a patron. Support thus ranged from the courtly provincial governor to Papineau, one of his chief political opponents, from the scholarly Esson to the hard-headed bankers and business people, and embraced those of Presbyterian, Anglican, and Catholic faiths. For an institute credited with being the first in present day Canada, the broad support seemed a propitious omen in that era of uneasy relationships.

Their explicit priorities were expressed as being "to instruct the members in the various branches of science and useful knowledge" (1). These were intended to be realized with a program of lectures, classes, a library, a museum, an experimental workshop, and a laboratory. Subjects identified were natural and experimental philosophy, practical mechanics, astronomy, chemistry, mathematics, architecture, navigation, geometry, trigonometry, ancient and modern languages, civil history, political economy, philosophy of the human mind, and the arts. Reference to the "ancient languages" and "the arts" suggests a liberal interpretation of "useful knowledge," although one suspects that "political economy" would be interpreted from the prevailing middle class standpoint of a community of interests between employer and employee. New members were to be admitted only after being proposed at one meeting and balloted for at the next one, and the socially acceptable goals of "useful knowledge" were presumed to confer on them a degree of prestige or status. The target audience was the predominantly English-speaking skilled workers, able to afford an annual \$2 membership fee.

The priorities proved to be relatively attractive. Some two hundred members were soon enrolled. These appear to have been largely English-speaking and the language of instruction was English. However, alongside the names Allison, Clarke, Scott, and Stevenson, one also finds Bouderau, Cuvillier, Lalanne, and Lapensée. Indeed, the French-Canadian merchant, François Antoine Larocque, also joined the administration.

In addition to the merchants, physicians, and clergy, who tended to be officeholders, a diversity of occupations were represented. These included apprentice, architect, army officer, blacksmith, bookkeeper, botanist, builder, 'chymist' (pharmacist), clerk of works, draper, engineer, engraver, gentleman, hatter, innkeeper, joiner, law student, linendraper, mason, miller, plasterer, plumber, postman, shoemaker, surveyor, teacher, tobacconist, victualler, and writer. Such occupational information has to be treated with some reserve for while apprentices are identified separately, no distinction is noted between masters/employers and journeymen/employees. However, that was the era of the small artisan shop in Montreal, of the master, his handful of qualified journeymen, and a number of apprentices learning their trades. Relations were usually close and personal, and assumed both a community of interest and previously undreamt of opportunities for advancement. The promoters, the priorities, and the membership were thus alike in their breadth, although some constraints have been identified.

Initial resources

Translating the priorities into a viable program involved the practical question of resources. This was an especially critical question for this voluntary body. Its members could not be expected to muster resources comparable to the city's earlier (middle class) scientific bodies – the Medical Institute (1823) and the Natural History Society (1827). Indeed, hindsight suggests that Montreal, with a population of under 30,000 by 1830, was below the optimum needed to sustain a full taxonomy of scientific societies, even with some proffered cooperation (Hendrickson, 1973; Greene, 1976). It was however the age of innovation, of the gifted amateur, of the dedicated volunteer, and of unbridled optimism. In this heyday of voluntarism, it was tacitly assumed that members and supporters would be able and willing to volunteer for the teaching and administrative roles, and to serve on committees as required. The institute's inaugural meeting had also specifically called upon members for "donations of money, books, specimens, implements, models, apparatus." Beyond the optimistic assumption that adequate human and material resources existed in Montreal and would be attracted to this venture, it was apparent that the promoters began with only a vague idea of what was actually needed. There were indeed few sources of such information in 1828, for this recent international movement had been propelled more by conviction and emulation than by

research. Information was thus limited to descriptive newspaper accounts or members' possible knowledge of other foundations.

An international network reflective of this pervasive scientific culture was indeed in the making (Keane, 1985), but local social contexts quickly influenced resource availability in that inevitably they influenced priorities. Even when funds became available, some instructional materials proved difficult to obtain, although general literature was regularly imported for sale in Montreal, and agents existed for more specialized periodicals (2). When the substantial sum of £44.2s.4d. was amassed for the purchase of books and scientific apparatus in 1834, it proved necessary to make the purchase in London, England – an undertaking facilitated by the fortuitous visit of one of the members (3). Even in Britain, home of the Industrial Revolution, this burgeoning market had not been addressed seriously until the foundation of the **Society For the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge**, in London in 1826, and its affiliate in Boston two years later. Thereafter, a period of trial and error ensued as a body of gifted writers sought to produce reading materials suited to this new reading public. It was in the context of such unforeseen difficulties that the Montreal administration by 1835 amassed a collection of specimens, models, newspapers, and some five hundred journals and books.

Lectures and classes

No difficulty was encountered in quickly mounting a modest lecture program on such subjects as architecture, astronomy, limestone, and scientific irrigation. By 1833, the institute even offered a lecture course on political economy – from the mundane "vote of thanks" tendered the lecturer, and his "suitable reply," one assumes it represented orthodox views. As early as 1829, it had even been proposed to supplement the ad hoc voluntary lectures with regular courses recognized by the payment of small fees (4). A provincial grant, facilitated by Papineau, encouraged this trend, and the lectures seem to have proved popular, entertaining, stimulating, and even profitable. However, it was soon realized that the relative shortage of people able and willing to teach courses was compounded by a shortage of suitable scientific apparatus, models, and texts. Much depended on the services of largely self-educated amateur scientists, medical practitioners, or technical officers of the garrison, and on their private resource collections. These prized human and material resources were in great demand although membership of the three scientific societies sometimes overlapped, as happened among physicians or those involved in other aspects of public service. Thus Dr. Andrew Holmes was an early member of all three bodies, and went on to become Dean of Medicine at McGill in 1854.

The question of resources was further highlighted when formal class instruction in drawing was instituted in 1833. It was realized gradually that a discursive lecture program was ill-suited to facilitate technical competence among those who possessed limited formal schooling. However, a sustained and intensive class program of four 2-hour sessions per week made onerous demands on the administration, the instructors, and the students. Rather than diverting proportionately more resources to the project, the administration allowed a teacher to hold his day school in the institute in return for donating his evenings to the institute class. The venture proved short-lived, although in 1835 there was again mention of the desirability of class instruction. This time fifteen apprentices showed interest in enrolling for a mathematics course. Yet again, the administration seemed more intent on promoting a popular lecture program than in coming to grips with the substantial educational changes their priorities entailed.

Implicit priorities

It was in respect of priorities not stated in the constitution or committee minutes that the administration's community of interests between masters/employers and journeymen/employees was soon questioned by events outside the institute, as was the viability of involvement of the French-speaking population. Even as Montreal property owners secured control of their municipal government, local craft unions were developing, as representative of the skilled workers. These had formulated wage rates and apprentice agreements among the shoemakers and tailors in 1830, the printers and carpenters in 1833, and the bakers and firefighters in 1834. Conflict resulted in 1834 when the journeymen carpenters and joiners of the **Mechanics' Protecting Society** sought to lower their eleven-hour working day. Their recently enfranchised employers offered unyielding opposition to men characterized as "dangerous to the peace and safety of good citizens" (Forsey, 1982, ch. 2; Lipton, 1966; Logan, 1948; and Note 5). Similar confrontations occurred elsewhere, with such proclaimed liberal reformers as William Lyon Mackenzie urging striking Toronto printers to study economics instead of fomenting social divisions. For those who were denied the vote and were lectured on orthodox middle class views on economics, the possibilities of "useful knowledge" enhancing their opportunities must have seemed tenuous.

Potential and actual French-speaking members might also have been deterred by the institute's English-speaking milieu, which was influenced by local Presbyterian Scottish and New England business interests. Some Lower Canadian reformers indeed viewed the promise of improved technical competence as a possible escape from drudgery, ignorance, and isolation in a frontier society. They shared also an opposition to banks and land companies with Upper Canadian reformers.

Other Lower Canadian reformers, however, viewed technical progress as a possible threat to their cultural identity. They opposed further immigration and government support of such industrial and commercial development as canal building, while seeking retention of feudal land ownership. Papineau, who retained the support of most French-Canadians, proved a somewhat incongruous advocate of the institute in view of his social conservatism. Although his subscriptions were in arrears, he served on the institute's governing body, promised and delivered government support, and urged the members to develop a role as technical innovators. In 1830, he even proposed a specific research project as worthy of their efforts – the invention of "a method to warm houses and public buildings in Canada upon a cheaper, cleaner, and . . . better plan than the present mode with stoves" (6). Papineau's support, influential though it was, did not lead to any influx of French-speaking enrollments. Doubtless, few bilingual French-Canadian skilled workers were disposed to challenge the prevailing political, economic, and religious animosities that membership might have entailed.

The research proposed by Papineau raised questions of priority. Among the institute's unrealized objectives was the establishment of "an experimental workshop and laboratory" – a concern reinforced in 1835 by a proposal to award silver medals for inventions. However, transforming the institute from an information system into a research body highlighted issues both of practicality and of common interests. A prevailing conviction that skilled workers needed only the resources of mechanics' institutes in order to make significant research contributions had yet to be discounted. The resources of the Montreal institute were not in any case comparable with those of the Royal Institution, London, or the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia, where scientific and technical research was flowering. More significantly, as those bodies attracted increased middle class business and professional participation, skilled worker involvement almost disappeared. This was not simply from the latter's perceived inability to participate, nor was it from a lack of interest in innovation. (The Montreal members had already demonstrated an interest in new processes, machines, techniques, and implements.) Rather, in the absence of effective patent protection of innovations, the skilled worker lacked a stimulus to participate in the explicit priority of the "common good." Instead, a now restive work force scented implicit priorities, exploitive of interests long protected by traditional craft secrecy and apprenticeship regulations.

Interregnum: 1835-1840

After 1835, the institute lapsed into suspended animation. Its prized resources remained out of circulation until its rebirth in 1840. While the highlight of this period was the Montreal Rebellion of November 6, 1837,

there were also outbreaks of cholera and typhoid, an economic recession, and signs of independent working class initiatives. As early as 1834, some Montreal workers were fired for daring "to entertain a different set of political opinions" from those to whom they gave their "day's labor in exchange for a dollar" (Lipton, 1966, p. 10). In the same year, the craft unions had supported Papineau's famous 92 resolutions on responsible government, and witnessed the reformers' election success in the house of assembly. In such a heady climate, the ideology of "useful knowledge" must have seemed to many as becoming increasingly irrelevant to the major issues of the day. A Tory reaction, the proclamation of martial law, and the flight of Papineau and other reformers to the United States, ended this chapter in Montreal's development. Change came in 1840 when the economy was again buoyant, a board of trade was organized, and immigration was expanding the scope, resources, and needs of the city.

New promoters and their priorities

On February 7, 1840, a public meeting proposed the re-establishment of a mechanics' institute, and four days later the venture was launched. The impetus was ascribed to "several gentlemen" who obtained "the countenance and support of many of the most influential of our citizens" (7). The Irish-born publisher, John Lovell, spoke of the benefits already dispensed by such institutes elsewhere. John Redpath, a Scottish-born city alderman (1840-1843) involved in banking, mining, shipping, and canal building, was elected president. Benjamin Holmes, cashier of the Bank of Montreal, was elected vice-president, and Dr. Joseph Hall, a local physician, was appointed corresponding secretary. George Moffatt, a substantial merchant, soon to be an MLA for Montreal (1841-1847), donated a generous £37.15s. to the institute's finances.

The new promoters reflected the same business and professional interests that characterized the first promoters. They differed, however, in omitting either dissenting ministers or French-Canadians, which suggests the more Tory ethos found also in the post-Rebellion institute in Toronto. While the Scots and American entrepreneurs had progressed beyond a somewhat combative earlier relationship, the Durham Report released in 1839 suggested that social intercourse between the English-speaking and French-speaking middle classes all but ceased after the Rebellion (Lucas, 1912). While accepting the Montreal merchants' desire for a unified St. Lawrence economy, the Report had alienated French-Canadians, whom it characterized as "an utterly uneducated and singularly inert population." It was against this background that an amalgamation was effected with the original body on June 1, 1840, and the title, Mechanics' Institute of Montreal, was taken.

A new constitution was inaugurated to implement the goal of "benefitting mechanics, whether masters, journeymen, or apprentices" by improving "their condition, socially and morally" (8). This explicit moral preachment typified the assurance and condescension of many middle class institute promoters. In 1841, the institute's library committee was likewise to conclude that, "in some minds a spirit of inquiry needs but to be awakened to insure a continued progression to a maturity of usefulness and greatness" (9). With "knowledge is power" as the motto, power or status is viewed here less as something to be achieved individually than as something to be conveyed in return for being considered socially useful. This attributes to the students a deficiency in cultural capital or stimulus, which deprecates the strong labour tradition of independent study and practical experience. "Useful knowledge" thus becomes an instrument in the political economy of middle class society, serving prescriptive notions of the public interest rather than meeting individual needs.

The target group to be served was identified as being mainly "those who are engaged in mechanical pursuits." Ordinary subscriptions were set at 15s. annually, or 3s.9d. quarterly, 1s.3d. quarterly for the sons and apprentices of members, and £5 for life members (10). Life membership was alternatively offered to those who would donate books or instructional materials to the value of £7.10s. Despite the competition of other newly refounded bodies, some 223 members enrolled within the first four months – only 24 of these had been in the membership of the original institute and only 6 qualified for the apprentice subscription (11). Membership afterwards began to fluctuate constantly, many attending for only a couple of years, not attending at all during the summer months when the port was busy, and often having their subscriptions in arrears.

Faced with a seemingly cavalier response to its program by the priority target group, the administration responded not by restructuring its program but by restructuring membership criteria. In 1843, women were admitted to membership, at a fee of 5s. annually. This policy change, common among contemporary institutes, marked a significant departure from the initial priorities. While regularly condemning the target audience for their indifference to "useful knowledge," the administration was slow to initiate systematic class instruction and clearly unable or unwilling to respond to the skilled workers' broader social, economic, and political concerns. Another embryonic market was lost after 1841 with the establishment of the Montreal Mercantile Library. Its library and lecture program soon developed to serve the needs of the burgeoning business community.

New resources

The resources mustered for this second venture were comprised of a program of lectures, classes, a library, and a museum. Clergymen, military officers, educators, and physicians were induced to lecture weekly on such varied topics as astronomy, chemistry, natural philosophy, vegetable physiology, jurisprudence, education, temperance, geography, Egypt, Palestine, and phrenology. Influenced perhaps by a prevailing imputation of a deficiency of abstract thought among mechanics, strenuous efforts were made to acquire scientific apparatus, visual aids and library materials, and to emphasize demonstrations. While some lectures drew only moderate attendance, science experiments and illustrations drew "the highest applause," while the pseudo-science of phrenology attracted "crowded and delighted audiences" (12). This suggests that the criterion of lecture success was Bentham's "greatest happiness of the greatest number," rather than the more mundane and demanding one of improved technical competence. This emphasizes an implicit priority of many voluntary bodies – the need to maximize income. Institutes were thus drawn to meet popular and discursive lecture interests because a more substantial market existed for them.

In seeking apparatus and equipment, the emphasis was clearly to facilitate a lecture program rather than a class program, although the new administration did inaugurate some class instruction in drawing and French. Attempts were made to purchase a magic lantern and a collection of astronomy slides in New York, and some general apparatus in London. Donors contributed items as diverse as geological specimens, a voltaic battery, an "electrifying machine," a small electrotype, a rotary magnet and weight, a stuffed crocodile, and a portrait of James Watt. M. Bailé, principal of the Collège de Montréal, loaned the institute an orrery for one lecture in 1841 (13). Communications with Dr. George Birkbeck, president of London Mechanics' Institution, England, indicated that apparatus suitable for large scale demonstrations was required, rather than that for individual or class use. Significantly, it was Birkbeck's advocacy that led the administration to approve £30 to enable four of its own members to construct needed apparatus in 1842. This project emphasized the potential of the idealized "intelligent mechanic," possessed of craft skills and with tools and materials, inventiveness, and now, some knowledge of scientific principles. This human resource, epitomized by a volunteer drawing instructor in 1840, was seldom utilized by an administration that relied essentially on middle class talents and collections.

While some might differ about what constituted "suitable books" (Keane, 1978), there was widespread agreement that the library constituted a major institute resource. Beyond the customary encouragement of donations, the administration allocated £50 for book purchases in 1840, and another

£40 in the following year. Early donations included such germane items as the *Penny Encyclopedia*, *Gardener's Arena of Science*, *Nicholson's Encyclopedia*, and *Nicholson's Five Orders of Architecture*. Early purchases varied from Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology* to T.R. Malthus' *Essay on the Principles of Population*. By August 1840, the library included 136 volumes inherited from the original institute, 47 deposited by members, 56 donated by members, and 156 purchased. There were also 200 reviews and journals, and an outstanding order for 50 volumes of *Harper's Family Library*, all in the care of a salaried librarian who was provided with accommodation (14). With opening hours spanning the period from 7:00 a.m. (newsroom) and 9:00 a.m. (library) to 10:00 p.m., they served members who might work a ten or eleven hour, 6-day week. Conversely, the holdings reflected little that was even remotely related to such contemporary issues affecting mechanics as the Lachine Canal strike of 1834. Members' response may be gauged quantitatively by the one hundred of the 695 volumes then in constant circulation. The administration's response was expressed as "unmixed satisfaction" with the "good that may result to society" (15). From comparable libraries, it would seem that circulation figures increased as the proportion of scientific and technical works decreased. In fact, priorities beyond science and technology were as apparent in the early exclusion of fiction as in the inclusion of works on morality, temperance, and political economy. Despite explicit institute priorities furthering improved technical competence, the collections constituted less those of a specialist technical library than of one supportive of implicit middle class social values.

Watershed

The admission of women to membership marked a significant step beyond the institute's initial priorities. One is conscious of the administration striving regularly both to serve as a "rallying point" for interests imputed to skilled workers, and yet to transcend this role. In November 1840, abortive discussions were held to amalgamate the Institute with the **Natural History Society** and the embryonic Mercantile Library. Such a rationalization would have constituted a major learned society with substantial resources. It would doubtless have established an organizational milieu supportive of the interests of the relatively few people then deriving a regular income from scientific work. It might have enabled Canada to publish its first truly scientific journal at a period when much pioneer research was being attempted. Conversely, it would probably have weakened the already tenuous relationship with skilled workers.

Another move to play on a wider stage came with the institute's launching of its first public exhibition of science and technology in February 1843. Faced with "the most rigid economy" after "kindred

institutions" attracted away some of its 286 members (of whom 73 were apprentices), the administration launched this new venture (16). As in Britain and the United States, an exhibition in Montreal seemed to offer the potential to reinforce the scientific ethos and attract wider public support and resources. Specifically, the institute now needed accommodation suitable to house a proposed program of science lectures and classes. In now seeking to promote "the advancement of our country," the administration could not but realize that its membership to date had represented perhaps 1% of the city's population at any one time. However, a more substantial "useful knowledge" impact on the city's mechanics can be postulated if one considers that there was a constantly changing institute membership and if one includes the membership in "kindred institutions" as well as those who were engaged in independent study. Furthermore, a substantial part of the population – women, children, the old, and the unskilled and/or illiterate – were excluded. Some corrective to this would involve reducing institute membership figures by the numbers of non-tradesmen, and weighting membership figures in terms of the two linguistic communities. Overall, therefore, the institute seems to have made some contribution to social integration and identification among the predominantly English-speaking mechanics.

A new climate of opportunity was exemplified in Montreal by responding to declining enrollments with a public exhibition, rather than with the customary recriminations. Audiences of between five and six hundred had already mustered for a public performance by Charles Dickens, himself a mechanics' institute president at various times (Forster, 1904; Keane, 1985, p. 234). There was now talk of moving the capital of the united Province of Canada from Kingston to Montreal, of ambitious public works schemes and new links to be forged to the sea. Technological innovation continued also, as evidenced by the number of patents being taken out on engines, boilers, propellers, and paddlewheels (17). To date, such developments had depended more on imported skills, apprenticeship, and on-the-job training, than on any resources mustered by the institute. Indeed, the Eagle Foundry, probably Montreal's most significant engine works from the 1820s to the early forties, began with "imported tools, capital and . . . skilled workmen . . . from New Jersey" and thereafter had "a regular exchange of skilled workmen between Montreal and Vergennes" (Tulchinsky, 1977, p. 213, 215). Such mechanics seem to have sampled the institute's varied resources without yet sharing the administration's conviction that its lecturer on the steam engine possessed a "perfect knowledge of the subject" (18). Some potential for development among French-Canadians must also have seemed apparent when Augustin Cantin opened his shipyard in 1843; he was to become Montreal's greatest steamboat builder by the end of that decade (Tulchinsky, p. 209).

The first public exhibition met the fundamental priority of raising funds; it realized a net profit of £25.10s.1-1/2d., and this should be seen in the context of a £30 donation by the governor and a government grant of £50 (19). Despite some trepidation by the administration, the public responded well and enjoyed the "variety of amusements," and musical performances. Members were portrayed as respectable and dependable citizens, and the institute acquired a higher profile as a community organization attuned to wide reaching plans for the city's future. Two years later, official recognition of this status came with a formal charter of incorporation.

An evaluation

Did such recognition confirm the validity of the priorities? Insofar as the major explicit priority of improving technical competence among skilled workers is concerned, the answer must be No. The venture was necessarily experimental, based on conviction rather than research, and this objective proved to be overly optimistic, if not rhetorical. There is no evidence that a substantial market then existed in Montreal for a sustained, intensive and graduated program such as might be expected to realize this objective. Equally, the administration displayed a chronic inability to muster sufficient resources, even to sustain a more limited parallel objective among apprentices. Such science teaching as was sustained seems to have emphasized simplified, ad hoc presentations of factual "pure" science, rather than in-depth, systematic, or speculative treatments of applied science. The membership responded enthusiastically to lectures and demonstrations on astronomy and phrenology, disdained occasional lectures on the steam engine, and relegated drawing and mathematics to a handful of apprentices. Thus, even if contemporary science had that degree of industrial utility which promoters found it politic to proclaim, this had yet to be demonstrated to and accepted by this non-traditional student body. Indeed, prior to the industrial exploitation of the Lachine Canal after 1846, it is doubtful if Montreal's manufacturing sector possessed either the size or technological sophistication to utilise much of such knowledge.

The impact of the implicit priority of social control is more difficult to analyze. For the ever changing ordinary membership, the venture would seem to have offered but a limited social identity, buttressed in part by their presence in a still predominantly French-speaking environment. Its Anglo-Saxon ethos, to be interpreted as part of "internal colonialism" (Jarrell, 1981), was indeed to be challenged in 1844 with the establishment of the **Institute Canadien**. Here "useful knowledge" was to be combined with nationalism, *fraternité*, and ultimately a fiery radicalism. A social and moral preachment which constituted a traditional rite of passage for apprentices was clearly less acceptable to journeymen, particularly if crude or

denunciatory. If however it was subtle, inviting, and pervasive, then some success might be expected. Skilled workers and their families were faced with middle class values from employers, government, churches, schools, and the press, as well as the mechanics' institute's administration. As a not homogeneous labour aristocracy, their own evolving values were still being tested in confrontations with employers. Thus, even in rejecting the institute's proclaimed community of interests, was it possible they were influenced by "a subtle model of natural order" (Shapin & Barnes, 1977) implied in the scientific curriculum? Indeed, institutes generally seem to have indulged in a simplification of knowledge into certainties, facts, rules, and demonstrations, whose broader social impact would be difficult to gauge.

Clearly, the institute's resources also served originally unintended objectives, if, sometimes, to originally unintended members. An increasingly fashionable lecture program had proved entertaining and even profitable, while the library's importance had attracted substantial investment and patronage. Indeed, by 1843, the institute constituted something of a role model, with Brockville Mechanics' Institute interested in its library policy and Quebec Mechanics' Institute about to emulate its public exhibition.

The institute shared one major transformation with contemporary Canadian middle class scientific societies. In order to survive, the institute had become more of a cultural or social institution than a channel for scientific information, or a molder and reinforcer of the scientific ethos (Jarrell, 1983). If some might view this as a positive step in the direction of a needs-meeting philosophy, others might equate it with failure. For the latter, a priority of survival was self-serving – prized resources were being squandered on a less demanding program for a less deserving clientele. While successive administrations remained attuned to the broader potentialities for adult education, the original utilitarian priority of these formative years continued to find some expression in programming. Clear recognition of this voluntary agency's pioneer contributions occurred when the Canadian Association for Adult Education held its first Montreal meeting on the institute's premises.

NOTES

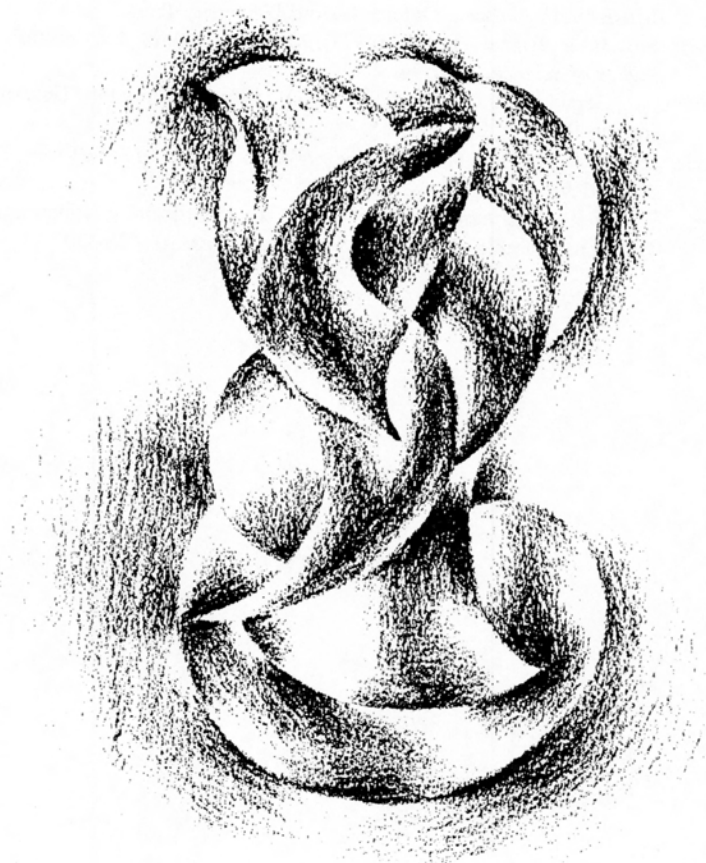
1. Montreal Mechanics' Institute (MMI), Ms. minutes, November 21, 1828.
2. *Montreal-Herald*, Feb. 23, 1818; *Montreal Gazette*, July 14, 1835.
3. MMI, Ms. minutes, February 18, 1834.
4. MMI, Ms. minutes, December 15, 1829.
5. *Montreal Gazette*, March 4, 1834.
6. MMI, Ms. minutes, December 24, 1833.

7. MMI, Ms. minutes, February 11, 1840; May 4, 1840.
8. MMI, Ms. minutes, February 7, 1840.
9. MMI, Ms. minutes, October 20, 1841.
10. MMI, Ms. minutes, March 10, 1840.
11. MMI, Ms. minutes, May 4, 1840.
12. MMI, Ms. minutes, November 3, 1840; May 4, 1841. See also David de Giustino, *Conquest of mind: Phrenology and Victorian social thought*. London: Croom Helm, 1975.
13. MMI, Ms. minutes, October 20, 1841.
14. MMI, Ms. minutes, August 4, 1840.
15. MMI, Ms. minutes, October 20, 1841.
16. MMI, Ms. minutes, February 8, 1842; February 7, 1843.
17. See *Catalogue of Books in the Library...*, Montreal: Owler and Stevenson, 1855; and MMI, Letter Book, March 15, 1843, letter to Dr. Thomas Reynolds.
18. MMI, Ms. minutes, February 7, 1843.
19. MMI, Ms. minutes, February 7, 1843.

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Film Reviews

P. Stern (Producer & Director).
STEPHANIE.
London, UK: Jane Balfour Films, 1986.

K. Rosenfeld (Producer & Director).
ALL AMERICAN HIGH.
New York, NY: Fox/Lorber, 1986.

These two documentary films on American high schools were shown at the Thirteenth International Film Festival in Montreal (August-September, 1987). Their content should be of interest to educators (1).

Stephanie, a 58-minute colour film produced and directed by Peggy Stern, has some points of similarity with a series of four films on a group of fourteen British children. The subjects in the series are now adults, having been filmed by Michael Apted every seven years for the past two decades. The first two were entitled *Now We Are Seven*, and *Seven Plus Seven*, and the latest is *28 Up* (Apted, 1984). *Stephanie*, Stern's subject, was first filmed (in black and white) by Stern in 1980, and there are a few flashbacks to the earlier film during the second one. Stern, then in her early twenties, was perhaps very inexperienced in cinematography when she made the earlier film, and the connection between the two is not at all clear. It appears that she may not have had the intention of filming a sequel when she made the first film.

Stephanie, a senior at Rindge and Latin School in Cambridge, Massachusetts, is failing in the system, or, looked at in another way, she is someone whom the system has failed. The film follows *Stephanie* through her complete high school year. Time and time again, the film

juxtaposes Stephanie's perspective with those of her parents and teachers. Stephanie's main interest is art. Her exercise books are full of complex doodles. She would like to graduate from high school, but finds the core course requirements in math, science, social science, and English to be too difficult for her.

In the Harvard Graduate School of Education's special program in English and history for high school students at academic risk, Stephanie negotiates her own objectives and assignments with her peers and supervisor. At an evaluation session, she and her peers are very positive about the intimacy they feel that the program developed. They contrast the program with their regular school classes, where they feel they are treated impersonally, talked at, and led through work in lock-step, regardless of their own interests or abilities.

Unfortunately, the film focusses only briefly on samples of actual teaching. There is some footage of a math class in late winter. The teacher, going through the motions of explaining measures of central tendency, seems unaware or uncaring that her students are sleeping on their desks, talking, or doodling. It is impossible to know whether this is a biased or representative sample of the instruction available to Stephanie. There is a short interview, after the class is over, with the math teacher, who appears to be at an advanced stage of burnout.

Immediately after this troubling sequence, Stephanie is filmed in her room (which looks as if it had just been stricken by an earthquake) forging an absence note to give to the school discipline officer. She has great difficulty spelling the word "absence," and requests help from the film crew.

Stephanie's mother, a university graduate, has recently returned to college to take a master's degree in video. She seems concerned about her daughter's academic problems, but is unable to help her solve them. Stephanie's father, who never finished high school, is very inarticulate, but does not seem to be preoccupied by the fact that his daughter will almost certainly fail to graduate. He admits later in the year that he never paid a great deal of attention to her. He appears to think that Stephanie would "figure out a way to graduate." He adds, "As long as she was not taking drugs or getting pregnant" he did not worry about her. Stephanie, however, when asked at the end of the film if she had ever considered dropping out of school entirely, claimed that she had planned to do it, but that her father had persuaded her to stay.

There are various film sequences of Stephanie with the school personnel. One sequence records an exchange with the discipline officer, who is shown giving the young woman a detention for failing to report to

class on several occasions. (Stephanie later says that she hates the impersonal way she is taught and punished in school.) Her English teacher is filmed while she is supervising a supplementary test. Stephanie failed to take the regular test, and now she is absent from the supplemental. The teacher admits that this is not the major problem, as Stephanie has missed so many classes that she would not have passed the test in any case. A math teacher blames the demanding curriculum, which forced Stephanie to concentrate on computation, instead of allowing her to work on her favourite area: geometry. She is shown relating well to a percussion teacher, Jimmy, of whom she is extremely fond, and frequently misses classes to visit.

A rather inarticulate guidance counsellor tries to explain to Stephanie the different routes she can take to graduation, but she is easily distracted by the elegant black cocktail dress that the student pulls out to show her. Stephanie wants to wear it to the graduation prom, but she is worried that she will not be allowed to attend this important rite of passage, because, strictly speaking, she will not be graduating. (Later, we see her, in the cocktail dress, picking up her boyfriend in a huge limousine, and going to the dance.) She is absent from the graduation ceremony, and, in an interview, expresses regret that she will not be able to leave school with the rest of her friends. She is grappling with the choice of repeating her courses in math and science, or finding a job. When asked why she thinks that her friends managed to graduate, she replies that they got around their problems during the first three years of high school.

The highlight of the film is perhaps the discovery of a detailed school report from her second-grade teacher in Maine. In this report, the teacher had remarked on the very high and very low marks of a somewhat erratic year. Stephanie had excelled at reading and drama and art. The teacher had seen her as a "sensitive flower," and had noted that she suffered somewhat from having to compete with an older sister who was very successful in both academics and sport. (We never meet or hear about this sister anywhere else in the film.)

Stern tracked down the ex-second-grade teacher, and he reread his report of a decade earlier. When Stern asked him if he would have predicted that Stephanie would become an academic failure ten years later, he reflected for a moment, and said emphatically that "We don't nurture the joys . . . we ask fish to fly, and birds to swim." He felt that it was much more important as a teacher to accentuate the positive, and concentrate on a student's successes, rather than to dwell on the negative, and the failures. This interview is supplemented with a short colour video segment of Stephanie in grade two, hamming it up in a sketch with her friends. The vivacious eight-year-old is a sharp contrast with the blasé, bored, chain-smoker of ten years later.

A major problem with this film is that it does not focus clearly on its themes and characters, or deal with them in depth. After one hour, the viewer does not have a clear, multi-dimensional picture of the principal characters in the film, or the more general problem of young men and women who are frustrated and/or bored with school. If the director knows what the principal causes are for Stephanie's failure to graduate, she does not focus on them. The viewer, then, is unable to evaluate their relative importance. The vast majority of the people in the film are extremely inarticulate. It may well be true that most people, even most educators, are not good at expressing their thoughts and feelings, but art, including documentary art, should rise above this inadequacy, and delineate clearly what the thoughts and feelings are. Stern's voice is often heard. Her questions are ill-formed, hesitant, and of doubtful value in eliciting useful biographic facts or attitudes from the interviewees.

A second problem with the film is the lack of footage in which the chief protagonists interact with each other. Obviously, this is always difficult to accomplish in a true documentary, when one is attempting to capture "life in the raw," rather than recording the unspontaneous, rehearsed life that professional artists recreate in feature films. Nevertheless, the art of the good documentary film maker is to capture enough interaction in order to be able to select that which is significant. It is impossible to know *a priori* what interactions will be crucial for an understanding of how people are constructing their subjective reality of the world (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

There are many interviews with the protagonists, but very few discussions around the meal table, or when the television was turned off. Perhaps the very absence of interaction is significant in itself. Could it be that Stephanie is turned off school because she has so very little high-quality interaction with anyone in her family, or among her friends, or at school?

Stephanie has obviously failed to internalize the objective, mainstream reality of her high school, and has given up the struggle of playing the academic game. Unfortunately, it is not clear from the data available in the film *why* she gave up. The director seems to imply in the school sequences, which are uniformly unflattering, that the school is at fault. Covert implications are not enough in a documentary which deals with such a serious problem as social disaffectedness. Stephanie has failed to meet the expectations of her mother, her teachers, and many of her peers. Why?

Early in Goodlad's monumental *Study of Schooling in the United States*, it was apparent that there are four main groupings of goals for

schools: academic, vocational, social and civic, and personal (Goodlad, 1984, p. 37). There is no evaluation of whether Stephanie's school was derelict, and if it was, exactly how. Likewise, it is unclear if there were discrepancies among the goals aspired to by Stephanie, her parents, and the school. Neither Stephanie nor her parents were asked the kinds of questions which would have elicited disappointment about certain aspects of the school and its mission. It may well be that the teachers and other school personnel were not "connecting" (see Goodlad, 1984, p. 80) with Stephanie. This is an hypothesis that the data in the film only begin to support.

Stephanie's peers were not interviewed, so it is impossible to judge their importance as role models.

In short, there are so many data missing about Stephanie, her family, her school, and her peers, that it is impossible to identify causes for her failure to graduate, or to examine how she constructed her subjective reality of school.

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All American High, a 60-minute colour film produced and directed by Keva Rosenfeld, was, like *Stephanie*, also released in 1986. Although it is also a diachronic study, and follows a girl through her senior year in high school, it is a very different film from Stern's. Rosenfeld's production is slick and well photographed, and rock music is prominently featured on the soundtrack. Most important of all, it has as its main protagonist a highly articulate, sophisticated girl who is not American at all.

Rikki Rauhala is a visiting student from Finland. The film looks at her senior year at Torrance High School in an extremely affluent suburban neighbourhood in California. Rikki is filmed throughout the year, but it appears that her comments were made at the end of her sojourn. She was therefore filtering her impressions through the telescope of hindsight. Was this done because her English was not adequate at the beginning of her stay? It is extremely fluent and accurate at the end.

Rikki, like de Tocqueville, is able to see her American environment more clearly than most natives. She is acutely aware of American youth culture, and how different it is from that of Finland. She notes how important it is to "look good," and be a good athlete, rather than being an academic "nerd" (see also Goodlad, 1984, pp. 76-77). Time and time again, she remarks how the school focusses on social rather than academic goals. Popularity looms larger than educational honours.

Rikki believes that her American peers use members of the opposite sex. They have a boyfriend or girlfriend for decoration, to show that they are

desired and popular, not because they really like the other person, or enjoy his or her company. She was frank about the differences in teenage sexuality between the two countries. In Finland, she said that 14- or 15-year-olds had their first experience of sexual intercourse as part of growing up. "It's no big deal." She found that her 18-year-old Torrance friends talked a great deal about sex, but shrank from actually participating. Two of her American boyfriends had broken up with her, because they were too guilt-ridden to consummate their romance in bed, as Rikki expected.

The film shows the school's ping-pong and game machine room. The students collect \$200 a week from its users. We see the "hoopla" surrounding the Homecoming Queen celebrations and the football game rituals. We see a Saturday night party with over 200 teenagers paying \$5.00 each to dance and drink beer. The party-goers only leave because the host/promoter calls the police (who never come) to break up a drunken fight. We go to one of the largest shopping malls in America, where certain specialty stores sell nothing but teddy bears, or novelty paper and stickers. Rikki comments on it all with a mixture of recalled amazement, cynicism, and enthusiasm. She is acutely aware of having been confronted with a very different objective social reality when she arrived, but of having changed her own subjective reality to suit her situation. "When in Rome"

We see more teaching at Torrance High than at Stephanie's school. As usual, the film medium (especially a fast-moving film such as this) does not like long passages of academically-oriented lessons. There is a discussion on nuclear disarmament, with students repeating (according to Rikki) what they hear their parents say. A shot of a teacher in the lecturing mode shows students daydreaming and exchanging gossip, much as in a similar lesson at Stephanie's school.

Much more time is spent on a social studies project which has everyone choosing a marriage partner, going through a mock wedding, and then a mock divorce. While a few students claim that they were being treated like kindergarten children, most seemed very caught up in the lengthy simulation. Rikki noted that many of the courses were optional, with a heavier emphasis on the vocational (such as auto mechanics) than in Finland. We see a balanced, hands-on approach to science, with a biology lesson involving the dissection of frogs. We also see military recruitment (a great surprise to Rikki) taking place during schooltime. Interspersed throughout the filming of curricular and extra-curricular activities are Rikki's comments, sometimes elicited during a formal interview in her host family's home.

Her considered opinion of her experience of American education in a public high school attended by affluent Americans is that "I learned to be

lazy here. I don't know how I will manage when I get back to Finland. It will be a big change." Earlier, she had noted how most scholastic evaluation was done by multiple-choice tests or short-answer quizzes, not through writing compositions, as in Finland. She did not appear to regret having spent the year learning to be lazy, and planned to continue travelling to different countries, experiencing different objective realities, and then "make up my mind which way is best."

I would recommend this film to anyone, but especially to a student of education who is interested in examining his or her own subjective belief of what a North American high school is like. Although it is by no means a serious sociological study, the vivid quality of the film makes it provocative and memorable for those who are concerned with the processes and products of schools. In courses dealing with the philosophy or sociology of education, this would be a good recent film to ask students to see, prior to a discussion on the perceived and preferred goals (see Goodlad, 1984) of those who deliver or consume the services provided by our schools. Because Torrance High is seen through foreign (in this case, Finnish) eyes, it would be especially valuable in comparative education courses. It would be a good film to focus discussion on one kind of North American school, which could then be contrasted with other kinds (rural, periurban, inner city, etc.) inside and out of North America.

NOTE

1. I am grateful to Eigil Pederson, of the Faculty of Education, McGill University, who rekindled my interest in the social psychology of education, and who commented on an earlier version of these film reviews. He is in no way responsible for any errors of fact or interpretation.

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Palmer Acheson
Concordia University

Book Reviews

Louise Lafortune, Editor.
FEMMES ET MATHÉMATIQUE.
Montreal: Les éditions du remue-ménage, 1986.
\$13.05. pp. 260.

In June 1986 the Quebec section of the **International Organization of Women and Mathematics in Education (IOWME/MOIFEM)** held a conference in Montreal. This book contains the six papers presented at that time, plus the reports of two workshops, two annexes, biographical notes on the authors, and a list of resource materials and addresses of North American associations concerned with the place of women in mathematics and the sciences. This alone would be worth the price of the book even if the remainder was not stimulating and thought-provoking, which it is.

The unifying theme of this book is agreement by the authors that the barriers which prevent women from entering the fields which rely on or are dependent upon mathematics are not of a biological nature but rather are the results of the emotional, social, educational, and cultural pressures to which they are subjected from their earliest years.

The potpourri of papers – none of which can deal in depth with the topics raised within the confines of this book – gives a good indication of the major areas of concern in the area of women and mathematics at the present time. The book, written in French, is well presented. Anyone with even a small working knowledge of French should be able to comprehend it.

The first paper is by Leone Burton (professor at Avery Hill College, London, and International Convenor of IOWME) "Femmes et Mathématique: Y-a-t-il une intersection?" She criticizes the image of

mathematics as a "hard" or male subject. Rational, objective, abstract, are all words which conjure up a male-oriented subject in keeping with the way in which mathematics has developed and evolved. This, together with its recent grouping with the sciences and technology rather than with the arts and humanities, has resulted in the gender stereotyping of the discipline and has influenced girls away from it as a socially acceptable course of study early in their education.

From Plato's eternal truths to Gödel's incompleteness theorem via Einstein's relativity theory, mathematics has been considered an "uncovering" of already existent knowledge, passed on from teacher to pupil as a precious liquid is conserved by transference from a full to an empty vessel. Burton believes that it is this stress on received knowledge and acquired skills, with an emphasis on rightness and the authoritarian aura embedded in it, which has worked to the detriment of female students. A radical change must take place in classrooms, giving more attention to processes than to products, and emphasizing the possibilities of trial and error, problem solving, and investigation methods in seeking solutions and proofs before women feel that there is a place for them in this field. They, then, can take a full part in the development and study of mathematics.

Louise Lafortune (provincial co-ordinator of MOIFEM) traces the gender-oriented problems encountered by Mary Fairfax-Somerville, Sofya Kovalevskaya, and Emmy Noether in their lives as mathematicians between 1780 and 1935. She gives an insight into the (lack of) change in society's perception of women and mathematics over the centuries. The conclusions drawn are that some of the barriers to access to education have been removed but that there remain psychological and cultural obstacles in the way of women who wish to study mathematics. Statistical evidence supports this, showing that the number of females involved in the subject tends to diminish sharply towards the end of the secondary cycle in Canada and in many other national educational systems.

In "Les filles et les sciences," Roberta Mura, Renée Cloutier, and Meredith Kimball report on a study of the attitude differences between the sexes towards mathematics. They examine how a combination of the pupil's perception of the value of studying mathematics, a self-confidence in one's ability, and the expectations and pressures of society on the individual contribute towards the successful study of the subject. The authors conclude that it is difficult to draw conclusions about what interventions are needed to improve the present situation.

Céline Guilbert's paper also looks at social influences, especially of the family milieu, in the choice of career of a daughter. Using two groups of McGill University undergraduates in 1984, one enrolled in the traditional

caring professions associated with women – nursing, occupational and physiotherapy – while the other studied the less traditional disciplines of engineering, dentistry, and architecture, she confirmed the hypothesis that in the majority of cases it is the family which has the major input into the decision-making process.

A paper by Lesley Lee deals with her experience of working in an inner-city area of Montreal in an attempt to demystify mathematics for a group of mature women who are anxious about and lacking in confidence about mathematics. She provides an interesting insight into the problems experienced by the non-mathematician in daily life situations.

Lise Legault's paper is an exploratory study into the mathematical achievement of a Grade VI class and the psychological influences which seem to have a bearing on these standards. She stresses the importance of Piaget's work on number operations and reversibility in the mathematical schema of children at about the age of seven and its subsequent effect on their comprehension of mathematics.

In the two conference workshops, one group studied the part played by family, parents, educators, and the educational system and the active intervention programmes which must be put in place if the situation is to be changed. The other group discussed the intriguing but theoretical question as to what mathematics would look like if it had been defined and developed by women.

This is an interesting question which can never be completely resolved. Mathematics exists; it has been developed mainly by men. It is considered to be a male-defined and male-oriented subject both by the majority of those who study it and those who avoid it. Unless all knowledge as we now know it is totally destroyed, and then "re-developed" by women mathematicians or by a group equally balanced between the sexes, the shape and character of such a discipline must remain a cause of speculation. The one variable in the equation is the manner in which mathematics is generally regarded, and it is towards this end that energy, enthusiasm, and intervention programmes must be directed. This may be among the greatest challenges to present-day education if there is to be a future in which both women and mathematics are to receive maximum benefit from working together.

A major reservation about this book stems from a concern about much of the present research which tends to confirm that the family is the first and most enduring of the groups socializing girls against the study of mathematics. Combining societal-familial values with the items of folklore like those expressed by "Give me a child until it is seven and I will show

you the man (sic)" gives reason for concern. The earliest years of a child's life related to attitude development are as yet greatly neglected in research; at conferences where educators working in the fields of science and mathematics meet, the early years are at best underrepresented. Yet it is during these very years that lifelong attitudes are established. It is at this stage that the intervention programmes should be aimed. Anything later than kindergarten is open to the objection that one is shutting the stable door after the horse has bolted. The best the present intervention programmes can achieve is to give first aid to those whose attitudes are already set in the hope that those receiving the aid will intervene in the next generation.

This fact apart, the organizers of the MOIFEM conference are to be congratulated in setting it up and taking it one step beyond the usual run of such activities by publishing the proceedings. This enables those who did not attend to share in its many and varied contributions to the important study of *Femmes et Mathématique*.

Brenda M. Carter
McGill University

Marjorie N. Farmer (Editor).

CONSENSUS AND DISSENT:

TEACHING ENGLISH PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE.

Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English,
152 pp. \$10.00. NCTE members \$7.50.

The National Council of Teachers of English released its first yearbook on the occasion of its 75th anniversary. The seventeen contributors of *Consensus and Dissent: Teaching English Past, Present, and Future* identify the state of the teaching of English today while reviewing its development over recent decades and setting down its challenges for the future. Each in his own way stresses the themes of the yearbook: (1) a recognition of the professionalism of teachers, (2) a vision of the integrity of the discipline, and (3) the reconciliation of theory, research, and practise in the classroom.

First, the authors look at "Content: What We Teach" through a discussion of language, reading/literature, written composition, and oral communication. Through an historical and developmental approach, this section gives a balanced idea of how the content of the English classroom has expanded to reflect new knowledge and new needs.

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First, the authors look at "Content: What We Teach" through a discussion of language, reading/literature, written composition, and oral communication. Through an historical and developmental approach, this section gives a balanced idea of how the content of the English classroom has expanded to reflect new knowledge and new needs.

Through a similar approach, the second section, "Conditions: Context for Teaching," stresses that it is the "collective influence of classroom teachers that is needed to reform and renew the English curriculum, teacher education, educational research, and testing and evaluation while it further explores the tensions between books and new technologies. The contributors review the developments in the teaching of English through historical essays which identify the times of consensus about new aims balanced with times of conflict and doubt. The influences of the sixties and seventies, from civil rights to Vietnam and Watergate, are explored along with the demand to return to "basics." They further explore the current debate over quality education and the developments in the field of written communication. Together with the first section, these contributors underscore the recurring theme "that what we teach determines how we teach and that how we teach affects what is taught and learned."

The final section, "Change: Toward 2011," looks to the future, envisioning teachers as active agents of change. The first division, "The Political Issues Since 1960," explores equal access to education, teacher accountability, unionization, and censorship. The author offers these explorations as a challenge to the profession that will be met only through a unified effort with teachers exercising "their professional expertise and assume(ing) responsibility for their own destinies." The second area, "Imperatives for the Future," offers seven conditions which the author feels must be addressed: the redefinition of literacy, access to proper tools of learning, teaching of higher level thinking skills, use of technology, strengthening of texts, redefinition of the K-12 programs, and support for excellence. The third essay, "NCTE Presidents: Priorities for the Future," is a round table discussion addressing "problems facing the English teaching profession" while suggesting priorities for and making predictions for the NCTE as it enters the last twenty-five years of its centennial.

This yearbook offers to teachers of English "practical principles" and "authentic images" which are derived from the experience of good teachers. It furthers its cause in effectively addressing the needs of English teachers: "need for camaraderie and collegiality, for self-determination and self-criticism, for respect and recognition, for intellectual stimulation and professional exchange."

James Dukes
St. Charles Parish Schools (La.)

William J. Clancy.
KNOWLEDGE BASED TUTORING.
Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1987
\$30. pp. 377.

Artificial Intelligence has been described by one of its proponents as "the science of making machines do the sort of things that are done by human minds, such things include holding a conversation, answering questions sensibly on the basis of incomplete knowledge, learning how to do things better." It is not the study of computers, but the study of intelligence, however defined, in thought and action, though it uses computers as tools in its enquiries. We learn that "among the practical applications most recently developed or currently being developed are medical diagnosis and treatment, teaching some subjects such as geography, or electronics, to students with differing degrees of understanding of the material to be explored." MIT Press has issued a *Series in Artificial Intelligence*, starting in 1979, of which the present text (1987) is one of the most recent titles.

Clancy's work began as a Ph.D. project at Stanford in the 1970s, as an attempt to encode a teaching method in a fashion similar to the encoding of the knowledge basis of certain existing disciplines or scientific practices. If such a teaching method, no matter how produced, could be shown to be successful when applied to one area of knowledge, and then applied to other areas of knowledge with similar or greater degrees of success it would demonstrate that it was possible to encode teaching strategies and procedures equally with the knowledge bases of conventional school subjects.

It will be remembered that in the late 1960s and early 1970s much attention was devoted by learning theorists and others to the structure of knowledge, especially in such subjects as mathematics. On the one hand there was a complete revision of the mathematics curriculum, and on the other, attention, within aspects of the curriculum, to the substructure of information required by the student, for the understanding of that particular topic. This attention, and its results, was of great benefit to those who sought to prepare material for Computer Assisted Instruction (CAI). CAI depended for its success not merely upon the organization of the knowledge base of the instruction but upon the authoring skills brought to bear upon its various topics, and these skills in large measure depended upon the theories of instruction and the intuitions of the authors.

Some practises of instruction were deduced from the practises of the "great teachers" as these had been set out by them, or their disciples. The rationale of the History of Education courses in university teacher training departments arose from the work of Joseph Payne and its formalisation in lectures by Fitch, at Cambridge, and Compayre, in Paris, from the 1870s

onwards. The proselytizing of disciples has been most clearly shown by followers of Herbart, Froebel, Montessori, Dewey, Freud, and, to a lesser extent, Piaget.

Of course, as these practises were modified, and sometimes stultified, in their transmission to an ever increasing number of putative teachers, they bore less and less resemblance to the originals from which they had been derived. Some teachers triumphed with what was inculcated in them by such practises; some triumphed in spite of them. However, the hope was ever present that analysis of methods shown to produce knowledge mastery in students might lead to the emergence of a nucleus of a single teaching strategy which could be applied to more than one subject field. In this endeavour, procedures useful in the construction of CAI programmes, especially branching and recursive presentations were initially helpful.

In the terms of the present text, what was required was "the architecture for implementing such a program (to teach multiple problems in multiple domains) made concrete by many examples of teaching rules for directing an instructional dialogue."

Clancy has the advantage of using one well known (i.e., to AI researchers) program of a rule-based expert system used in medical diagnoses. Clancy's program, called GUIDON (pronounced "guide on") has a set of 200 teaching rules. He codifies some twenty-six dialogues, with suggestions for the selection of alternative dialogue sequences. It must be stressed that these are suitable for CAI presentations and for use by other AI researchers seeking to analyse and perfect knowledge-student learning interactions. They are important as a step forward and as a basis for further steps in the development of better teaching strategies for other subject areas. They are not inherently helpful for the classroom situation which does not employ such sophisticated knowledge acquisition procedures.

The text is well presented, clearly documented, but relies a great deal upon the knowledge and sophistication of its readers, i.e., to a presumed audience interested in and generally familiar with the acronyms and technical language of AI enthusiasts. It could be of use to those about to write software for CAI, and who seek a presentational background wider than their own. It provides a message of hope, though not of hope to be immediately gratified, to all those who believed that the study of the teaching methods and strategies of the "great teachers" of the past was of value to the present. But it is not for the present generation of teachers.

R. Edwards
McGill University

Résumés

Updating Skills for Effective Leadership

**William L. Johnson
Karolyn J. Snyder**

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Cet article propose en premier lieu une définition du leadership de l'enseignant fondée sur une analyse d'études fructueuses en milieu scolaire. Cette analyse repose sur plusieurs catégories fondamentales: planification de l'amélioration de l'école, perfectionnement professionnel des enseignants, développement des programmes et évaluation de l'école. Dans un deuxième temps, les auteurs traitent de l'élaboration d'une échelle de besoins conçu pour les districts scolaires afin de leur permettre d'évaluer leurs besoins en leadership pédagogique. Enfin, les auteurs traitent de l'évaluation des besoins en formation perçus par les administrateurs dans trois districts scolaires des Etats du Midwest. Les observations sont ensuite reliées aux exigences de rôle et aux besoins en formation des administrateurs scolaires, facteurs qui sont en pleine évolution.

Les parents et la micro-informatique scolaire

**Avigdor Farine
Christophe Hopper**

118

Les auteurs ont procédé à un sondage des opinions des parents au sujet de l'usage des ordinateurs dans les écoles québécoises. L'analyse de 4 399 questionnaires remplis par des membres de comités scolaires anglophones et francophones, fait apparaître des tendances au niveau des attentes, des craintes et des perceptions des parents quant à leur rôle dans l'utilisation des ordinateurs à l'école. Les auteurs comparent le point de vue des parents au point de vue "officiel" tel qu'exprimé par les porte-parole et les chefs de file des milieux enseignants. En conclusion, les auteurs proposent certaines mesures susceptibles de répondre aux préoccupations des parents.

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| Foreign Scholars, Canadian
Content: Symbolic politics
and the Symons Report | Edward T. Silva
Noreen Pupo
Barry Green | 129 |
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On ne connaît que peu de choses des commissions d'enseignement supérieur canadiennes. Afin de combler cette lacune, les auteurs analysent le Rapport Symons de la Commission sur les études canadiennes de l'AUCC en termes de documentation, empruntant une démarche axée sur la théorie politique du standing. On y étudie les origines, la méthode et les réactions au Rapport Symons. Dans l'ensemble, les auteurs voient dans le Rapport une défense culturelle de l'autorité des cadres face à une attaque populaire. A leur avis, défenseurs de cadres et contestataires populaires remportent et consolident des victoires symboliques à des niveaux quelque peu différents. Les limites de certains arguments sont soulignées.

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| A Framework for
Religious Education | Alexander McKay | 145 |
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L'auteur élabore un schème général d'enseignement religieux qui s'appuie sur deux hypothèses. La première est liée aux notions d'objectifs adaptés à l'enseignement religieux à l'école publique et selon la seconde, ces objectifs seraient liés à plusieurs théories du développement humain de telle sorte qu'on pourrait en tirer une démarche ou un schème général. C'est pourquoi, les conclusions tirées s'appuient sur la théorie plutôt que sur la pratique ou l'enseignement en place. L'objectif n'est pas de fournir un guide méthodologique de l'enseignement religieux, mais plutôt d'isoler les concepts des fondements théoriques des objectifs et de la structure de l'enseignement religieux et d'extrapoler à partir de ceux-ci.

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| Human Rights and
Educational Policies | Douglas Ray | 161 |
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Les droits de la personne apparaissent désormais comme un outil nouveau et puissant permettant d'organiser, de choisir et d'expliquer des concepts pédagogiques concurrentiels. Ceux qui se font les champions des minorités les invoquent dans leur argumentation et il arrive que certains en abusent. Les enseignants et les étudiants précisent maintenant les droits, les responsabilités et les limites raisonnables qu'impose la société. Les obligations des gouvernements d'informer les citoyens et d'enseigner aux enfants sont de plus en plus reconnues et l'on prépare actuellement des cours et du matériel pédagogique.

Contributors

Avigdor Farine is Professor of Educational Administration at the Faculty of Education, University of Montreal. Among other interests, he is concerned with administration of computer applications in the school system.

Barry Green received the Doctorate in Sociology from York University in 1974. He has been a member of the Department of Sociology at Erindale College, University of Toronto for the past twelve years.

Christophe Hopper is an associate professor in the Département de didactique, Université de Montréal, specializing in language arts. He is the author of *Le Scripteur*, an educational word-processing package, and is especially interested in computer applications in language arts.

William L. Johnson is an educational researcher and chairman of the Department of Mathematics at Ambassador College in Big Sandy, Texas.

Patrick Keane teaches in the Graduate Program in Continuing Education at Dalhousie University, Halifax, NS. His research interests lie particularly in the evolution of policy in Continuing Education.

Alexander McKay is a graduate student at McGill University, specializing in moral development and education. He has taught with the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, and the South Shore Protestant Regional School Board.

Clifford Papke, a graduate of Ontario College of Art, is an associate professor in the Department of Education in the arts at McGill University.

Noreen Puppo is currently an assistant professor of Sociology at the University of Toronto, St. George Campus. She graduated in 1984 with a Ph.D. from MacMaster University with a specialization in the sociology of

education. Prior to her current academic position, she worked as a consultant and Centre Director for The Addiction Research Foundation, where she designed and evaluated health education programmes for workers.

Douglas Ray is Professor of Education at The University of Western Ontario. His interests include Comparative Education and Human Rights.

Edward Silva teaches political and educational sociology at the University of Toronto. In 1984 and 1985, he was a visiting scholar at the Institute of Higher Education, Law and Governance, at the University of Houston where he worked on the symbolic politics of the Symons Reports. His most recent book is *Social Movements, Social Change* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1988), co-edited for the Society for Socialist Studies.

Karolyn J. Snyder is an associate professor and Director of the School Management Institute at the University of South Florida, Tampa, Florida.

Photography: J. Hurley, Educational Media Centre.

Collaborateurs

Avigdor Farine est professeur en administration scolaire à la Faculté des sciences de l'éducation, Université de Montréal. Ses derniers intérêts portent sur l'administration des applications pédagogiques de l'ordinateur (les APO).

Barry Green a reçu son doctorat en sociologie de l'université York en 1974. Il est membre du département de sociologie, Erindale College, Université de Toronto depuis 12 ans.

Christophe Hopper, professeur agrégé au Département de didactique de l'Université de Montréal, se spécialise en pédagogie du français comme langue maternelle. Auteur du *Scripteur*, logiciel de traitement de texte éducatif, il se préoccupe des APO dans le domaine du français écrit.

William L. Johnson est chercheur en sciences de l'éducation et directeur du département de mathématiques, Ambassador College, Big Sandy, Texas.

Patrick Keane enseigne dans le cadre du programme d'études supérieures en formation continue à l'université de Dalhousie, Halifax, Nouvelle-Écosse. Ses intérêts de recherche portent principalement sur l'évolution des politiques en formation continue.

Alexander McKay est diplômé de l'université McGill et se spécialise en développement moral et enseignement. Il a enseigné à la Commission des écoles protestantes du Grand Montréal ainsi que dans les établissements de la Commission scolaire régionale protestante South Shore.

Clifford Papke, professeur agrégé au département de l'éducation des arts à l'Université McGill est gradué du Ontario College of Art.

Noreen Pupo est actuellement professeur adjoint de sociologie à l'université de Toronto, campus St-George. En 1984, elle a reçu son doctorat de l'Université McMaster, s'étant spécialisée en sociologie de l'éducation. Avant d'assumer ses fonctions de professeur actuelles, elle a oeuvré en qualité de conseillère et de directrice du centre de The Addiction Research Foundation où elle a conçu et évalué des programmes de sensibilisation à la santé à l'intention des travailleurs.

Douglas Ray est professeur de sciences de l'éducation à l'Université de Western Ontario. Ses intérêts portent sur l'enseignement comparé et les droits de la personne.

Edward Silva enseigne la sociologie politique et la sociologie de l'enseignement à l'Université de Toronto. En 1984-1985 il était chercheur invité au Institute of Higher Education, Law and Governance à l'Université de Houston où il a travaillé à la politique symbolique des Symons Reports. Son ouvrage le plus récent s'intitule *Social Movements, Social Change* (Toronto: *Between the Lines*, 1988), dont il était le co-rédacteur en chef pour la Society for Socialist Studies.

Karolyn J. Snyder est professeur agrégé et directrice de la School Management Institute, University of South Florida, Tampa, Floride.

Photographie: J. Hurley, Educational Media Centre.

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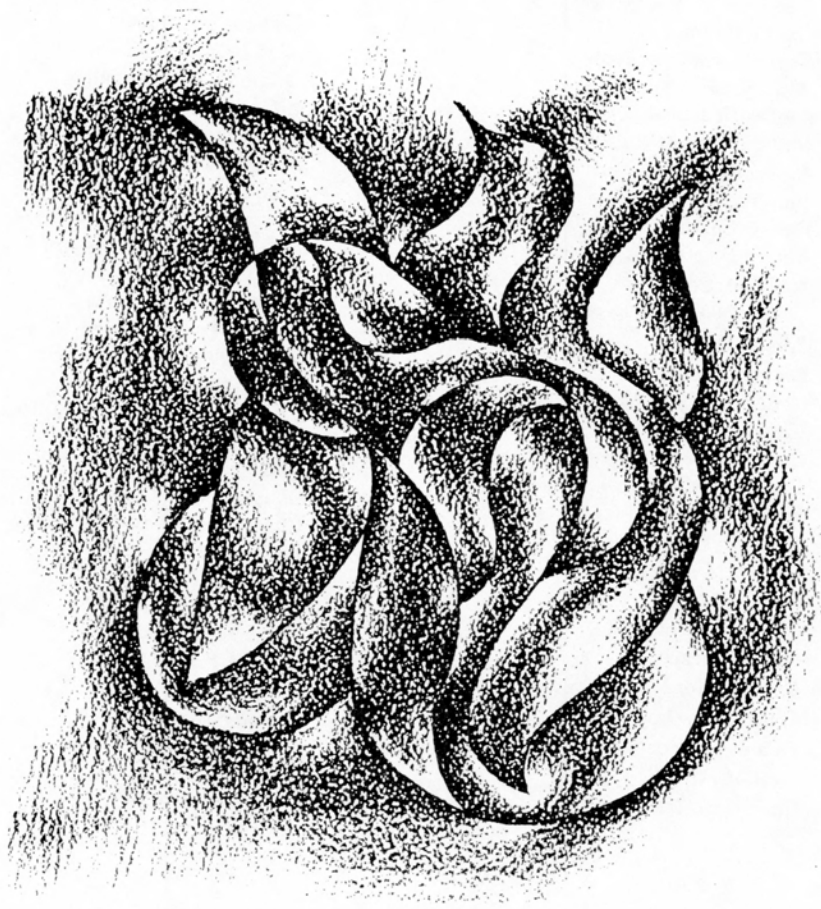


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