STUDIES IN NEWFOUNDLAND EDUCATION AND SOCIETY

VOLUME II

Edited by

Ishmael J. Baksh George Haché Amarjit Singh

Memorial University of Newfoundland

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Ishmael J. Baksh **George Haché** **Amarjit Singh**

Faculty of Education
Memorial University of Newfoundland
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PREFACE

This anthology, the fourth in a series, brings together articles which have been published in **The Morning Watch** over the eight-year period, 1991-1999 (i.e., Vol. 19, Nos. 1-2 to Vol. 26, Nos. 3-4). The first anthology appeared in 1977 under the title **Society, Culture and Schooling: Issues and Analysis**. The second was published in 1982 in two volumes, with the title **Society and Education in Newfoundland**. The third was published in 1991, also in two volumes, with the title of **Dimensions of Newfoundland Society and Education** (ISBN O-88901-159-1). All three anthologies were edited by Dr. Ishmael J. Baksh and Dr. Amarjit Singh.

We have written about the origin, history, purpose and orientation of **The Morning Watch**, which may be of some interest to readers, in the prefaces to the previous volumes. Some of the information is now also available on the web-page of **The Morning Watch**. Having **The Morning Watch** on line (World Wide Web) is an indication of an important shift in the context in which the Faculty of Education now functions. Just to keep the story about the evaluation of **The Morning Watch** going, it is perhaps worth noting that in the Fall of 1996, the financial limitations faced by the Faculty of Education made it necessary for **The Morning Watch** to be published electronically. Dr. Marc Glassman assisted us in initiating the first on-line version - the Fall 1997 issue. More recently, Dr. George Haché has taken over the task of further developing the site in the capacity of Technical Editor. Dr. Ishmael Baksh and Dr. Amarjit Singh remain the co-editors. The publication of the Fall 1997 issue marked the twenty-fifth year of the journal.

Seven recent issues of **The Morning Watch** appear on the web-site <http://www.mun.ca/educ/faculty/mwatch/nmwatch.htm>. **The Morning Watch** can also be accessed through the homepage of Memorial University <http://www .mun.ca /educ> by browsing the On-line Publications icon.

The publication of **The Morning Watch** has been possible only because of the financial support provided by a succession of Deans in the Faculty of Education, among them Dr. George Hickman, Dr. George Ivany, Professor Brose Paddock, Dr. Leslie Karagianis, Dr. Robert Crocker and Dr. Alice Collins. Most recently, Dr. Terry Piper and Dr. Clar Doyle (Dean Pro tem) have lent their support, despite the budgetary constraints faced by the Faculty. Also invaluable is the assistance rendered the publication over the years by Bill Griffin, who specialized in design, and by staff in the General Office of the Faculty of Education and in the Printing Services unit of the university, especially by Glenn Taylor. Dr. William J. Gushue's initial assistance, participation and encouragement in launching **The Morning Watch** can never be forgotten by the co-editors. Other individuals who have contributed to the present online version are identified on the on-line **Morning Watch** historic page. Miss Laura Walsh in the General Office has contributed towards the preparation of the manuscript of these four volumes in a very special way. Her commitment, hard work and critical comments are very much appreciated by the co-editors and the Technical Editor. Finally, we wish to thank all the authors who have contributed to **The Morning Watch** since its inception in 1973, particularly those who have written for it more recently. We sincerely hope that others will decide to contribute to **The Morning Watch** as Newfoundland and Labrador society and culture encounter globalization and internationalization as well as concomitant social, cultural, economic, political, and technology and information related changes. The papers in these four volumes testify to the fact that the authors have already begun to articulate many issues emerging in the field of education and schooling in this

province in the context of globalization and internationalization of all aspects of our lives. A full version of the content of this anthology will also be placed in the online site of **The Morning Watch**.

For convenience, we have referenced each article by placing its date of publication under its title.

If there is any merit in publishing this four volume anthology, the credit is due to all those people who have been involved with **The Morning Watch**, including readers consisting of graduate and undergraduate students, colleagues and the larger public. However, the editors and the Technical Editor bear sole responsibility for any shortcoming which this anthology might have.

Amarjit Singh
Ishmael Baksh
George Haché

St. John's
April, 2000

FOREWORD

The Faculty of Education at Memorial University publishes the **Morning Watch**. This publication serves as a vital and essential communication tool for the examination of educational and social issues in the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador. The **Morning Watch** not only comments on current issues but often leads the way in reporting significant research findings and trends. The **Morning Watch** offers articles on wide-ranging topics and agendas. Such writings represent diverse thinking and viewpoints. In this way the journal encourages initiative and debate, which is crucial for any educational community. We encourage you to contribute to this discussion.

Clar Doyle, Professor
Dean (pro tem)
January, 2000

For many years **The Morning Watch** has served as an effective two-way communication link among educational stakeholders in Newfoundland and Labrador. Opportunity has been provided through this publication for the Faculty of Education and its field partners to share research findings, field experiences and "cutting edge" theory. This journal has also served as a pedagogical conduit for both undergraduate and graduate expression; it has functioned as a forum that allows undergraduate students/society to debate issues of the day, while simultaneously providing graduate students with what is often their first experience at publishing research undertakings in public.

The focus of **The Morning Watch** has been sufficiently broad to present an educational and social analysis of a wide array of educational issues. Written and organized to provoke creative thought, challenge traditional modes of operation and provide critical/reflective consideration of the change process, journal articles over the years have served to guide and inspire educational reality in this Province.

This current compendium represents a very special effort to bring together four volumes of **The Morning Watch** comprising some 120 thought-provoking articles spanning the decade of the nineties. To both the editors and authors, thank you for providing your readership with a further opportunity to savour the assimilation of a decade of first rate educational journalism with a Newfoundland and Labrador focus. It is my hope that all of us, as partners in education, will seize this moment to reacquaint ourselves with a journal which has truly served as a beacon for educational initiative over many years.

Dennis Treslan, Professor
Associate Dean, Undergraduate Programmes
January 26, 2000

As the sole university in Newfoundland and Labrador, Memorial assumes a special obligation to educate the citizens of this province, to conduct research related to the challenges of this province, and to share its expertise throughout the provincial community. Within this context, the Faculty of Education recognizes its mission as related to both the professional preparation of those who will give leadership in education and research related to the improvement of educational practices. Since its inception, the **Morning Watch** has served as a key component of both the University's and the Faculty's provincial mission. It has served as a forum for presenting Faculty research and innovative ideas to the local educational community, thereby creating a critical communication link among practitioners and faculty and student researchers. As well, it has served as a friendly venue for an initial airing of ideas and research findings conducted by graduate students who would otherwise have been reluctant to publish their first scholarly work. As a result, much of the graduate student research that focussed on local educational issues was disseminated throughout the province.

On a review of the contents of this volume, it becomes obvious that the scholarly concerns addressed throughout the period from 1991 to 1999 have been varied. It should be noted as well that, during this period, the **Morning Watch** has evolved as a consequence of advances in information and communication technologies. In 1996, the **Morning Watch** became an on-line journal. It is now not only available within the province but is internationally accessible. As it continues to serve its original mandate of contributing to local knowledge by sharing research findings, articulating differing philosophical viewpoints, and raising issues for debate and discussion throughout the educational community within Newfoundland and Labrador, it is my hope that, in its new on-line format, it will continue to evolve as a scholarly journal that will become more fully recognized internationally.

In conclusion, as an educator who has worked in this province since the appearance of the **Morning Watch**, I would like to extend my personal appreciation to all those who have contributed to articles and I would especially thank and congratulate those faculty members who have served as members of its editorial board.

Bruce Sheppard, Associate Professor
Associate Dean, Graduate Programmes and Research
January, 2000

PARENT, TEACHER, STUDENT AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

EXEMPLARY MODELS OF PARENTAL AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT: A STUDY OF TEN NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR SCHOOLS

Alice Collins
Faculty of Education, M.U.N.
Fall 1995

Background and Purpose

Funded by the Canada-Newfoundland COOPERATION Agreement on Human Resource Development, *Enhancing Local Involvement in Education Through Quality Leadership* was undertaken by the late Dr. Harte and the author. The project consisted of two interrelated sub-projects, namely, the *Exemplary Models of Parental and Community Involvement Project* and the *Pilot School Councils Project*. This article outlines and presents the research outcomes of the *Exemplary Models of Parental and Community Involvement Project*. The complete study including the cases is available from the author.

The purposes of this project were:

1. to describe exemplary models of parental and community involvement;

2. to identify contributory factors and barriers to involvement;

3. to determine consequences of involvement; and

4. to recommend effective practices for parental and community involvement.

Research Design and Method

A case study approach was chosen for this investigation. An individual school served as the unit of analysis. To increase the generalizability of findings, a replicated single-case design was used (Kennedy, 1979). An analysis of the variability and commonality of program outcomes across sample cases provided a basis for drawing conclusions.

The single-case design included the development of interview and focus group guides based on the research questions guiding the study. Research questions included:

- In what roles are parents involved regarding their child's education?

- What is the background of parents who are involved?

- Who provides the strongest support for parental and community involvement?

- What is the role of the administration and teachers in involving parents and the community?

- What are the outcomes of parental/community involvement for the child, school and parent?
- What factors contribute to the success of parental/community involvement?
- What are barriers to effective parental/community involvement?
- What strategies have worked best to overcome barriers?

Two members of the project team visited each school and conducted a site study consisting of interviews, focus group sessions and document analysis.

Schools selected were:

School	***Location***	***Grades***	***Students***
A. Garrigus Academy	St. Lunaire, NF	K-6	104
Bishop's College	St. John's, NF	10-12	710
Brinton Elementary	St. John's, NF	K-6	204
Cassidy Memorial	St. Fintan's, NF	K-6	152
Centennial School System	Victoria Cove, NF	7-12	318
Labrador City Collegiate	Labrador City, LB	7-12	525
Macdonald Drive Elementary	St. John's, NF	K-6	616
Northern Lights Academy	Rigolet, LB	K-12	96
Paradise Elementary	Paradise, NF	K-6	451
St. Edward's Elementary	Brigus, NF	K-8	276

Literature Review

Evidence indicates there is both a need and a demand for increased parental involvement in education. Over the past thirty years many research studies have focused on parental involvement in education. Henderson (1981, 1987) and Henderson & Beria (1994) have reviewed a total of 125 research studies, carried out between 1966 and 1993, which examine evidence regarding the effect of parental involvement on student academic achievement and the performance of schools. She states that the studies have documented benefits for students including higher grades and test scores, better attendance, more positive attitudes and behaviour, and higher graduation rates. Parents develop more confidence about helping their children learn at home and more understanding of the school. As well, parents often enrol in continuing education. Schools that work well with families show improved teacher morale, produce higher ratings of teachers by parents, and have better reputations in the community (Henderson, 1994).

Not all research points clearly and unequivocally at a direct relationship between parental involvement and student achievement. Grolnick & Slowiaczek (1994) state that not all types of parental involvement led to improved performance. Studies by Ford (1989) and Geyer & Feng (1993) found no significant correlation between parental involvement and student achievement.

Research has identified multiple factors which contribute to successful parental involvement. Williams & Chavkin (1989) describes seven essential elements of strong

parent involvement programs: written policies, administrative support, training, partnership approach, two-way communication, networking and evaluation. The key role of the principal and teachers in fostering involvement is often mentioned. Davies, Burch & Johnson (1992) mention the dominant role of the principal. Schaeffer & Betz (1992) state "... the staffs of these schools were committed to having parents involved" (p. 14). It is generally agreed that support of the administration, followed by staff support, are the most important influences on the success of parental and community involvement.

Research has described the barriers to involvement. Williams (1984) reports that, while educators generally consider it useful to have parents involved in education, educators appear to be more supportive of the traditional ways in which parents have participated. Becher (1984) lists teacher attitude as a barrier to parental involvement.

Schaeffer & Betz (1992) separate barriers into three categories, namely i) human nature factors which include parent and teacher fear of failure, fear of criticism or fear of each others' differences; ii) communication factors (an inability to communicate a real need for parent support); and, iii) external factors which include lack of time (on the part of both teachers and parents), personal problems, administrative policies, busy lifestyles. According to Schaeffer & Betz, a major reason for lack of involvement in secondary schools is that children do not want their parents involved.

The research indicates that the major barrier to parental and community involvement is the attitude of staff and administration. An additional barrier at the secondary level is the attitude of students, who often do not want their parents present at the school.

Cross Case Analysis

The ten schools chosen for this study are located in communities across the province of Newfoundland and Labrador. The communities range from a small coastal community in Labrador with a population of 334 to the city of St. John's, capital of the province, with a metropolitan population of about 250,000. School size ranges from 96 to 710 students and from 7.5 to 40 staff members. Elementary, all-grade and high schools are represented. The socioeconomic, educational and cultural fabric of these communities is varied.

The schools chosen cover a wide spectrum of models of parental and community involvement. At some schools parental and community involvement is a new initiative; at other schools, there is a long history of involvement. At some schools one organization fulfils all parental roles while at other schools two groups work in harmony. From fund raising, to assisting teachers, to working directly in classrooms, to providing input into decisions, the emphasis is on different levels and kinds of involvement at each of the schools. It is interesting to note that at all schools chosen for this study, the role of the parents and community is evolving towards decision making or advisory functions while continuing to include traditional support functions. However, the major contributions are of a traditional nature, and even where parental involvement in decision making is emerging, the sanction of the principal and teachers is necessary. There is no evidence that parents, and even less the community, have taken the lead in carving out decision making roles. Principals and teachers for the most part believe in the traditional roles for parents, for example, fundraising and assisting. If strides are to be made in decision making, parents will need more support, encouragement, conviction and leadership.

Differences exist between elementary schools, junior high schools and high schools. In general, parental involvement is less direct in higher grades, largely due to the independent attitude of students. In addition, the more content-oriented subject matter makes the high school classroom a more intimidating place for parents and often makes it difficult for teachers to find tasks for parents.

Despite requests for gender balance at the parent focus group sessions, 70% of the participants were women. Both principals and parents acknowledged that volunteers in the school are mainly women, and at the primary level, exclusively so. This did not seem to be a matter of availability; indeed it has become the opposite in some communities where, due to the fishery crisis, women are employed outside the home in larger numbers than men and have less time available for school.

This paper will focus on findings at the ten schools with regard to: a) factors contributing to successful parental and community involvement; b) barriers to parental and community involvement; and, c) outcomes of parental and community involvement.

A. Factors Contributing to Successful Parental and Community Involvement

The factors most commonly identified as contributing to successful parental and community involvement at the ten schools studies were: i) the support of administration, staff, parents, community and school board; ii) a welcoming atmosphere; iii) appreciation; iv) consideration of parents' needs; and, v) effective communication. Two other factors, namely a church-school connection in two schools and a unifying issue in two others, emerged as contributory.

1. *Support*

The support of the school's administration was identified as a key factor contributing to parental and community involvement at all schools. The principals and vice-principals at the schools studied are advocates for parental and community involvement. They not only permit but also encourage their staff to involve parents and community. As well, they both accept and solicit help from parents and community. The principal and vice-principal play key roles in fostering the other important contributory factors identified, namely creating a welcoming atmosphere, conveying appreciation, fostering two-way communication and considering parents' needs.

Teacher support was also identified as a key factor at almost all schools. While the administration creates a school-wide welcoming atmosphere and sets global goals, teachers tend to identify needs and foster involvement at the classroom level. As in the case of administration, teachers play a key role in fostering the contributory factors identified. They, as well as the administration, are instrumental in creating a welcoming atmosphere, in conveying appreciation, in fostering two-way communication and in considering parents' needs. Teachers' and administration's empathy and interest in the children lead to an informal contract of reciprocal aid between school and home. At one school, teachers feel it is important that they become involved in community activities if they expect parents to become involved at the school. Often primary teachers are seen as the most important link to parents since they are the contact early in the child's school career. However the intensity of teacher support varies from school to school. At some, the staff as a whole seems to welcome parents, while at others, staff attitude is divided, and the principals are actively working to create cohesion among the whole staff. Though staff support is important, a school with a principal and

some staff committed to involvement can begin the process of involving parents and community while working to convince the rest of the staff of its value.

Parental support was considered a factor contributing to successful involvement at all schools studied. At one school, parents were seen as the driving force behind involvement, though the principal and teachers are very supportive. At other schools, a core of dedicated parents form the parent organization and volunteer group, while the general parent body provides support when requested. There was general agreement that low attendance at parent organization meetings is not an indication of lack of support for the school. Many parents are willing to help when contacted by the parent organization or school even if they are not active members of the parent organization or volunteer group. At all schools it is evident that at least a core of parents has a high interest in helping at the school. The general consensus of parents and teachers is that many parents are interested but are constrained by various combinations of the barriers to parental and community involvement identified. These ten schools are attempting to minimize the barriers in order to maximize involvement.

It was suggested that a more traditional parent organization be maintained in a school even after the introduction of a committee such as a school council. The parent organization can reach out to the entire body of parents when the council requires input. It can mobilize parents for a volunteer program to help teachers on a day-to-day basis. It can also provide a stepping stone to allow those interested in involvement at the policy making level in a school council to become familiar with the school.

Two other support groups were identified as having a moderate impact on involvement, namely school boards and students.

One school board among the seven concerned has a formal parental and community involvement program which mandates both a volunteer program and an advisory group in the form of a Parent Advisory Committee at each of its schools. Two other boards have policies involving parents at the advisory level in a School Committee or Local Education Committee. School board commitment is not a necessary, but an extremely helpful factor in the success of parental and community involvement. When resources and support are provided at the Board level, schools are more likely to overcome that initial inertia and make the commitment to parental involvement.

The students themselves can contribute to the success of parental involvement. At the elementary schools, students for the most part enjoy having parents help at their school. Students put pressure on their parents to participate, especially when they see the parents of their classmates helping. Reluctance to have parents come to school may begin to develop before the end of elementary school. Nonetheless, some high school students had a very positive attitude toward parental involvement though preference was for involvement after school hours.

2. *Welcoming Atmosphere*

A school's welcoming atmosphere was considered a major factor contributing to parental and community involvement at all schools. Parents mentioned that they have easy access to the school at any time. At some, with the understanding that they not interrupt instruction, parents may enter classrooms at any time to talk to their children or the teacher. In many schools, parents feel welcome in the staff room and

they mingle with teachers. In general, a feeling of mutual respect and consideration between staff and parents was implicit in discussions.

Some teachers create a welcoming atmosphere by encouraging parents to pick up their children from their classrooms thus allowing an opportunity for informal daily contact with the teacher. Some make a special effort to take time to go to the staff room to chat at recess on the days volunteers are in the school. The principal can convey a welcoming atmosphere by having an "open door" policy and encouraging parents to drop in with concerns or suggestions.

3. *Appreciation*

Parents showing appreciation to teachers, and teachers showing appreciation to parents was another frequently mentioned factor in successful parental involvement. At most schools parents provide a symbol of appreciation to teachers, such as a potluck lunch or dinner. Parents at most schools are given a symbol of appreciation from the school, such as a craft made by children, or a small gift. Principals and teachers individually thank parents either verbally or by sending a card. Parents are often thanked publicly at assemblies or other gatherings as well as in memos or newsletters. Often an official event is held to thank all volunteers.

Parents at these ten schools feel their input is taken into consideration when decisions are made. They often pointed out that knowing their efforts are valued is crucial to their continued involvement. At all schools, the point was made that the school accepts uncritically and thankfully whatever contribution each family is able to make, realizing that differing economic, educational or work circumstances will dictate the level and type of contribution each family is able to provide.

4. *Consideration of Parents' Needs*

At all the elementary schools, where parents tend to be involved more directly in the school than at junior high or high schools, the issue of accommodating their needs was considered key. This accommodation includes scheduling certain events, such as interviews, at times when it is convenient for parents; assigning tasks with which parents will feel comfortable yet find meaningful; and giving parents a choice when suggesting activities.

Schools serve the needs of parents in three ways: i) financial assistance; ii) education programs; and, iii) training programs for orientation to work in the school. Some schools provide financial help to families in the form of assistance with the expenses of field trips or lunches, provision of clothes to needy families and provision of hot lunches for students. Education programs include parenting classes targeted at specific families, and sessions to help families and children learn to deal with violence. At some schools parents participate in a formal training session both on the use of school facilities and on school policies. Administration, teachers and volunteers collaborate to demonstrate use of equipment, explain school procedures, and discuss the role of parents as volunteers with particular emphasis on the need for confidentiality.

5. *Communication*

The issue of communication was identified as either a factor contributing to success or a barrier. Reaching parents and community is a necessary prerequisite to

involving them in events occurring at school. The invitation to contact or visit the school needs to be extended constantly.

At the elementary level, communicating with parents is a relatively easy process. Schools at this level make frequent use of memos and newsletters, which, in general, reach home.

All groups at every school agreed that personal contact from teacher to parent is the most effective method of communication, especially in junior high and high schools. Personal contact, either by phone or in person, allows two-way communication and parents therefore are more likely to agree to help when contacted personally. As well, the caller often receives an immediate response. Many parent organizations have "phone trees" organized in order that all parents may be reached. Many principals, teachers and parent organization executives call parents directly with requests for help.

Several schools make frequent use of surveys to garner input from parents and students. To overcome literacy barriers, one school administered surveys through individual interviews. In one case, the parent organization went door-to-door to collect questionnaires to ensure their return. Programs are then tailored to respond to information collected. For example, two schools initiated programs on violence in response to survey results.

6. *Church-School Connection*

The intermingling of church and school activities was considered a factor in the involvement of parents at two schools. Church-related activities are held under the auspices of the school with considerable help from parents. Communication between school and community is facilitated through church announcements.

7. *Unifying Issue*

Two schools had a unifying issue to mobilize parents, namely, joint service amalgamation at one, and necessity to lobby for a new school at another. Often a pressing issue will engender high involvement. This tendency of parents to be willing to commit time and effort in such circumstances may be linked to the fact that such causes are important to parents and are perceived to be meaningful tasks worthy of a time commitment. The challenge is to maintain involvement after the event has passed. Parents commented that making certain that parents' input is valued and that appreciation is shown will maximize the probability that those parents will remain involved at the school once the situation has been resolved.

Summary

Based on the examples of these ten schools, it is evident that several factors in combination contribute to successful parental and community involvement. The enthusiasm and commitment of the administration to parental and community involvement is an important factor. Several other factors including a welcoming atmosphere, appreciation, consideration of parent needs and communication, contribute to the general tone of the relationship between parents and school. A church-school connection or unifying issue can also foster involvement. However, the administration's support is the most important influence. Teachers can be encouraged and a core of interested parents can be found, but a leader at the school is required.

B. Barriers to Parental and Community Involvement

The barriers most commonly identified as hindering successful parental and community involvement at the ten schools studied are: i) lack of time on the part of parents, administration and staff; ii) apprehension on the part of both parents and teachers; iii) junior high/high school; and, iv) location or transportation problems.

A major barrier mentioned in the research is the negative attitude of administration. This barrier was not encountered in this study. The method of selection of schools most likely accounts for this. Since only schools with successful programs of parental and community involvement were chosen and since support of administration is considered the key factor in the success of involvement, it is to be expected that principals at these ten schools were found to be supportive.

1. *Lack of Time*

Lack of time on the part of parents and community is viewed as a significant barrier by all groups at all schools. Work, family commitments and participation as volunteers in other community groups all contribute to the pressures on parents' time. Parents who help in the schools during the day are usually mothers who do not work outside the home. Even those parents who are willing to find time to help have scheduling problems; for example, the six-day cycle often used in schools does not mesh with the five-day week of the rest of the world, and shift workers find it difficult to attend evening meetings.

It is not however a lack of time but the use of time which is at issue. Parents commented that they would find the time if their contribution is valued. Time will be found in parents' busy schedules for meaningful input in the school.

Teachers at several schools pointed out that, although the net gain is positive, preparing for parental involvement requires extra time for organizing schedules and materials. It can be an effort to overcome initial inertia and to take the time to organize, especially for teachers who are not yet convinced of the benefits of parental involvement.

The limitations imposed by lack of time were mentioned by some of the principals. Contacting parents, practicing an "open office door" policy, forging links with business and community, all require time which can be difficult to find.

2. *Parent Apprehension*

Most groups viewed parent apprehension as a barrier to involvement. Parents who have had negative experiences at school during their education, and parents who have not attained a high level of education themselves may find schools and teachers intimidating. The problem increases as the grade level increases and parents feel they need more specific knowledge in order to help.

Teachers employ a variety of strategies to address this problem such as suggesting small tasks, placing parent volunteers at the school in a non-threatening environment such as the library and choosing tasks carefully to suit the current level of comfort and skill of the parent.

3. *Teacher Apprehension*

Most groups viewed teacher apprehension as a barrier. Some teachers dislike being observed while teaching. Even teachers who are comfortable with parents in the classroom mentioned that they feel obligated to deliver interesting lessons and to show patience with the students while being observed. Teachers who are uncomfortable with the concept of parents in the classroom consider this to be an unpleasant pressure.

Teachers feel more accountable with parents in the school. For example, parents might observe situations with which to take issue and take their concerns to the administration. Though parents view this as a positive outcome, some teachers feel they are under scrutiny.

Administration and teachers feel that the gradual introduction of involvement helps overcome teacher apprehension. For example, administration can encourage teachers to involve parents by guiding those who are reluctant to avail themselves at first of parental help with tasks outside the classroom, and by arranging for teachers to observe classrooms where parents are successfully participating. Principals feel that as the climate of the school changes, the entire staff will perceive the value of and gradually become comfortable with parental and community involvement.

4. *Junior High/High School*

Several barriers are common to junior high/high schools, namely lack of communication, student attitude and lack of subject knowledge.

The majority of junior high/high school students do not relay messages or memos to their parents. Personal contact is necessary to assure that messages reach parents at the junior high/high school level. "Phone trees", radio announcements, voice mail are all strategies employed in an attempt to overcome this barrier.

Student attitude is seen as a barrier by the junior high and high schools. As students move out of elementary school they are attempting to establish their independence. Most discourage their parents from becoming involved in school, especially during school hours. The beginnings of this attitude surface in the higher elementary grades.

The issue of lack of subject knowledge emerged at two of the high schools. In the lower grades, parents can help in many ways that do not require subject knowledge. As students progress, the emphasis shifts to teaching more specific subject matter. This is not only intimidating for the parent but also difficult for the teacher, who cannot always find ways for parents to be involved in the classroom.

At the junior high and high schools, gradual introduction of involvement is seen as particularly important to its success, perhaps because parental involvement is less common in higher grades and there is more resistance to overcome on all fronts.

5. *Location/Transportation*

Several schools serve either a number of small communities or students who do not live in the area of the school. These schools find it more difficult to foster a sense of parental ownership and community pride in the school as it can be difficult for parents to arrange transportation to the school.

Summary

Lack of time on the part of parents, and to some degree teachers, is seen to be the biggest barrier to involvement. This barrier is reduced when the involvement is perceived to be meaningful and valuable. Parent and teacher apprehension are also viewed as significant barriers. Junior high/high schools in particular find that lack of communication, student attitude and parental lack of subject knowledge are problems. Location of the school can hinder involvement as well.

C. Perceived Outcomes of Parental and Community Involvement

Research has found many outcomes of parental and community involvement to students, to staff and schools, and to parents and community. Most of these outcomes are viewed as positive. The experiences at the ten schools studied corroborates previous findings.

1. *To the Student*

Participants claimed that parental and community involvement motivates students. There is a perceived increase in self esteem, effort and attitude which in turn is believed to lead to better attendance and behaviour. Younger children enjoy having their parents come to school and are happier and more secure with home and school working together.

Parental and community involvement provides increased resources for the students' use, both material resources through fund raising efforts and human resources in the form of volunteers at the school. Through community involvement, students gain an increased awareness of resources available in the community and skills they will need once they finish school.

2. *To Staff and School*

Teachers feel that teacher stress is reduced with increased help in material preparation and in supervision. When parents reduce teachers' work loads, teachers have more time to spend with individual children. Safety is improved, discipline problems are reduced, lessons are more effective, a greater variety of teaching strategies can be utilized, and field trips are made possible.

Participants agree that teachers are better able to understand their students if they are familiar with their background through knowing their parents. Teachers can build a rapport with parents if parents are involved in the school. When problems arise, teachers are then more likely to receive a cooperative response from parents.

In addition to increasing teacher understanding of the students, parental involvement leads to increased understanding of the complexity of teaching. As a result, teachers gain parental support and find parents less likely to criticize or make unreasonable demands. Parental involvement provides moral support to teachers which in turn can motivate teachers to strive for an even better educational experience for their students.

3. *To Parents and Community*

Parent participants mentioned several benefits of involvement for themselves. Parents who are involved at the school are better informed about facilities, resources and expectations at the school. The result, therefore, is that parents become better acquainted with their children's teachers and build a rapport that enables a cooperative approach to dealing with problems. They are also better able to help their children at home, such as assisting with homework. Some parents also gain confidence and self esteem through their role as volunteers which for some has led to a decision to apply for employment or return to school. Parents build up a network of other parents on whom they can call for support and help in dealing with problems that arise between children. Parents are able to observe the school more closely and may become aware of situations which may cause them concern. They are then better informed and can bring these matters to the attention of the school more quickly.

Summary

The main outcomes of parental involvement include: increased self esteem and motivation, as well as additional resources, for students; decreased stress resulting in an improvement in teaching, as well as increased parental support, for teachers; improved relations with the school and a better understanding of how to help their children, for parents. In essence, the overall outcome is of benefit to students and education.

Conclusions

The evidence is that parental involvement is increasing, and that it positively impacts student achievement. While parental involvement is still largely traditional, there is a movement toward parental input at decision-making levels in the school.

There are a number of contributory factors to parental involvement, the most notable being that of the attitude of the administration of the school. Other factors include: school atmosphere and effective communication to parents. The major barriers to parental involvement include negative attitude of the administration and teachers. Time is cited by teachers and parents as a barrier. However, for parents, time will be found if their contribution is meaningful for them and valued by the school.

The outcomes of parental involvement are positive. Results include improved student self-esteem and achievement, as well as increased support for teachers.

The ten Newfoundland and Labrador schools involved in this study demonstrate a commitment to parental involvement and have developed means of increasing parent participation. The kind of involvement varies from traditional means, such as assisting teachers, to parental participation in policy and decision-making issues in the school. While the latter is less evident, most of the schools are moving in that direction.

Parents and teachers in these schools believe that their mutual co-operation and support is of benefit to the students and the school. While all participants acknowledged that challenges exist, increasing parental involvement was seen as worthwhile and beneficial.

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FACING UNCERTAINTY: PRINCIPALS REACT TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SCHOOL COUNCILS

Austin J. Harte
William Kennedy
Faculty of Education
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INTRODUCTION

Since the mid-1980s restructuring of school governance has been taking place in such countries as Australia, New Zealand, the United States and Great Britain, as well as in several Canadian provinces (Davies, 1987; Dixon, 1992; Greenwood & Hickman, 1991; Elliott & Marshall, 1992; Simpkins, Thomas & Thomas, 1987). Inherent in these restructuring efforts are proposals for more parent and community involvement in school-related decision making (Hoover-Dempsey, Bassler & Brissie, 1987; Nardine & Morris, 1991). Generally, there appears to be dissatisfaction with traditional "top-down" authority and a move to a "bottom-up" approach in which a greater portion of the decision making lies with those who have most to gain from the system, i.e., the students, parents and general community (Davies, 1991; Stouffer, 1992).

The movement towards greater local involvement in and control of education has been spurred by the claim that increased parent participation, in a sustained manner, has a positive effect on educational achievement (Flaxman and Inger, 1992). This is supported by the notion that "schools cannot educate children alone and need the support, if not the active collaboration, of parents" (Moles, 1987, p. 137). Education is being increasingly viewed as a family/school/community partnership. Stouffer (1992) reports that this partnership not only results in improved student achievement but also in an enhanced sense of pride in community and school, a greater willingness to "buy into" rather than sabotage educational decisions, and mutually beneficial support for both parents and educators when dealing with difficult students and situations.

In Canada, most provinces and territories have legislated some form of parent and community involvement at the school level. There is, however, considerable variation in legislation as to the structure and decision-making authority of local parent- and community- based groups. In British Columbia, for example, while the Parent Advisory Council (PAC) is officially recognized through legislation as the voice of parents, it serves solely as an advisory body providing input to the school principal and staff on school programs, policies, and activities.

The report of the *Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Delivery of Programs and Services in Primary, Elementary, and Secondary Education*, "Our Children - Our Future" (the Williams Report), recommends the establishment of school councils through government legislation. These councils would comprise of parents of children registered at the school, teachers, church representatives, other community members and the school principal as an *ex officio* member. They would be unlike the present Parent-Teacher Associations or the Home and School Associations in that their authority would be much more extensive. For example, the proposed councils would have a direct say in school level decisions related to such issues as curriculum, funding and staffing as well as being able to advise other levels of governance, particularly the school board, on matters of concern to them, most notably in the areas of policies and

practices of the school. They would also assume responsibility for seeking ways to further increase parent involvement in school life, and for assessing and communicating the school's overall performance.

The Williams Report recognizes that there are difficulties inherent in the implementation of effective school councils in Newfoundland and Labrador. It maintains that because many school administrators are not accustomed to public input in school decision making, many will be skeptical about the value of school councils. Also, because many parents lack direct experience in school decision making, especially in some areas of the province, many may not want to get involved. The report claims that in order for the proposed model of governance to be successful, these problems will have to be addressed and that changes in attitudes and expectations will be necessary among both administrators and parents.

The recommendation of the Williams Report to establish school councils has the potential for a dramatic shift of power or control within the educational hierarchy. While the authority and power of all those involved in education, from the Department of Education to the classroom, may be altered through greater parent involvement, it is undoubtedly the principalship position that will be impacted the most. The establishment of a school council will, it is anticipated, pose a "power dilemma" for many principals. On the one hand, principals may exercise considerable influence over the school council and, in doing so, play an instrumental role in directing the decision-making process using a supportive council as a source of increased authority and power with respect to the school board members, central office professional staff and other agencies. As Hodder (1994, p. 99) reports,

> Not only will individuals in the principal's position continue to hold on to the legal authority presently experienced, but they will be empowered through the legislated authority given to school councils. As *ex officio* members of council, it appears that the authority of principals will extend downward on the traditional pyramid but, also, upward. In the future when principals approach school boards, they will likely be perceived as acting on behalf of an entire community and not just themselves or a few teachers, students, or parents.

On the other hand, principals may have the most to lose in terms of control over the decision-making process to a local body which may be determined to "run" the school. Either way, the principal's legal and traditional authority and power base will be altered.

This paper reports on how principals in two selected regions in the province responded to the recommendation of the Williams Report with respect to the establishment of School Councils. More specifically, it reports principals' views on such issues as increased parent and community involvement in education, the membership of the proposed school councils, the role of the principal on the school council, and on how the implementation of school councils may impact on the role of the principal.

DATA COLLECTION

The data were collected using two methods - the focus group and the individual focussed interview. A focus group is a small (6-12 member), relatively homogeneous group that meet with a trained facilitator in a ninety to one-hundred twenty minute

discussion in a nonthreatening, relaxed environment about a selected topic. While it does not generate quantitative data, information, or numbers that can be projected to a larger population, according to Bertrand, Brown and Ward (1992, p. 198), the focus group provides in-depth insights through interaction with a number of interviewees. Brodigan (1992, p. 1) states "The important assumption is that information produced under these circumstances will be richer, more complete, and more revealing than that which can be obtained in, for example, a series of individual interviews". Stewart and Shamdasani (1990, p. 19) maintain that group interaction leads to synergism, snowballing, stimulation, spontaneity and security.

The focussed interview is similar to a focus group but lacks the interaction which might influence the responses. On the one hand, the interviewee may feel more vulnerable in an individual situation and less likely to express controversial views without the screen of a group; on the other hand, the interviewee will not be overshadowed by any dominant group member or group opinion.

Principals with the Roman Catholic and Integrated School Boards for the Burin Peninsula were brought together for a full-day of focus group sessions. The principals were divided into two groups - primary/elementary principals and all grade/high school principals. Each group met for two ninety-minute sessions and with the help of a moderator were taken through an interview guide. Sessions were taped and later transcribed. The transcriptions were then analyzed and checked for replication of themes both within and across the two groups. In addition to the focus group sessions, interviews were held with thirteen individual principals on the Avalon Peninsula. An attempt was made to interview principals representing schools of varied sizes, grade levels, and setting (i.e. rural, urban).

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

Current Parent and Community Involvement

A variety of models of parent involvement currently exist in the districts in which the research was conducted. These range from schools or zones with Parent Advisory Committees or Home and School Associations (both active and not so active) to schools with no formal involvement other than the typical parent/teacher interviews. Many schools, especially primary/elementary, use parent volunteers, for example, to assist in the library, for extra supervision on outings, and to help children with reading. Parents are also involved in program planning teams where special needs children are involved.

The majority of principals who participated in the focus groups as well as those interviewed individually were dissatisfied with the current level of parent and community involvement. They felt, even where parent associations do exist, that these are not functioning well. The functions of parent associations, with few exceptions, appear to be limited to those traditionally associated with PTAs/Home and School Associations such as fundraising and providing parent volunteers for co-and extra-curricular activities.

There was general agreement among all principals that it is common for parent interest to be high when an association is first formed, but for it to dwindle as time passes. It was also generally agreed that parents who are contacted are willing to help on an issue-by-issue basis but are unwilling to make a long-term commitment. One principal commented, "...participation seems to be directly tied, one-to-one correlation,

to upheaval and issue". Another commented "...what's lacking is a commitment... that education is important. It's the school's job."

All principals felt that an extensive public relations campaign both to change the perceptions of parents towards schools and to "educate the entire community on what the purpose of this council will be" would be necessary before school councils could work effectively. This, it was suggested, would ensure that the community would appreciate the importance of participation and that "appropriate" parent and community representatives were chosen. Generally speaking, both primary/elementary and secondary principals in the study felt that parents who are interested and involved are in the minority, and are usually the parents of children who are achieving well. Those involved, they maintained, are the same parents who are often involved in other community volunteer activities. It was felt that communities as a whole have a problem attracting volunteers and that a small group within communities is carrying the whole load and "spreading themselves out". The time requirement on the part of council representatives was felt to be significant. One principal commented that "the government can't legislate that we've got to have a school council... if we can't get parents to serve".

A major concern expressed by many of the primary/elementary principals related to the qualifications and expertise of the parents particularly those who live in small communities. Some principals felt the parents in small communities would not be capable of taking responsibilities or making decisions on professional matters. This concern can be summarized in the following comment by one primary/elementary principal, "I think this goes a little bit too far beyond [parent involvement] and gives too much power, too much control to people who are not trained". Concern was also expressed in both focus groups, as well as in the individual interviews, and again more frequently by principals from small communities, about which parents might end up on school councils. Considerable fear was expressed that school councils would attract only those parents with personal agendas or those who tend to dominate local organizations.

One recurring theme among the primary/elementary principals was the belief that the situation in small communities is different from that in larger ones. One principal felt parents would be unwilling to serve on a decision-making council for fear their friends or relatives would hold them responsible for unpopular decisions. Concern was also expressed that where one school served many small communities, one community might dominate the school council. The problem of finding enough capable parents and community representatives who are not already overextended running the rest of the community in small communities was raised repeatedly.

Membership on School Councils

All principals felt that parent representatives on school councils should be nominated by the parent body and that an election be held if necessary. It was suggested that a large percentage of parents would need to vote to avoid the situation of a small group of parents electing someone with a particular agenda. Some principals felt the parents elected to the council should have a child in the school (they felt that direct link would maintain the interest of the parent). The point was made that there should be a cross section "from the uneducated right up to the top". The point was also made that at times teachers or clergymen may also be parents and that one might

consider excluding parents who are employed with the school from the eligibility list for nomination as a parent representative.

All principals agreed that teachers should be represented on the council. Most felt teachers should be elected by the other teachers. The opinion was expressed that it might be difficult, particularly in a small school, to find a teacher willing to be a council member. It was suggested that it might be necessary to provide substitute teachers to compensate for meeting times or to move to hiring support staff for school supervision and extra-curricular activities. Concern was expressed that a teacher would be in a conflict of interest position when voting on issues that might contradict school or board policy, or when a teacher representative took a position contrary to that of the school administration.

While no one objected to church representation on school councils, there did not appear to be any significant support for their participation. Some did express concern, however, that a council could become "cumbersome" if a number of religions in a given area each demanded representation.

Opinion was divided on student representatives. One principal was adamantly against the idea. Most felt, however, that having student members at the high school level, and perhaps even at the junior high level, could serve a useful purpose. There was some concern expressed about students being involved in discussions pertaining to staffing.

The principle of community involvement was generally accepted though, as previously mentioned, two principals felt all council members should have a vested interest in the school. Where schools serve several communities, principals tended to support representative from each community served. Others felt, however, that representation of all communities, as with all religions, would be unwieldy. It was suggested that each town or community council might appoint a community representative. One principal suggested that community involvement could be viewed from a broader perspective. He suggested that, "you could choose the community representatives from the point of view of bringing particular skills, background or knowledge to your council". He further added "we want to create a society where we have the perception that the school is ...in the interest of the entire community".

The issue of appointment versus election was debated. On the one hand, appointments were seen as a possible way of getting balance on the council in terms of such issues as skills and gender. On the other hand, appointments were considered suspect. Appointees were considered "people who don't have the same interest level as people who are elected" and are thought to be liable to political influence.

The Principal and the School Council

All principals agreed that they should be *ex officio* members of the council. There were, however, differences expressed with respect to the exact role of the principal. Most felt that the principal should be a voting member but should not chair the council, thus ensuring that the council agenda should be driven by the council as a whole. This view arose from two considerations - firstly, it was felt the recommendations coming from the council would be viewed as having more validity under this model; secondly, this model would relieve the principal of the burden of the responsibility of directing the activities of the council.

Principals generally felt that implementation of school councils would result in a loss of autonomy. They are worried that councils would force them to take actions with which they, as principal, might disagree. For example, one suggested that a council could conceivable vote to allow certain volunteers into the school with whom they would feel uncomfortable. Another suggested that a council could restrict fundraising, or eliminate or add certain programmes. The possibility of conflict between the directions given by the school board and those given by the school council was also raised.

Some principals were positive about changes in their role under the council. One principal stated, "I've served on many councils ...I have hardly ever witnessed the situation where it went down to a vote; it was always consensus". One principal asked, "Who would go on a committee with one person having veto over the decisions?" "Conceivably you could have a principal who would overrule everything and that's where your council goes down the drain".

When discussing the issue of accountability principals expressed fear that councils would have the power, but that principals and schools would have the accountability. One principal expressed the opinion that some accountability should be placed on parents, who spend nineteen hours with the children as opposed to the five hours they spend in school. Two principals felt that school councils would reduce the responsibilities on the school staff, "because the school council is ... taking some responsibility for what is actually happening in the school, ...it's not your and my problem any more, it's ours". Another said "we'll have a direct and broader based support". There was the perception among a majority of principals that school councils will mean more work and major time commitment. Some resent the fact that they might be forced to participate in councils and have to make this time commitment without added financial benefits. They fear that, depending on the leadership qualities of council members, principals may have to be the driving force behind the council - "instigating meetings, ...drafting a policy on their own, trying to get the others to support it". They believe that the councils ability to function will depend largely on the principal and that other aspects of the school will suffer if they devote too much time to nurturing councils. One principal suggested that an eleven-month work year for principals may be envisioned by the government. However, one principal was not worried about the time factor. If unnecessary demands on the principal's time for such matters as fund-raising are eliminated, time would be available for more educational concerns.

In the focus group session with the all-grade/high school principals, it was suggested that the implementation of school councils would result in "a change in the understanding of what a principal is going to be expected to do". They talked about principals "becoming managers", and about "redefining the principal's role as one of public relations". The idea of more support from the school board, perhaps in the form of administrative assistants for schools, to free principals from the "nitty-gritty" things was mentioned.

CONCLUSION

The current level of parent involvement in the two districts and individual schools which participated in this study would appear to fall at best within what Swap (1993) describes as the "School-To-Home Transmission" model of home-school relations. While generally schools do not appear to view parent involvement as interference (as in Swap's "Protective" model of home-school relations), parent

involvement is predominantly determined on school terms. While parents are encouraged to become involved in their children's education, participation of parents in the life of the school is limited to the traditional role of support of the school in student academic and behaviour matters, and support of special events and fundraising. Parents are expected to play a supportive but subordinate role in decision making affecting school policy, programs and practices.

There was general agreement among the principals who participated in this study that more parent and community involvement in education would be beneficial to schools and, more particularly, to students. There was, however, a difference of opinion between primary/elementary and the high school principals with respect to whether implementation of school councils is the route to follow. While the majority of high school principals might be described as "conditionally positive", the primary/elementary principals would be better described as satisfied with maintaining the status quo with minor improvements. Even when it is allowed that councils might be the direction to take, the probability of effective school councils was questioned.

While there was general agreement with the proposed membership, principals expressed reservations about the level of expertise of parents and community members to work on school councils, especially in smaller communities. Concerns were also expressed about finding the "right" parents and about the potential for parents with "personal agendas" to dominate council membership. The need for parent and community education with respect to the role of school councils recurred throughout the research. To change current attitudes among parents and community with respect to their role in schooling, Department of Education and school boards, it was repeated, must create a public awareness campaign highlighting the importance of school councils, and the importance of parent and community involvement.

School councils were also seen as adding another level of bureaucracy. Fear was expressed that the proposed model of school councils would represent a move back to the old local school boards of the 1950s. This, it was felt, could possibly even diminish current levels of parent involvement if those parents who have been content to perform the more traditional PTA/Home and School functions are not interested in being involved as school council members. While a minority see the school council as empowerment of the principalship, the majority of principals, especially among those in primary/elementary schools, worry about the impact the establishment of councils will have on their role as school administrators. Concerns focussed on the increased workload, the demands for accountability, and the loss of autonomy which principals anticipate will result as councils become involved in the policies and practices of the school. Many fear that, in order to survive, the principal will be forced to assume a more political role and, in doing so, further erode any opportunities for instructional leadership.

The findings of this study support the claim by the Williams Report that strong barriers to effective school councils and increased parent involvement prevail within our education system. Traditional approaches to parent and community involvement in schooling appear to be the predominant mode with parents and community playing, at best, supportive roles. The effectiveness of school councils, it would appear, will depend upon a number of factors including clear delineation of roles, extensive training for both school council members and school administrators, and the availability of resources to support a new role for the school principal.

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SCHOOL COUNCILS: A PILOT STUDY

Alice Collins
Faculty of Education
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Background and Purpose

Funded by the Canada-Newfoundland COOPERATION Agreement on Human Resource Development, *Enhancing Local Involvement in Education Through Quality Leadership* was undertaken by the late Dr. Austin Harte and this author. The project consisted of two interrelated sub-projects, namely, the *Exemplary Models of Parental and Community Involvement Project* and the *Pilot School Councils Project*. This article presents the research outcomes of the *Pilot School Councils Project*. The complete study is available from the author.

The purpose of the Pilot School Council Project was to undertake applied research on the implementation of seven pilot school councils in Newfoundland and Labrador. The seven pilots provided a means to test the conditions needed for the effective functioning of school councils in the province. It was intended that the research results and recommendations be disseminated to groups such as the Department of Education and other individuals or organizations with an interest in school councils.

Review of Related Literature

In most western industrialized countries during the 1990s and the latter part of the 1980s there has been almost universal agreement that education is in crisis and that reform is needed. The means of achieving reform has focussed largely on two initiatives, namely increasing parental involvement and implementing school-based decision making. The two initiatives have generally been linked in a new structure, usually called school councils.

A shift of authority from school boards to the school site as a facet of school reform encompasses a wide variety of models. While there is no standard definition which describes this type of reform, the concept implies some shift in responsibility to the school and/or community for decisions which affect the school. It is referred to in a number of ways including: site-based management, school-based budgeting, decentralized decision making, collaborative school management, local school management, and school-based governance.

Both Hess (1994) and David (1989) explain school-based management as a central element in two strategies aimed at school improvement, namely increasing school autonomy by "giving school actors more power to determine the program of their school" (Hess, 1994, p. 207) and increasing parental involvement at the school level by sharing the authority to make decisions among teachers, parents, students and community members.

The evolution of "bottom up" influence in school reform and the variety of restructuring models currently being used to achieve this end are evidenced on the international, national and provincial scene. Examples of advisory models with limited

authority and management models with substantial authority are evident. Some models are composed of school personnel only; others include parents, students and members of the community. All shift some degree of authority to the school site.

Over the past several years, Great Britain, New Zealand, some areas of Australia and much of the United States have embraced various degrees of devolution of authority to the school site as a major part of their school reform efforts. To date, the best two documented examples of school-based management and school councils are found in Kentucky and the city of Chicago. In Kentucky, as set out in the Kentucky Education Reform Act (1990), school-based management and the creation of school councils were central to state-wide education reform (Steffy, 1993). The Chicago School Reform Act paved the way for the implementation of decentralization reforms in the city's schools in 1989-90. A central feature of the reforms was the requirement that local school councils be established in each school.

In Canada, the concepts of shifting authority to the school site and increasing parental and community involvement are receiving increased attention. In an overview of education in Canada, Lewington and Orpwood (1993) maintain that "across the country, the tide of education reform now runs towards greater local autonomy for schools" (p. 65). Generally, changes in the amount of authority shifted from central office to the school site have not been as far-reaching in Canada as in other countries. In a number of provinces provincial governments have enacted legislation that provides for the establishment of parental advisory bodies at the school level. The author argues that, with the possible exception of Quebec, legislation in each of these provinces tends to create the impression of a transformation in the structure of the system.

As of September 1995, the status of school councils varied across Canada. Some provinces, including Newfoundland and Labrador, have introduced or are piloting experiments in the concept. The Edmonton Public School Board has initiated a program of school-based management (Brown, 1990). Nova Scotia is midway through a two-year pilot of three models with increasing degrees of authority. Six provinces and the Yukon have enacted legislation regarding councils. All accord advisory status to councils except Quebec and the Yukon, which give considerable decision-making authority to their councils. Legislation is pending in four other provinces with indications that the status of councils will be advisory in most. All provinces embrace the concept of school councils as one facet of the movement to increase parental and community involvement.

Research on council implementation is in the emergent stage because this reform is recent. The literature overwhelmingly supports involvement of the superintendent and the school board in the decision to adopt the concept of school councils. Whitaker and Moses (1994) state that "the leadership culture and support of the district have far greater impact on the success of site based management than the operational details of the process" (p. 63).

The principal as well as the superintendent is viewed as a key figure in the success or failure of school council implementation. The changes to their role are substantial (Barth, 1991; Donahue, 1993; Goldring, 1993; Hoyle, 1994). Boyd and Chapman (1986) cite the president's report of the Victorian Primary School Principals Association which captures much of the changed role of the principal: "The principal is relocated from the apex of the pyramid to the centre of the network of human relationships and functions as a change agent and a resource" (p. 3). A principal who is unwilling to relinquish security or adjust roles will impede the successful

implementation of a school council. The literature also corroborates the view that teachers must support the council concept for successful implementation. Whitaker and Moses (1994) state, "teacher organizations, which should be at the forefront of restructuring, have sometimes been culprits and have been stubborn in opposing change" (p. 44). The importance of training for all stakeholders in school councils is advised (Brown, 1990; Harrison et al, 1989; Herman & Herman, 1993; Whitaker & Moses, 1994).

In summary, increased involvement of stakeholders in education and a shift of authority to the school site are part of a reform movement worldwide. The success or failure of these initiatives is not yet clear. However there is evidence that success depends on involvement of the school board at the outset; support of the principal and teaching staff; training for all stakeholders; clearly established areas of responsibility; and gradual introduction of the concept of school councils.

Research Design and Procedure

The pilot study on school councils examined a number of issues pertaining to the successful establishment and operation of school councils, including authority, objectives and functions, composition, responsibilities, communication, school board involvement, training and processes to facilitate effective decision making, team building and problem solving.

In the selection of schools, consideration was given to the commitment of administration, staff and parents to the concept, and geographic and demographic representation including school size and type (i.e., elementary, secondary, all grade). The following schools were selected for participation in the pilot study:

- A.P. Low Elementary, Labrador City, Labrador West Integrated School District
- Bishops College, St. John's, Avalon Consolidated School District
- Bishop O'Reilly High, St. Thomas Aquinas Elementary, St. Jean Vianney Elementary, Port au Port[1], Appalachia Roman Catholic School District
- Buchans Public School, Buchans, Exploits Valley Integrated School District
- Holy Redeemer Elementary, Spaniards Bay, Avalon North School District
- Morris Academy, Mt. Pearl, Avalon Consolidated School District
- St. Kevin's Elementary, Goulds, St. John's Roman Catholic School District

The principal at each school was responsible for the establishment of the council. By the end of September 1994, the parent, the teacher, and where applicable, the student representatives, were elected to the councils. Each school board was invited to appoint a liaison person to the council. The council members then appointed the community representatives.

The project provided guidelines and procedures which gave a contextual framework for the operation of school councils and their respective boards. This document supplied specific information on items such as: the nature of school councils,

the proposed framework for councils, objectives and functions of councils, the protocol agreement between the school council and the school board, roles and responsibilities of key players, and sample constitution and by-laws.

A four-day training session in Total Quality Management (TQM) was conducted by the National Quality Academy for all school council members from October 22-25, 1994 in St. John's. At the session, members were provided training in effective decision making, team building, consensus building and problem solving. Throughout the project, teleconference sessions were held with the councils, principals and chairpersons respectively. The teleconferences provided an opportunity for councils to exchange information on the challenges and progress of the councils.

A variety of qualitative data was collected through interviews, focus group sessions, observations, document analysis and process forms. A final evaluation survey was administered to corroborate the qualitative data.

Findings

The pilot school council study disclosed a vast number of issues which range from macro levels of provincial restructuring to micro levels of day-to-day school management. Many of these issues, already evident in the research literature, will be discussed under the following headings: scope of school councils, educational restructuring and issues internal to the council.

A. Scope of School Councils

The scope of school councils refers to the purpose, functions, and the authority of councils.

Purpose and Functions of Councils

In addition to the data collected through interviews, focus groups, observations and surveys, the mission statements designed by each pilot school council indicated how councils interpreted their purpose. Councils incorporated two main themes in their mission statements, namely, a commitment to seek the involvement of all members of the school community and a commitment to improve student achievement through improving the quality of education for students. Despite early consensus on the purpose, councils did not address how to achieve those purposes until seven to eight months into their mandate. At that stage, the use of school profiles emerged as the means of focussing on school improvement, and development of a communication implementation plan emerged as a means of involving parents and the community.

Pilot councils were faced with the task of deciding how to carry out their functions so as to achieve their objectives. A number of council members mentioned that councils should monitor the school's performance and hold the school accountable to the wider community. Increasing parental involvement was considered key. Disseminating information on school issues to constituents and providing school staff with a better understanding of the perspectives of other stakeholders were viewed as important. Presenting concerns and providing advice to the board on school-related issues were also identified as functions.

Though the pilot school councils began the process of crystallizing their views on functions, they were not able to reach clear conclusions though some did distinguish between policy-setting and day-to-day management, pointing out that councils should not be involved in the latter. The problem of defining functions was further exacerbated by lack of specificity regarding authority of councils. The problem persisted for the duration of the pilot project with no clarity by the end of the year. When council members were questioned in the final focus group, their responses were unsure and vague. In the surveys, however, in which possible functions of councils were delineated, council respondents overwhelmingly agreed that councils should have decision making on every item with the exception of hiring. Items on which there was agreement included: school budgets, scheduling, professional development, staff requirements, and instructional practices.

In summary, councils agreed that the main objectives of a school council should be to improve student achievement and to assure the involvement of students, parents, community members and educators. However, councils were unable to delineate specific functions. Almost all participants in this study, both at the school board and the council levels, claimed there is a need to define the functions of school councils specifically in legislation. The broad, general statements as presently described in various documents are vague and caused frustration and confusion on the part of participants as councils and boards worked to understand their roles in the context of school councils. However, many felt that if councils were to be advisory, the need to delineate functions is not as important.

Authority of Councils

One of the major issues which arose during the pilot year was whether school councils should be advisory to the school board or decision making at the school level.

Council members pointed out that if councils are to attempt to improve student achievement, they must have the authority to set policies to achieve their goal. Parent and community representatives in particular were adamant that councils should be decision making. They felt people would not be willing to make the time commitment required of council members unless their contribution would make a difference. One council member reflected the concerns of many others:

> If that 's all we are - an advisory group - these councils will very quickly disappear ... councils are expected to have a certain amount of authority ... everyone of us wanted to get on this council so that we could somehow affect some changes which would be for the betterment of students ... If we're not doing that, then councils won't last.

Many principals, chairpersons and council members were strongly of the opinion that decision-making authority for councils should be set out in legislation.

Most school board superintendents expressed frustration and confusion about the role of councils. They felt boards did not have a clear understanding of the mandate of councils and that roles and responsibilities were not sufficiently clear.

Some boards appeared to be more open to according decision-making authority to councils than others. Some had already embraced the participatory philosophy of councils and had given some authority to school sites. One superintendent said, "The school operates on a philosophy of local empowerment already. I don't think any of us believe that it is ever going to work and produce the kind of effects that we want...if parents do not perceive themselves as having a genuine role in decisions at the school level." Others displayed less enthusiasm for the concept but acknowledged the need to involve parents for the purpose of improving student achievement. Many superintendents commented that as the number of school boards decreases, school sites will, of necessity, become more responsible for local decisions. A major concern of superintendents was the absence of legislation and the question of legal responsibility if councils were accorded decision-making authority. One superintendent expressed the view that the board role would become that of training people to make good decisions.

The formal contract negotiated between each pilot council and its respective school board which delineates the lines of responsibility for the board and the council is the school protocol agreement. The lack of clarity regarding the mandate of councils resulted in confusion and frustration on the part of councils and school boards. Some councils spent the year concentrating on the negotiation of a protocol agreement and were left with no time to address substantive issues.

Most councils and school boards agreed that each school council should not be required to negotiate its own protocol agreement since this was too time consuming. They felt a template of a generic protocol agreement, defining the general relationship between councils and school boards, including areas of authority, should be provided. Provision for adjustments where warranted could be made at individual school sites.

In summary, there was a division of opinion between the school boards and the school councils on the question of the authority of councils. In the view of some school boards, as expressed by superintendents or assistant superintendents, school councils should act in an advisory capacity only, while others agreed that councils should have some decision-making responsibility. Most school councils wanted decision-making authority enshrined in legislation. This dichotomy accounts in large part for the difficulty in working out protocol agreements. The problem was exacerbated by the lack of specificity regarding the mandate of school councils.

B. Educational Restructuring

Implementation Plan

Where school councils have been successfully introduced, they have been part of a total reform package. School councils in Newfoundland and Labrador were piloted in an educational vacuum, that is, in the absence of other education reforms. Furthermore, they were piloted in a structure different from that for which they were intended, namely, fewer school boards, each of which would be responsible for many more schools. All school board superintendents and assistant superintendents pointed to this anomaly, and many claimed that the role and authority of councils will evolve more naturally and easily with the consolidation of school boards. Many claimed there is no need of school councils in the present structure.

School Board Involvement

When interviewed, school board superintendents and assistant superintendents stated they had decided to become involved in the pilot council project in order to have input at the formative stages of council development. Despite consultation sessions with each superintendent prior to implementation and direct representation of boards on councils, boards wanted more and earlier involvement. Superintendents recommended that, as full implementation proceeds, all school boards will need to be directly involved.

Perceived lack of support from the school board was often mentioned by school council members. Perceptions of the boards' encouragement of school councils varied with the source of the response. When surveyed, the majority of school board representatives and principals responded that the board had provided a great deal of encouragement to the council. The majority of teachers and parents thought that the board offered some or little encouragement. The survey revealed that two boards were perceived as particularly encouraging toward the councils and two boards were perceived as resistant.

C. Issues Internal to the Council

Composition of Councils

In keeping with the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Education (1992), the pilot school councils consisted of a broad-based membership representing a number of interests in the school community. The core membership consisted of:

- the principal of the school
- two teachers, elected by teachers
- three parents, elected by parents
- two community representatives, appointed by council members
- in the case of high schools, two students elected by students

For the purpose of liaison during the pilot year, school boards were represented on council by assistant superintendents, or in one instance, a school board trustee.

All council members called for balanced representation. However, a problem arose in the definition of the term. Many principals and teachers felt under represented, whereas parents and community representatives felt that the composition was appropriate. Many teachers argued that, if they were to be held accountable for the quality of education at the school, the number of school staff on council, namely principal and teachers, should equal the number of non-school staff on council. Councils were consulted and though there was consensus by six councils on the pilot composition, they were willing to accept modification somewhat by increasing teacher representation to three and decreasing to one the community representation. Council members were hesitant to accept further modification of the composition, given one of the objectives of school councils, namely, increasing parental and community involvement. However, chairpersons recognized that teachers might be reluctant to participate if they felt under represented but felt this perception could be addressed by involving teachers who were non-council members on committees. Chairpersons also felt that the manageable size of the council's present composition facilitated consensus decision making.

Guidelines recommended that participating high schools include student representation on council. Those principals and chairpersons whose councils had student representatives strongly endorsed the concept. They found the students' perspective a valuable contribution to discussions. Everyone, including students themselves, suggested there be two student representatives on council for peer support.

Focus group discussions revealed that councils were almost unanimous in their opinion that a school board representative is not necessary on council. While individual contributions were noted, council members believed the principal could carry out any duties associated with the school board such as reporting policies. It was also pointed out that as more schools have school councils, it will not be possible to have a board representative on each council. However, council members were concerned with how councils will communicate with boards in larger structures.

Variations in membership were piloted at different sites to gain information. One alternate model piloted a principal/vice principal team at a site. This combination was favourably judged as both members of the school administration could share council work and information with teachers.

Six of the seven pilot councils served an individual school. The seventh pilot council was a unique model as it served three schools: one high school and two elementary schools. It was thus termed a "systems" council. The systems council was composed of the principals of each of the three schools, a parent from each school, two students from the high school, two community representatives and a board representative. It was advantageous to have a unified voice on district issues which affected the three schools and the principals applauded the opportunity it gave the three of them to meet regularly to discuss matters pertaining to all three schools. However, attention to district matters and to issues common to the three schools prevented issues at individual schools from surfacing. Each individual school did not feel adequately represented by one parent and one teacher yet the already large council made it difficult to increase representation from the three schools.

In summary, the issue of balance between school personnel and parents/community emerged as a major issue. The differing viewpoints reflect two visions: one of councils as school-based bodies controlled by school professionals, the other as community-based bodies giving parents and community members input into setting the school's policy and direction. The administrative team concept and the concept of a systems council have merit.

Roles and Responsibilities

All council members who were surveyed were asked to what extent they understood their roles on the council. In all councils, those who had the most clearly defined roles, namely the principals and chairpersons, were more certain of their duties than teachers, parents, students and community members.

Council members indicated they did not always think of themselves as representatives of stakeholder groups, but rather as members of a cohesive group trying to accomplish the collective goal of enhancing student achievement.

The data from the pilot study revealed consensus that the principal chair the council only if necessary and that the principal have the right to vote when decisions are taken.

Working Style of Council

Consensus decision making was favoured as the internal decision-making process of all pilot councils. However, with the exception of one council, no major policy issue emerged to test the commitment to consensus. The vast majority of council members felt they had input into the decision-making process. Councils established committees to distribute the workload and involve non-council members in council activities. Almost all council members felt that they were cooperating as a group and were working effectively as a team.

Communication

Effective communication between council members and stakeholder groups is critical if councils are to function well. Communication with stakeholder groups was a challenge in the pilot year as councils struggled to define their role. As a result, the extent and means of communication with the various stakeholder groups varied considerably between councils. At one end of the continuum, a number of councils paid a great deal of attention to this issue and employed varied forms of communication. At the other end of the continuum, some councils communicated only informally with stakeholders through conversations with parents and community. Council members were cognizant of the fact that they needed to be aware of the views of their particular stakeholder groups. Even those that expended considerable efforts to communicate with their stakeholders were dissatisfied with the amount of input received. Some councils stated that parental involvement in the school had decreased in the pilot year. Most indicated that in future, the links between stakeholder groups and council would have a higher priority.

Communication to teachers was more systematic. Generally teachers were informed of council activities at staff meetings by the principal and/or teacher representatives on the council. These individuals would also provide information to teachers on an informal basis. Members of five councils indicated that minutes of council meetings were made available to teachers. Teachers also received the council newsletters which were sent to parents.

Communication between councils and school boards was important to the development and support of the pilot councils. When interviewed, all of the school board superintendents or assistant superintendents maintained that effective communication between the council and the board is critical. For the most part communication flowed through the school board representatives on the councils who acted as a liaison between the two groups. A concern for future councils is the method of communication when boards no longer have a representative on each school council.

Councils, being pilots, found various ways to communicate with each other including teleconferences, STEM~Net and informal contact.

In summary, communication among council members was adequate. However, communication with other stakeholders, especially parents, community and the school board, was not sufficient in scope.

Training

All respondents thought the team-building aspect of training was the most valuable portion of the training provided. It was suggested that a block of time is more effective than several short training sessions. It was also maintained that it is essential to provide both orientation training for new councils and continued training to incorporate new council members and to retrain current members.

Superintendents and assistant superintendents mentioned the need for training at the board level as well.

Conclusions

The main goal of educational reform has been to improve student achievement and the quality of teaching and learning. The means of achieving this goal, provincially, nationally and internationally, has focussed largely on two initiatives, namely increasing parental involvement and implementing school-based decision making. These two initiatives have generally been linked in a new structure, usually called school councils. The research to date, as well as the experience of the pilot school councils in Newfoundland and Labrador, is inconclusive as to the success of school councils as a means to achieving either of these goals.

School councils in the pilot study were unanimous in their view that the main objectives of school councils should be to improve student achievement and to assure the meaningful involvement of students, parents, community members and educators in the school. The success councils will have depends on a number of issues both macro and micro in nature. The authority of councils is of foremost importance with members of councils claiming the need for decision making at the school level. The position of school boards varies on the issue of councils as advisory or decision making. Functions are dependent on the type of authority; where councils are decision-making, it was recommended that the functions be outlined in legislation. There seemed to be less need for this if councils are to be advisory.

School board input and involvement is also a necessary component for success of school councils. The issues internal to the council were resolved at the council level through consensus. These issues included: councils composition, roles and responsibilities, working style, communication and training.

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ENDNOTES

1. Three schools formed one council.

TEACHERS, CHILD ABUSE, AND THE COORDINATION OF SERVICES TO CHILDREN AND YOUTH: POLICY RE/VISIONS IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR

Rosonna Tite
Faculty of Education
Memorial University of Newfoundland
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This paper focuses on the implementation of a new model of service coordination for children and youth in Newfoundland and Labrador (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1997). The model, which draws together the services of the Departments of Education, Health, Social Services and Justice, is based on an ***"Integrated Services Management Approach"*** aimed at providing specific supports or interventions for children with special needs. For the purpose of the policy a child with a special need is defined as "one who is identified to be at risk or has a special need as determined by one or more of the service partners" (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1996: 1). My interest in this most recent initiative has to do with my ongoing research into the relationship between teachers' work and the school's response to victims of child abuse.

The school's role in responding to child abuse has been generally viewed in two ways: surveillance and prevention. The surveillance role involves requiring teachers to report disclosures or suspicions of abuse to their local Child Protection Service (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1993). This is a legal requirement and therefore highly emphasized by school boards. Prevention efforts, such as the development of curriculum materials or workshops for teachers, have so far been given less attention (Tite, 1993, 1994, 1996). My goal in this paper is to focus on the integrated services approach in order (1) to explore its potential with regard to improving current surveillance and prevention models and (2) to speculate on the extent to which the new policy reflects an adequate response to the difficulties associated with teachers' surveillance role.

The Coordination of Services

The current trend toward the coordination of services is based on the idea that "coordinated intervention is the ideal goal...and that a collaborative multi-disciplinary response is needed "...to increase reporting and conviction rates, increase the effectiveness of treatment, and to decrease the trauma of disclosure for survivors" (Kinnon, 1998, 8). Clearly, though, while the formal coordination of services has influenced the thinking and activity of the professionals involved (Frenken & Van Stolk, 1990; Furniss, 1991; Martin, 1992; McGuire & Grant, 1991; Trute et al, 1992), and although a range of collaborative models have been developed (Hunter, Yuille, & Harvey, 1990; Kilker, 1989; Rogers, 1990), current intervention in Canada and throughout the USA remains fragmented and ineffective (Cotter & Kuehnelle, 1991; Trute et al, 1992). In general, the difficulties are attributed to philosophical disagreements that divide professional communities in their attitudes toward victims and offenders and their beliefs about the causes and consequences of abuse (Finkelhor & Strapko, 1992; Trute et al, 1992; Kays, 1990).

As teachers have become increasingly persuaded to take part in coordinated intervention, much of the research on the school's role has been aimed at uncovering the procedural difficulties associated with reporting cases to Child Protection Services (CPS) (Brosig & Kalichman, 1992; Foster, 1991; McEvoy, 1990). Teachers' lack of knowledge about abuse (Abrahams, Casey & Daro, 1992; Baxter & Beer, 1990; Beck, Ogloff & Corbishley, 1994), their general wariness about becoming involved, and the conflicts that arise in dealing with agents from outside of the school (Haase & Kempe, 1990; Zellman & Antler, 1990; Zellman, 1990) have also been emphasised. What is often missing from this work is a full understanding of the overlapping bureaucratic, professional and personal contexts in which identification and reporting decisions are made.

The Teacher's Role

By focussing most of my previous research (in Ontario and Newfoundland) on teachers and their experiences and perspectives of both hypothetical and real cases, I have tried to develop our understanding of these contexts in several ways. These findings, drawn from Tite, 1993, 1994a, 1994b, 1994c. 1996, 1997; 1998 (forthcoming) and Tite & Hicks (1998) are summarized in general terms below:

1. **Discrepancies between teachers' attitudes and the legal definitions/ requirements:**

   Teachers seem reluctant to be bound by legal definitions or formal reporting requirements. Instead, they include a wide range of behaviours in their own theoretical definitions and often prefer to deal with cases informally at the school level. Underlying these informal interventions is the sense that some cases can be handled more effectively by the school than by CPS, a perception which seems rooted in a view of children which emphasises discipline and intellectual and emotional needs.

2. **Barriers to detection:**

   The vast majority of teachers in both provinces indicated that they probably would not notice the signs of abuse if the child is not having trouble at school. It is clear, however, that classrooms present other complicating conditions. Detecting abuse is difficult, for example, in a setting where children frequently present themselves with minor injuries, where abused children can explain away injuries with excuses that sound entirely plausible in their familiarity, where it is not unusual to see a child who seems emotionally distressed, and where, increasingly, children are displaying advanced sexual knowledge and behaviour.

3. **Inadequate training:**

   While interpreting children's symptoms in such circumstances would seem to require a sophisticated knowledge base, more than half of those surveyed in both provinces were unable to indicate whether their school board has a reporting policy, and fewer than half had attended a mandatory child abuse in-service session in the last five years.

4. **Difficulty of distinguishing between suspicion and proof:**

Many teachers engage in their own informal investigations of their suspicions, sometimes feeling that they need "proof" before making a formal report, but more often out of their professional concern for the "whole child" and maintaining good "working partnerships" between the home and school. This process is fraught with difficulty, however, as teachers often find themselves acting in ways that contradict their normal concerns for children's trust, privacy, and safety.

5. Uncertainty/lack of consensus:

Teachers indicate a pervasive sense of self-doubt about their role in the coordination of services. In part, this seems to arise out of the increased demand to be more responsive to abused children, and a lack of confidence in their ability to do so. For some, the uncertainty seems rooted in the perception that they are taking on a role which is outside of their normal teaching role. For others, it is a question of parents' intentions. Also evident is a lack of consensus about how to balance their concerns for children's safety against the need to maintain the child's family unit, especially where there is a question about CPS ability to provide long-term solutions.

6. Conflicting views about the victims of abuse:

Related to this are the findings from my most recent research which suggest significant differences in teachers' and social workers' views about the victims of child sexual abuse i.e., their opinions about the characteristics and credibility of sexual abuse victims and the extent to which they attribute to the victim some responsibility for the abuse. The most obvious issue is the extent to which the child's age and behaviour appears differentially to influence attitudes about the child's credibility, with teachers more likely than social workers to accord little credibility to adolescent victims, particularly if they are seen as a "problem" children (e.g., promiscuous or runaways).

7. Frustration about the outcome of reports to CPS:

Teachers' frustration with the outcomes of their reports is very clear. There is widespread concern about "budget cuts, long waiting periods and huge caseloads," and an overriding sense that CPS is simply unable to cope. Another source of frustration concerns disagreements about the severity of the abuse, particularly with cases of emotional abuse and neglect. Teachers often feel unheard or misunderstood by child protection workers when they believe that they have clear ongoing evidence of abuse or neglect, but where there are no "marks" or "witnesses" to support them.

8. Concerns about consequences:

Related to this is teachers' fear that reporting will only make matters worse. This is expressed in a variety of ways: as apprehension about traumatizing the child at the early stages of disclosure; as a concern about upsetting the other children in the class; as fear that parents may react to the report by becoming even more abusive; and as anxiety about the difficulties of dealing with the child and his/ her parents after a report. It is clear as well that some teachers see themselves at risk of personal revenge, either in the form of physical violence or attacks on their professional credibility.

9. Significant gender differences:

While I was unable to conduct a gender analysis for the Ontario study, the findings from Newfoundland and Labrador indicate statistically significant gender differences in the identification of cases; 42.7% of men teachers compared to 60.1% of women teachers indicated that they had suspected a case of abuse. There are two interesting aspects to this gender distinction, the first the fact that men tend to predominate in the higher grades and administrative roles, the second pertaining to policy and training. The prevailing view is that identification should be influenced by type of teaching assignment and exposure to policy and training. However, the data here is very clear: only women's suspicion rates are not statistically influenced by grade level or type of class assignment, and only for women is there a strong positive correlation between suspicion and in-service training and between suspicion and awareness of policy. Put another way, after controlling for grade level, type of class assignment, and exposure to policy and training, differences in suspicion rates remained significant for males, but not for females.

10. The potential for inappropriate screening:

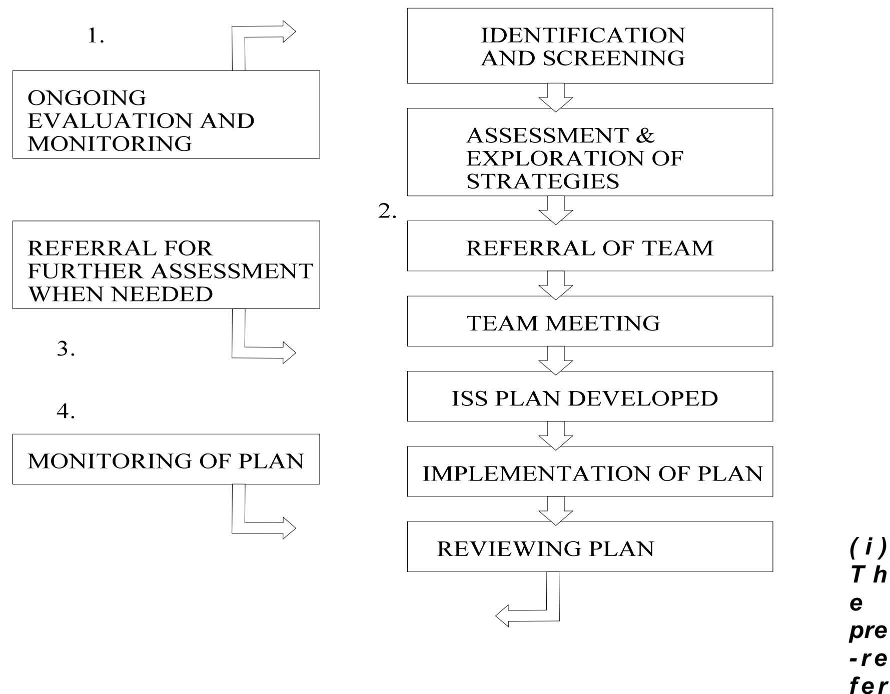
The majority of teachers are reluctant to make formal reports to CPS, but most of their suspicions are reported, and most reporting is done through the principal. Principals seem adequately prepared to handle reports, but at least half seem unwilling to pass teachers' reports on to CPS, or to encourage the teachers to do so. Apart from the possible effect of gender, this seems connected to how abuse is narrowly defined procedurally and to principals' experiences of what CPS will investigate and what they will otherwise dismiss. Thus, although teachers' reporting seems initially to be consistent with accepted procedures, in practice the process appears to be sufficiently vulnerable to principals' responsiveness to raise questions about the potential for the inappropriate screening of cases at the school level.

The Integrated Services Management Approach

Because they so clearly underline the educational difficulties associated with reporting, these findings compel us to consider the potential benefits (or drawbacks) of an integrated services management approach. The most obvious question seems to be whether the model provides an opportunity for teachers to become more engaged in the problem of child abuse, while resolving their own difficulties within the educational context, and coordinating their activity with other professionals such as social workers, health-care providers and justice officials.

In Newfoundland and Labrador, the Integrated Services Management Approach is meant to be a collaborative process involving the child, the parents, and service providers from Education, Health, and Social Services. The idea is that personnel from the relevant agencies work together to identify the child's needs, to define appropriate goals for meeting those needs, and to provide the required supports and services. The aim is to provide a holistic approach which ensures that the child and family are full partners in the process, while encouraging the sharing of knowledge and expertise among service providers. Although this paper is focussed on child abuse, it is important to note that this is not the only issue addressed by the model. In fact, it is designed to deal with a wide range of special needs and problems, e.g., hearing impairments, the need for a wheelchair, death or disability of the child's parents, learning disabilities, behavioural problems, shoplifting convictions, and so on.

A central component of the Integrated Services Management Approach is ***The Individual Support Services Plan (ISSP)***. Given the objectives outlined above, presumably there is room within the ISSP planning process for flexibility in terms of the level of formality and format. Nevertheless, a formal process is outlined very clearly in the policy (see figure 1). As Figure 1 indicates, the process consists of four essential stages: pre-referral; referral; planning and implementation of the service plan.



(i) The pre-referral stage: The ISSP process begins with screening and identification. Screening and

identification is followed by assessment and exploration of strategies, and then, if a referral is not deemed necessary, the "service provider" should engage in ongoing evaluation and monitoring. Unfortunately, as we have seen, in terms of the child abuse issue, this is where the teachers' role generally begins and too often ends. This is because most of the difficulties associated with reporting, discussed above, act as barriers to the referral stage. To repeat: it is difficult to detect the symptoms of abuse in the classroom; too few teachers are aware of the legal definitions, school policies and legal reporting requirements; those who are aware often disagree with, or at least feel highly uncertain about the legal definitions and the official CPS response. Finally, given the significant gender differences along with the fact that the vast majority of school administrators are male, clearly, the chances of teachers' suspicions going beyond the pre-referral loop are low.

(ii) ***The referral stage:*** The second stage of the ISSP process is the referral stage. Prior to the implementation of the new integrated services management approach, a child abuse referral generally meant a quick phone call to CPS or the police (very few teachers in my samples indicated putting anything in writing). The ISSP process is different; here the key player is the Individual Support Services (ISS) Manager. A referral to an ISS Manager begins a process whereby he or she determines the membership of a team and completes a profile which is sent to the Child Services Coordinator and communicated to a Regional Services Management Team. In determining the composition of the ISSP team, the ISS Manager is expected to take into account the nature and complexity of the child's needs. Most teams, however, are expected to be comprised of the child, the parents/guardians, service providers, and other relevant players. (Government of Newfoundland, 1997, 8-12).

Presumably, in cases where a child abuse referral comes from the school, the teacher could be considered a "relevant player" or a "service provider" (in cases where a child's learning has been affected by the abuse, for instance). However this is not clearly defined in the document. While teachers are mentioned as team members and service providers, their role does not come up at all in any of the examples of child abuse. Where teachers are mentioned in the document, it is generally in relation to providing services for children with identified learning disabilities. This raises the question of whether or not teachers are expected to be part of the referral process and leaves us to wonder how teachers' confusions and uncertainties will ever be resolved if they are left out of the loop at this early stage.

Close to one-half of the teachers in both my samples indicated that they never heard about the outcomes of their referrals. When I raised this issue at a recent ISSP workshop, I was told that this was "confidential" and therefore could not be communicated to teachers, leaving me to puzzle out how teachers could be "relevant players" or "service providers" without appropriate information. Since health, social services and justice officials can readily obtain children's school records, while teachers cannot have access to the outcomes of their referrals, we clearly need to question the extent to which the integrated service management approach is truly integrated or service oriented.

(iii) ***The planning stage:*** The planning stage begins with a team meeting, a meeting which is seen as "a continuation of the problem solving process begun at the pre-referral stage" (23). The team meeting is meant to be: "child-focussed; a forum for shared decision-making; a means to acquire solutions to problems; a place for respectful honesty; inviting and comfortable for all members; a place

where everyone's expertise and point of view is valued; and positive and optimistic about the child's future" (24). More specifically, the team is expected to develop an action plan. The plan is to consist of a set of prioritized goals for the child, a list of supports, services and recommendations for each goal, and a list of service personnel or agencies to be responsible for implementing the various components of the plan. The planning process is intended to be consensual, with team members reaching agreement on strategies, approaches and interventions, and ways of avoiding duplication of services.

As I suggested above, it seems unlikely in child abuse cases that teachers will be included as team members in this planning stage. In fact, teachers may be very reluctant to do so in any case, given the difficulties associated with dealing with the child and parent after they have made a child abuse referral. However, two key issues should be considered at this stage. First of all, if teachers, children and parents could be brought together in a consensual planning environment, this type of arrangement might hold some solid potential for reducing teachers' fears and uncertainties. Second, since teachers are among the few professionals who may be expected to work with the child before, during, and after the referral, whether or not they are including in the team planning stage, they should be considered key service providers. Again, though, where teachers are specifically named in the ISSP document, it is generally in cases where children are deemed to need special education services, such as speech therapy, and so on. Almost no attention is given to teachers as service providers in terms of their expertise with dealing with children who are in other kinds of distress.

(iv) Implementation of the service plan: After the meeting, individual team members with responsibility for implementing the ISSP are expected to engage in a number of tasks, the first of which is to complete the necessary paperwork. According to the document, this formalizes each team member's action plan and ensures that the identified objectives are met. Interestingly, teachers are mentioned in this section of the document which recommends, for example, that "School board office personnel, *usually the special education teacher* [author's emphasis] and relevant classroom/subject teacher(s), get together to complete the teaching portion of the ISSP ..." (26). While the document is unclear about teachers' role in cases where they are not official members of the team, it does indicate that if the ISSP includes an area for which additional expertise is necessary, the team members, in writing up the ISSP, should "include the relevant person" or recommend "resource materials to help write this portion of the ISSP" (27). Thus, presumably, teachers could be called upon at this point to become service providers. However, this is not made clear in the document, nor is there any mention of how this might work in cases of child abuse.

Following the development of the ISSP, the team is expected to meet again to draw up a schedule for the interventions, and, once implemented, to meet again twice annually to review and monitor the child's progress. Interestingly, teachers are mentioned as a special case in this section of the document in reference to the scheduling of meetings, for it is noted that "a convenient arrangement for some schools is to schedule meetings to coincide with the normal parent-teacher interviews avoiding the need for parental travel to multiple meetings" (29). This is a puzzling statement, especially coming near the end of the document. Nowhere else is it suggested that teachers could play such a key role.

In this paper I have considered the Integrated Services Management Approach only from the perspective of teachers' role in responding to child abuse. Further

analysis of the model should include the perspectives of other professionals as well as other difficulties e.g., health issues, related to children "at risk." Nevertheless, this preliminary work holds particular significance for teachers and researchers concerned about the problem of child abuse. Specifically, teachers need to recognize the features of the new model which may act as systemic barriers to responding to abused children, and to begin questioning aspects of the new policy which do not seem to work well for them or the children they are trying to protect. At the same time, researchers need to be concerned with how policy revisions which appear to be neutral (on paper) may serve (in practice) to screen out cases in ways that reinforce the old idea that child abuse is a marginal social problem.

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PARENTS IN THE SCHOOL: THE IMPACT OF FATHER'S PARTICIPATION IN CHILDREN'S EDUCATION IN NEWFOUNDLAND

Tammy Constantine
Garry Davis
Karen McCarthy
Amarjit Singh

Faculty of Education
Memorial University of Newfoundland
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Introduction

This paper is a part of larger effort to produce "local knowledge" in the area of school-community-family relationship (Singh, et al 1999). Historically, "outsiders" and a selected few nominated by the dominant forces of the day have been involved in producing knowledge in this province. As Greene (1999, p. 3) points out, "until the founding of Memorial University in 1949, Newfoundlanders were denied the privilege of post-secondary institution that could develop local studies." Even today ordinary citizens in this province have generally been discouraged from producing knowledge based on their daily experiences. They feel intimidated in recording and disseminating their experiential and observation-based knowledge. Greene (1999, p. 4) writes that "On the personal level, the individual Newfoundlander, regardless of class, has historically shown an aversion to preserving written records; and the few who were courageous enough to perform the feat have always been denigrated as hoarders ----- Oral tradition has held sway for centuries and remains still the richest source available for gaining an understanding of the everyday lives of people of Newfoundland's past." This situation has been changing, however, as more and more people are learning about how "official" and "state" forms of knowledge are socially constructed, preserved and strategically disseminated either to maintain the status quo or to change it (Singh, parts I & II, 1991; Finlayson, 1994). More than ever before, people in this province now feel confidence in their common sense ability to understand how the society works and how the culture influences their views and behaviours. For example, based on their understanding of social and cultural processes parents, students, teachers, families and communities were able to contest the recent reorganization of the school system in this province under the umbrella of educational reform. They were able to point out the contradictions and mismatch of the "official" knowledge which guided educational reform (see the recent pages of the Telegram and other local papers).

Many writers recognize the importance of local knowledge and local theorising. This form of knowledge and theorising helps people to enhance their well-being in the concrete context in which they work and live (Andrews, J., et al. 1999). In the context of school-family-community relation, local knowledge and theories produced by teachers, parents, students, and others help them to focus on the concrete relationship on which their daily lives depend (Geertz, 1983; Schibeci and Grundy, 1987: Tripp, 1987; Smyth, 1989).

This paper discusses, first, the benefits of parental involvement in education. Based on their personal observations and experiences (local knowledge), the authors

discuss some reasons for increased parental involvement at Random Island Academy. This is a small K-12 school serving eleven communities in rural Newfoundland. The authors then go on and describe some ways parents at this school have been involved, thus building strong, positive family, community and school relations. Following this, the focus shifts as the authors pay more attention to the impact of father's participation in their children's education. This they do in two ways: by providing a brief and selective review of literature in this area and by describing a Newfoundland perspective on father's involvement in certain schools in this province. The paper ends with a description of an episode the authors experienced in some schools in this province. This incident may demonstrate that there are some unreachable parents --- so called "Parents from Hell" (Warner & Curry, 1997). These individuals can slow down attempts by schools, families and communities to build positive reciprocal relationships to help children do well in schools.

Parents In the School

Benefits of Parental Involvement

Henderson (1987) points out some of the most important research findings about parental involvement that we should know. These are that (1) the family provides the child's primary educational environment; (2) involving parents in their children's formal education improves student achievement; (3) parent involvement is most effective when it is comprehensive, long-lasting, and well-planned; (4) the benefits are not confined to early childhood or the elementary level; there are strong effects from involving parents continuously throughout high school; (5) involving parents in their own children's education at home is not enough to ensure the quality of schools as institutions serving the community; parents must be involved at all levels in the school; (6) children from low-income and majority families have the most to gain when schools involve parents, and parents do not have to be well-educated to help, and (7) we cannot look at the school and home in isolation from one another but must see how they interconnect with each other and with the world at large.

When parents show a strong interest in their children's schooling, they tend to promote the development of attitudes that are the key to achievement, attitudes that are more of a product of how the family interacts than of its social class or income. If schools treat parents as powerless or unimportant or if they discourage parents from taking an interest, they promote the development of attitudes in parents, and consequently in their children, which inhibit achievement (Henderson, 1981, p. 3). Studies continue to show that, in reality, parents from all walks of life are interested in getting involved in their children's schooling. It is up to the educators to discover how to reach them and how to make their involvement a positive, productive experience (Warner, 1997).

Below we will show how the educators at Random Island Academy, a small rural K-12 school located in Hickman's Harbour, Newfoundland, are making parents' involvement a positive and worthwhile experience for everyone.

Contributing Factors to Increased Parental Involvement

From personal observations, and based on local knowledge, we provide examples of programs offered in this school which have been quite successful in

connecting Random Island Academy with the families and communities sending children to the school. One of us has been a teacher at this school for ten years. During this time, there have been four different administrators. The change in administration is only one reason for an increase in parental involvement. Other factors that have increased parental involvement over the past ten years are educational reform, school development, declining enrolments, the head start program and a new reporting system.

The administration certainly played a role in making parents feel welcome. With new men on the block, new and different approaches towards parental and community involvement arose. In 1992, when the Williams Royal Commission Report on Education reported to government with recommendations for change, Random Island Academy was not negatively effected, since it was classified as a necessarily existing school. The Commission also recommended that parents be given a meaningful role in the operation of schools and that school councils should be established in all schools to provide an avenue for parental participation. The School Councils have brought the school, family and community together at Random Island Academy. School improvement, now known as school development, has also had a positive effect in bringing all parties together. All parties work together to achieve common goals. Declining enrolments have reduced units and increased teachers' workloads. Parents have alleviated the burden created by some of the time consuming tasks that needed to be done. (The school resource centre has received a tremendous amount of work from parents.) In the head start program, parents and their four-year-old children come to school one day a month. At times, the parent stays in the classroom with the child and at other times the school has sessions for parents. Finally, the board's new K-3 reporting system brings parents, students and their teachers together to discuss their child's individual program. This has benefits for everyone involved.

Parental Roles

Parents have been involved in many traditional/familiar roles at Random Island Academy. Some of these include: fund raisers, resource centre workers, coaches for teams, assistant for field trips, chaperones for overnight trips, drivers for teams and other kinds of helpers. We will now highlight some examples of parental roles that may be familiar in many schools in this province, though the parent(s) in Random Island Academy have gone beyond the call of duty in discharging these.

The Cake Lady - As a parent representative on the School Spirit Action Team (a committee formed in the course of the school improvement process but still active even though the focus changed), a parent decided to bake a birthday cake for every student and teacher in the school. In the first year, she baked a small cake for everyone. This was apparently not enough, so in the second year she added a small helium balloon and a small bag of candy. The expense for all these items was met out of her own pocket. This initiative has led to improved social relationships among students, teachers and parents.

Breakfast Program - It was felt that some students were coming to school hungry for various reasons. The principal found a parent who was interested in running the breakfast program. This parent took the initiative to start this programme for any student in the school wanting to avail of the service. He made three tables and a cart to be used for this program. He also recruited parents who volunteered their time to serve the students in the morning. Since there is only a small amount of funding available for this program, fund raising was also required, so he recruited parents to

raise funds or seek donations from community groups/businesses to keep this program going. He ended the first year of the program with over one thousand dollars in the bank. The school and administration created this environment which has provided the opportunity for different people with different backgrounds to become leaders. They brought the leadership role of parents into the school.

Active Home and School - A very active home and school association came into being with a change in the administration. This group had goals that required a large amount of fund-raising. They reached their goal. At one end of the school, they levelled a piece of land, fenced it and then installed playground equipment for the primary and elementary students. At the same time, they levelled another piece of land and then paved a basketball court for the high school students. Since this time, they have continued fund-raising. Teachers were informed that if they had any needs/wants for resources to submit them in writing to the Home and School Association. They have helped out various school programs, i.e., bought sashes for the school choir, purchased a volleyball net, provided resources for the challenging needs classroom, etc. They are now discussing the possibility of preparing another piece of land for a soccer/softball field. This resource based organisation is thus helping to create the culture at Random Island Academy.

Teacher Appreciation Week - During this week, parents treat teachers to hot turkey dinners, pot lucks, and recess treats. Another year, parents set up a tree in the front entrance and asked students to write something special about their teacher and place it on the tree. These things certainly do strengthen the family-school-community connection. This is another great initiative as all people need to feel appreciated. This gives teachers a sense of belonging, as well as reinforcing their efforts.

School Facilities Action Team - This committee was formed from the school improvement process but still remained active even though the focus changed and is now known as school development. This committee is made up of parents, teachers and students. One function of the group was to take ownership of the front lobby and hallways in the school. This group brought the atmosphere of the home into the school by adding ideas about interior decorating. It has engaged in such activities as painting lockers to co-ordinate colours, helping fund-raise to purchase a large oak display case for the main lobby, putting up wooden shelves and adding little trinkets, enlarging pictures of students and hanging in entrance and lobby, displaying seasonal bulletin boards, and purchasing plants for the entrance, lobby and display case. Creating a pleasant atmosphere can certainly affect people's attitudes.

Provincial Tournament - Random Island Academy hosted the Boys' Provincial 'A' Volleyball Championships in December 1998. This was a major undertaking for a small area. However, with parental involvement the task became easier. The parents took full responsibility for finding accommodation for all athletes. In addition, they organized the banquet. The recent reforms in Newfoundland education has stressed cutting programs and focusing more on the three R's. However, the role of sport (the physical education program) in this community had a major impact. It generated a tremendous amount of energy in the community and brought everyone together.

Literacy Committee - A committee was formed in the school that included the principal, the special needs teachers and some parents. This committee wanted to improve the literacy level of students and adults who lived on the island. With funding from a variety of sources, a section known as the literacy centre was added to the school. This centre contains thousands of dollars worth of books, computers, and

computer programs to which the school has access. This facility is still functional today. The example shows that when the school invites people in, it can help enrich the community.

The Impact of Father's Participation in Children's Education

There has been an increasing interest in the father's interaction with children and its effects on their development. In the past few years, several books and research articles on the father's roles and relationships have appeared (Minnesota Extension Service, 1992) and, in particular, the role of fathers as it relates to their children's education has been more closely examined in recent years. While the father's role has been overlooked in research in the past, U.S. President Clinton asked all executive departments to include fathers in their programs, policies and research, where possible (U.S. Department of Education, 1997).

One of the more prominent reports in this area is a study carried out by the National Center for Education Statistics in the United States. Their October 1997 Survey, Fathers' Involvement in Their Children's Schools, found that children do better in school when their fathers are involved in their schools, regardless of whether their fathers live with them or their mothers are also involved (U.S. Department of Education, 1997).

The national study garnered enough attention to have U.S. Vice- President Al Gore highlight it by commenting on it to the media. He said: "This study provides hard evidence about the powerful and positive influence that parents can have as full and equal partners when they make the commitment to help their children get a good education. Fathers matter a great deal when it comes to helping their children succeed in school and this study should encourage millions of American fathers to step up to the plate and make a difference in their children's education" (U.S. Department of Education, 1997, p. 1).

The study also found that if mothers got as involved as mothers in their children's education, children would be studying harder and getting a lot more A's. Fathers make a powerful difference in defining expectation and challenging children to do their best. Overall, children in two-parent families where the father is highly involved get better grades, enjoy school more, and are less likely to repeat a grade, compared with those in which only mothers are highly involved (U.S. Department of Education, 1997).

Father's Involvement in School: a Newfoundland Perspective

There are many school programs in Newfoundland and Labrador that could be examined for father's involvement and the impact it has on their children's education. The authors have chosen some specific examples from Newfoundland and Labrador to demonstrate how fathers' role in their children's education has increased, although only slightly. They will also discuss the effects of the involvement on the child generally.

Parent Teacher Night

One of the authors observed At Bayview Regional Collegiate (grades 7-12) in St. Lunaire and Random Island Academy that, over the past three to five years, there has been an increase in the number of fathers who have attended parent-teacher night to discuss their children's academic progress. While the increase in the number of fathers has only been small, the concerns of fathers over their children's education has seemed to be quite genuine. Of the approximate 150 students at Bayview Regional Collegiate, roughly one third of their parents attended parent-teacher nights five to ten years ago - about one fifth, or 10 of these, were fathers. Today, about 50 percent of the parents of children at this school attend parent-teacher night. Thirty-five of these are fathers, who generally attend with their wives or partners.

This example demonstrates that fathers feel an increased sense of responsibility for the education of their children, and seem for the most part to be concerned that their children improve academically and socially. In the past, parents of children performing well academically have been the ones who usually attended the parent-teacher night. Recently, however, an increase in the number of parents of struggling students has become evident, especially in the intermediate grades.

School Councils

In 1992 The Williams Royal Commission Report recommended that parents have a larger role in the management of their children's school. In the revised Schools Act (1997) this recommendation was taken into consideration and school councils were mandated by law. Parents along with community and school representatives were given positions on the school council. It is anticipated that, since decision making is one of the responsibilities of the council, men (fathers) would play a more predominant role.

Indeed, two-thirds and one-half of the school councils at Bayview Regional Collegiate and Random Island Academy, respectively, are males. The principal, teacher and community representatives on the school council at Bayview Regional Collegiate consist entirely of parents, with five out of eight representatives being fathers. At Random Island Academy the principal and teacher representatives are not parents of students at the school. Of the parent and community representatives two out of five are fathers. This seems to suggest that, at least in some areas, fathers' involvement is increasing.

Field Trips

Schools use field trips to enhance the curriculum. All parents are provided the opportunity to volunteer their services when assistance is needed. More parent volunteers are needed at the primary and elementary levels. At Random Island Academy mothers tend to be more involved when the trip entails greater distances, while fathers tend to become involved in trips within the local area where they are able to leave work for a short period of time to assist their child at the swimming pool or the stadium. There seems to be, again, an increase in the fathers' involvement.

Homework

Homework is an important aspect of a child's education in that it reinforces the concepts taught at school. The tendency for fathers more responsibility for their children's education translates into their participation in the homework arena. The authors have found that fathers have become more involved in assisting their children with nightly homework in the late 1990s as opposed to the early part of the decade and previous years. This became evident when the authors noted the increase in the number of fathers' signatures attached to a variety of school and homework for validation purposes. Formerly, the mother assisted in this area, as society deemed it to be her role. However, with the changing role of both parents - and with more women entering the work force - the parent-homework role too has changed. Some mothers now work outside the home during evenings, whereas it is more likely that fathers work a 9-5 job and are available during the evenings to assist their children.

Fund-raising

Many schools implement fund-raising initiatives throughout the school year in order to provide for more resources at school or to assist with costs for school trips. Some of these initiatives require the assistance of parents. More particularly, school bake sales, car washes or hot dog sales lend themselves to participation by parents. In this area, there has not really been an increase in the fathers' involvement. Mothers are known to bake cakes, prepare lunches for students and assist in other ways of fund-raising for the school. Fathers' roles, on the other hand, are much reduced.

At Bayview Regional Collegiate, for example, the school graduating class holds a fund-raiser each year to assist with graduation ceremonies. Mothers prepare hot meals for sale in the local community. Much time and effort is spent on this task. Fathers' roles are generally limited to delivery of the meals throughout the community.

Volunteers

Parent volunteers are vital to the administration of academic and extra-curricular programs. The authors have observed a noted difference in the roles of both fathers and mothers as volunteers within the school system. Mothers appear to volunteer more directly within the school setting as readers in the resource centres or assisting in classroom activities with the teacher. Fathers, on the other hand, are more likely to volunteer as coaches with sports teams, or to lead discussion on careers during a school career day. This is certainly true at the schools in St. Lunaire and Hickman's Harbour.

Again, when schools like the one at St. Lunaire plan variety nights, it is mostly fathers who participate in "lip syncs", skits and other demonstrations of local talent outside the classroom.

How Can Schools Assist Fathers in Becoming More Involved in Education?

There are many ways in which schools can help fathers become more involved in their children's education. This is a challenge that the schools, school boards and departments of education must focus on. If, as the U.S. study indicates, fathers' involvement does affect students positively, then all schools should move forward on the following suggestions:

1. The school needs to be flexible in looking for parent volunteers. Currently, many schools only search for volunteers during the beginning of a school year. If this is the time of year when fathers are busy, or not at home due to work, then schools limit themselves to the number of fathers they are able to attract. Perhaps schools should contact fathers and mothers three or four times through the year in a proactive fashion so as to attract as many fathers as mothers.

2. Regarding parent-teacher interviews, the issue of flexibility is raised again. Teachers and administrators must be willing to meet with parents during any time of the weekday or weekend.

3. Schools need to demonstrate to fathers that their assistance is invaluable. For many years, because mothers have been mostly involved in the school, fathers find it difficult to break through. Teachers, principals and others must tell fathers that their assistance is needed and appreciated.

4. Literature pertaining to the benefits of fathers assisting with their children's education should be distributed by educators through mailings to the home or as part of school-community newsletters. This would most likely lead to more fathers becoming involved.

5. While the authors have not offered detailed discussion on non-resident fathers, it is nevertheless important that schools keep the lines of communication open with fathers who are not living with their children, keeping in mind court orders which may be imposed.

6. The literature shows that most parental involvement occurs when children are in primary and elementary school for both mothers and fathers. Schools must continue to emphasize to parents the value of their involvement, even at the high school level. Although mothers' education levels have significantly increased in recent years, fathers in urban centres most likely still maintain the highest level of academic achievement. Therefore, the fathers should become more involved in assisting high school aged children with homework and the more academic activities.

Father's Involvement - The Effect on the Child

When fathers become more involved in their children's school work and school activities, children feel better about themselves. According to the U.S. study, "the

involvement of fathers, as well as mothers, in their children's schools is important for children's achievement and behaviour" (p. 77). "In father-only families, fathers' involvement increased the likelihood that their children get mostly A's and reduces the likelihood that their children have ever been suspended or expelled" (p. 77-78).

Also, families with high parental involvement in their children's schools are "more likely to visit a library, museum or historical site with their children and are more likely to have high educational expectations for their children" (U.S. Department of Education, 1997).

Unreachable Parents

The book **Everybody's House - The Schoolhouse** (1997) by Carolyn Warner with Marilyn Curry provides the inspiration for this section of the paper. Chapter 8, "Unreachable Parents - Reachable Children," contains a section called the "Parent From Hell". As a principal one of the authors have encountered several of these so-called "parents from hell". These individuals can become a thorn in the flesh of both teachers and administrators of a school.

Encounters with "parents from hell" can be very unnerving. They have their own version of a situation and they refuse to listen to reason. Many times they become irrate and can be boisterous if challenged. Also, they will go to any means to prove their point. If unsuccessful they can become a menace to the school.

One particular incident occurred in the school where one of us was and is at present the principal. During recess a teacher came to the principal's office to advise him that he had told one of the Level II students to remove his outside coat and take it to his locker. This student reluctantly did so. Other students said that another student was in class with his outside coat on. The teacher asked if it was an outside coat and he said, "No, it's just a heavy shirt". Upon further questioning the teacher discovered that this piece of clothing was worn over a T-shirt and was the only item worn outside when the student travelled to and from school. The teacher then told him to remove it and put it in his locker. He very reluctantly complied. The teacher advised the principal that he believed this would not be the last they would hear about this incident. Just after the bell rang for the end of recess, indeed, the parent of the second student arrived at the principal's office complaining that teachers were picking on his son. He was absolutely furious that a teacher would ask his son to remove his outside coat, insisting that it was not a coat but a shirt. After arguing for about ten minutes about the particulars of the incident and the stupid rules the school had, he left. At noon the principal returned to his home for lunch.

On returning to school, the principal met the same parent outside his office waving a page from the Sears catalogue which contained the item of clothing in question. He argued that even Sears called it a shirt. Since he was still mad and very unreasonable the principal took the page and informed him that he would look into it further. During the afternoon, the principal pondered over this situation and decided that he had better call the school district office to advise them of this incident in case this parent complained to them. After completing the last afternoon class the principal returned to his office only to discover the mother of the first student involved in the outside coat incident awaiting his arrival. He invited her into his office and she let go at him verbally. Unable to speak to her, let alone reason with her, the principal sat back and listened. After about fifteen minutes she finally gave up and left without considering

the position of the teacher. The principal then decided to call district office immediately. He spoke to the assistant director who advised him that he had just finished speaking with the parent of the second student involved in the incident. He could not understand why this parent was pursuing this issue and supported the stand the school was taking. He indicated that he would call the parent and advise him that he supported the school's decision.

This incident illustrates how unreasonable parents can be when they become upset. There is no way to come to a mutual understanding and all an administrator can do is to listen and stand firm regarding their decisions. To try to push one's views will only inflame the situation because a so called "parent from hell" will not view the situation objectively. Often, they will not support the school no matter how hard the latter tries to resolve the situation. They feel that protecting their child is their number one priority. In the case cited above, the parent of the second child was inclined to be highly protective because the student had recently been diagnosed with diabetes. But this is not a sufficient reason to act the way he did.

As teachers and administrators we must realize that certain situations do occur and that we may be helpless to resolve them. We must not let them dampen our enthusiasm for our profession but look to the supportive parents for our energy. "Parents from hell" will always be with us but we must act as professionals and go about our business of educating children undaunted.

Conclusion

Random Island Academy has definitely been successful at building and maintaining positive, meaningful relations with their parents and communities. This has taken time. It appears that the school, students and teachers have all benefitted from parental involvement. The educators at Random Island Academy now know if they want to get and keep parents on their team they must provide an opportunity for meaningful, purposeful involvement. We would encourage other schools to do the same. Remember, "they're out there, you need 'em, now go get 'em" (Warner, 1997).

One of the interesting points noted by the authors is the effect the seasonal nature of work in Newfoundland and Labrador has on the fathers' availability to assist with their children - not only from an educational perspective, but from a full family perspective. Work in the fishing, logging and construction industry, for example, sees most males away for extended periods of time during various points throughout a year. During these times, it is the mother who provides almost all support to the children. A noted increase in fathers' spending time with their children occurs when the males are at home.

The depth of fathers' involvement in school helps to strengthen the school-community-family relationship in diverse ways. The authors recommend further research to compare the provincial differences in fathers' involvement with their children. Perhaps the Canadian Government could undertake a survey to expand on the one carried out by the Department of Education in the US. It is not easy to build school-family-relationships since there are many obstacles to overcome, but the potential benefits certainly make the effort worthwhile.

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON SCHOOL-COMMUNITY-FAMILY RELATIONS IN SELECTED SCHOOLS IN NEWFOUNDLAND

J. Andrews
L. Andrews
V. Harris-Anstey
D. Coady
R. Cowan
K. Dwyer
P. Edwards
C. Finn-Pike
Amarjit Singh
Winter 1999

This paper draws upon several years of our observations and experiences as teachers in Newfoundland schools and communities. In it we describe many ways some schools in this province have attempted to build positive family, community and school relations by involving parents in several school related activities. In doing so, we briefly (1) highlight the importance of the notion of producing local knowledge and local theories to educational change processes, (2) review literature on the benefit of parental and community involvement in education, (3) list 50 ways parents can help schools, (4) reflect on what local education reform means to parents and why parents believe that the school reform initiated by school boards will affect the culture of their schools in negative ways, and (5) suggest what needs to be done to avoid possible negative impact of school restructuring on the culture of the school.

Local Knowledge and Local Theorizing

Many writers recognize the importance of local knowledge and local theorizing. This form of knowledge and theorizing helps people to enhance their well-being in the concrete context in which they work and live. In the context of school-family-community relation, local knowledge and theories produced by teachers, parents, student and others help them to focus on the concrete relationship on which their daily lives depend (Geertz, 1983; Schibeci & Grundy, 1987; Tripp, 1987; Smyth, 1989).

Much information exists on the complex nature of the classroom in which teachers work with their students. Similarly, there is a dearth of literature on why and how parents want to get involved in their children's education in school, and how and why the school should encourage parents to get involved with their children's school.

There exist two sets of debates on the complexity of the classroom and on the partnership among schools, family and community. One discourse is "objective" and the other is "subjective". Both are important to fully understand the above relationships. The difference between the two debates, however, is that the objective discourse is generally perceived as a scientific discourse - meaning research based debates. In contrast, the discussions of the real classroom realities and the real relationship which the partnership among school, family and community builds upon makes different assumptions. These discourses maintain that the reflective observations of many stakeholders (students, parents, grandparents, principal, counsellors, members of the business communities, church people, politicians and other school personnel) and the

intuitions of experienced teachers are the major considerations for understanding the complex classroom relationship and family-school-community relationships.

In the context of the education change process, the debate of the real implies that sharing of local knowledge with others and reflecting on it critically is a necessary and useful practice, because it helps fine-tune the objective knowledge often used to initiate education reform. In this way, it is believed, using local knowledge will make education reform more effective and relevant in a given concrete community-school-family context.

Benefits of Parental (Family) and Community Involvement In Education

We make no attempt to review the massive literature in this area. Suffice it to mention that there is both a need and a demand for increased parental and community involvement in public education. While in the past evident mainly in private schools, parental involvement and the involvement of the community is growing in public education as well. Henderson (1981, 1987, 1994) has reviewed a total of 125 research studies which examine evidence regarding the effect of parental involvement on student academic achievement and the performance of schools. Schools that work well with families show improved morale, produce higher ratings of teachers by parents, and have better reputations in the community (Henderson, 1994).

Over the past thirty years many research studies have focussed on the recognition given to the crucial role parents play and have put emphasis on the rights and responsibilities of parents to influence educational programs (Henderson & Beria, 1994; Olmstead & Rubin, 1983). One of the most important findings which the research overwhelmingly indicates is:

> When parents show a strong interest in their children's schooling, they promote the development of attitudes that are key to achievement, attitudes that are more a product of how the family interacts than of its social class or income. If schools treat parents as powerless or unimportant, or if they discourage parents from taking an interest, they promote the development of attitudes in parents, and consequently their children, that inhibit achievement (Henderson, 1981, p. 3).

Epstein (1983) reports that when teachers were committed to increasing parent involvement, the parents "...felt that they [the parents] should help their children at home; ....understood more about what their child was being taught in school; ....were more positive about the teacher's interpersonal skills, and rated the teacher higher in overall teaching ability..." This change in parents' perceptions is true even after socioeconomic status and student ability are taken into account (Epstein, 1983; Eagle, 1989). Furthermore, if increased parental involvement creates the perception that the school is more effective, it is likely that student achievement will increase (Caplan, Choy, & Whitmore, 1992).

Henderson (1987) points out seven key research facts we should know, based on some of the most important research findings about parent involvement. These are:

1. The family provides the child's primary educational environment.

2. Involving parents in their children's formal education improves student achievement.

3. Parent involvement is most effective when it is comprehensive, long-lasting, and well-planned.

4. The benefits are not confined to early childhood or the elementary level; there are strong effects from involving parents continuously throughout high school.

5. Involving parents in their own children's education at home is not enough. To ensure the quality of schools as institutions serving the community; parents must be involved at all levels in the school.

6. Children from low-income and minority families have the most to gain when schools involve parents. Parents do not have to be well-educated to help.

7. We cannot look at the school and home in isolation from one another; we must see how they interconnect with each other and with the world at large.

It should be kept in mind that not all types of parental involvement lead to improved performance. As Epstein and Connors (1992) state: "Research is needed that provides information on the effects of specific practices so that schools can more purposely choose practices to help them obtain specific benefits from their involvements in school and family connections" (p. 13). Henderson (1988) states, "...parents involvement works better when parents are given a variety of roles to play" (p. 150) and "For the wheel to turn, parents must play all the roles. The conclusion of this series of studies is that the better planned, the more comprehensive, and the longer lasting the parent involvement, the more effective the schools in the community become" (p. 151). Becher (1984) agrees that "all forms of parent involvement strategies seems to be useful. However, those ...that offer more types of roles for parents to play, and occur over an extended period of time appear to be more effective" (p. 18).

Henderson and Epstein have developed several models of classification of parental involvement. Henderson (1987) mentions three, namely (1) improving the parent-child relationship in the context of the family; (2) integrating parents into school programs; and, (3) building strong relationships between school, family, and the larger community. Epstein (1994) notes six types of parent involvement, namely (i) school help for families in the area of basic family responsibilities; (ii) school-home communication (e.g. basic obligations of schools for communication from school to home); (iii) family help for schools (involvement of parents to assist teacher); (iv) involvement in learning activities at home (homework, etc.); (v) involvement in governance, decision making, and advocacy (school improvement or school site councils, etc.); and, (vi) collaboration and exchanges with the community (support services, etc.).

50 Ways Parents Can Help

The parents can help schools and students in following the 50 ways:

Come to School to Assist

1. Share information with a student or class about a hobby.

2. Share information with a student or a class about a career.

3. Share information with students about a country you visited or lived in.

4. Tutor one or a small group of students in reading, math, or other area.

5. Help coach an athletic team.

6. Help check a student's written work.

7. Help put out a school or classroom newsletter (can also be done at home).

8. Help sew or paint a display.

9. Help build something (such as a loft in a classroom or new playground).

10. Help students work on a final exhibition or project (can also be done at home or workplace).

11. Help answer the schools' phone.

12. Help plan a new playground for the school.

13. Help plan a theme-based presentation for students.

14. Help present a theme-based program for students.

15. Demonstrate cooking from a particular country or culture to students.

16. Share a particular expertise with faculty (such as use of computers, dealing with disruptive students).

17. Help students plan and build an outdoor garden or other project to beautify the outside of the school.

18. Help coach students competing in an academic competition (such as Odyssey of the Mind, Future Problem Solving, Math Masters).

19. Help bring senior citizens to school to watch a student production.

Help Arrange Learning Opportunities in the Community

20. Help set up an internship or apprenticeship for a student at your business, organization, or agency.

21. Host a one-day 'shadow study' for one or a small group of students about your career in business or some other organization.

22. Go on a local field trip with a teacher and a group of students.

23. Go on an extended (3-5 day) cross-country field trip with a teacher & students.

24. Contact a particular local business or organization regarding possible cooperation.

25. Help to create a natural area outside the building where students can learn.

Serve on an Advisory or Decision-Making Committee

26. Serve on the school-wide site council.

27. Serve on a school committee that reports to the site council.

28. Serve on a district committee representing the school.

29. Serve as an officer in the school's PTA.

30. Help organize a parent organization for the school.

31. Help design a parent and or student survey for the school.

32. Help conduct and or tabulate results of a parent survey regarding the school.

Share formation or Advocate for the School

33. Serve as a member of a 'telephone tree' to distribute information quickly.

34. Write a letter to legislators about the school.

35. Write a letter to school board members about the school.

36. Go to a school board meeting to advocate for the school.

37. Go to another school to provide information about this school.

38. Help design a brochure or booklet about the school.

39. Help translate information from the school into a language other than English.

40. Help translate at a parent-teacher conference for people who don't speak English well.

41. Provide transportation to a parent-teacher conference for a parent who needs a ride.

42. Write an article for publication in a magazine about the school's activities.

43. Help arrange for a political leader (mayor, city council, state representative, member of Congress) to visit the school.

Increase Financial Resources Available to the School

44. Help write a proposal that would bring new resources to the school.

45. Donate materials to the school.

46. Arrange for a business or other organization to donate materials to the school.

47. Help with a fundraiser for the school.

Help Other Parents Develop Their Parenting Skills

48. Help teach a class for parents on ways they can be stronger parents.

49. Help produce a videotape for parents on ways they can be more effective parents.

50. Help write, publish, and distribute a list of parenting tips.

School, Family and Community Relations in Newfoundland

From personal observations and based on local knowledge we provide examples of programs offered in some urban schools in this province. Many of these programs have been quite successful in connecting schools, families and communities.

Clerical Support

Time constraints make it difficult for teachers and staff to complete many clerical tasks demanded in the delivery of programs. Community volunteers provide supports to allow staff the time to focus on the academic needs of children.

- Photocopying service
- Laminating
- Typing
- Answering phones - this would occur prior to school, lunchtime or after school hours
- Mail - stuff envelopes or prepare mail to go home to parents
- Phone Tree - starts a chain of home notification in the case of a major event or emergency
- School\enhancement - this incorporates tasks such as decorating bulletin boards, creating signs and painting murals

Fundraising

Fundraising efforts have become an integral part of the school organization. The financial limitations placed on schools and the services they are able to provide dictate the necessity for community involvement in terms of providing financial assistance and supports to the school. The level of support provided determines the extent to which the school can effectively provide programs and initiatives to enhance the educational environment within our schools. Some schools conduct many activities throughout the year while others direct their focus and energy to one or two larger activities. There are a number of suggestions and ideas for community and school participation that have proven to be effective means of conducting fundraising efforts.

- Community and/or Family Fun Bingo
- Card parties
- Bottle drives
- Chocolate/bar sales
- Gift wrap sales
- Raffle tickets
- Dances
- Walk-a-thon/3 mile run
- Lap-a-thon - many schools focus on this activity as a major fundraiser for the year
- Collection of grocery tapes - The major grocery chains reimburse $1.00 per every $500.00 proof of purchase
- Pizza day - this provides a treat to the children and also provides extra revenue to the school

Program Supports

The integration of students at varying academic levels, as well as the methods by which curriculum must be delivered, have changed during the past several years. This makes it difficult for teachers to give the amount of individual instructional time students need. To enhance educational opportunities, volunteers support the programs in a variety of ways.

- Classroom helpers - Volunteers, individually or in small groups, complete reading activities, assist with learning centers, art classes, or any tasks required by teachers.

- Resource centre - The role of "librarian" is assumed by the volunteers to allow the resource teacher time to collaborate with other teachers and team teach units.

- Oral testing - Volunteers are trained to oral test and scribe for students who require this service.

- Computer lab - Volunteers, who have basic knowledge of computer use, work with teachers to monitor and trouble shoot when students experience difficulties.

- Field trips - Extra supervision is required for functions that occur off school grounds.

Extra-Curricular Events

Many extra-curricular activities would not be implemented in schools without the support of parents. School spirit is an important aspect of the everyday running of

a school. It builds a sense of ownership and commitment to the goals and overall creation of a positive environment for the school. The following list provides ideas and suggestions by which parents can be involved in building school spirit.

- Reading Club - Parents, care givers, etc... are invited to do fun reading activities with students.
- Drama club - Parents are involved with direction, set, design, costume design, etc... for school performances.
- Newspaper Club
- Chess Club
- Computer Club
- Writer's Club
- Art Club
- Intramural Groups
- Sports teams/Aerobics
- Cheerleaders
- Beavers/Scouts/Cubs/Brownies/Girl Guides etc.

Social Supports

Many schools offer various supports to students so that they can become more involved in school activities. Due to restrictions placed on parents in today's society, some students' basic needs are not being met in the home environment. Schools have taken the initiative to provide supports so that these students reach their potential. These include school wide programs and specific initiatives to ensure that all students have the opportunity to learn in a positive and productive environment.

- Breakfast Program: Schools have recognized that many children are coming to school not properly nourished and felt it was affecting their progress in school. Breakfast programs can be implemented to address hunger and eating disorders. They may involve teachers and parents volunteers.

- School Lunch Program: Lunch programs are offered to students in many schools. The confidentiality of these programs allow high risk students to have lunch without being stigmatized. It allows students to increase their self-concepts.

- Kiss and Ride: Parents are encouraged to drop their children off at a designated place. Volunteers direct the flow of traffic so that students may enter school safely.

- Transportation: Schools provide transportation to students who normally go home on the school bus so they can participate in after school activities.

- Parent -Teacher Socials: These allow parents and teachers to interact in a non-threatening, social environment.

Services For Parents

Parenting is the most important job given to individuals in today's society. Parents face many complex issues each day. Many parents are lacking appropriate skills to help them face these challenges. Schools have recognized this need and have undertaken the initiative to offer services to parents, such as the ones listed below.

Parents become more confident in taking an active role and providing a commitment to the education process.

- Educational and parental skills improving programs
- Computer classes for parents
- Parent Career Night - offers an opportunity for parents to avail of information on careers
- Parent resource room with literature for parents - provides an informal setting whereby, parents may view and discuss educational literature and current initiatives
- Drug awareness programs for parents - provides information and tips parents should be aware of in understanding children and the use of drugs
- Literacy programs delivered to high risk parents of pre-schoolers - prepares parents on procedures to prepare children for the commencement of school

Reflecting Locally: The Culture of the School and School-family-community Involvement in the Context of Education Reform in Newfoundland

What does education reform mean to parents, students, and communities in this province? How does it affect them? We reflect on these questions and provide an analysis of the education reform scene in this province as it relates to parental involvement in schools. We have already described in this paper how parents are involved in some schools in this province. But in addition to this information, we looked at the comments made by parents and students about education reform in the local newspapers, mainly *The Telegram,* in the last several months.

We also listened to comments parents made during school council and town hall meetings. It is our impression that many parents perceive that the current plans adopted by school boards in this province to restructure schools will negatively affect the school culture, which in turn will have an adverse impact on students and on school-family-community relations. We start with a brief description of education reform in this province, (Newfoundland, 1992).

Historically schools in Newfoundland and Labrador had been organized on religious denominational lines and were funded by the government. This has now changed. It is an historic change. Starting in September 1998, there was no publically funded denominational school system in this province. This change has taken place against the will of many parents who cherished the traditional denominational school system in this province. As a result of this, efforts are being made to establish private denominational schools in this province.

Furthermore, the provincial government and school boards wanted to rationalize the educational system as well. This has led to the policy of downsizing. This in turn, has triggered school and program closure, as well as cuts in teaching positions in many parts of the province. Also, school boards have implemented a new neighborhood attendance zone policy. For this purpose new neighborhood boundaries were created by using GIS computer program.

Many parents consistently protested against this restructuring plan for their neighborhood schools for many reasons. Inspite of these protests, the school boards have restructured the neighborhood school boundaries, effective September 1999.

To be sure, school reform is nothing new in this province and elsewhere in the world. The school system everywhere has undergone numerous changes in policy and procedure in the past two centuries. It is true that although the basic structure of education has changed very little, reforms have had an influence on the direction of education in North America, including in this province. For example, historically schools have seen the introduction of the lesson plan, learning objectives, and student goal setting. At present, many school reforms are driven by the idea that students need to be more competitive. The schools must prepare all students to be productive in the world market place. Universities want applicants who do not lack skills and competencies needed to succeed in a tough program of study. Business leaders are concerned about the future of the workforce in a highly competitive global economy. Students are expected to have a good understanding of the core academic subjects. They must also be able to solve problems, make decisions, and be prepared for responsible global citizenship. Students are expected to prepare for productive employment in our province's and nation's modern economy.

There is no doubt that parents realize that education reform is needed and that it will affect parents and their children in many ways. It will depend on the type of changes that are made in their distinct, neighborhood and communities. If reform is related to the subject area, it would mean that their children may be introduced to new content, materials, standards, and ways of learning and teaching. These changes are usually made as a result of a particular education goal or objective adopted by their schools or the school board. On the other hand, if reform is related to the administrative process, they and their children may not even notice it. If a decision is made to close their schools, it will affect their communities in a fundamental way.

Finally, many parents have noted that school reform in this province may also affect school-family-community relationship. As mentioned earlier, a sizeable number of parents in this province believe that restructuring plan adopted by school boards, and endorsed by the provincial government, will negatively affect the culture of their schools. In their views, and we are paraphrasing here, schools develop pervasive cultures which include shared attitudes and beliefs about the families of children who attend them. These beliefs, in turn, shape the school's patterns of interaction with families and children. Parents realize that it takes a long and persistent effort to build school-family relationship. It is a long term process. The current school restructuring plan adopted by school boards requires moving of hundreds of students from one school to another and from one neighborhood to another within a very short period of time. It will also require new bussing arrangements. Parents see moving their children from one school to another as having negative impact on them - academically, socially and culturally. They see the whole process as demoralizing for themselves as well for many reasons.

They feel that, as parents, they have worked hard to establish friendly working relationship among themselves and school personnel. This warm relationship made it possible, according to them, to equip their schools with needed resources and programs. Most of these things, if not all, will be lost during the fast-paced school restructuring process.

Also, as mentioned earlier, parents see their involvement in schools as a cultural work through which they have been able to build a particular school culture to

their liking and the liking of their children and school personnel. Now they perceive that school restructuring, which they oppose, will negatively affect the school culture, which in turn will affect students achievement, aspiration and expectation - occupational and educational. They also believe that many other aspects of school restructuring, for example crowed classrooms, will adversely impact their children's social relations, self-esteem and well-being.

To conclude, we believe it is necessary to monitor the impact of school reform on the culture of the school. If the impact is going to be negative, as so many parents believe, the challenge is to ask ourselves what can families, schools and communities learn from this experience? What would it take to rebuild a new form of positive school culture? How would parents, children and school personnel be motivated to re-establish friendly and warm relationships? Hope and despair are nothing but two sides of the same coin. We must build on the hope side, taking into account the despair side.

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CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

THE CURRICULAR CHALLENGE OF MULTI-AGE GROUPINGS

Dennis Mulcahy
Faculty of Education
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A recent study commissioned by the Canadian Education Association (Gajadharsingh, 1991) reported that across the nation "one out of seven classrooms is a multi-grade and approximately one out of every five students is enrolled in a multi-grade classroom" (p. 1). These figures are described as a conservative estimate with every indication that there will be an ever increasing number of multiage classrooms.

Multi-grade classrooms exist in more than "thirty percent of the schools in Newfoundland and Labrador. In the 160 smallest schools (student population less than 100) 70 percent of the teachers work with more than one grade in the same classroom" (Riggs, 1987, p. 22). At the primary and elementary level this figure is closer to 100% for multi-grade situations in small schools.

The projected continuing declining enrolment for this province's education system guarantees that the number of small schools and multigrade classrooms will be increasing in this province as in other parts of the country (Riggs, 1987; Doody, 1990). This is especially true at the primary and elementary levels where for many valid social and psychological reasons parents and educators do not see further consolidation and increased busing of very young children as an educational or humane solution to the schooling needs of rural areas.

The number of grades that are combined in multi-age classrooms in the province varies considerably. In fifty percent of multi-grade classrooms two grades are combined; fifteen percent have three grades together; and approximately ten percent have more than three grades (Riggs, 1987).

The extreme form of multigrade/multi-age teaching was the once very familiar all-grade/all ages one room school historically associated with the outports of Newfoundland. Veteran teachers recall having to work with up to 63 children in grades from kindergarten ("primer") to grade eleven. This kind of pedagogical situation (nightmare?) has faded to the realm of folklore and legend, although until recently the majority of multi-grade classrooms were still to be found in remote and isolated settings.

However, there are several indicators that shifting enrolment patterns will see multi-grading increasingly a necessary curricular option for larger schools and urban boards (Sher, 1985; Gajadharsingh, 1 991). Linda Doody of the Bonavista-Trinity-Placentia Integrated School Board suggests that "it is conceivable that multi-grading will become the issue of the 1990's" (Doody, 1990). She asks the essential question: "Are we prepared?"

Multi-age and multi-graded primary/elementary classrooms present some very difficult and demanding curricular challenges for educators. Teachers who have to cope with just one grade complain that the provincially mandated "prescribed program of studies" which consists of up to twelve discrete subjects has created an overcrowded curriculum (Riggs, 1987; Doody, 1990). If a teacher who has responsibility for only one grade finds covering the prescribed curriculum difficult, imagine the daunting curricular challenge faced by the teachers in multi-grade classrooms. Theoretically, they have a

curricular responsibility for as many as twenty-four, thirty-six or even forty-eight different subjects in a single temporal frame. The students may vary in age by as much as four or five years.

Riggs (1986a) asked educators who work in multi-grade contexts to identify their greatest problem in trying to provide a quality educational program for the children in these schools. It is not surprising that at the top of the list for both teachers and principals was the curricular problem of too many grades, too many courses (subjects), and not enough time to deal with individual students needing special help (p. 8, 9).

Teachers expressed the following kinds of curricular concerns in relation to working in a multi-grade classroom:

> (Multi-grading)... prevents adequate time to be spent with the slower children. **As** a result these children tend to lag behind.
>
> There just isn't enough time for the number of courses to be taught.
>
> There is just not enough time for a teacher to get everything done that is supposed to be done since instruction time has to be shared among several grades (Riggs, 1986a).

After listening to many such comments Riggs (1987) observed in the final report of the Small Schools Study Project that 'program and program delivery" were "troublesome' issues. He noted "it was not clear how sufficient time (in a multi-graded context) could be found to deal with all, subjects listed in the Program of Studies" (p. 21).

Other researchers locally and nationally report the same kind of curricular concerns:

> One problem that we run into is what to do with so many subjects. We have three grades in each classroom, and six subjects. Well, that's eighteen subjects. How are we going to spend time on all of these in one week?
>
> My biggest problem is that I have Grades K, One, Two and Three in a one-room school and I find it very difficult to keep them all occupied in valuable activities at the same time.
>
> My main obstacle or problem is the number of grades I have to teach (Baksh and Singh, 1980).
>
> Teachers of split-grade classes are forced by necessity to interpret curricular mandates very loosely or to not even attempt what has been dictated by law for students at particular grade levels to achieve (Craig and McLennan,1987).
>
> Teachers remain concerned about the curriculum - how to cover the content and accomplish the objectives of two or more different, sometimes unrelated sets of materials (Doody, 1990).

Teachers in multi-grade situations feel they cannot deliver the program of studies as mandated by the Department of Education. They maintain that there is simply not enough time to prepare and teach up to twenty-four or thirty-six subjects so as to fulfil the dictated content and time requirements for each subject area for each grade. It is quite clearly perceived by them as an impossible situation.

The delineation and defining of the program of studies to be followed in the schools of Newfoundland and Labrador is a provincial responsibility. "it (school programs) is not a local matter" (Riggs, 1987, p. 22). Individual Boards and teachers are not free, legally, to decide on their own what to teach and what to exclude. The intention is that 'all schools should teach basically the same curriculum" (Riggs, 1987).

Teachers and boards are caught between the traditional "rock and hard place": they are expected to deliver the same curriculum in a multi-grade classroom as other teachers do in a single-grade classroom; yet they know that this is simply impossible. 'It is very difficult", point out teachers, "for small schools to follow the exact same curriculum that bigger schools have" (Riggs, 1986a, p. 20). The provincially prescribed curriculum was designed specifically for large urban schools; the guiding image was one teacher in one class with one grade at a time. There appears to have been little or no consideration or thought given to how teachers in small schools and multi-grade classrooms are to manage.

When teachers and school boards look to the Province for advice and guidance as to how to resolve this dilemma and cope with this apparently impossible situation, they encounter a policy vacuum. The Department is silent on this matter:

> Effective schools research suggests the necessity of a common mission, of clearly articulated goals with expectations being communicated to learners. In the case of multigrade classrooms -no policies or guidelines exist - there is no common mission (Doody, 1990, p. 30; emphasis added).

In addition to there being an absence of formal guidance and direction for teachers, they often have to suffer the informal indifference and insensitivity of individuals who have little appreciation or concern for the problems practitioners have to deal with:

> Sometimes, too, the board puts a lot of pressure on teachers in multigrade classrooms. They expect the same thing from you as from a single-grade classroom. The supervisor comes to the school and expects you to be doing the same thing as the teacher in the single-grade classroom. They keep at you and you begin to ask what you look like in their eyes for not teaching everything they want you to teach. And they evaluate your ability as if you were teaching in a single-grade classroom; you had to do as good a job in a multi-grade classroom as if you were handling one grade (Baksh and Singh, 1980, p. 101).

In the absence of provincial guidance and direction practitioners in the field are left to devise their own responses and solutions. The response most often made to this situation finds teachers trying to act, as if, and teach, as if, they are not in a multi-grade situation. They follow a traditional form of pedagogy and students and learning remain rigidly divided and clearly demarcated by grade, and subjects. This approach results

in the children in these multigrade contexts receiving an educational program that is 'compromised', "short changed" and "watered down" (Riggs, 1987, Doody, 1990). Many courses such as drama, music, art and science are simply not offered or given only cursory attention (Baksh and Singh, 1980).

The young children who cannot keep up simply fall behind and are left by the way-side. It is hardly surprising that the drop-out rate in these rural contexts where multi-graded schooling predominates is significantly higher than elsewhere (Spain and Sharp, 1990). It is also noteworthy that when students were asked to indicate their reasons for dropping out of school, 'school program related reasons were given by 41.1% of the sample' (Spain and Sharp, 1990, p. 39).

The educational orientation becomes narrowly academic and the context is cruelly reduced to the survival of the academic fittest. Even the children who do remain in school receive an inferior education especially in the areas of aesthetics and science.

This situation is ethically unacceptable and is in fact illegal. Students who live and go to school in rural Newfoundland and who may be "geographically handicapped" deserve educational opportunities equal to those of their more urban counterparts:

> 'People who live in small and isolated Newfoundland communities are major contributors to the economy of the province and it is reasonable to expect that there should be equity in the services which are provided to these communities including education' (Riggs, 1987, p. 46).

Some creative and resourceful teachers and school boards have taken the initiative and experimented with innovative curricular structures and teaching strategies to overcome the difficult, "burdensome" (Riggs, 1987) task of trying to deliver the officially prescribed curriculum in a multigrade/multi-age classrooms. Various forms of horizontal and vertical integration, thematic and "whole language" approaches, cross grading, various forms of grouping/collaborative, peer teaching and so on have been attempted. Wherever these approaches have been tried they have been well received by teachers and students (Doody, 1990).

Regrettably, these transformative curricular experiments by practitioners in the field are often reportedly thwarted and negated by the oppressive attitudes and hardened mindsets of some Board officials and some Department bureaucrats who seem, again, insensitive to the problem, unable to appreciate the need for change, and incapable of modifying their existing curricular orientations. Riggs (1 986b) captures the expressed frustrations of innovative teachers and Board personnel who attempt curriculum change on their own:

> (The program which was developed) ... was so well received that practically all our schools embraced it.... Although it covered all topics suggested in the Program of Studies for the primary grades... it does not conform with the prevalent attitudes of the Department of Education whose consultants are most reluctant to depart from the separate subject component (p. 7).

The apparent lack of concern, indifference, and insensitivity to this curricular problem outlined here and other inequities associated with small schools have left

educators in the rural areas of the province with feelings of "impatience, helplessness, anxiety and frustration" (Riggs, 1986b, p. 10).

The real curricular problem in the final analysis may be best perceived as being an ideological one. Small schools and multigrade classrooms are held captive by an educational belief system that supports the notion that a single, tightly prescribed, centrally controlled, content-oriented, subject-centred, lock-step graded approach to schooling can serve the needs of all the diverse pedagogical and social contexts of this province. Educators who work in the field know that such an approach is simply unworkable. Not only does it contribute to many of the current inequities but it also creates barriers to curricular approaches that would improve the quality of education for the children and the professional task for the teachers in small schools and mufti-grade classrooms.

The solution to this problem lies in the development of a curricular approach designed specifically to be responsive and sensitive to the needs of mufti-age contexts. Critical and reflective practitioners from the field have long advocated the need for such a curricular development. Most of the submissions received by Riggs (1986a) made this very point most emphatically. In his final report Riggs (1987) identified this proposed curricular solution as the 'key recommendation in an attempt to make the approved primary and elementary curriculum more manageable for teachers without a loss of concepts and skills to students" (p. 24).

Finally, educationists and researchers on the national and international scene advocate the development of a 'distinctive approach' for solving the special needs of multigrade teaching contexts. The Canadian Education Association strongly recommends that provincial departments and ministries of education, school districts, school trustee associations, teacher federations make the special needs of multi-age learning and teaching a focus of research and development for the next three years: "This means giving priority to a pedagogical approach, the structure and organization of classrooms, to the creation of different curricula and support material and the possibility of reduced workload for teachers in multi-grade classrooms" (CEA Report, 1991, p. 1-2).

There seems to be a clear consensus calling for the development of a distinctive curricular approach to learning and teaching firmly grounded in the practical reality of the special pedagogical milieu of multi-age contexts.

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MUSIC EDUCATION AND THE FORMATION OF SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Andrea M. Rose
Faculty of Education
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My purpose in writing this paper is to examine the notion of social consciousness in light of its potential contribution to music education. To this end, concepts extracted from critical theory that relate to the formation of social consciousness are presented. Information gathered from interviews with music educators as part of a more extensive study is then discussed within this theoretical framework. This is to demonstrate the necessity of the formation of a social consciousness within music education, in that music in education exists as a lived expression of culture and society.

This discussion emerges from a perspective that views music, education, culture and society as interdependent, rather than isolated phenomena. Each affects and is affected by the other. Thus, to study music education in isolation from its societal and cultural influences is to deny a truly comprehensive understanding of its existence and raison d'etre. Classroom and rehearsal practices, curricula, methodologies and philosophies are influenced by .outside" factors such as economy and politics, as well as societal and cultural traditions and expectations. However, they in turn impact the cultural and musical beliefs, values and practices of a society and culture.

If we are to realize the value of music education in the formation of social consciousness, it is necessary to study the multi-faceted relationship between music, education, culture and society, i.e., to look for constants, shared values and meanings, as well as inconsistencies and contradictions. Such examination reveals insights concerning not only the nature of music in education, but also the nature of society and culture in general. As Barbara Lundquist (1 985:55) states,

> Music is a way of knowing about life; of being human, and of communicating that humanity, in addition to being a competence, possibly even an intelligence. So, in light of these assumptions, an ideal for socio-musical research would include combined cross-disciplinary and multi-level analysis of music phenomena that are cross-culturally replicated, focusing on problems that have implications not only for understanding music, but for informing about the transmission of music in different cultures.

Dasilva et al. (1984) point out that we can understand something about society by the way that music is "lived', by the way that it supports and influences lives within that society. How music 'lives" in education can also reveal much about societal and cultural ideals. Questions such as the following can lead to fundamental issues concerning music in education, and thus music education in culture and society: What music is lived and passed on in schools? How is it lived and passed on? To whom is this musical culture taught? What is the role of the music teacher? What is the role of music teacher education? Who controls, shapes and legitimizes music in education.

Music in Education

In an attempt to examine and comprehend the role of music in education (e.g., its philosophies, curricula, methodologies and practices), it becomes necessary to look beyond the classroom to the school, to the educational system, and to society and culture. In a wider context of social, cultural, economic, and political ideals and practices, certain interrelationships and/or contradictions between and among various individuals and institutions may be explored in light of possible influences on music in education.

Music is a human activity, a part of our social, physical, economic, historical and cultural world. As such, Ballentine (1984: 21) insists that "no part of our activity can be understood by wrenching it out of the whole that gives it its meaning, and trying to understand it in isolation." Music does not exist as an isolated phenomenon any more than human beings exist as isolated individuals. Musical behaviours are influenced both by the ideas people share and by the expectations other people have of their behaviour. As Lundquist (1985) indicates, social institutions and processes directly affect music, music-making and music learning. Such institutions and processes also benefit from socio-musical research that clarifies the nature of the complex interactions between social and musical phenomena. For instance, mass media, tradition, change, social stratification, acculturation, social behaviour, social interaction, and politics are areas directly affecting (as well as being affected by) music, music-making and music learning.

H. de Jager (1 974) states that we should be aware of both the internal and the external sides of music. The internal side consists of the logic of musical structure and musical development. The external side consists of that which sociologically makes sounds into "music", i.e., the collectively held convictions, ideas, beliefs, conceptions, values and norms which underlie and surround the sounds considered to be music at some time, in some place, by some social group. He states that musical ideas and beliefs are related to other spheres of life such as religion, work and leisure, as well as to conceptions about morality, human dignity and utility. In other words, "music" is part of a style of life, of a so-called cultural pattern. The significance of this is that the transmission of any kind of music to other people - the socialization process - is partly dependent upon nonmusical ideas and conceptions.

H. de Jager (:164-165) points out also that the teaching and learning of music are processes which happen both consciously and explicitly, and unconsciously and implicitly. Much music socialization occurs implicitly because many beliefs, attitudes and ideas are taken for granted, so that hardly anybody realizes to which extent they are not "natural' but culture-bound. He urges music educators to become aware of those non-musical, but influential aspects of their work and to take into account the fact that music is made, performed and listened to by human beings who are culturally conditioned as well as socially controlled in much of their behaviour.

Social Consciousness

A starting point in analyzing music education from a socio-cultural perspective lies in the development of a critical consciousness of music in education, particularly as it relates to social and cultural production and reproduction. One question fundamental to this analysis is - how does music education fit into the forming of social and cultural consciousness?

Critical theory underlies this analysis of the formation of social consciousness by creating an awareness of the complexities of schooling generally, and by

encouraging a consciousness towards knowledge and power relationships that inform and constitute dominant ideology and tradition. Critical theory provides a basis from which it is possible to perceive the complex interactions that exist between the individual, school and society. The particular notion of culture as the expression of human consciousness shaped by daily living (Doyle, 1989), as a lived consciousness shaped by daily living (Doyle, 1989), and as a lived and ongoing experience, provides the basis of this analysis. This points to the view that schools are cultural and political spheres, actively engaged in the production of both cultural and societal norms, values, knowledge and language.

Schools, therefore, play an important role as agents of social and cultural reproduction and production. They are seen as cultural sites that embody conflicting values, histories, traditions and practices. Indeed, they are an expression of the wider organization of society. As Antonio Gramsci (1971) posits, hegemonic ideology is incorporated into human consciousness by the shaping of social and cultural practices, structures and beliefs through schooling and family, as well as other social and cultural institutions. However, hegemony is never really complete because people are both the products and creators of their social world. Hegemony becomes then the struggle and incorporation of people's consciousness. Gramsci points to the necessity of the development of a critical consciousness of who people are as both historical products and makers of history. This is to enable better understanding of their own experiences within a wider construct of social and cultural hegemonic ideologies.

Like Gramsci, Paulo Friere (1973, 1985, 1987) expresses the belief in the power of the individual to come to a critical consciousness o his/her own existence. One of the most important pedagogical tenets for Friere is the need for teachers to respect the consciousness and culture of their students, and to create the situation in which students can articulate their understanding of the world. Paul Willis points also to the necessity of forming a critical consciousness in cultural production. He argues (1981:49) that the starting point for an investigation of relationships between the individual and society should be the cultural sphere, in materials practices and productions, in historical contexts, and in the everyday span of existence and practical consciousness.

Further to this, Michael Apple (1982b, 1983) and Henry Giroux (1 983a, 1983b, 1988) view the pedagogical value of resistance in the connections it makes between structure and human agency; and culture and the process of self-formation. In this regard, resistance represents a dialectical notion of human agency that portrays domination as a process that is neither static, one-way, deterministic, nor complete. In schooling, both teachers and students produce meaning and culture through their own resistance and through their own individual and collective consciousness. Schools then are sites not only of domination, but are places where values, particular forms of knowledge and social relations can be taught as a means toward self and social empowerment.

Music Education and Social Consciousness

As part of a more extensive study (Rose, 1990), fifteen music educators were interviewed in light of notions extracted from critical theory relating to cultural production, reproduction and hegemony. Individual perceptions, attitudes and beliefs were obtained regarding culture, music in culture, music in education and music teacher education. An in-depth comparative analysis of four of these educators was completed which

considered the impact of backgrounds, various societal influences and music curricula on their present ideals and practices. The following discussion stems from information gathered in this study that relates particularly to the analysis and development of social consciousness within music education.

Culture is a lived experience, one that is ever-changing. Through ongoing human and societal interactions culture continues to be produced. As far as social and cultural consciousness is concerned, the challenge is to produce a culture that is somehow changed, developed and/or improved. From the point of view of forming social consciousness, people create meanings as they interact in society. Throughout everyday living the productive element of culture allows for the changing nature of culture, and it acknowledges the role of the individual and groups of people in the creation and growth of culture. Culture is indeed shaped by people - people are makers of their own culture as well as receivers of culture. People want to be active makers of music, and not just passive recipients of a handed-down culture and 'established' musical traditions.

Some music educators claim that, as a society, we must recognize the fact that we have to do something structurally with our culture (as both content and process) to ensure it is "passed on", and not assume it will be "passed on" through osmosis. Most educators felt that a conscious decision regarding both the preservation and reproduction of culture, as well as the production of culture, has to be made. They felt this decision then has to be backed up with conscious support and commitment from people generally perceived to be in "authority" (e.g., government, parents, teachers, administrators and school board executives). This is particularly important given people's general perception of the underlying power these groups have in determining the existence and maintenance of school music programs. Hence there exists the necessity to develop a social consciousness within these individuals and institutions as to the potential role of music education in the process of cultural reproduction and production. As Giroux (1983a) claims, it is only through knowledge and self-awareness that informed decisions can be made. This points to the need for critical educators to "know" their students, and to analyze dominant relations in schools in terms of their origin, how they are sustained, and how the students are affected by them. Educators must strive to understand how the dominant culture at all levels of schooling functions to legitimate, or disconfirm, the cultural experiences of students of subordinate cultures.

Given the inherent nature of music, that it is a lived expression of culture, the possibilities for music in forming social and cultural consciousness are endless. As was expressed by some educators, music is always there as a reflection of what we are doing. It keeps us conscious of our culture and who we are. Through active participation in various musical experiences - listening, playing, performing, creating, composing and analyzing - music in education can provide an invaluable site for not only social and cultural interaction, but also the necessary production of musical culture. Music education can provide opportunities to soften social barriers and inequalities by experiencing music as a common language and a common expression.

Research reveals, however, that music in education as it presently exists, serves mainly in the reproduction of both social and cultural inequalities (Rose, 1990). This idea points directly to Bowles and Gintis' (1976) theory of correspondence in social reproduction, as well as to Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977) theory of cultural reproduction. They claim that schooling prepares and equips students with "proper" knowledge, values, attitudes and behaviours (i.e., cultural capital) suitable for the labour force and the maintenance of society's class structures. Through the transmission of

a particular cultural tradition in the educational system, e.g., Western European classical music, other cultures are consciously excluded from music in education. Hence, certain individuals and groups are ignored within a culture and society, and an unconscious acceptance of a culture that may be irrelevant and foreign to these individuals and groups is fostered. This fact needs to be remembered as we work towards social consciousness and transformation.

In the language of Basil Bernstein (1977), music education appears to have erected both internal and external boundaries. Music education has classified a particular school knowledge suitable for music in education. However, there exist potential "cracks!' in these boundaries as music educators reflect and transmit varying cultural traditions. These contradictions indicate a compromise, of sorts, between the 'set" school knowledge and one's own knowledge and experience. Hence, there exist possibilities for contestation, struggle and transformation. It becomes important then to look to these "cracks" as possible sites for the forming of a social consciousness. We need to look into the formation of these boundaries and search for answers to questions such as: Why are we teaching a particular culture and neglecting another? Who is included in, and excluded from, music in education?

Research reveals also that few schools see themselves in the business of recreating or transforming society. Music education does not presently participate in the building of a new social order (Rose, 1990). In order to produce and transform, however, it is necessary to have formed a social consciousness. Components necessary for the development of social consciousness would include self-reflection, creativity, analysis and possibly resistance. Without these notions existing in lived and conscious ideals and practices within music education, the possibilities for the formation of a social consciousness are restricted. Also, without a change in understanding and consciousness from seeing that it is encapsulated in its own ideological position, music education will continue to serve an increasingly less important and relevant function in education, and in society as a lived expression of music in culture.

Despite the expressed value and implied importance of an indigenous culture, reality and actual practice do not necessarily reflect the vision (Rose, 1990). This, in part, comes from the fact that educators expressing this value are not always those in policy and curriculum-making positions. Hence, there exists a need to realize more fully the place of music in a given society, and to realize the power that music, particularly as it exists in the educational system, has to affirm or disaffirm a culture. This fact alone would call for the formation of a critical consciousness of culture in general, and music education in particular.

It is interesting to note that, despite the fact that individual music educators realize that music can be used to dominate and manipulate aspects of culture, they are very often party to the use of materials and practices that are themselves expressive of a dominant culture, and possibly manipulation. This is noted clearly in the practice of passing on musical traditions which are not necessarily an obvious value for students involved. The problem is compounded by the fact that the practised tradition is sometimes not even valued by the teacher. Very often these actions can and do, in fact, separate the music from the backgrounds or culture of students.

Part of any information of a transformative social consciousness necessitates teachers and administrators accepting the inherent value of not only a student culture, but also a musical culture. Music educators have the opportunity to be creative and inventive in the ways they use and blend various musical traditions and practices. This

points to the need to examine one's inherited musical culture with the hope of understanding its inherent value, and to question how it reflects participants' needs and cultures. Such an examination aids the development of a critical pedagogy, one that enables growth, change and transformation.

In conclusion, music education can and does play a very important role in the shaping of social consciousness. This fact necessitates the development of individual awareness of one's role in this process, as well as the development of a critical consciousness within music education - a consciousness that recognizes and addresses the power and potential of music in education as a reproducer and producer of culture.

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THE ROLE OF THE PRINCIPAL IN SCHOOL ART INSTRUCTION

R. Lloyd Ryan
Assistant Superintendent
Notre Dame Integrated School Board
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Principals of schools have vitally important roles to exercise if school art instruction is to be successful and if children's experiences in art are to be meaningful and of value. Indeed, if principals do not perform their appropriate roles, the experiences which children have in 'art' classes may be undesirable, and even destructive. Inappropriate "art" activities can be quite damaging and can undermine children's self-confidence, diminish their self-esteem, foster their learning dependence, impede or destroy their creative impulses, and cause them to fear to risk. That is not what should be happening in schools. Hence, it is imperative that principals exercise very active and dynamic roles regarding art instruction.

Probably the most important role that principals have to exercise regarding school art is to supervise actual instruction-in-the-raw. This does not mean that principals should exercise a "snoopervisory" function, but it does mean that principals have to exercise instructional supervision in a professional manner. This includes, but is certainly not limited to, visits to classrooms when art activities are in progress. In the process of exercising the supervisory function the principal will focus on a number of specific issues, if defensible art instruction is to be fostered and supported. Some of the most important of these issues are discussed below.

ISSUE 1: Dittoed Colouring Sheets

Probably the single most destructive and unjustified activity that takes place in any classroom is the provision of dittoed sheets to children for colouring or for cut-and-paste projects. All these identical Easter bunnies, those unimaginative witches, those cliche Santas, and those humdrum "I Love You Mommy" valentines, are numbing children's minds! All these cutest little cut-out baskets and clowns made from toilet paper rolls are similarly destructive. There is absolutely no room for any of this "skitche" in classrooms, in any subject area.

I have heard teachers say "But, I don't use dittoed sheets in Art anymore." That's good, as far as it goes. However, if such sheets are used in any other curriculum area, the damage is still being done. Such materials are of little educational value in any subject area and, hence, cannot be justified on any pedagogical grounds. They are all destructive to children and should be kept out of classrooms. Similarly, children should not be permitted to bring colouring books to school to colour "during free time"; such colouring work should not receive praise; and parents should be discouraged from purchasing such pap for their children.

Some teachers argue that they give children such colouring work to assist them in developing their fine motor skills. They do not, however, explain where they got the idea that this particular activity does, in fact, assist uniquely in this regard. In fact, there is no research evidence to support their contention. Physiologists tell us that practically any hand motion will be just as effective as colouring dittoed sheets. In fact the insistence that children "stay within the lines!' may be counterproductive! Children may

simply not have the physiological readiness for such confined hand movements, and teacher insistence that they utilize such cramped movements may not assist fine motor development at all. In fact, such activity may cause frustration to such an extent that children will develop a dislike for anything resembling art activity, and may rapidly begin to perceive themselves as failures. If teachers feel that children must have such mindless experiences, rather than give children adult stereotypes, such as those sickening bunnies and teddy bears that will blind childrens' visual perception, children may be given geometric figures to colour, or patterns based on geometric figures. At least, then, children may learn about triangles, circles, squares and other regular and irregular shapes.

Some teachers will still argue "But, children love to colour!" That, in fact, may be the case. Some children "like" to colour simply because they have received praise - from Mommy and Daddy, and from teachers, and from Great Aunt Agatha who regularly gives children colouring books for Christmas and birthdays. Children have to obtain their approbation and recognition somewhere. Kids aren't stupid! They have learned that they receive approval and acceptance by being diligent colourers in colouring books. If teachers do not praise such activity but, rather, praise independent creative effort, then children will quickly lose their liking for "colouring" and will begin to like creating.

However, it could be quite defensible, and enhancing of the art program, to provide idea sheets, or motivation sheets, or inspiration sheets, in an art center or art corner. Children can access them for independent art activity, if they have time on their hands, or (Glory be!) if the teacher is sufficiently enlightened to provide a bit of free time in children's regular schedules. The caution, though, is that such independent art activity is valid only if such sheets foster creativity, if child learning independence is enhanced, and if child self-confidence and self-esteem is supported.

ISSUE 2: Use Appropriate Colours!

Another practice that is destructive of children's creativity and selfesteem is insisting on certain "proper colours." There is no basis for such insistence! Children should be permitted to use whatever colours they choose from the palette! Their colour choices are not wrong!

However, a teacher may decide to limit the range of colours that children are given for a particular project. In general, smaller children will not have colour preferences and will be quite as happy with a palette of three colours as they will be with eight or more colours. In fact, if children are provided with just blue, yellow and red, they will make all sorts of interesting discoveries for themselves. They will soon discover that when blue is mixed with yellow green results, and that when yellow and red are combined orange appears. Let children make their own discoveries. They should have such a range of experiences with colour mixing that happy accidents will teach them all sorts of things about how colours combine. Rarely should it be necessary to tell a child which colours to mix. (But, of course, if a child asks, the teacher may suggest colours with which the child might experiment).

If a child chooses to paint Mom green, be pleased. Green may be the child's favourite colour, in which case green would be the most appropriate colour to use to represent the person that the child loves most. If the grass is purple, enjoy it; if

elephants are pink, appreciate them; if bears are red and yellow and blue, be thankful for the fresh view that the child has provided.

But, some teachers will respond with an exasperated and pained 'But everybody knows that elephants are grey!"

My response is "Does everybody, indeed? And, what colour, pray tell, is the size of elephants in comparison with a child? And, what colour is that bristly touch? And, what colour is that awful stench? And, what colour is the fact that elephants are an endangered species? And, what colour is the neglect of some circus elephants? And, what colour is the fear that some children have of such large creatures? And, what colours are the pleasures and excitements of riding on an elephant at the travelling fair?" The child tries to convey all of that information, all of that cognition and mix of emotions, with colour. If pink does that for the child, so be it! Besides, which colours would you use to represent the stench and the fear? Besides, elephants are not grey, or gray!

ISSUE 3: Visual Education

Art is a means to educate the children's sight. Without educated sight, children are likely to have more learning problems than otherwise. Children's sight is educated, their visual perception powers are enhanced, and their learning potential and ease is increased if teachers engage children in particular carefully-orchestrated, cognition-focused, multi-sensory experiences. Two activities which will contribute to educating sight are (a) Looking at pictures and (b) looking at paintings and other works of art.

Teachers should, at the beginning of the year, schedule 10 or 15 minutes every week specifically to lead children in a discussion about a specially selected picture. Children should be led through a series of critical thinking exercises in an atmosphere of free and open, visually-focused, cognitive and affective oriented investigation. This activity will be conversation-discussion in nature and should not be undermined by the teacher imposing 'superior" premature closure. If a child supports his/her opinion with evidence from the picture, then such an expressed view is valid, regardless if the teacher 'knows" that it is not 'right". The objective is not to determine "rightness"; the objective is to help children look and see and make decisions based on the information in the picture. The teacher has no right to bring in exterior (i.e., superior, i.e., smug) information. Children, in contrast, are engaging in detective work and should be encouraged to bring all of their investigative powers to bear. If children can enlighten other children because of personal experiences or insight, then such behaviour should be encouraged. The teacher has no opinion about the picture! His function is to facilitate children's investigations. She does not judge the rightness or wrongness of children's opinions. Children will be complimented for their visual and perceptual acuity and will be praised for drawing valid conclusions based on the available information. Again, notice that "valid" is the operative word; considerations of "right" are out of place (Interested teachers may wish to read my paper "Using pictures in teaching art").*

At least once a week, teachers should lead children in another 10-15 minute discussion, this time about a work of art. After students have had several such experiences, they may wish to take turns leading the discussion. This could happen as early as the first or second grade and should, in any case, be well established by the elementary level. Intermediate and secondary students are probably able to lead such discussions as well as the teachers can. (Children don't always need us to spoon-feed

them as much as we educators are, sometimes, prone to think!) The focus of such discussions are the elements of design (colour, shape/form, space, line, texture) and principles pf design (emphasis, unity, variety, movement, balance, contrast, rhythm).

Students should also be given the opportunity to interpret the work of art being analyzed. They will, no doubt, readily recognize Winslow Homers "Snap the Whip" as expressing the joys of childhood, will readily see the fun in Norman Rockwell's "Swatter's Rights", will enjoy the ambiguity of Joan Miro's "Composition, 1963" and will happily compare that composition with Wassily Kandinsky's "Layers" - or practically any of Kandinsky's work, for that matter. They will identify the parental-child affection in Georges de la Tours "St. Joseph the Carpenter," and may even identify the allegorical significance of the Child "bringing the light." They will also try to express some of the dark and foreboding qualities of the work of Lawren Harris (e.g., "Clouds, Lake Superior') and Emily Carr (e.g., "Forest, British Columbia", now depicted on a Canadian stamp, issue date 1991.05.07).

Children will particularly enjoy the child-like qualities of much of the work of Matisse (e.g., "Harmony in Red" (Red Room)) and Gauguin (e.g., "The Yellow Christ') and will likely be inspired by their work. Besides, children will have their own confidence boosted after viewing and discussing the work of Paul Klee (e.g., "Park near L") and Jackson Pollock (e.g., "One") and will not hesitate to attempt to better Roy Liechtenstein's comic book style (e.g., "Girl at Piano') and challenge Alexander Calder's mobiles (e.g., "Lobster Trap" and "Fish Tail").

Children will enjoy comparing "Harvest" by the Ukranian artist Moisey Kogan with "The Harvesters" by the 16th century Flemish artist Pieter Bruegel the Elder. They will not be hesitant to comment on the droll tongue-in-cheek qualities of Andy Warhol's "Cans", and will be able to compare and relate their own experiences with those of the children depicted in Carmen Lomas Garza's "La Feria en Reynosa" (The fair in Reynosa). The children will also be able to appreciate the sweaty work in Vincent Van Gogh's 'The Road Menders' and will remember similar experiences to that suggested in Martin Johnson Heade's "The Coming Storm".

Children's interpretations should be accepted. Teachers do not have superior knowledge in this respect! There is even the view that artists themselves do not know what the "messages" of their work are, only that they felt that they had to paint and that they felt some kind of relief or carthesis after the paintings were completed. Teachers should make no effort to provide closure. That way, the next time that children see the work of art, they will still have their old questions and will examine the work anew. If the teacher "tells" the meaning of a work of art (Heaven forbid that they should be so presumptuous!), then children will be blinded to the work of art. Teachers have no right to arrogantly and cavalierly impose their self-righteous "view" on impressionable children. To tell children "the' meaning of a work of art is to effectively destroy the work of art for them. (Art critics take note!)

Students should also be given the opportunity to evaluate the work of art in terms of whether they like the work or not, and to try to explain why they like or dislike it. Such decisions about liking or disliking a work of art is a separate dimension from analyzing and appreciating the elements and principles of design utilized. It is also not the same as attempting to interpret a work of art. Many people appreciate Picasso's Guernica; few "like" it. Similarly, many Canadians appreciate the technical aspects and the artistic and creative qualities of the work of David Blackwood; fewer of them would want one of his paintings in their living room. (Incidently, if teachers have difficulty

finding works of art, purchase a subscription to Scholastic's INSTRUCTOR for them. Many of the compositions mentioned above appeared in recent issues of that teachers' journal).

ISSUE 4: The Art Gallery

Every school should have one or more "art galleries," preferably one or more free spaces on corridor walls. The works of 'famous' artists should be hung with the work of student 'artiste. Art is not meant to be hidden away in massive and snobbishly aloof museums; it is meant to be lived with. If art is to have a meaningful role in students' lives, then it has to be available to them in their environment. Artsy snobs will turn up their noses at the thought of tightjeaned, spiked-and-multi-colourhaired, cola-guzzling, and gauche-languaged students making rude comments about artsy snobs' favourite, Seurat. But, if children are to appreciate art, then art has to be available where they live! If art is displayed in school corridors, student art activities will have much more meaning in art class.

Maybe, a teacher might be prevailed upon to take on the job of curator of the school's "art gallery" or, maybe, some of the students would be happy to take on the job. In any case, each work of art should have a card identifying the artist and providing a little bit of personal information. This should be also done for student artists! ("Mary Sullivan is a Grade Seven student and is a fan of the pop rock group 'Travelling Gangsters'. She is currently working on a new work called 'My Pink Sneaker.'")

The works in the school's art gallery should not be displayed for too long a time. If fish and house guests stink after three days, works of art in the school corridor will probably be similarly perceived after two weeks. Change the scenery frequently. Students will enjoy the change of pace!

ISSUE 5: Art Collections

If schools are to have art galleries, then they will need art collections. If you can afford it, buy good reproductions; if you are rotten with money, purchase originals. However, a great many prints of works of art are available inexpensively or at almost no cost. Scholastic's INSTRUCTOR and ART AND MAN have monthly good-quality reproductions, and numerous calendars have reproductions of works of art. The works of many artists are available in specially-published calendars. The cost of these reproductions may be as little as $1.00 each. And, of course, there are numerous art magazines which have fairly large reproductions. If you can afford $20.00 $35.00 per print, there are several mail order companies which would be happy to supply your needs. Maybe, you can put aside a small budget of $100.00 a year for purchasing prints. You will be amazed at how quickly your art collection will grow.

One source that should not be ignored is local artists (who may even wish to donate some of their works!) and another source is the students themselves. Why not put aside $50.00 - $100.00 a year to purchase works of art from your school's student artists? Five dollars for a student painting or drawing will give students an absolutely tremendous ego boost, not to mention the good will that the school will develop with parents. Besides that, just think of the profile that Art will then have in your school; just think of the conversation in the canteen and in the washrooms when students discuss the fact that Frank and Kelly got five bucks each for their art! Also, we raise money for

everything else. What could be more deserving and rewarding than a little fund raising to purchase a quantity of art prints?

Since no art program is complete without the "discussion of pictures" component, it is essential that schools have an extensive picture collection. Such a collection can be filed in the resource center, appropriately categorized, so that this resource can be used in all curricular areas. Pictures are easily obtainable from numerous sources and children will normally respond enthusiastically to attempts to enlist them in building up the school picture file. You don't really have to ask people whom you visit for the calendars off their walls (as I do, sometimes. I haven't been refused, yet. But I recall that they looked at me strangely as they were taking the calendars down!). Visit your local travel agency; write embassies; talk to local businesses; ask for donations of pictures. You will be pleased at how quickly you will have an extensive and valuable picture file.

ISSUE 6: The Instructional Sequence

In my discussions with concerned principals, they tell me, frequently, that they do not know the characteristics of appropriate instructional sequences for school art instruction. Undoubtedly, there are several equally valid instructional sequences that will serve quite admirably for art. I'd like to discuss, briefly, three such instructional sequences, each supportive of good child art experiences.

Many teachers are now utilizing "whole language" techniques in language arts instruction. Before student writing takes place, students engage in discussion, reading, and all sorts of other pre-writing activities. Astute teachers have recognized that once they have children ready to be creatively verbal, they have also prepared them to be creatively visual. Since the work has already been done for the language arts, simply use the same theme and all of that motivational activity as preparation for the art activity. However, the art activity will be better if it comes after the writing activity since a great deal of cognitive organization, synthesis, and affective response will already have occurred within the child. Likewise, the writing will be enhanced if the visual form of expression occurs prior to it...and for the same reasons. Thus, the creative teacher will alternate, having children paint the story before writing it, on one occasion, and writing the story before painting it, the next time.

An alternate instructional sequence for creative art production has to do with utilizing the experiences in other curricular areas. If a discussion, and some reading, and some research, and some writing, and some group work has just been completed, or is still ongoing, on the exploration of Canada's north, or on the process of erosion and possible ecological damage, or on community helpers, then the preparatory work for art has been done! It is only necessary, now, to decide with the class which media and materials to use and, then, let the children create.

The third instructional sequence to be discussed may be a little more formal. This is the "Never-Fail Art Instruction Sequence" (I said so, that's who!) In this case, the teacher and students have decided that they would like to explore some specific theme for their art experiences. Maybe they have chosen "Space Flight". An appropriate sequence would be as follows: (a) Discussions for planning purposes, deciding whether to explore as a class, as small groups, as individuals, or some combination of all three. (b) Research: library books, topical magazines (e.g., National Geographic), news magazines, encyclopedia. Notes are taken, thumbnail sketches are made, reports are

written. (c) Whole class and small group discussions are engaged in. Information is shared. Questions are answered. Probing questions are raised. Some have no answers. (d) Decisions are made about media, methods, materials. (e) Students engage in creative visual activity.

ISSUE 7: Time

Students must have time to work on their art. A twenty to forty minute period may be sufficient for primary children; it may not be sufficient for elementary children. It is likely to be unsatisfactory for intermediate children, and positively frustrating for secondary students. Two issues have to be addressed: the frequency of art experiences, and the duration of each experience.

For primary children, there should be some art activity on almost a daily basis. For elementary to secondary students art activities should be engaged in at least several times a week. However, at the upper intermediate and secondary levels, one weekly two-hour art period will likely be far superior to two one-hour periods, especially for senior and visually mature students. Try to achieve some schedule flexibility, either through specific time-scheduling, or through some flex-time or swap-time arrangements. For "self contained" and "academic core" classes, scheduling may not be a problem. However, it needs to be examined to ensure that the schedule is not unnecessarily interfering with instruction. A clich : the schedule is to facilitate instruction, not versa visa.

ISSUE 8: Curriculum Supervision

The principal should have formal meetings with teachers, periodically, specifically to discuss planning for art, just as planning for instruction would be the subject of supervisory discussions and consultations in any other curricular area. Of course, such discussions might be delegated to a vice-principal or to a teacher designated as visual art chairperson. But, that does not remove responsibility from the principal to ensure that long term and short term planning for instruction in art takes place in a professional manner.

ISSUE 9: Safety

It is only relatively recently that teachers and administrators have been sensitized to the possible hazards associated with materials used in schools. The asbestos scare is, no doubt, well remembered. The developing tragedy may be that we still utilize, in school art activity, as well as in other curricular areas, other materials which may cause much more damage than asbestos ever would have. This is, now, not only a matter of safety; it is also a matter of legal responsibility.

Very briefly, oil paints have no place in school art programs. They contain such noxious components as cadmium, arsenic, antimony, cobalt, lead, mercury, and manganese. Use acrylic paints. They are inexpensive, generally safe (but that needs to be determined for specific brands), easy to use, quick drying, and maintain their fresh colour. Powdered tempera should be mixed with water by an adult in a well ventilated area. The adult should use a dust mask! Likewise with powdered clay, which usually contains a hearty proportion of silica (remember silicosis?). Photographic developers

should be used only by, or under the supervision of, an adult who understands the nature of the chemicals that are used, and should not be used at all by or with elementary children (For example, do you know the potential health hazards if children ingest pyrogallic acid (a photographic developer), mercuric iodide or potassium cyanide (intensifiers) or Thiourea (a toner - which has been shown to cause cancer in rats and is suspected of being carcinogenic to humans)?) In fact, most chemicals used for photographic developing are highly toxic and should be used only under the supervision of exceptionally knowledgeable people!

Many glazes used in ceramic projects contain lead, arsenic, zinc, and other equally dangerous components; many dyes, used in various art projects have components (such as benzidine congener) which are suspected of being carcinogens, and other components which can cause severe allergic reactions. One ubiquitous feature of many classrooms is the permanent marker. There is enough solvent in one small permanent marker to cause permanent ,brain damage to a child or adult! They have no place in schools. Other types of markers are available (generally water or alcohol based, such as the CRAYOLA brand) which can, usually, be used quite safely. Did you know that some of the commercial wall-paper pastes, which teachers like to use for paper mache projects, contain a preservative that is the same as that used in rat-poison? It causes internal bleeding when ingested!

Much school-related litigation hinges on whether the now-obvious danger could reasonably have been foreseen. No school administrator can claim ignorance of the dangers of products, such as those listed above, if they have not even bothered to determine which products are in use in classrooms and whether these products can be safely used by and around children.

Principals should ensure that all products in schools are safe for children's use. They should also ensure that children with particular sensitivities are not exposed to allergy-causing materials. Furthermore, some border-line products can be safely used only under controlled and safety-conscious conditions. Principals should ensure that such conditions exist before such products are utilized.

The principal is the key to successful art instruction in schools. If the principal takes his/her instructional and curriculum supervision functioning seriously, then art instruction will likely be of a variety that will not only provide children with positive and enjoyable aesthetic experiences, but will also enhance student self-esteem and boost student self-confidence. Our students deserve the best possible instruction in all subject areas; the injunction is no less valid for instruction in visual art.

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DOUBT IN AESTHETIC EDUCATION AS A COMPLETE RATIONALE FOR SCHOOL MUSIC: A SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Brian Roberts
Faculty of Education
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In 1970 Bennett Reimer published his now famous Philosophy of Music Education and the music education community grasped at It like a drowning child in an attempt to present a rationale of substance for the inclusion of music education by curriculum planners. The world had just survived the hippies and flower children and the American educational community was challenging the curricular inclusion of such apparent frills as music in a search for subjects of importance and merit, most specifically because of the perceived Russian superiority in space and the famous Sputnik. Thus "aesthetic education" was given popular birth, not as the conclusion of an argument but as a premise upon which all else would naturally follow. Reimer writes:

> If music education in the present era could be characterized by a single overriding purpose, one would have to say this field is trying to become "aesthetic education". What Is needed in order to fulfil this purpose Is a philosophy which shows how and why music education is aesthetic In Its nature and value. (1970:2)

Coupled with what Hargreaves (1979 & 1982) calls the "cult of individualism", aesthetic education conjured up pictures of students who would grow up to be educated in "feeling", as in "knowing", experiencing Mahler in the luxury of a soft leather arm chair in their split-level overlooking the sea. Lukes (1973:107) writes that the "paradigm epistemological individualist is perhaps the empiricist, who holds that (individual) experience is the source of knowledge, that all knowledge arises within the circle of the individual mind and the sensations it receives". Education came to rest on he motto that if we educate individuals, society would take care of itself.

Aesthetic education is rooted in philosophy and not music-making. While It is true that aesthetics often attempts to explain the response to music, it is not epistemologically derived from the same activity as music-making. Because aesthetic education was accepted as "given', all the remaining efforts of the music teaching profession and the rhetoric generated by it have tended towards attempts to inject the principles of aesthetic education into the curriculum delivery without questioning the presumption that it should be the ideal, and even more seriously because this injection principle was pressed into service to the exclusion of, or replacement for, all other logical justifications for the inclusion of music in the curriculum. In fact, aesthetic education might be considered little more than a hoax perpetrated upon music education at a time when our discipline appeared to need an academic shroud to conceal its curriculum inclusionary authority.

Nineteen years later, in 1989, Reimer has released the second edition of his book and claims that aesthetic education, while still imperfectly understood, has become the "bedrock upon which our self-concept as a profession rests" (1989:xi). While Reimer may be engaged in wishful thinking about the state of the profession and the importance of his manuscript, research by Hanley (1989:49) at the University of Victoria has shown quite conclusively that Reimer's claim is simply not justifiable. While

investigating the attitudes to philosophies of music education, Hanley admits to have found a "verbal" acceptance of the aesthetic music education movement" but concludes that "although the ideal usually serves as a distant vision of what will never be, the divergence between actual and ideal concepts of music in the schools which emerges in the study suggests the need for an on-going examination of goals."

The impotence of aesthetic education has been further exacerbated by the apparent variety of aesthetic theories which are proposed as foundations for music education. Steinecker (1985) outlines three discrete theories and their implications for arts education. Hanley (1989:47) suggests that Reimer sees referentialism and absolutism as opposite ends of a continuum. This can hardly lead to a healthy foundation for curricular inclusion when the aesthetic theorists, upon whose models we are to gain confidence and a justifiable place in the schooling arena, are in themselves so divergent that any semblance of agreement is impossible. I am reminded of Charles Hoffer's recent remark (1988) when he writes:

> Divisions within the house of music education have a long and almost honored history. Somehow the profession has survived and grown despite internal disunity.

I believe that there are reasons external to the aesthetic education debate as to why music education has survived. It Is time that these reasons be added to our rhetoric.

The faint voice which counters the aesthetic education rationale has been historically known as the "utilitarian" philosophy. Charles Elliott writes:

> Many of the utilitarian claims are simply not true, many can be achieved more efficiently in other ways, many do not require the services of a highly trained music teacher, and most importantly, under such a rationale music education could run the risk of losing its integrity as a discipline. (1983:36)

Here is the real cry of a desperate man! The Idea that music education Is safe because music, as an arts discipline, cannot be attacked as it might be as a utilitarian subject is now even disputed by the guru himself. Reimer writes "any claim we can make for the value of music in education can be made equally validly by every other art" (1989:227). With one sweeping sentence, Reimer has acknowledged that his entire position is unjustifiable. Thus it is as an arts subject that music education stands to lose its integrity as a discipline. This debate has been undertaken in Canada by many, including Steinecker (1983) (1985) (1986) and Countryman (1984).

Although it may not be pleasant to suggest, the curriculum can hardly be justified because it may or may not require the services of a highly trained music specialist. I took Latin from a highly trained specialist of that subject too! And it is not true that specifically what music education can offer as a so-called "utilitarian" subject can necessarily be achieved by other means at all, let alone better. In fact, I believe that what has passed as "utilitarian" is as largely misunderstood as what attempts to pass as "aesthetic education". While there are certainly trivial utilitarian pursuits among those often listed in that category, there are many which are as strong as or stronger than anything which the aesthetic educationists have proposed. More to that follows.

The point is that, despite the continued rhetoric about how it should be, the delivery of music education programs appears to have carried on in a fashion which largely ignored the pleas and directions of aesthetic education in the literature. To conclude that Hanley's findings suggest that music education is failing because of the gulf between "actual and ideal' is to hold steadfastly to the view that aesthetic education deserves so very much attention in the first place. As society changes, music educational rhetoric may soon catch up to what music education has been doing all along with its bedrock resistance, in practice, to the exclusive claims of the aesthetic educationists.

The most recent aesthetic education exhortation from a Canadian writer comes in an article by Earl Davey (1989) titled "An Assessment of Common Practice in Music Education". His conclusion bluntly states that "we need to adopt the goals and objectives of aesthetic education". Much of his argument goes to establishing that "value" is important. Thus we read of the "value of art" and of "genuine value' and the value to our society" and finally to a practice that 'mistakenly assigns value to music which is trivial". We also read of the 'vital significance of music to a culture".

Davey also refers to the famous appendix to Frege's Grundoesetzg der Arithmetik which reads, "Hardly anything more unfortunate can befall a scientific writer than to have one of the foundations of his edifice shaken after the work is finished' (Geach and Black, 1970). It is the supreme irony that Davey has discovered the axiom without realising that his edifice is seriously flawed.

While it may be possible to apply current aesthetic standards like some sort of IQ test upon the music of the world, all but those forms of music from which the current aesthetic theory was developed will undoubtedly fall the test. IQ tests measure well what they measure but we have long acknowledged that this is not "intelligence". While the regnant aesthetic positions might well be used to address the worth of a composition by Mahler or Brahms, it quite clearly does not measure up as an instrument to assess the value of other world music. Elliott (1 984) writes:

> It should be a matter of interest and concern to music educators in North America that our own prevailing philosophy of music education (Reimer, 1970) rests upon preconceptions that may be inimical to the advancement of global musical perspectives, and multicultural music education.

In fact, Elliott concludes later in the same piece that "the diversity of global music activity precludes the deduction of universals from Western aesthetics" (1984:37).

What I find so puzzling is the fact that Davey unwittingly gives so many clues as to a more contemporary version of the assessment of common practice in music education. The first clue comes with his statement of the “value to our society". What society, we may ask? Is there any assurance in the contemporary make-up of the multicultural Canadian community that there is a consensus as to what "society" Davey refers to? Somewhat later he writes of the "vital significance of music to a culture. We do not learn what this significance is nor do we learn anything about the culture of which he writes. There follows discussion of music of , ”genuine value" as if this value were somehow entrenched within the music itself, while at the same time he argues that our common practice is able to “assign value". I would suggest that it is difficult to have it both ways. Either it is assigned by someone or some group or it is an innate quality of

the artwork. If It is a combination of both, it still falls on Davey to explain this apparent confusion.

Coates (1983:32) suggests that music education will become a part of curriculum because of how it addresses concerns for society and the individual." Phillips (1983:30) asks whether a Board of Education member might better understand the "Intellectual, moral, and physical forces of music more than the aesthetic?"

In light of today's behavioral climate in the schools, it might be of some significance to examine the idea of a "moral education" again. Moral education can be traced to plato and is described by Britton (1958:195) in Mark (1 982:19) as follows:

> American schools tend to place too heavy a reliance upon ancillary values which music may certainly serve but which cannot, in the end, constitute its justification. Plato, of course, is the original offender in this regard and his general view that the essential value of music lies in its social usefulness seems to be as alive today as ever.

In Phillips (1983:30) we read of a father's comment that "My son's participation in the school music program didn't add one dollar to his earning upon graduation". This statement can be just as easily applied to other subjects in the school program. It is hard to conceive how calculus will be used by a cashier in a department store whose cash register makes virtually every calculation, including charge totals, discount, taxes and change, all by Itself. It is difficult to conceive that the study of old British history will make any significant difference to the way a young Canadian carries on his life. Almost no single element of the school curriculum can be held up as vital or necessary. One could easily ignore the novels of Conrad, the plays of Shakespeare or the poems of Keats. But without plunging into a Marxist discussion of the usefulness of schools to society, it Is still possible to conclude that music education offers much of significance to the prospective job seeker. It may not, on the other hand, be too apparent to the boy's father or employer as to the benefits of the music program, because our professional rhetoric has been flogging for nearly 20 years exclusively some esoteric gobbledigoop about aesthetics which few music educators and fewer school administrators seem to understand let alone the lay population.

In today's industrial community, the Japanese model of management has taken a firm hold on Western manufacturing. The principles of this managerial style rest, however, firmly exposed in the writings of the father of sociology, Emile Durkheim. In The Division of Labour in Society (1933) and in Moral Education (1925) Durkheim outlines his profoundly sociological conception of morality.

> Everything which is a source of solidarity is moral, everything which forces man to take account of other men is moral, everything which forces him to regulate his conduct though something other than the striving of his ego is moral, and morality is as solid as these ties are numerous and strong (1933).

Hargreaves (1979:26) unravels the three basic foundation statements in Durkheim's position:

1. discipline
2. attachment to social groups
3. autonomy.

The threats to social solidarity cannot be met with a morality based in religion Durkheim suggests, but only with a secular and rational morality transmitted through the school. The first element is discipline. Hargreaves writes, "Here is a vocabulary - 'discipline, authority, duty, will - which a sociologist of education hardly dare whisper ... however, it soon becomes apparent that discipline is understood as a condition of, not a barrier to, freedom." Musicians have known this rule first-hand forever. Any progress made towards becoming a performing musician flows from the diligent expenditure of energies at the discipline of practice and effort. One works hard at 'getting it right' and the knowledge of and appreciation for those who have accomplished in the art of music-making emerges from this experience. Becoming a music-maker takes concentrated effort and discipline over long periods of time. It takes many years to develop the skills society acknowledges to be valuable. By definition, a student who is accomplished as a music-maker will know and appreciate the discipline required. This is what music education has been doing!

Durkheirn suggest that the second element of morality rests with the attachment to social groups. He writes, man is complete only as he belongs to several societies, morality Itself is complete only to the extent that we feel identified with those different groups in which we are involved (1925).

Music education has been driven in Canada by our performing groups. It is through those groups that music education presents its face to society. Like in the Japanese industrial model, the collective outcome depends upon this Identification with the group's purpose and the rewards are reflected in the individuals who contribute to the group's success. Thus when individual accomplishment through disciplined activity is brought to collective power through association, people learn that their own skills are amplified through the efforts of others. In fact, individualism is minimally impotent and ultimately destructive in the group setting.

These are the messages of all good school music conductors. We learn that the band sound or the choral sound depends upon a co-operative effort, weakened by our individual failings and strengthened by our disciplined contribution. This is what music education does!

The final concern is autonomy. Hargreaves explains that authority must be obeyed not in a spirit of 'passive resignation' but out of 'enlightened allegiance'. To teach morality, Durkheim writes, is neither to preach nor indoctrinate; it is to explain and understand. This progression towards good music teaching is clear. Individual disciplined accomplishment contributed to group effort which provides a medium for autonomous understanding. Good music teachers explain the construction of music, the rationale for interpretations and provide an environment for the appreciation of the task at hand. This is what good music education does!

School, suggests Durkheim, must above all give pupils the clearest possible idea of the groups to which they belong and will belong. The key function of the school is to breathe life into the spirit of association. Few experiences in schooling provide the concentrated devotion and enthusiasm that our performing ensembles provide our students. Much of the apparent difficulty in establishing a believable "worth" of the music-making experiences for our students is suggested in the writings of Christopher Small (1987) where he writes that because the English language has no verb for music-making and the word "music" is applied undifferentially to both the "product" and the "score" of music, these things are not always separated in the minds of English

speaking thinkers because they have no discrete words to apply to quite different things. Because "I music" is not possible in the English language, the value placed upon this activity is perhaps also questionable. Small (1987:50) coins the participle "musicking" and writes:

> It Is In the present-day classical tradition of both performance and composition that we find this attitude [music as entities] has completely taken over the musical process. Classical musicians and listeners alike today view music as things treasured symphonies, sonatas, operas, tone poems and concertos.

The educational outcome is that we stress learning about these objets d'art rather than concentrating on the "musicking". Learning about, listening to, analyzing, and determining the "value or worth" of these music objects has grown in the rhetoric of music education to be superior in importance to the values of "musicking".

Small writes:

> It follows that whatever meaning there is in music is to be found in that act [of musicking] rather than In the actual works themselves. (1987:51)

The apparent link of aesthetic education to individualism is only half of the story here and I return to the confusion created by Davey (1989). It is much more important that we have been led to believe that music has "meaning" and that except for the highly learned symbolic meanings associated with program music, this meaning rests deep inside the music. The worth of or value of music rests inside the music Itself, so much so, that R has been suggested that Wagner's music is better than it sounds. Most of the aesthetic education rhetoric rests upon the greater European musical traditions of the 18th and 19th centuries. As Small (1989:9) has suggested:

> In societies that are dominated by European values, European appearance is the norm and taken for granted, becoming in this way invisible, while African is the aberration, and thus highly visible, even, as in the Americans, after nearly five hundred years of daily interaction.

Can other music be valued through the application of the European aesthetic or if we are to continue the rhetoric of aesthetic education must we not expand our theoretical base to include other forms of world music?

Some sociologists have taken the perspective that the value or worth of music rests in the beholder. At first it may appear that this position stretches belief beyond a sensible boundary but a quick reminder of how the fine arts often work ensures us that this explanation does indeed apply to the arts, including music. A typical career path as a painter is to produce canvas after canvas in obscurity until one day, with luck, the artist gets "discovered". Thus the quality of the art work is never questioned, only the public recognition of It after this discovery process. The value (both artistic and financial) of the artwork depends not on the artwork but on the recognition by society. What usually follows, however, is not a discussion of why people have discovered the artist but about the qualities of the artwork, thus ensuring the myth that the value rests in the masterpiece and not simply in the recognition of it.

One of the most thorough expositions of this perspective in music education comes from Vulliamy (1977 & 1978). He writes about the apparent culture class of school music as teachers try to bring their Bach and Beethoven to students who are having a relationship with another music altogether. Later, together with John Shepherd (1984), Vulliamy argues that everything about music is socially determined or culturally embedded. Vulliamy's position is developed to Its logical conclusion and is often viewed as extreme by more traditional music educators. While his position has often been refuted by Swanwick (1988), ft nevertheless points to important weaknesses in the exclusive aesthetic education propaganda.

In the USA, the most important position on the sociological position of music has been taken by Kingsbury (1984:52) who writes,

> The concrete reality of music II social process; it is social process which gives music meaning, and ft is this meaning which makes music what it "is". Music is a category of social meaning.

This issue is most complex and a simple exposition such as this cannot fill the needs of a more thorough development of these themes. But we must begin to ask if there is substantially more to the social reality of music in our schooling than the aesthetic scholars would have us believe. The curricular inclusion of music in the schooling of Canadian youth must be grounded on the values of music as they apply to the goals of the school and education as well as just the goals of music. While the discipline of music may need an aesthetic explanation, curriculum developers may see additional values of equal or more importance.

Let me be quick to point out that what I have written earlier (Roberts 1989:8) concerning the "centricity of music" to the music education process applies here equally strongly. "If the educational outcomes are other than 'musical', then the activity has no authenticity within the music curriculum." Can we be reasonably sure that the measure we apply to test for the degree of "musical centricity" takes into account all the important values of music including the social and moral ones? Is our aesthetic model diverse enough to include all the music available to our programs? Have we given enough consideration to the "musicking" values and the "moral' values that rightfully belong to music education? I have written earlier (1988:30) that:

> With a performance-based program, we give an opportunity for students to experience the thrill of musical risk-taking. We give opportunities for our students to excel beyond their expectations....

The "musicking" value is considerable. It has merit and importance for Its own sake. The moral and social values are equally persuasive. They too have merit and importance. It is critical that we add these substantial benefits to school music to our rhetoric both within the profession and beyond.

As a final word I leave you with a small story about a young couple who survey the living room in their new house and after some discussion come to conclude that they will purchase a painting for the wall opposite the window. They go to the local art gallery and make a selection appropriate to their needs and hang this artwork on their wall. At the house warming party, two friends begin a discussion of the artistic merits of the painting when the young couple enter the room. After thanking their guests for such kind words about their artistic taste, they acknowledge that the real purpose of the

artwork was to cover a hole in the wall and because they couldn't afford to redecorate either, It was Important to select a canvas that came in peach!

There is no argument that an appropriately applied aesthetic foundation may be of significant importance to the an of music. Whether it is of equal or of such exclusionary necessity to curricular inclusion is perhaps not as clear as some aesthetic educationists would have us believe.

Music in the schools of Canada continues to be under seige. As more and more "modern" subjects such as computing push their way into the curriculum already overflowing with valued content, curriculum planners are constantly searching for less important material to purge in order to make way for these newcomers. We have, during the past quarter of a century, based our inclusion within the curriculum solely and totally on an aesthetic education model which is both flawed and transparent. Such notable studies as Goodlad (1984:220) and Wiktin (1974) have pointed out the failings of our practice. It is imperative for our faith to continue that we abandon the exclusive hold the aesthetic education rhetoric has on our profession. There is doubt that some will be convinced. A shift into a more modern and eclectic vision is the only hope for the dispelling of this doubt.

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INSTRUCTIONAL DEVELOPMENT: A CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

Mary E. Kennedy & Jean Brown
Faculty of Education
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Introduction

Ivor K. Davies (1978) describes two archetypes which encompass the activity known as instructional development: the engineering archetype and the problem-solving archetype. The engineering archetype is reflected in the numerous instructional development models, exemplified by a series of boxes and arrows with a feedback loop, indicating a step-by-step approach to instructional development activity (Davies, 1978, p. 22). It is this type of instructional development, taught In most introductory or basic courses, which Romiszowski refers to as algorithmic, and which I call functional instructional development. Students emerge from such courses able to follow, in generally linear fashion, the process indicated by the boxes and arrows, in order to design something.

The problem-solving archetype, according to Davies (1978) can be thought of in terms of a chess game.

> Players engage in an intellectual activity for which there is no one set of appropriate moves. Intense concentration, ability to foresee future consequences of current actions, flexibility, and the skills of observation, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation are prerequisites to success.

In the problem-solving archetype there is no one best means, and neither is there necessarily one best solution. Rather, everything is dependent on the situation, and the skills and expertise available. Romiszowski refers to the problem-solving archetype as heuristic. It, to us, conceptual instructional development.

Differentiating between the functional and conceptual levels of instructional development is not easy. The differentiation is not related to the size or scope of the instructional development activity, nor is it related to the number of people involved in the activity. Rather than discrete levels, functional and conceptual instructional development lie along a continuum. The differentiating variable is the mind-set which the instructional developer brings to the activity.

Romiszowski (1981) notes that many problems can be solved by either approach.

> The motor mechanic may be taught a step-by-step procedure for fault-finding. This logical procedure guarantees that he locates a fault in a reasonable time, as compared to random checks. But as his experience grows, he develops a heuristic (conceptual) approach. He forms conceptual models of certain types of cars, made up of sets of principles such as 'in this car this type of symptom generally means this fault.' These heuristics do not guarantee a solution. But once a sufficient number of heuristic principles have been learned, the mechanic jumps to conclusions and more often than not is

> correct, thus reducing the average fault-finding time. Although step-by-step procedures are easier to learn and apply initially, heuristic (conceptual) procedures are more efficient in the long run. (p. 23)

To propose that educational technologists approach educational problems from a conceptual instructional development framework is not to propose anything new. In fact, the instructional development paradigm was originally that of systems approach, or systems thinking, as delineated by James Finn in the late 1950s. The early conceptions of educational technology were not algorithmic but heuristic. Emphasis was on the development of the total system, rather than its component parts. Davies (1973) notes:

> Isolated parts can rarely provide adequate information about a system, but a system can provide valuable information about the functions fulfilled by each of its components. Such an approach is nothing more than an application of the Gestalt concept that the whole is more than a simple summation of its constituent parts. (p. 13)

In the case of education, the implication of a systems approach is that instructional development activity should not be done on a piece-meal basis. Too often instructional development activity is considered to have a beginning and an end, and once one 'instructional development project' is completed another can be started. Each project, or set of activities, is viewed as a discrete entity, having little relationships to the other and little 'system impact.' Sir Brynmor Jones (1969) explicates:

> We often pride ourselves in our analytical ability, on our precise habits of thought, and on our disciplines, which are at once rigorous and humane, and which together we assume enable us to construct programmes which present ideas, concepts, and information in the most logical order to the student.... We are now in a position where we take for granted the instructional function of programmes, and should bend our efforts increasingly to establish a climate in which teachers both create and themselves participate in learning systems in which _they_ are a resource: the senior resource, it is true, but nevertheless _one_ resource among several others, which include buildings, equipment, and ... media of all kinds. (p. 20-21)

Conceptual instructional development is, then, the logical application of the notion of systems approach. Davies (1973) in his description of the third educational technology, understands the capacity of this conceptual level of instructional development to build a bridge between educational theory and classroom practice. The framework of the bridge is modern organizational theory "and its associated systems approach, [which] makes possible a science and an art of teaching with a technology of its very own" (Davies, 1973, p. 15).

Organization Development and Systems Thinking

March and Simon, working in industrial management, delineated three propositions about organizations as follows:

1. Classical theory of organization (task-centered).
2. Human relations theory of organization (relationship-centred).
3. Modern theory or organization (task-and relationship-centred).
   (Davies, 1973, p. 9)

Modern organizational theory has Its application in organization development. Organization development is defined as a planned organization-wide program of team-building for the purpose of implementing planned change. It is a process which institutionalizes and legitimizes the examination of the system's processes for decision-making, planning, and communication (Burke and Hornstein, 1972, p. xi).

Argyris (1964) contends that the effectiveness of any organization depends upon its ability to accomplish three essential aims, as follows:

a. achieve its goals;
b. maintain itself internally;
c. adapt to its environment.

The conceptual instructional developer might do well to meet Argyris' essential aims in evaluating the effectiveness of his/her effort. Davies (1973) notes "if an organization fails to realize these aims, it is "unhealthy" or steadily ineffective; if an organization realizes them, it is 'healthy' and it is flexible, able to learn through experience, free to change, and free to respond to new circumstances" (p. 4-5). The latter provides an apt description of the ideal instructional developer.

The key notion in the application of organization development is one of ongoing system development and change - change that is anticipated, planned for, and implemented with provision for the requisite support system. Organization development "views change, innovation, and growth as the natural result of a concerted response to a new situation" (Davies, 1973, p. 16). Conceptual instructional development, with its focus on the total system rather than discrete components of that system, improves the capacity to adapt and manage change.

Whether the organization is the small, tightly bound system of a single school, or the large loosely integrated system of the provincial educational network, development and change are essential in today's world. Schein (1965) notes that the argument for a systems concept of organization is that "the environment within which the system exists Is becoming increasingly unstable as a result of the growth of technology and the changes in social and political mores" (p. 20).

Faris (1968) states "Instructional development is the term used in knowledgeable circles in higher education to describe attempts to enter the instructional process at the level of ... planning ... instructional development seeks to design instruction rather than to supplement it" (p. 971). While the focus of instructional development is admittedly instruction, there must be the realization that instruction is simply one component, or sub-system, of the total educational system. And implementation of change or ongoing development within that sub-system has an effect on the whole system: much as throwing a stone into a still pool will cause ripples

throughout the pool. Schein (1965) notes "Because the various pans of an organization tend to be linked, a proposed change in one pan must be carefully assessed in terms of its likely impact on other parts" (p. 123).

For too long instructional development has been functional in practice. The promise of educational technology, according to Beckwith (1988), lies with "the systemic approach [which] enables us to serve as the problem-solvers of the learning process, the dreamers and creators of new and more effective learner systems .... Since operating systemically requires control over all systems components, ours is the responsibility for management of learner and learner transformation" (p. 15).

The conceptual instructional developer, then, is one who is constantly operating at two levels and with two different thrusts. The two levels are akin to the engineering and problem-solving archetypes. Romiszowski states:

> Step-by-step procedures exist for certain activities (e.g., task analysis) but these are only at the level of collecting and organizing information. What to do with the information is not governed by an immutable algorithm. Creative solutions pop up as sudden flashes of insight (and one then backtracks to check them out for viability) rather than as a result of plodding carefully and completely through each step in the sequence.... This is where systems concept and systems thinking play their role. The systems approach is one part of methodology to five parts of systems thinking. (p. 24)

The two thrusts of conceptual instructional development are notably different. While the conceptual instructional developer is involved in the usual identification of problems and seeking of solutions through the implementation of a chosen instructional development model, (s)he is also concerned with the ongoing functioning of the system. The conceptual instructional developer is concerned with maintaining the climate for change – energies are focused on continuous monitoring of the system so that potential problems may be anticipated. The conceptual instructional developer is proactive rather than reactive. In addition, the conceptual instructional developer is concerned with maintenance of the relationships established during the instructional development activity. Davies (1978) notes:

> ...in doing instructional development we are involved in a cycle of task-oriented activities or steps which are descriptions of the duties and responsibilities performed. But parallel with this task-oriented cycle is another cycle involving the successive phases of the relationships between instructional developer and client.... It is this relationship which helps to prevent instructional development being directed only at solving immediate problems. (p. 112)

The Giving and Taking of Advice

Davies (1978) suggests that instructional development and evaluation activities may be viewed as the giving and taking of advice. The linking of instructional development and evaluation roles is intriguing, in that both are strategies that share a common purpose – that of increasing the effectiveness of the total instructional system. For the past five years one of the authors has acted as a consultant on a number of occasions, sometimes involved in instructional development activities and sometimes in evaluation activities. It is interesting to note that the skills and competencies required in both roles are practically identical.

This notion is not surprising, given that in both circumstances – the instructional developer and the evaluator – what is really happening is consultancy. While the tasks which the consultant performs might differ, the relationship related activities are essentially the same. Davies (1978) notes:

> Instructional development and evaluation in a vacuum would be fairly simple and rather mundane processes. Fortunately, development and evaluation only make sense in the context of people, and yet - in an almost desperate attempt to realise the task - we sometimes tend to ignore the relationship side of the instructional situation. No matter how pert our development and evaluation procedures, no matter how sophisticated .... our techniques, little will be achieved if the quality of our human relationships is overlooked or Ignored. (p. 121)

The literature on consultancy is rich indeed, and there have been many attempts to pinpoint skills and competencies required by the consultant. Generally we can think of consultancy skills and competencies in three categories: (a) knowledge-based, (b) interpersonal communication-based, and (c) process-based. (Block, 1981).

Knowledge-based skills and competencies are those which provide us with expertise in a given field. The instructional developer has expertise in theories of learning and instruction, in communication and perception theory, in instructional development and evaluation. This expertise is brought to the consultancy role.

Interpersonal communication skills and competencies, which are crucially important in consultancy, include oral and written language facility, listening, empathy, and the numerous skills which are required to build and maintain a relationship.

Process skills are those required to perform competently each phase of the consultant relationship. These include team-building skills employed in the problem definition phase, creative thinking and problem-solving skills employed In the generation of alternative solutions phase, diagnosis, analysis and synthesis skills employed in the solution development phase, and decision-making and documentation skills employed in the implementation and evaluation phase (Romiszowski, 1981).

Being a consultant is not easy. Professional competencies are extensive. Lippitt and Lippitt (1978) compare the list of competencies to "a combination of Boy Scout Laws, requirements for admission to heaven, and essential elements for securing tenure at an Ivy League College" (p. 94).

Consultants in Instructional Development

Systems managers, producers, Instructional designers, media specialists for school districts or community colleges, human resources developers in business or industry, teacher-librarians or learning resource teachers in schools - consultants in instructional development come under many different labels and perform many different functions. They do, however, have things in common. All of them, as instructional developers, attempt to plan effective instruction for designated learners, whether these learners are students in the classroom or adults in industry or educational institutions. They also are optimists with a dream that teaching, learning, and training can be improved; that educational technology can help any organization, whether it be a school or a factory, design effective instruction. As Beckwith (1988) points out, it is a dream that "within educational technology resides the potential for better schooling, better learning, better transmission of information, better interactive communication, better worlds" (p. 3). However, Beckwith (1988) also hastens to add, "the dream, while ever present, remains only a dream. The power, promise and potential of educational technology have not been realized" (p. 4).

If we want to realize this dream, this paper maintains, the time has come for educational technologists to move towards educational technology 3, or as we refer to it, conceptual instructional development. It views the systematic approach as functional instructional development, useful and effective but limited, and suggests that if dreams are indeed to come true, then there is need for educational technologists to go beyond it, to operate as problem-solvers within the system, to adopt the systemic approach, or to work towards "the creation of unified and dynamic wholes to effect the transformation of learning" (Beckwith, p. 4).

A focus on conceptual instructional development will require competencies and skills which, although always recognized as important, have not always been emphasized. If educational technologists, in whatever role they find themselves, are to be successful, they must identify these skills and master them. As pointed out earlier in this paper, instructional development may be viewed as the giving and taking of advice (Davies, 1978b), with the instructional developer operating as a consultant in the learning process. It is essential then, that the conceptual constructional developer be aware of consultancy skills.

The Role of the Consultant

This raises the interesting question of what type of consultancy role the conceptual instructional developer should choose. In the past, educational technologists were quick to play the role of the expert. As professionals on the leading edge of their profession (whether In education or industry) they could win instant recognition and prestige by becoming the expert on the latest technical device to hit the market; or else, they could limit themselves to being an producers upon demand. Such a person becomes the expert in the performance of a certain designated task, but often are not seen as having anything to contribute outside that area of expertise. The danger is that their work becomes piecemeal. Rather than being involved in the system as a whole, the instructional developer is called upon to work on particular projects. Usually, this calls only for functional instructional development, tied to the design of a product.

There are disadvantages in the instructional developer assuming the role of expert. The main one is that the problem is usually diagnosed by the organization and the instructional developer is called in <u>after</u> the diagnosis has been completed, to develop the solution (whether it be a slide/tape show or a videotape). For example, a

provincial department of education may have trouble with the offering of senior courses in small rural schools. The senior department officials may analyze the problem, decide to offer these courses by using a distance education delivery system, and only then call in an instructional developer to design the distance education courses. There has been no opportunity for the instructional developer to aid in the diagnosis of the problem, or to suggest other alternatives as solutions. This is serious disadvantage, for the perceptiveness and accuracy of the diagnoses of the problem is crucial to the eventual success or failure of the project or plan.

The consultant could choose the role of servant in a servant/master relationship, or, as Block (1981) describes it, act as "an extra 'pair of hands'" (p. 20). The example used with the expert role may also be used here. The organization decided on the solution (distance education) and then looked for someone to do all that was necessary to deliver this solution. In both cases, the diagnosis of the problem, the deciding on a solution, and the control of the project rest with the organization. Rather than involving the educational technologist at the diagnosis stage, thus allowing him or her to dream up new solutions and suggest alternative solutions, the diagnosis is complete and the solution is determined before the consultant arrives. The instructional developer in this role acts a servant in a purely functional manner, planning and delivering someone else's solution. In both cases the organization can play an inactive role, and can hold the consultant responsible if the solution does not work. In both cases, "the consultant who provided the 'service' becomes a convenient scapegoat" (Block, p. 20).

The third role that the instructural developer can choose is the collaborative role. Schein (1965) refers to this as process consultation, in which neither the organization, or system, "knows what is wrong, or what is needed, or what the consultant should do. All that is needed for the process to begin is some interest on the part of someone in the organization to improve the way things are going" (p. 4). The consultation process itself is quite different from the cases referred to earlier, for now "The consultation process itself... helps the manager to define diagnostic steps which lead ultimately to action programs or concrete changes" (p. 4).

The collaborative approach requires a collegial model, as the consultant and the members of the organization join their specialized knowledge, and together try to solve the problem. The consultant is not called in as an expert or servant to solve the problem for the organization. Instead, as Block (1981) states, "They apply their special skills to help managers solve problems. the distinction is significant" (p. 21). The problem solving becomes a joint responsibility. The members of the organization and the instructional developer work together at all stages, from defining the problem, to generating alternatives solutions, to developing the solution, to finally implementing the plan. All share in the planning and diagnosis, all share responsibility for success or failure.

The advantages are obvious. The instructional developer is called in at the very beginning of the process so that his/her talents can be pooled with those from the organization in the initial stages of diagnosing the problem. There is shared responsibility, shared decision making, shared knowledge. Conflict is expected as different individuals provide different perspectives, but collaboration is considered essential. There is a recognition that there must be argument and understanding before a solution can be arrived at. There is respect for the responsibilities and expertise of all those involved. The whole process becomes one of growth, where each person learns from the other. There is also a greater chance of success, for the members of the

organization will have the inside knowledge to know what is possible and be in a position to
follow it through.

The role of the modern teacher-librarian is an excellent example of a consultant working in a collaborative role. Current standards and models in both Canada and the United States stress the need for a partnership:

> An effective school library media program depends on the collaborative efforts of all those who are responsible for student learning. ... In effect, all members of the educational community, including teachers, principals, students, and library media specialists, become partners in a shared goal - providing successful learning experiences for all students (AASL & AECT, 1988, p. 21-22).

The Skills of the Collaborative Consultant

The collaborative consultants' success or failure may depend on how well they can work in such a collaborative process. The research on school library media specialists leave little doubt but that good communication skills and interpersonal skills are a necessity. Norman Beswick (1977) noted that the school librarian "must be able to show firm, out-going interest and competence, encouraging the trust of his clientele" (p. 79). It is, he concluded, "no job for a shy mouse" (p. 80). Yet, all too often, in schools and in industry, interpersonal skills, and process skills have been Ignored in the training and the hiring of instructional development consultants.

Those who wish to be instructional consultants must develop the interpersonal skills needed to work in the collaborative role. They must learn to listen without interrupting, to suggest without dominating, to help without threatening. They must be able to work as part of a team, must be willing to encourage others to lead as well as lead themselves. Rather than shining as the experts, or being depended upon as the servants, they must be willing to be involved as colleagues willing to share their knowledge and skills in the solving of the problems.

Those who wish to be instructional consultants must also develop process skills, so that they can analyze problems, generate alternate solutions, and formulate effective implementation plans. They must understand and us the systematic process, but also operate at the systemic level, aware that the system as a whole must be considered. To do this well, they must also understand the process of educational change.

The Consultancy Role and Educational Change

The instructional developer, und any label, is usually called in to bring about planned educational change a better unit of instruction, a training package, an in-service program, a solution to an educational problem. To be effective, they must understand the process of educational change and their role in it.

The literature on educational change supports the collaborative role for consultancy. Fullan (1982) provides a comprehensive review of the research on educational change. Citing various sources of research, Fullan notes that large school

districts are not good prospects for external consultants, that school districts are not easy systems to understand, that to understand them takes a long period of observation. He concluded:

> Most research shows that external consultants are effective only when there is an internal consultant or team which supports their activities. All the major research we have been reviewing shows that effective educational change occurs when there is the combined involvement of internal and external members (p. 191).

Important, then, if instructional developers want to succeed, is the need to establish a strong relationship with the members of the organization. If these members are willing to pool their knowledge, to become actively involved, then there will be a much greater chance on their following through on the intended change. In other words, there is a necessity for collaborative consultancy.

Conclusion

The collaborative consultancy role will require moving beyond the linear model of the systematic approach. Instructional developers need to operate on the conceptual level, to see themselves as problem solvers within a dynamic system, in which there are no straight paths but instead many paths and many solutions. It requires them to enter the instructional process at the planning level, not at the development level. Above all, it requires instructional developers to work well with other people, to be able to establish and maintain good relationships. Those who aspire to such a role must be both a leader and a follower, a speaker and a listener, a learner and an expert, an information-giver and an information seeker. As well as being on the leading edge of technology (and edges are never comfortable places to be!), the instructional developer as collaborative consultant will often be standing on very thin ice where interpersonal and process skills will determine either success or failure. This role is certainly not a comfortable or easy one, but if the promise of educational technology is ever to be realized, it is where the instructional development practitioner must be found.

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DO WE STILL HAVE MULTI-GRADE CLASSROOMS?

Dennis Mulcahy
Faculty of Education
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They just don't want to admit that we are out there. They think we are like the dinosaurs - extinct!

Part One: Introduction

The SMALL SCHOOLS CURRICULUM PROJECT is a three year research and development project that focuses on the challenges rural educators must deal with in providing quality educational experiences for children attending the many small schools in Newfoundland and Labrador. During the life of the project, the faculty's journal, The Morning Watch, will be used periodically as a vehicle to share with the province's educators issues, concerns and questions (and hopefully, some answers) being generated by this project.

In a previous article in this series (Mulcahy, 1991) an argument was presented pointing out the necessity and desirability of developing a distinctive curricular approach for learning and teaching in multi-grade classrooms. The argument was based largely on the problems the current provincial curriculum creates for multigrade teachers. In the first part of this article I would like to further explicate the dilemma confronting the teachers of this province whose classroom situation is "abnormal" (not fitting the accepted norm of one teacher, one grade).

In the second part of this paper, I will begin the process of exploring the kinds of changes in thinking about both multi-grade classrooms and curriculum that must take place in order for such a distinctive model to emerge. The focus of this article will be the need for various educational constituencies in the province to acknowledge, recognize and accept the fact that multi-grade classrooms have been, are, and will increasingly continue to be a significant dimension of our educational system.

The Dilemma Confronting Multi-Grade Teachers

Grouping children of different ages, grades, and levels for instructional purposes is a universal phenomenon. Sometimes this is done out of administrative necessity in order to deal with low or declining enrolments; sometimes it is done on the basis of a belief that such groupings are educationally beneficial for the children involved. Whatever the reasons for such organizational decisions, the problems or opportunities that multigrade/multi-age groupings present to the classroom teacher are very much a function of the characteristics of the SI official" curriculum context of that educational setting.

To understand the dilemma facing rural teachers in Newfoundland, one needs to be aware of those aspects or characteristics of this province's official curriculum that most directly impact on learning and teaching in multi-grade classrooms. An attempt to delineate key concepts is somewhat problematic. Curriculum orientations and curriculum contexts are very complex entities; any attempt at brief depiction of selected

aspects of them runs the risk of oversimplification and even distortion. Furthermore, curriculum views and positions within the province are not universally shared and are quite dynamic, constantly changing and shifting. The following portrayal should be read with these qualifications in mind.

The key words for understanding the provincial curriculum context are "controlled", "prescribed", "graded" and "uniform". The term "curriculum" is generally taken to refer to the "Program of Studies" which is the list of subjects that are to be offered in schools. All decisions regarding this program of studies are the responsibility and are under the centralized control of the provincial Department of Education. Fundamental to this centralized control is the notion of "one best system" or "one size fits all". There is a strong belief in the educational view that, as far as is possible, each school, each grade, and each student in the province should have the identical curriculum. Uniformity equals equality.

At present, primary/elementary schools are required to offer instruction in ten subject areas. The official Program of Studies and the various curriculum guides prescribe objectives and content/topics that must be "covered" in each grade for each subject. Time allotments per subject, day, and week are also indicated. Textbooks are also chosen and "authorized" by the province and provision is made so that in most subject areas each student receives her/his own copy of each prescribed text. In some situations these textbooks become the curriculum.

The organizational image that informs and dominates the development of this centrally controlled, content oriented, prescribed, grade specific curriculum is the single grade classroom found primarily in the few, larger, urban centres. This image does not reflect the majority of primary/elementary classrooms in the rural areas of the province whose multigrade organization does not fit the urban pattern.

Teachers working in single grade settings are quick to point out that this prescribed curriculum is in their view "overcrowded" and fails to take into consideration the considerable range of abilities and achievement levels within their single grades. Given this, the curricular challenge facing the multi-grade teacher is quite daunting. In a multi-grade classroom a single teacher may have responsibility for a group of children who are "officially" in two, three, four or more grades. A multi-grade teacher has the legal responsibility, therefore, of "covering" the prescribed content for twenty to forty subjects.

Teachers in Newfoundland and Labrador struggling with this problem have described their difficulties generally in terms of 'lime" and "coverage". Comments such as the following are typical of those made by multi-grade teachers in the province who participated in the SMALL SCHOOLS CURRICULUM PROJECT survey:

> I feel that the amount of time that I have for each grade is very limited. I am very concerned with completing the prescribed curriculum for each grade.
>
> My biggest concern is covering all the material needed to be completed in each grade and doing a good job.

Until recently, the challenge of a multi-grade situation was one that these teachers have had to face alone. Left more or less to their own devices, rural educators

in Newfoundland and Labrador have attempted to deal with the curricular challenge of multi-grading in a variety of ways. Three such approaches are described below.

The principal characteristic of the first approach is segregation. The teacher makes a clear distinction between each grade, each subject, and each group of children in the classroom. The children in each grade are seated separately. For example, the children in grade two would all sit together, as would the children in grade three and grade four. The teacher would then attempt to teach each group each subject in turn. There would be a grade four math period and a grade five math period and so on. The teacher's intention would be to cover as much of the prescribed curriculum as she/he could in the given time. This is the oldest and most traditional of the three approaches but it is one that is still quite common particularly when dealing with certain subject areas.

In another approach, the teacher attempts to cover the different grade specific curriculums in alternative years. For example, a teacher who has a four/five class will one year teach the prescribed grade five Social Studies course to the ' whole class; then the following year teach the prescribed grade four social studies curriculum. This, in effect, means that in any given year, one segment of the class is encountering the intended curriculum for either the following or the previous year.

A "third" approach has the teacher experimenting with various forms of subject, grade, and subject/grade integration. The teacher attempts to cover the prescribed objectives and content for the two or three years by linking them thematically. The teacher selects a topic or theme that might be appropriate for as many grades as possible and then designs learning activities that will enable children in the various grades to meet their grade specific objectives. Expectations in terms of student performance and achievement are differentiated according to grade level expectations.

Some teachers use only one of these approaches, others a combination of all three. Some curriculum areas lend themselves better to one or another of these approaches. For example, it is generally felt that math has to be taught separately; nonsequential courses such as social studies can be, fairly easily, taught alternatively; language arts lends itself most readily to a cross grading, thematic approach.

Each of these approaches, however, is deemed problematic. Trying to maintain a strict distinction between each grade and subject and cover the whole of the prescribed curriculum is impossible: a single teacher simply does not have the time or the energy to teach or to prepare all the subjects for all the grades as prescribed. Without guidelines, advice or training the teacher is left to make decisions about what to include and exclude.

One of the problems with the second or "rotation" approach is that not all areas of learning can be so easily manipulated in this alternating way. This approach also raises some questions about the original curriculum design of such programs if they can be so arbitrarily juxtaposed.

The integrated/thematic approach, which is probably the most educationally sound and promising one, is also perceived as problematic in this context for several reasons. Many teachers feel that they do not have the knowledge and skill to do the kind of analysis and curriculum development that this approach demands. Those teachers with more confidence in terms of knowledge and skill point out that such

approaches require an enormous amount of time and energy that they simply don't have.

The more fundamental problem with each of these approaches is that the touchstone for each of them is the existing curriculum: a curriculum designed and developed to be delivered in single grade classrooms. The onus is left to the classroom teacher to invent ways in which this grade specific curriculum can be adapted and fitted to a multi-grade situation. The problem is the common one of trying to make the square peg fit into the round hole. This can only be done by whittling away at the peg or reshaping the hole. Such solutions are hardly desirable or possible.

Because of these fundamental difficulties, rural educators in Newfoundland and Labrador and elsewhere, for some time now, have been calling for a distinctive curricular approach to multi-grade situations (Riggs, 1987; CEA, 1992), an approach that would be responsive to their particular milieu.

Part Two

One of the goals of the SMALL SCHOOLS CURRICULUM PROJECT is to respond to the need for a distinctive curricular approach to multi-grade classrooms. The intention is to develop a curriculum model specifically for multi-grade classrooms. This model would be reflective of and responsive to the contextual realities and challenges of rural schools and multigrade settings. Having accepted this as a goal for the project the first step in this process of development is trying to settle on a suitable point of departure for the task. Where and how should one begin? What assumptions or beliefs should inform this process of development? The answer to the question of an appropriate departure point was supplied by a multi-grade classroom teacher.

One of the methods of inquiry being used in the SMALL SCHOOLS CURRICULUM PROJECT is semi-structured interviews with multi-grade classroom teachers. One of the questions I always ask as part of the interview process is: How could the various educational agencies such as the Department of Education, the Faculty of Education at Memorial University, and the NTA help teachers with the demands and challenges of multigrade classrooms?

In one such interview session, a primary teacher, whose multi-grade classroom consisted of students in kindergarten, grade one, two and three responded, "THEY COULD START BY ACKNOWLEDGING WE EXIST".

Perhaps, this is the most important point of departure in such a curriculum development task: ACKNOWLEDGE, RECOGNIZE, AND ACCEPT THE REALITY AND EXISTENCE OF MULTI-GRADE CLASSROOMS.

Small schools and multi-grade classrooms have been, are, and will continue to be a significant feature of our educational system. This may seem like a rather obvious thing to say. Until very recently, however, the prevalence or even the existence of multi-grade classrooms in this province has been something of a well kept secret. One could go so far as to say that until very recently, "officially", they did not exist.

Linda Doody, a Language Arts Coordinator with the Bonavista-TrinityPlacentia School Board and who has done extensive research on multigrading, has pointed out that previous to 1989 one would bg hard pressed to find a single reference to multi-

graded classrooms in any provincial curriculum documents. Multi-grade teachers participating in this current research project were asked if their teacher education programs at the Faculty of Education prepared them directly or indirectly for teaching in multi-graded classrooms. The near unanimous response has been negative. With a few notable exceptions it was seldom if ever mentioned. A review of the publications and newsletters of the Newfoundland Teachers' Association reveals very few articles that addressed or even acknowledged the existence of multi-grade classrooms. The very title of one such article by John Sutherland - "Small Schools: the overlooked universe of elementary schooling in rural Newfoundland and Labrador' - is illustrative of the point being made.

At the district level some boards have attempted to address the needs of multi-grade classrooms. However, based on the current survey responses, district initiated workshops/inservice that focused specially on the special needs of multi-grade teaching were, for the most part, few and far in between.

Apparently, all educational constituencies collectively decided to act as if multi-grade classrooms did not exist. Sever al respondents in this study reported that they had not known multi-grade classes even (still) existed until they arrived at their assigned schools.

This province is hardly unique in neglecting this common characteristic of rural schools (or for that matter in ignoring rural education in general). In many educational jurisdictions it has, historically, been a fairly common practice to ignore the special needs of rural areas. Alan De Young (1987) has pointed out that "the history of American education has been primarily an urban history". Barbara Jean Jones (1987) surveyed American preservice programs for rural environments and concluded:

> Pre-service programs offered by teacher-training institutions have primarily been campus and urban based with little thought of the need for the specialized training for those educators who might select to work in a rural environment. This reflects what Jonathan Sher called 'decades of relative obscurity' for rural education (p. 3).

These criticisms can just as easily be applied to most other Canadian contexts. A national survey conducted for the Canadian Education Association (1991) found "no evidence of any special curricula designed for multi-grade classes". This same report found the preparation of teachers for the particular demands and dynamics of multi-grade teaching to be equally lacking:

> The majority of teachers currently teaching multi-grade classes (84.1%) had no special training for these classes. Only a few reported in-service work provided some help, while others stated that no specific courses or programs on this kind of classroom were available to them.
>
> Although there have been multi-grade classrooms for a long time, teacher education institutions have chosen to ignore them. Many faculties of education in the past opted not to place their student teachers in such settings (p. 41).

Many possible reasons can be advanced to explain this lack of attention. One explanation is grounded in the false belief that these classrooms are an isolated

anomaly; coupled with this is the equally false expectation that further consolidation and resettlement will soon eliminate the need for such classrooms. In actuality Newfoundland is very much a rural province of small schools and multi-graded classrooms. Currently, there are over seven hundred multi-grade classrooms in more than one hundred and seventy schools. This represents thirty seven percent of all schools in Newfoundland; furthermore, multi-grade classrooms exist in more than seventy percent of primary/elementary schools situated in rural areas.

As part of SMALL SCHOOLS CURRICULUM PROJECT each school district was sent a questionnaire to try and determine the projected increase in multi-grading in this province. Preliminary survey analysis indicates that due to declining enrolments there is going to be a significant increase in multi-grading in both rural and urban schools in the next five years. It is time that multi-grade classrooms be acknowledged, accepted.

Conclusion

Recently, multi-grade classrooms are starting to receive a little more attention in this province. One can now find at least a reference or two in the latest provincial curriculum documents. Multi-grade teachers in the field have identified the kind of work the Department has done in the area of the science curriculum as being very helpful. More districts have initiated some curriculum development work and organized in-service workshops. This past spring, for example, Nova Consolidated and Green Bay Integrated organized professional development sessions specifically for their multi-grade teachers. Earlier initiated activities by Boards such as Avalon North, Bonavista-Trinity-Placentia, and the Western Integrated are continuing.

The National Conference on Small Schools was held in Newfoundland for the first time in May of last year (1991) at Deer Lake. The recent provincial Royal Commission on education has highlighted the existence of small schools and multi-grade classrooms. The SMALL SCHOOLS CURRICULUM PROJECT has received funding support from the NTA, the Department of Education and the Faculty of Education R & D committee. The Economic Recovery Commission has called for the establishment of a Centre for the Training of Rural Teachers, and the Faculty of Education is in the process of developing a new graduate course in Rural Education that will be offered in the Winter Semester of 1993.

This recognition and these activities are good news for rural educators who have struggled on their own for a long time. The process of recognition has begun. However, a fundamental point remains to be resolved. What is to be the focus of our collective efforts? Will we concentrate our efforts on finding new solutions to the old problem: how to make the square peg fit the round hole, how to make a single grade urban curriculum work in a multi-grade rural classroom? Perhaps the way forward lies in redefining the problem. If so, then the process of curriculum inquiry must focus on developing a round peg!

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MULTI-GRADE - SINGLE GRADE WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE?

Dennis Mulcahy
Faculty of Education
Fall 1992

"Dear Dr. Mulcahy, ... you should have asked for this questionnaire to have been completed in the early fall. At this time in the school year after teaching three grades and living in an isolated community I am a little crazier than when I started out in September."

Introduction

The purpose of the current series of articles, which began in the Fall 1991, edition of the *Morning Watch,* is to explore the kinds of charges in thinking that must take place in this province that would lay the foundation for the development of a distinctive curriculum model for multi-grade classrooms. The desirability and necessity for such a curriculum model is a firmly held belief with many rural educators in this province. It is a perspective that finds support in the research literature on small schools and multi-grade learning and teaching. (Riggs, 1987; Gajadharsingh, 1982; CEA, 1991; Miller, 1989). This collective belief is based on the understanding that the dynamics and characteristics of multi-grade/multi-age classrooms are unique enough to warrant special curricular provision and teacher education.

In the preceding article "Do We Still Have Multi-grade Classrooms?" the apparent failure of various educational agencies to acknowledge the existence of multi-grade classrooms was indicated. A number of reasons for this neglect were offered. The focus of this paper is an exploration of one of these reasons, the belief that multi-grade classrooms are not different from single grade ones and that there is consequently no need for special curriculum guidelines or materials or special teacher education or professional development.

A similar kind of belief has generally limited the amount of educational research and development activity being focused on rural education and small schools in general. Stigsworth and Bell (1987) in The Small Rural Primary School point out that the official view in the past has often been that such schools "are merely dwarf varieties of larger primary schools... (and need not be considered as)... institutions with distinctive features of their own, still less that they need to be taken seriously" (p. 33, 36).

The purpose of this article is to describe some of the ways in which learning and teaching in a multi-grade classrooms are different from in single grades and to indicate how those differences impact on teachers and students. The views presented are those of multi-grade classroom teachers from Newfoundland and Labrador who have participated in the SMALL SCHOOLS CURRICULUM PROJECT. It is their voices that will be heard in this paper as they speak to us and to each other.

Multi-Grade - Single Grade: The Nature of the Difference

Teachers participating in the SMALL SCHOOLS CURRICULUM PROJECT were asked to complete a rather extensive questionnaire dealing with all aspects of multi-grade learning and teaching. One of the items they were asked to respond to focused on the issue of the differences between single grade and multi-grade situations. The item read as follows:

> SOME PEOPLE ARGUE THAT A MULTI-GRADE CLASSROOM IS NO DIFFERENT THAN A SINGLE GRADE ONE GIVEN THAT EVERY CLASS WILL HAVE STUDENTS WHO WILL VARY IN ABILITY AND ACHIEVEMENT AS MUCH AS TWO TO FIVE YEARS. HOW WOULD YOU, AS A MULTI-GRADE TEACHER RESPOND TO THIS ASSERTION THAT THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE?

A qualitative analysis of their responses to this survey item has revealed that teachers who work on a daily basis in small schools and multigrade classrooms take quite an exception to this notion of no difference. In the following presentation of the teachers' responses to this item, all comments are direct quotations from the survey questionnaires. No individual teachers are identified in keeping with the conditions under which the survey was completed.

A Lack of Understanding

Some teachers, clearly exasperated by the question, answered curtly, demonstratively: "BULL!"; "NONSENSE!" (original emphasis). Such a claim ("no difference") could only be made by people who "obviously have never taught in a multi-grade classroom":

> That person doesn't know what they are talking about. If we had specifically designed curriculum that dealt with multigrades it might be similar. But teaching 4 or 5 lessons of math at one time is nothing like dealing with differences in learning.

> The people who say that, are not aware of the reality of trying to follow a prescribed curriculum for two or more grades, working with up to 30 different individuals, trying to adapt new approaches to teaching and learning, and all the while trying to work with parents who don't understand why things are being done in a particular way.

Legal And Moral Responsibility

One of the major themes that have emerged from an analysis of the responses to the question of differences focuses on the legal and ethical responsibility multi-grade teachers feel in relation to the "official", "mandated", or "prescribed" curriculum:

> There is a difference in responsibility (original emphasis) - what the teacher is supposed to be officially doing.

> The amount of prescribed curriculum is so much greater in a multi-grade classroom.

The frame of reference is a teacher in a single grade classroom. She or he is legally responsible for only the mandated curriculum for that particular grade. A grade four teacher is responsible for the grade four curriculum and so on. Whatever measure of that teacher's effectiveness is used, its reference point will be that established for that grade. No matter what the range of the children's abilities in the class the teacher's official responsibility is grade specific. She or he is accountable for covering the curriculum for a particular grade.

The teacher's curricular responsibility in a multi-grade classroom is radically different. In this educational context she or he is legally and morally accountable for the prescribed curriculum for not one grade but two and in many cases three and in some exceptional cases four or more:

> My argument is that in single grades you have only one set of courses to be concerned with whereas in multi-grades you have 2 and possibly 3. Its easier to modify 10 courses as opposed to 20 or 30.
>
> It is quite different considering you have 3 or 4 different curriculums to complete.
>
> ... you must address 3 or 4 'curriculums", juggle your time and divide your attention between 3 or 4 times as many programs and guide books.

The point these teachers are making is that there is a definite and significant difference in terms of responsibility and expectation. Teachers are placed in an impossible situation with totally unrealistic demands. The school day/week/year has a finite amount of time; the teacher has a finite amount of energy. Yet the provincial Program of Studies (199192) informs multi-grade teachers that "time allotments for multi-grades are the same as those for single grades" (p. 43).

Because there is not enough time to do everything that is prescribed or required multi-grade teachers are constantly having to make curriculum decisions as to what to include and what to exclude:

> There is a difference in that you, the teacher, have to decide the curriculum you are going to teach. In a regular grade 2 class you teach the grade 2 science concepts, health concepts, etc. In a multi-grade (of 2 and 3) do you teach 2 or 3 or bits of both?

Multi-grade teachers have to make such curricular decisions without guidelines, advice or training. Moreover, it is they who are held accountable for such decisions if they adversely affect student achievement and progress:

> You are left on your own to make decisions as to what to leave out because you cannot do it all; yet you are held accountable for it all.

Individual Differences-individual Needs

A second major theme that has emerged from the qualitative analysis of multi-grade teachers' responses to the question of the differences between single grade and multi-grade classrooms is the issue of the degree and range of individual differences and needs that can characterize the multi-grade situation.

It is certainly true that in any given classroom children will exhibit a range of difference in ages, interests, abilities, and achievement. Reading levels may vary by as much as three to five years. Chronological ages can differ by a year or more. A policy of automatic promotion can mean that the grade children are officially in, in any given year, is in no way indicative of their mastery of the material and skills prescribed for a previous grade. Add to this the mainstreaming or integrating of children with special needs into the regular classroom and one can have a very heterogeneous community of children along many dimensions.

Often it is these kinds of observations that lead to the conclusion that all classrooms are multi-graded. In this sense, this is a valid point to make. Furthermore, many single grade teachers find it extremely frustrating to meet these individual needs and cover the prescribed curriculum for their single grade. The tension and stress that are generated by this pedagogical conflict of interest is an aspect of teaching that makes kindred spirits of both multi-grade and single grade teachers. The children with their needs are in front of you everyday; yet hanging over your head is the official curriculum which seems to have been designed quite oblivious to classroom realities.

The observation that multi-grade teachers make is that in a multi-grade classroom, with two or three grade levels combined, the potential differences along all of these dimensions is possibly doubled and trebled:

> There is a difference because not only do you have different grade levels but you have different levels in each grade. Therefore your problem is compounded.
>
> Students in the same grade vary 3-5 levels. Multiply this by 4 grades and you find yourself working with 12-20 levels. Every students is working at a different rate.

To meet the individual needs o each and every child in a single grade classroom is very difficult; in a multi-grade classroom (given the curricular problems outlined above) this task is next to impossible:

> Depending on the size and number of grades you will probably have a greater variation in ability. It would be also more difficult to adequately deal with the variation because the teacher's workload is greater in a multi-grade situation.
>
> But if a classroom has one Grade, they may only have two or three levels of ability but if a classroom has two or three grades the teacher could end up with nine levels of ability.
>
> I have to meet the needs of these children while meeting the needs of all grades. It could be said that I have I1 different grades within 4 grades.

Ultimately, this combination of grades, subjects, and varying abilities and needs leads to the problem of "attention deficiency". Students lack the special attention given by the teacher:

> I would say that it is, for you are limited many times to the amount of help and attention you pay to all students while you are introducing new tasks in different areas.
>
> But what about the low achievers who are going to suffer even more because the teacher cannot get the time to spend with them.
>
> In a multi-grade children get neglected because of the pressure to complete more work.

Where there are three or more combined grades the varying age groups may pose great difficulties. This social grouping of children with quite different maturation levels certainly creates its own dynamics and set of challenges for the multi-grade teacher. While it is true that most multi-grade situations are made up of two grades, there are still significant numbers of three and four grade combinations.

> There are always different levels, however, the biggest gap is in maturity level. This can create the biggest problem.
>
> The age difference is a greater problem. The children in my class range from 5 years to 12 years.
>
> There is a big difference socially depending on grades combined.

Combining even two grades when those grades are kindergarten and grade one creates the kind of challenging situation being referred to here. Part of the difficulty lies with the curriculum itself which often lacks continuity and coherence between program levels such as kindergarten and grade one and primary and elementary. This lack of continuity and coherence makes children's progress problematic in a single grade set up and makes integration more difficult in a multi-grade situation. When the curriculum problem is added to the maturation problem the difficulties just get compounded:

> I do not agree (that there is no difference) because in K/1 area, the K program is a world apart from the Grade 1 program. The one year in school makes a big difference for the Grade 1 students.

Trying to balance and juggle all the curriculum requirements and meet and respond to all the differences that can characterize a multi-grade classroom creates a very stressful and frustrating teaching context:

> Students do vary in ability and achievement, but it becomes quite frustrating when you don't have the instructional time to give these students when you are teaching all subjects from K-3 because you are not working with one grade.

Preparation and Planning

Two other themes that emerge from the data analysis are the greater preparation time required in a multi-grade situations and the greater complexity involved in planning learning activities. Both of these points are clearly related to and a consequence of the two issues discussed above. There is an interconnectedness here.

To really understand the complexities and dynamics of a multi-grade teaching situation it is necessary to grasp all these issues concurrently: the whole is much more than the sum of the individual parts.

Given the nature of their situations it is not surprising that multi-grade teachers make the point that the preparation time and planning difficulties are greater:

> Definitely there is a big difference, namely teacher preparation - combining more than one set of objectives and meeting the needs of a wider range of abilities takes double the preparation time.
>
> It takes a great deal of preparation for 3 or more grades.
>
> The most difficult aspect is preparation; you have to prepare in a way that makes good use of time while trying to equalize your time among all grades and at the same time have students working and progressing.

In order to deal effectively with the demands and challenges of a multigrade classroom a teacher must be a very dedicated, hard working, caring individual whose approach to teaching must be flexible, innovative and creative. Teachers participating in the Project identified the following necessary qualities and attitudes among others:

> Extremely dedicated; able to work long hard hours after the official school day has ended.
>
> One who cares a great deal for the welfare of the students.
>
> Willingness to give more power and choices to the students.
>
> Willingness to experiment, try new ideas, take risks.

Walk a Mile in My Shoes

Participants in this study have a very clear idea of how to change the minds of those who would suggest that there is no difference between a multi-grade and a single grade classroom situation.

Appreciative of the limitations of discourse as a way of knowing, they suggest a little experiential learning. For those who lack the imagination that would enable them to dramatically identify with teachers in multi-grade situations, they recommend spending some time in such classrooms:

> Put them in a multi-grade classroom! I would ask these people to teach in a multi-grade situation and then compare.
>
> I would say let these people teach in a multi-grade classroom for a while and their opinion would soon change.
>
> Better still, send these people into a multi-grade classroom for a year and they will think differently.

Ask them to trade jobs with me!

Conclusion

This paper has presented the views of multi-grade teachers concerning the differences between multi-grade and single grade classrooms. Their views on this issue are part of an overall argument being developed in a series of articles attempting to establish a foundation for creating a distinctive curriculum model for small schools and multi-grade situations. The uniqueness of a multi-grade context is one necessary part of that foundation.

The expressed views of multi-grade teachers in Newfoundland and Labrador are supported by the research literature on small schools and multi-grade/multi-age teaching. Miller (1991) conducted a review of the qualitative research on multi-grade instruction and concluded:

> In the multi-grade classroom, more time must be spent in organizing and planning for instruction. This is required if the teacher wants to meet the individual needs of students and successfully monitor student progress (p. 11).

The SMALL SCHOOLS CURRICULUM PROJECT is focused on a very particular educational context: Newfoundland and Labrador. The point was made in the preceding article that this curriculum is very prescribed, centralized and controlled. However, and this is a very important point, whatever the educational context, a teacher having responsibility for students who are in two, three, four or more grades in the same classroom has a unique and very challenging teaching situation. Bell and Sigsworth (1987), commenting on such contexts in the U.K., make the point that teachers who have responsibility for children who span several year groups face a "considerable curriculum challenge... which requires a very high level of teaching skill and effort" (p. 9). After analyzing the data collected during a study of small schools in England which in part focused on the difficulties teachers in a multi-age context must deal with, they concluded:

> The overarching task which concerned them was that of developing and maintaining a curriculum comparable in breath and quality of that of schools three and four times their size. ... the teachers saw the task of curriculum generation as their foremost concern. ... It must be remembered that rural teachers, because their classes contain two or more age ranges must, over much of their curriculum, plan a longer cycle of activities than that required by a class teacher in a larger school, where responsibility is limited to a singe age span. (Bell and Sigsworth, 1987, p. 141)

The curriculum challenge is exacerbated by the degree of prescription and grade specificity of the "official" and "mandated" curriculum.

Given the uniqueness of the situation, it is commonplace in the literature on small schools and multi-grade classrooms to point out that "there are unique competencies necessary for successful teaching" (Jones, 1987) in such a context. (See also CEA, 1991; Miller, 1989; 1991.) Miller (1991), after comparing the unique problems

associated with rural education and in particular multi-grade classrooms in North America and third world countries, observed:

> Ironically, the concerns and depictions of problems in these developing countries echo many of the concerns voiced in the United States and Canada by multi-grade classroom teachers and rural educators. The most prominent similarity is the need for curriculum and program modification that reflect ... the needs of students within the demands created by multi-grade organization (p. 6)

In future issues of the Morning Watch two other issues will be explored that are fundamental to laying the foundation for the construction of a curriculum model for multi-grade classrooms. The first of these will focus on student achievement in multigrade classrooms. The question that will be addressed is: Are multi-grade classrooms viable sites for quality education and high student performance? A second article will focus on the distinct advantages that small schools and multi-grade classroom have as educational milieux. Too often in this province and elsewhere a "deficit model" image dominates thinking about small schools and multi-grading. One of the ways forward is the identification of the very real strengths and advantages that such contexts have for both students and teachers. A curriculum model for multi-grades must build on and incorporate in its overall design such positive attributes.

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THE EMERGENCE OF FRENCH FIRST-LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR

Joan E. Netten
Faculty of Education

Elizabeth Murphy
Bishop's College
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Because of its relative newness, many educators not directly involved with French first-language education may be unfamiliar with the program, or with its characteristics, aims, history, and challenges. The purpose of this article is to provide such information, with an emphasis on the Newfoundland context.

Characteristics and Aims

French first-language (FFL) education is a program designed for French-speaking students in which French is the language of instruction in the classroom for all of the subject areas except English language arts. French is also the means of communication in the school environment. The purposes of the program are two-fold:

(1) to provide appropriate educational experiences in order to ensure the social, emotional and intellectual development of all students; and

(2) to develop and maintain the French language skills and cultural heritage of this minority.

In order to achieve the first goal, the FFL educational program in the province is similar to that of the anglophone program. It strives to attain the goals of education as formulated in the Aims of Public Education for Newfoundland and Labrador (1984). In general, learning resources are chosen which replicate as far as possible those used in the anglophone stream of the system. Time allotments and subjects studied are similar in both streams. Instruction in English language arts begins in grade 4 and consists of a daily period throughout the FFL program.

The specific objectives of the French school are to stimulate and strengthen the learner's sense of cultural and linguistic identity as a francophone; serve as a cultural centre for the French Newfoundland community; reinforce the learner's sense of belonging to the immediate francophone community... provide the learner with the opportunity to develop a good knowledge of the history of the French Canadian people. (Province of Newfoundland, 1991a, pp. 5-6)

To achieve these aims, French is used as the language of instruction and administration in the school. All teachers and personnel are expected to be francophone. Most importantly, "the school encourages parental participation in school matters... and creates and maintains close ties with the francophone community of the immediate vicinity as well as with other francophone communities" (Province of Newfoundland, 1991 a, p. 4).

One of the major adjustments needed in order to initiate a FFL program in Newfoundland was the development of school-leaving requirements for francophone students. These students are subject to requirements similar to those for anglophones with the exception of the relative importance of English and French as language requirements. The differing language requirements reflect the linguistic and cultural goals of the FFL system as well as the ways in which the program is different from the anglophone programs, including French immersion.

In fact, FFL education is quite distinct from French immersion (FI) although some similarities in curriculum exist. FI is a second-language program designed to teach French to those whose mother tongue is not French by immersing the student in a French language environment in the classroom. Teachers are fluent in French but may or may not be francophone. Curriculum materials used are often those prepared for use in FFL programs, although, with tremendous expansion of FI education in Canada, new curriculum resources are being developed which are prepared specifically for the FI student. Learning materials prepared specifically for FI pupils tend to be somewhat simpler in vocabulary and grammatical structures than those used by native francophones.

A considerable difference between the two programs is the amount of instructional time in French. In the FI program, instructional time in French decreases in favour of English as the student advances through the program. The aim is to make students fluent in French without negatively affecting their English language skills. In contrast, in the FFL program, the percentage of instructional time in English remains the same throughout the program with the emphasis being on the development of French language skills. These distinctions may seem rather subtle but are of major importance in order to understand the two programs and the second language acquisition theories on which they are based.

In essence, FFL education is, in most provinces including Newfoundland and Labrador, a minority-language program, whereas F1 was conceived as a program for the "majority" child. Basically, the majority child lives in an environment in which the language spoken at home is reinforced by the surrounding community whereas the minority child lives in an environment in which his or her first language is not strongly supported outside of the home of the school. It is for this reason that FFL education, as is the case in Newfoundland and Labrador, is often called **French minority-language education** which "refers to the opportunity for those people who do not speak the language of the majority to receive schooling in their mother tongue" (Province of Newfoundland, 1986, p. 49). The distinction between majority and minority describes the sociolinguistic milieu within which schooling is provided and is the determining factor in designing the two programs (See Lambert, 1967; Cummins, 1978).

The role of the home language is important in determining appropriate educational experiences for learning more than one language. Research has shown that a majority child can be placed in a home/school language switch situation without risk to linguistic development of the home language or academic success (Swain, 1974; wain and Lapkin, 1982). This view underlies the FI program. However, research has also shown that a minority language child needs to receive schooling in the home language if optimum linguistic competence in both languages and academic success is o be achieved (Cummins, 1981; Landry, 1982, 1984; Swain and Lapkin, 1991). This view supports the development of FFL education in Canada.

French First-Language Education in Canada

In 1969, the adoption of the Official Languages Act accorded equal status, rights and privileges to English and French languages in Canada. In 1970, the Government of Canada instituted a program of financial contributions to the provinces "aimed at giving official-language minorities the opportunity to be educated or have their children educated in their own language" (Commissioner of Official Languages, 1990, p. 10). However, for francophone minorities in many provinces, economic support was not sufficient. Political or constitutional recognition of minority-language education rights was necessary. In 1982, Section 23 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms provided this recognition and guaranteed the linguistic rights of both official language groups as well as the right to minority-language education. In brief, Section 23 guarantees that a parent has the right for his/her child to be educated in French if **either parent** satisfies any of the following criteria:

- his or her first language learned and still understood is French
- he or she received primary school instruction in French in Canada
- he or she has at least one child who has already received instruction at the primary or secondary level in French in Canada (Province of Newfoundland, 1991a, p. 17).

The Charter further states that the right to minority-language education "applies wherever in the province the number of children of citizens who have such a right is sufficient to warrant the provision to them out of public funds of minority language instruction". In 1988-89, excluding Québec's enrolment figures, total of 154, 284 students were enroled in minority-language education programs in Canada (See Dallaire, 1990).

French First-Language Education in Newfoundland and Labrador

According to the 1991 census, the ,400 francophones in Newfoundland and Labrador represent approximately .04% of the population of the province and are concentrated primarily on the Port-au-Port Peninsula, in Labrador City and in St. John's (Canada, 1991). It is interesting to note that the three francophone communities in the province have different characteristics due primarily to their origins and development, and consequently, somewhat different educational needs.

The largest group of francophones resides on the Port-au-Port peninsula where 11 percent of the peninsula's population of 5,245 claim French ancestry, having descended from French fishermen from France, Saint Pierre et Miquelon, Acadia and the Magdelan Islands. This group is the most indigenous, homogenous and stable population, but also the most assimilated. The population in St. John's is the most recent, the least homogenous, and the most transitory. Francophones in St. John's come from the various provinces of Canada, as well as Saint Pierre, France, Belgium, and other parts of the world. They are generally professionals who have come to work either in the schools, the university, or in government. The francophones of Labrador City came to Newfoundland in the sixties to work in the iron ore mines which were developing at that time. They are a relatively homogenous and stable group, with origins primarily in Quebec, although currently threatened by declining numbers and poor economic prospects.

The earliest French first-language classes were established in Labrador City in 1960 in order to accommodate children of francophone miners from Qu6bec and New

Brunswick. The Labrador Roman Catholic School Board, in two of its schools, Notre Dame Academy and Labrador City Collegiate, has provided French education to these students using a curriculum from Québec. For their final year of high school, these students attend a school in Fermont, Québec, where they may pursue their studies at a College d'enseignement general et professional (Cégep). Many of these students pursue post-secondary education programs in Québec.

In 1975, a FI Kindergarten was established at Our Lady of the Cape Primary School at Cape St.-Georges n the Port-au-Port Peninsula marking he beginning of FI education in the province. However, attempts at maintaining the French language and culture of the region were hindered by the dominance of anglophone culture and institutions. For many years, not only was education available solely in English, but use of the French language in schools was often discouraged and, at times, forbidden. Initially, it was thought that the FI program could respond to the linguistic and cultural needs of the francophone community. However, it soon became evident that, as a program designed for anglophones learning a second language, immersion did not respond to the desires of the francophone community to restore its French language and heritage. In the Report of the Policy Advisory Committee on French Programs, the members recommended

> that the government of Newfoundland and Labrador recognize that the French language school is the type of school which best meets the objectives of preserving and strengthening the language and culture of francophone students. (Province of Newfoundland 1986, p. 52)

The Committee further stressed that

> from the perspective of language development, the needs of minority language pupils differ from those of pupils who have a totally English language background. If education is not provided in their mother tongue there is a very real danger of complete assimilation of these pupils over a period of time. (Province of Newfoundland, 1986, p. 52)

In 1983, in Grand'Terre (Mainland), another community on the peninsula, discussions began between a group of parents and the Port-au-Port Roman Catholic School Board. Parents were requesting that a FFL program be established in the community's primary school. Discussion and lobbying continued; however, he school board responded that it "could not meet the request until the whole question of French educational programming had been thoroughly examined" (Cormier, Crocker, Netten, Spain, 1985, p. 6). Finally, in September, 1987, after considerable lobbying on the part of parents from the region, and following recommendations from a study established by the provincial Department of Education, the FI classes were converted to FFL classes. During this same year, it was announced that a FFL school/community centre would be built in Grand'Terre. The facility, largely financed by federal funds, officially opened in 1989 and now serves as a symbol of revival of French culture, language and identity for the people of the region. At the same time, the F1 classes at Cape St.-Georges became FFL classes.

In St. John's, the FFL classes opened in September, 1990, at Ecole St. Patrick, after a period of lobbying and negotiation which began in 1987. At that time, a petition containing the names of 23 students requesting the establishment of FFL classes was sent to the Roman Catholic School Board for St. John's. When the school board

rejected the petition, a committee of parents was formed to lobby for the classes. The committee of parents was formed to lobby for the classes. The committee submitted a formal proposal to the board requesting the start-up of a French section in a FI school. In January, 1988, the board conducted a registration to estimate he demand for French programs. hen only 17 children registered, the board refused to set up French classes. After an appeal by the parents to the Department of Education, the Minister created an advisory committee to study the problem. This committee made certain recommendations but negotiations ended because the parents perceived no commitment on the part of government to francophone education in the province.

In August, 1988, the parents decided to take their case before the courts under Section 23 of The Charter and named the provincial government and the school board as defendants. The parents' committee then joined other parents' committees in the province forming La Fédération des parents francophones de Terre-Neuve et du Labrador (FPFTNL) which received financial assistance from the Department of the Secretary of State to help in its efforts to obtain French education in Newfoundland and Labrador. A date was set for the court case. However, due to a change in government, negotiations were reopened to settle the problem out of court. As part of the new attempt at resolving the problem, a survey was conducted to determine the number of francophones in the region. The conclusion of the survey, which was conducted by a third party, was that there were sufficient numbers to offer registration. Following the survey, the two parties entered into negotiations which led to an out-of-court settlement. After three years of negotiations, FFL classes began in September, 1990 in St. John's (FPFTNL, 1990).

During the 1992-93 school year, a total of 258 students were enroled in FFL classes in Newfoundland and Labrador as indicated in Table 1.

TABLE 1
FRANCOPHONE POPULATION AND FFL STUDENTS IN THE PROVINCE BY GEOGRAPHICAL AREA

	Francophones*	FFL Pupils**
Labrador City	365	55
Port-au-Port Peninsula (including Stephenville)	410	166
St. John's/Mount Pearl	36	37
Total	1135	258

*Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Census
** Source: Department of Education, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador

All of these students attended Roman schools in St. John's, in City or on the Port-au-Port. The French-only school in Grand'Terre on the Port-au-Port Peninsula operates classes from K-8 with a total enrolment of 71 students. Another 68 students were enroled in the K-8 all-French school in Cape St. Georges and 27 were enroled in the 9-12 dual-track school (English and French Streams). In Labrador, where FFL education takes place in classes in 2 schools (one K-6 and one 7-10), enrolment totalled 55. The 37 pupils in FFL classes in St. John's are enroled in Kindergarten to Grade 5. As may be inferred, a multi-grading situation exists for some classes in all three areas.

Challenges and Problems

The establishment of FFL schooling in the province has not been an easy task. In addition to the preparation of school-leaving requirements, it has been necessary to find appropriate learning resources to support the curriculum, to adopt and modify curriculum documents, to develop guides for the teaching of language arts, in particular, and to undertake considerable in-service preparation of teachers. This work could not be adequately performed without the addition of an FFL consultant at the Department of Education and assistance from other provinces where FFL education was already in progress.

The differences among the three communities also create challenges. While the general aims of FFL education are accepted by all, the route to educational success may not be the same in all three communities due to the educational and social background of the parents, the strength of the linguistic heritage of each group and the length of time FFL education has been available to each community (See Netten, 1992). Proficiency in French on entry to the program varies widely. It will take time to introduce a new provincially developed curriculum into the long tradition of a strong Québec-based program in Labrador, to develop an indigenous FFL trained teaching population in the Port-au-Port Peninsula and to build a strong program in the St. John's area that will correspond to the needs of the entire francophone community.

There is also the difficult question of governance. In order for the FFL program to respond to the needs of the francophone community, control and management of the program must in some way and to some degree be granted to those who legally hold ownership (Martel, 1991; Foucher, 1991). In the precedent-setting Mahé case (1990), the courts established a "sliding scale" whereby the degree of management and control would depend on the number of children involved. In the context of this case, the Supreme Court of Canada also ruled in relation to section 23 that

> official-language minorities in all provinces have a constitutional right to participate effectively in the management of the schools their children attend. In the opinion of the court, management and control ensure the vitality of the language and culture of the linguistic minority. (Commissioner of Official Languages, 1990, p. 19)

The provincial government has established a committee to study the question of control and management of French schools. While no decisions have yet been made, it does appear that

> the francophone population in the area concerned should have a significant amount of control over francophone education; that is to say, francophones should decide on matters referring to curriculum, staffing, and other pedagogical aspects of their schooling. (Province of Newfoundland, 1986, p. 51)

However, the establishment of a separate school board for francophones is not consistent with the approach to the administration of schools taken by the recent Royal Commission on Education. (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1992: 239-40).

Finally, the most problematic aspect of FFL education in the province relates to the size of the francophone population. The low number of francophones participating in FFL education raises questions about the viability of the program itself, about the feasibility of governance and about the linguistic, cognitive and social development of the students involved (See Murphy and Netten, 1993). Yet, without this form of education, a valuable cultural community risks assimilation.

Conclusions

FFL education in Newfoundland and Labrador is a program designed for children whose first language is French but who are immersed in a majority anglophone society. It is a program which aims to reinforce and strengthen the cultural and linguistic identity of francophone communities in the province and improve academic achievement.

The pattern of development of this type of education, along with its aims and objectives, raises complex and provocative questions and many issues have yet to be resolved. It is not clear whether the program's aims and objectives can be realized effectively in an essentially anglophone society such as Newfoundland's. The role of parents in control and management of the program will continue to be a subject of debate which may find resolution only in the courtroom. The program's impact on the French communities and cultures of this province has yet to be measured and it is not known whether or not this impact is as intended.

Other issues will arise as FFL education grows and expands and hose responsible for the programs ill need to determine answers to broader questions. For example, what is the impact of FFL education on other programs such as FI? To what extent can the education system provide for the needs of minority groups? Can the province afford to make FFL education work? Can it afford not to?

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LEARNING STRATEGIES IN THE CLASSROOM

Tim Seifert
Faculty of Education
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Current cognitive theories of learning point to the important role students' thought processes play in learning. Students need to be mentally active processors of information if learning is to occur. In these formulations, several criteria must be met if learning is to occur. First, students must attend to information to be learned. Second, students must create an understanding of the material by creating or identifying relationships amongst the to-be-learned ideas. Third, students need to relate new ideas to prior knowledge. Fourth, students need to understand that learning requires mental effort - good learners are strategic and poor learners are not, and that strategy use is the means by which learning occurs.

When students attend to information, try to see how new ideas relate to each other, or try to relate new information to prior knowledge they are engaged in strategy use. A strategy is a mental event carried out by the learner to achieve some desired goal (such as remembering some fact). For example, if the teacher announces there will be a test next Thursday, the student may repeat that fact over and over (rehearsal) until the student is confident he/she remembers it.

While much research has been conducted on problem-solving and learning strategies, many of those strategies are domain-specific and not generalizable across the curriculum. For example, considerable research as been devoted to remedial reading strategies (such as backtracking, vocabulary recognition, inferencing) and mathematics problem-solving. However, the discussion in this paper will be focused upon a set of generalizable strategies that meet two criteria: they are well researched and have been demonstrated to enhance memory and they are generalizable across content domains and can be used in almost all areas of study. In most cases, these strategies have been demonstrated to enhance performance of students requiring remedial assistance (such as low ability or LID students) and have been used with students across a wide age range, from as young as eight years (grade three) to university undergraduates.

The remainder of this paper will be divided into two sections. The first section will describe each strategy (including imagery, elaborative interrogation, acronyms, keyword method, summarizing and concept mapping) by explaining what the strategy is for, why it is thought to enhance memory, the steps in executing the strategy, and an example of the strategy. The second section of the paper will describe how strategies can be incorporated into regular classroom activities.

Strategies for Enhancing Memory and Comprehension

Representational Imagery. One of the most common and useful methods of remembering information is to use mental imagery. It can be used for remembering facts (e.g., During winter, the snowshoe hare turns white in winter) and with extended prose (such as a description of a mechanical device, a geographical location, or a scene in a novel). Developmentally, while older students seem to benefit from imagery, it has been shown that students as young as eight (grade three) can benefit from generating

their own imagery. However, providing the illustration for younger children (K-2) will aid memory, as will the use of motor activity (play). Currently, I am investigating the possibility of teaching young primary students to generate their own images to enhance memory for sentences.

Imagery is thought to enhance memory for two reasons. The first explanation cites Paivio's dual coding theory. In dual coding theory, memory consists of two separate memory systems. One system is a verbal system used for representing and thinking with language. The second system is a non-verbal system for representing and thinking with non-verbal information like images. When information is received (such as reading or hearing words) either or both systems may be activated. A word or sentence becomes stored in either a verbal or non-verbal representation, or both. If the information is encoded in both verbal and non-verbal from, the likelihood of memory for that information increases. By generating images of verbal information, including illustrations with text (pictures or mental images), or by elaborating upon illustrations with explanations, the likelihood is increased that both systems are activated, that information is encoded in verbal and non-verbal form, and that memory is enhanced.

In addition to dual coding theory, a second explanation for the effectiveness of imagery cites Wittrock's generative theory. In making a mental image of some information, the student must identify important ideas and relate those ideas. That is, the image contains both the concepts to be learned and the relationships between those concepts.

There are two steps in using mental imagery:

1) Read the information to be remembered.
2) Make a picture of that information in your head.

A good image is one which contains all the important concepts and shows the relationships between those concepts. For example, suppose that in reading about animals the student needed to remember that **The great blue heron builds its nest in the tops of trees.** To use imagery, the student needs to read this fact then make a mental image of it. A good image might contain a tree, a nest in the top of the tree, and a heron sitting in the nest.

A second example comes from the Grade 5 social studies text. In discussing the life of the Inuit, it states that "During the winter, the hunters would go out onto the ice to hunt walrus, polar bears, and sea birds." In using imagery to remember this fact, the student might generate an image of an Inuit hunter on ice with a polar bear, walrus, and sea bird. A good image would contain the Inuit hunter interacting with a polar bear, walrus, and sea bird.

Elaborative interrogation. Elaborative interrogation is a simple strategy to enhance memory for facts. The strategy involves reading a fact to-be-remembered, asking **Why would that be true?,** and then trying to generate an answer. Its primary use seems to be enhancing memory for important facts that need to be remembered, such as facts about animals, countries, provinces, and gender differences. For example, the student might read a fact such as **During winter, the snowshoe hare turns white in colour.** To use elaborative interrogation to remember this fact, the student would then ask himself or herself **Why would the snowshoe hare turn white in colour?,** and then try to answer the question.

To date, the explanation for the effectiveness of the strategy has been prior knowledge activation. To use this strategy, students must generate an elaboration which clarifies the relationship between the subject of the sentence **(snowshoe hare)** and the predicate **(turns white in winter).** That clarifying relationship is drawn from memory and is used to strengthen the relationship between the subject and predicate. However, it is not clear what prior knowledge is needed. Some researchers suggest that knowledge about the subject (such as the animal or country the fact is about) is required. Others seem to suggest that content specific knowledge is less important but that abstract knowledge in the form of rules or principles is important. For example, consider the act **The people of Morintha come from many different cultural and ethic backgrounds.** The first group of researchers suggest that knowledge about Morintha is needed for elaborative interrogation to be effective. The second group suggest that more general knowledge is needed, such as knowledge that liberal immigration policies lead to increased immigration or that strong economic prosperity leads to high immigration.

Developmentally, the strategy has been demonstrated to work with students as young as grade 4. However, the strategy seems to increase in power as the students get older. Only one study has been published in which an attempt was made to assess the benefits of elaborative interrogation with students younger than grade four. The results reported in that study suggested that elaborative interrogation did not enhance memory for facts in young children. However, given the lack of research such conclusions seem weak. I would hypothesize that if young children are able to generate an answer to the **why** question they will benefit. The potential pitfall in using this strategy with young children is that they may not possess enough prior knowledge to generate an answer to the **why** question.

Elaborative interrogation is a fairly straightforward strategy and involves three steps:

1) Read the fact to be remembered
2) Turn the fact into a why question
3) Answer the why question

As an example, consider the first fact from the imagery example - **The great blue heron builds its nest in the tops of trees.** Using elaborative interrogation to remember this fact involves three steps. First, read the fact. Second, turn it into a **why** question **(Why would the great blue heron build its nest in the tops of trees?).** Third, answer the **why** question **(for protection from enemies, lots of building materials available).**

In general, research to this point suggests the answer generated to the question is not important, but it is important that the student generate a reasonable answer.

As a second example consider a act from the Grade 5 social studies text which states that "During the winter, the hunters would go out onto the ice to hunt walrus, polar bears, and sea birds." After reading this fact, a student using elaborative interrogation would turn that fact into a why question **(Why would the hunters go out onto the ice to hunt walrus, polar bears, and sea birds?)** Finally, the students would try to answer that question **(because that's where the animals are living and the hunter would need to go out on the ice to find them).**

Acronyms. An acronym is a series of letters that spell a word (or something like a word) with each letter in the acronym representing another word. They are commonplace in everyday life - MUN, USA. For example, to remember the names of the great lakes (Huron, Ontario, Michigan, Erie, Superior), the first letter of each name can be arranged to form the acronym HOMES. By thinking of HOMES, the student is able to remember the names of the great lakes.

A variation on the letter acronym is the acronymic sentence. Instead of arranging the letters to spell a word, the letters are used as the first letters of words in sentences. For example, the lines on the treble clef are used for the notes EGBDF. To remember those notes, the sentence Every Good Boy Deserves Fudge can be created.

Acronyms are useful when a small number of grouped items need to be remembered. For example, if the student needs to remember the names of the 13 states in the New England colony, or the names of famous scientists who made substantial contributions, an acronym is useful.

Acronyms work for two reasons. First, they help reduce a large amount of information into a small amount of information. Second, and more importantly, they help impose an organization on information that enhances retrieval of information. Each letter serves as a cue to remember some other piece of information. For example, what are the names of the great lakes? Think of HOMES - H stands for Huron, 0 stands for Ontario, and so on. The acronym provides a systematic way of enhancing retrieval. Third, and equally important, the acronym helps the student transform and relate new information into something familiar. The unfamiliar names of the lakes are transformed into a familiar word.

To create an acronymic sentence, the student needs to carry out four steps.

1. List the names or words to be remembered.
2. Make a list of the first letter of each name or words.
3. Using those letters, create words which start with those letters and try to arrange them into a sentence.
4. Replace the familiar words with alternative familiar words until the sentence seems to make sense.
5. Practice remembering what the first letter of each word in the sentence stands for.

To illustrate the process, consider the names of the famous explorers
listed in the grade five social studies text. These explorers are the Vikings, Columbus, Cabot, Corte-Real, Fernadez, Gilbert, and Cartier. An acronymic sentence may be constructed to remember the names of these explorers. First, list the names of the explorers - Vikings, Columbus, Cabot, Corte-Real, Fernadez, Gilbert, and Cartier. Second, list the first letter of each name - V, C, C, C, F, G, C. Third, create words which start with those letters and arrange those words into a sentence - Very Cool Cats Can Find Good Cars. Finally, practice remembering what the first letter of each word stands for:

Very	V	Viking
Cool	C	Columbus
Cats	C	Cabot
Can	C	Corte-Real
Find	F	Fernadez
Great	G	Gilbert

Cars   C   Cartier

Keyword Method. The keyword method is a well researched mnemonic that has been clearly demonstrated to enhance memory for definitions of scientific words, foreign language vocabulary, and associating an object with its attributes (such as remembering the accomplishments of a famous person or the characteristics of a particular town). Research has demonstrated substantial learning gains for students using the keyword method. The keyword method involves identifying a new word or name to be learned, transforming that word into a familiar sounding word, and then generating an image of the new word and old word interacting. For example, the Spanish word **carta** means letter. To remember that **carta** means letter, transform the word **carta** to **cart,** and make a picture of a cart with a letter in it. As another example, consider the fact that **Charles McKune was a famous artist.** To remember this fact, transform McKune into the similar sounding **raccoon** and create an image of a raccoon painting on a canvas.

The keyword method might work for several reasons. First, there is an imagery component involved - students are required to generate an image, and that will tend to enhance memory. Second, and more importantly, the learner transforms the material (deep processing) by creating a similar sounding word. This creates a link between the new information and something familiar. Retrieval of the word-definition or object-attribute is enhanced by being associated with a readily remembered, familiar word.

Developmentally, elementary aged children are able to benefit from the use of the keyword method. However, research has shown that when the keyword and interactive image are provided for young children (K-3), memory is enhanced. Research has also demonstrated that a sentence generation variation of the keyword method can be successfully used by students as young as three years of age. In this variation, students are given the new word and the keyword, and asked to generate a sentence which describes the definition of the new word interacting with the keyword. For example, the young child would be told that **carta** means letter, and that a good keyword that sounds like **carta** is **cart.** Students would then be asked to make up a sentence relating cart to letter, such **The mail was delivered** in **a cart.**

To use the keyword method, students need to carry out three steps:

1) identify the to-be-learned pair (word-meaning, term-definition, object-attribute)

2) think of a familiar word that sounds similar to the to-be-learned word/term/object

3) create and image (or sentence) the depicts the familiar keyword with the meaning/definition/attribute

4) practice remembering what the word-meaning/term/definition/object-attribute associations by remembering the image

As an example, consider the following English words and their definitions: antiar (a poison used on an arrow by natives), bolter (a machine for sifting), and jarvey (a carriage driver). The definition for each of these words can be remembered using the keyword method. First, think of a familiar sounding word, then generate an interactive image:

antler sounds like ant   a picture of a dead ant with an arrow stuck in him.

bolter sounds like bolt	a picture of a machine sifting bolts.
jarvey sounds like jar	a picture of a driver on a carriage carrying jars.

In the context of the grade five social studies curriculum, the keyword method could be used to remember the names of William Cormack and Mina Hubbard who were the first Europeans to cross Newfoundland. To remember that Cormack and Hubbard walked across Newfoundland, the student would need to change the name to a similar sounding word then generate an interactive image:

Cormack sounds like doormat	a picture of an explorer waling over a doormat.
Hubbard sounds like cupboard	a picture of a male explorer carrying a cupboard.

Summarizing. Often students are required to read prose and remember information contained in that prose. Aside from remembering bits and pieces of information scattered throughout the text, students need to remember themes and main ideas. Summarization is one strategy that has been demonstrated to enhance memory for main ideas. In summarization, students read a section of prose (typically a paragraph) and then write a sentence that describes what that prose was about. Research has demonstrated that summarization can improve memory for prose by about 33%.

As a strategy, summarization should be effective for two reasons. First, the act of summarizing requires students to attend to important concepts within the text and then generate meaningful relationships between those concepts. Students must distinguish important information from unimportant, and state how important concepts are related to each other. Second, because summarizing requires students to express the main ideas in their own words, there is a transformation or recoding process involved (deep processing) in which students mentally manipulate the information. Without this transformation, the task is reduced to a form of rehearsal in which students merely copy out the main idea. Subsequently, learning is reduced.

The generation of a summary involves three important steps:

1) read the text (such as the paragraph).

2) identify the main idea or main ideas.

3) write a sentence that describes what the main idea is, in the students' own words.

4) combine summary sentences from paragraphs to form a summary for the section or chapter.

A an example, consider the following paragraph:

Horns are useful to animals. Many animals, such as elk and moose, use horns for fighting their enemies. Goats, buffaloes, and cows use their horns to butt or throw their enemies. The horn of the rhinoceros makes him a truly dangerous foe.

To create a summary of this paragraph, the student would need to read the paragraph and identify the main idea. Here, the main idea is that animals have horns which they use for protection. A summary sentence might be something like **Many animals, such elk, moose, goats, cows, and rhinoceros use their horns for protection from enemies.**

In the context of the social studies curriculum, one paragraph in the textbook is:

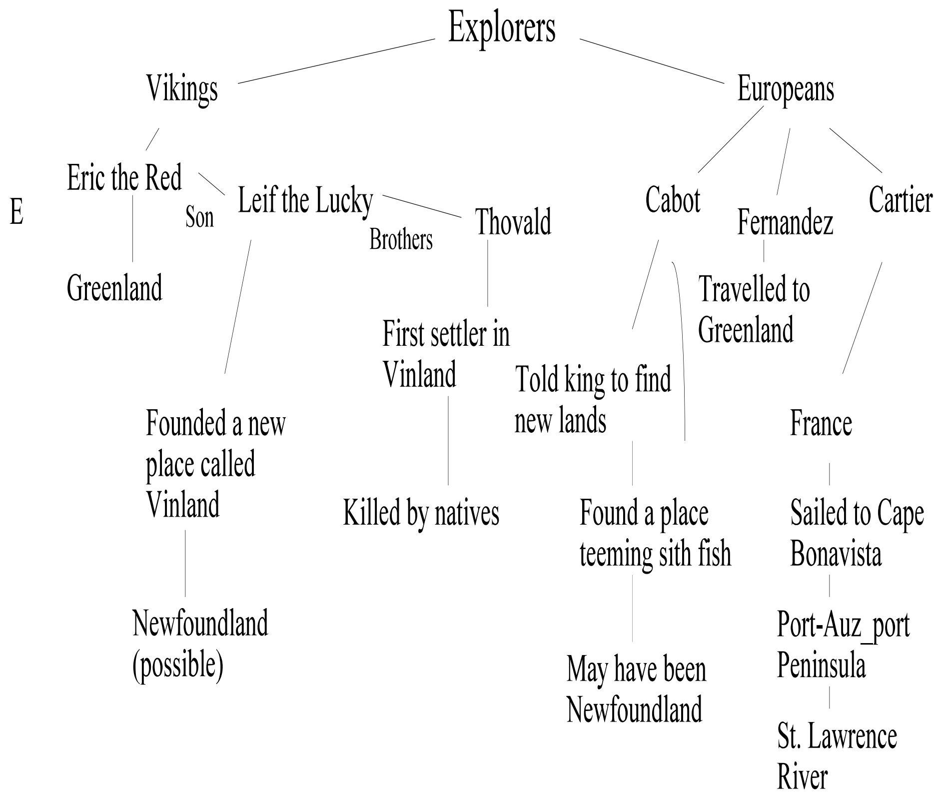
> Each spring, as the ice drifts south along the Labrador coast, it brings with it great herds of seals. The early Inuit of Labrador and the Indians of Newfoundland depended upon the seals to live. After the long winter, the animals provided them with meat, oil and clothing. The Europeans who first came to the area also quickly learned how valuable seals could be.

Students can use summarization o remember the main idea of the paragraph. In this example, the student would need to identify two important ideas - that the ice flows along the coast, bringing seals with it, and that many people hunt them for survival. Having done that, the student would need to create a summary sentence of the paragraph: **In spring, the ice brought seals down the coast where Inuits and Europeans hunted them for survival.**

Concept mapping. Concept mapping (also called webbing, concept webbing, mind-mapping, or semantic networking) is an effective strategy for helping students develop a conceptual understanding of complex prose. In concept mapping, the student is required to identify important concepts and relate those concepts to each other (see Figure 1). The strategy may be used in almost any content domain, including science, social studies, mathematics, and physical education. It can be used whenever students are studying passages with a large number of concepts and they need to see how important ideas relate to each other. Developmentally, the concept map has been successfully used with students in all grade levels (1 - 12).

FIGURE 1

The concept map is an effective strategy for two reasons. First, and most importantly, it requires students to identify important concepts and the relationships



between those concepts. By creating a concept map, students are organizing the ideas in their minds to create a cognitive representation of the to-be-learned ideas. It makes them mentally active. Second, it creates a visually representation of the ideas. The relationships are represented in a visual display (the map), which may be used to enhance retrieval of ideas in the map. And dual-coding theory suggests that verbal and visual representations will enhance memory of information to be learned.

To create a concept map, students need to do three things:

1) Read the passage

2) Identify important concepts contained in the passage and make a list of them. A list of important ideas may also be helpful.

3) Arrange the concepts on a page according to how related they are to each other

4) Draw lines between concepts to represent a relationship between the concepts

5) Label the lines with the relationship (some people do this, some do not - it seems optional)

As an example of concept mapping consider the following example:

Horns are useful to animals. Many animals, such as elk and moose, use horns for fighting their enemies. Goats, buffaloes, and cows use their horns to butt or throw their enemies. The horn of the rhinoceros makes him a truly dangerous foe.

Teeth are used for protection by many animals. Dogs and wolves have long, sharp teeth with which to defend themselves from enemies. Rats, woodchucks, mink and weasels also have sharp teeth. These animals use teeth in attacking enemies. The teeth of some animals have developed into large tusks. Elephants and boars have tusks which are feared by their enemies.

To use the concept mapping strategy for learning ideas in these paragraphs, the student must read the paragraph and identify important ideas. This would take the form of identifying concepts:

- horns - goats - teeth - woodchucks - elephants butting, throwing - buffaloes
- dogs - mink - boars fighting - cows - wolves - weasels - tusks elk - rhinoceros
- defend themselves - sharp teeth - feared - moose - dangerous - rats
- attacking other animals - protection

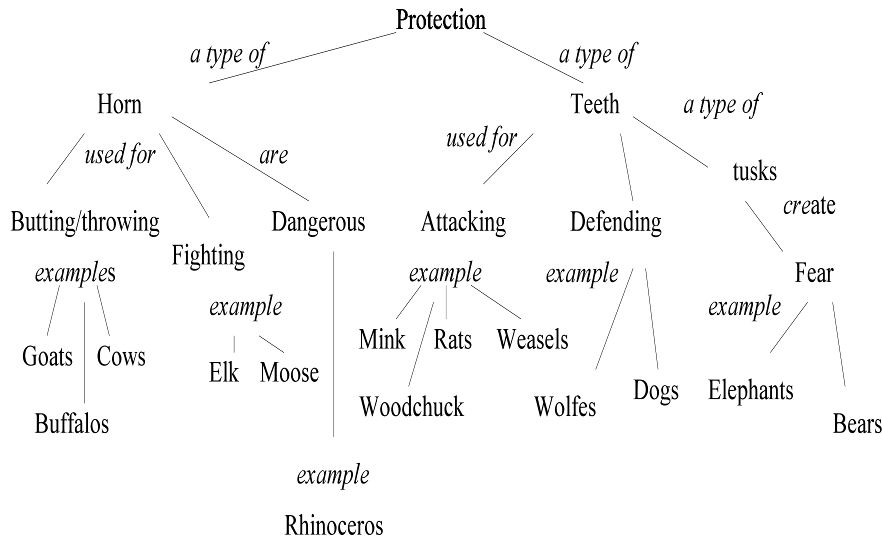
Having listed the important concepts, the next two steps are to arrange the concepts such that concepts that are related are closer together, and to draw a line between concepts that are related (See Figure 2).

Using Strategies within the Classroom Context

The six strategies outlined in the previous section can be utilized in the classroom in two ways: altering teacher behaviour, and altering student behaviour. By altering teacher behaviour, I mean that teachers can provide prompts, hints, directive questions, and assignments that are intended to make students think in a strategic way, if they perform the required task. By altering student behaviour I mean to teach students how to use strategies, when to use them, and what they are for. I mean to alter students' study habits and the way they learn material.

Teacher behaviour. The first method of incorporating the learning strategies into the classroom instruction is to alter the teacher's behaviour by having the teacher design their lessons according to generative principles. By this I mean that teachers behave in a purposeful manner with the intent of directinq or guiding students' cognition. While many teachers may do this already, careful thought to how teachers' actions influence students' thinking can lead to more productive use of classtime. There are three ways teachers can influence students' thoughts. First, the teacher provides the

FIGURE 2



content in a form that promotes strategic processing. That is, the teacher provides illustrations to promote imagery, suggests a mnemonic for remembering some piece of information, or the teacher provides a concept map to clarify chapter content. For example, in teaching the students about the early explorers of Newfoundland, the teacher might say to the students something like the following:

T: "Okay, so the explorers we are going to learn about are the Vikings, Columbus, Cabot, Cortes-Real, Fernandez, Gilbert, and Cartier. One way to remember these names is to think of the sentence Very Cool Cats Can Find Great Cars. The V in Very stands for Vikings, the C in Cool stands for Columbus, the C in Cats stands for Cabot, the C in Can stands for Cortes-Real, the F in Find stands for Fernandez, the G in Great stands for Gilbert, and the C in Cars stand for Cartier."

A second way of guiding students' thinking is to plan assignments that require students to engage in strategic thinking. That is, the tasks in which students engage are designed to make them use imagery, think of mnemonics, create a summary or concept map. For example, on the lesson about the explorers, the teacher might ask the students to find the names of the explorers and then create a mnemonic:

T: Now we are going to start our study of some of the first explorers to Newfoundland. What I would like you to do first is make a list of the explorers. (Students then make a list containing Vikings, Columbus, Cabot, Cortes-Real, Fernandez, Gilbert, and Cartier.)

T: Great. Now, the first letter of Viking is V. I want you to think of a word that starts with V. What might be a word that starts with V? Very, vase, vaseline, velvet .... Okay, now do the same for the other words.

T: Have you all finished your list of words? Now try to arrange your words into a sentence. Try to make a sentence from your words. If you are having trouble, change the word, but keep the first letter the same.

In this brief example, the teacher has designed the task such that students are carrying out the steps of the strategy. By doing this, the teacher is guiding the students' thinking. Although the tasks in the example guided students to create an acronymic sentence, creating a concept map would have been possible as well.

While lectures and tasks are two obvious ways of guiding student thinking, a more subtle way is through the use of teacher comments. During the course of classroom activity, the teacher can prompt students to engage in strategic activity. Statements like **When you are reading, don't forget to make a picture in your head. That will help you remember. or Did you find something important to remember? Don't forget to turn it into a why question, or make a picture of it in your head! or Try to make your own acronym to remember the names of the explorers!** will prompt students to engage in strategic behaviour. To illustrate the power of teacher comments consider that much of the research on strategy use involved nothing more than prompting students o engage in the strategy **(e.g. Make a picture of that in your head.),** and yet gains in achievement were obtained.

Student behaviour. Altering student behaviour refers to teaching students how to use strategies for improving their learning. Several methods of instruction have been devised to help students become more strategic. These include direct instruction, self-instruction, and reciprocal instruction. Very briefly, direct instruction involves directly and explicitly teaching the strategies. The instruction begins with the teacher explaining the strategy to the student, followed by a demonstration of how the strategy works (teacher modelling). This instruction is followed by guided practice with feedback in which the student practices the steps of the strategy under the guidance of the teacher which is faded to the point where the student is able to independently utilize the strategy.

Self-instruction follows a sequence similar to that of direct instruction: explanation, guided practice, and independent practice. However, unlike direct instruction, self-instruction utilizes a think aloud process in which the adult verbalizes his/her thoughts as he/she tries to learn some material or solve a problem. This is followed by student verbalization of the steps with adult guidance, followed by overt independent practice which is faded to a whisper and then to covert practice. In recent research, Peggy Wheeler (MacDonald Drive Elementary School in St. John's) and I reported that the use of self-instruction in math had a positive gain on students' motivation or solving math problems. We are continuing this research and are examining the potential of self-instruction for teaching a variety of strategies across the curriculum for enhancing motivation.

Reciprocal teaching refers to a form of small group instruction in which the teacher and the students take turns explaining and modelling the strategies while trying to learn some content. In Brown and Palincsar's formulation of reciprocal teaching, the lesson consists of four activities: summarizing, question generating, clarifying, and predicting. The purpose of reciprocal teaching is to engage students in a dialogue, through which the teacher (and expert peers) explain and model the strategies. While reciprocal teaching was originally designed to improve reading comprehension, its use with other strategies should yield positive results.

Ultimately, maximum learning gains are realized when students spontaneously engage in appropriate strategy use. This is achieved when students know the steps of strategy (how to use it), what the strategy is for, when to use it, and why it is important to use strategies. Research has suggested that differences in good and poor learners are explainable in these terms. Good learners have a repertoire of strategies at their disposal, know how to choose a strategy according to task demands, monitor the use of the strategy, and believe that using strategies helps them learn. In contrast, poor learners often do not possess a repertoire of strategies (they often rely solely on rehearsal, for example), do not know when to use different strategies, are often unaware of their lack of understanding, and believe that ability (or inability) is the factor responsible for learning. Given these important findings, the implications suggest that teachers not only need to teach students various strategies for enhancing learning but also need to explain to students why these strategies are important, and when you use them.

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The Validity of Conceptualizing Teaching as a Craft

Barrie R.C. Barrell
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The appearance of Schön's work in 1983 marked a turning point for investigations into classroom practice. Increasingly after that year, educational researchers started to move away from the process-product model of instruction and began to focus their attention more on the qualitative aspects of classroom dynamics. Thus, quantitative analysis gave up ground to qualitative inquiry (Polkinghorne 1988; Mishler 1986; Eisner 1985), behavioristic studies gave ground to reflective practice (Oberg and Artz 1992; Erickson and Riecken 1990; Grimmett and MacKinnon 1990), and empirical studies were superseded by story and anecdote (Langeveld 1989), narrative inquiry (Clandinin and Connelly 1991; Greene 1987), and contemplative practice (Drake and Miller 1991; Miller, in press). Investigators of classroom teaching began lo look beyond the surface significance of what had been observed in overt classroom actions and behaviours, and tried to focus more on the effects of what teachers were doing both to themselves and their students. One's relationship to the inner structures of the work, to classroom life, has become the subject of inquiry. Thus, inquiry has moved away from the rational-technocratic paradigm where teaching was conceptualised as an applied science. Instead, researchers have Conceptualising teaching more as a 'work in progress' where the improvisational, intersubjective, and situational dimensions of teaching children in classrooms are to be articulated and illuminated through intuitive knowledge and a more reflective pedagogy.

The past decade has seen educational researchers, guided by such qualitative works as Polanyi's (1969) inquiries into tacit knowledge, Schön's (1987) knowing-in-action epistemology, and the traditions of hermeneutic and phenomenological writings (van Manen (1990), focus their attention on the 'performance-in-action' qualities of classroom teaching. By putting aside quantitative analysis and technical conceptions of teaching, researchers are now moving toward conceptions that see practice more as a calling (Götz 1988), a form of coaching (Sizer 1984) or acting (Rosenshine and Furst 1979), a craft (Tom 1984; Cohen 1977) or possibly a form of artistic expression (Barrell 1991; Eisner 1979). Alan Tom (1984) has gone as far as to try to synthesise the moral component of teaching with his view of craft. Hence, in Teaching as a Moral Craft, Tom's thesis is to have teachers viewed as 'moral craftsman'.

What is at steal with any of these conceptions is the directional thrust they can give to current and future thought on teacher education. When in the late 1960's, teaching was conceptualised as having a scientific base, behaviourism, in one form or another, came to dominate research into teaching. Thousands of studies broke teaching up into its constituent parts, examined and probed each component, drew conclusions and made recommendations based on the gathered data. The notion that teaching was an applied science flourished. It came to dominate curriculum studies and gave direction and impetus as to how and what administrators would evaluate in a teacher's work. Little tolerance or attention was shown for the ambiguities and indeterminateness of being; rather, overt behaviours were measured and valued. However, in 1989, Gage (1989), echoing what many had concluded about three decades of scientifically based research, said that the research had
"at best [been] inconclusive, [and] at worst barren ... inadequate to tell us anything secure and important about how teachers should proceed in the classroom" (p. 135). By conceptualising teaching as an applied science, a number of researchers fell into the trap

of framing pedagogic concerns as if all aspects of teaching had a scientific base or as if all educational concerns could be solved by the application of scientific principles or methodologies.

Theorists are now looking for new conceptions of teaching that will attempt to explain the nuances and the subtleties that sustain practice and its inherent lore. It is important that we do not get trapped into making the same mistakes as in the past by claiming that teaching is a calling or is a craft or is an art, a profession, a reflective practice. Such statements soon break down or end with the development of lists of characteristics that are then used to make a claim for status in one form or another. The craft metaphor, as a model for building new teacher education programmes is being studied by policy makers (Fullan, Connelly, Heller, Watson and Scane 1987; Pratte and Rury 1991). For instance, Fullan (1987) has gone as far as to suggest a seven-year apprenticeship programme with coordinated steps leading to "master" teacher status. The time frame of the apprenticeship and the language used in the proposed programme harkens back to medieval European guides and their craft requirements. The underlying educational philosophy of such craft notions imply conceptions of training and skill acquisition. They include ideas of production and a belief that teaching skills can be predetermined. Teachers are seen as executors or deliverers of codified effective teaching principles. What emerges from all this is a conception of teaching that mediates and controls the distribution of that knowledge. Notions of craft further a system that sets the parameters for performance and controls the criteria for judging competence. The techniques for getting a class up and running are quite different from those abilities that have as their aim such abstract developments as intellectual curiosity, exactness, the creation of unobtrusive elegance, intellectual honesty, a sensibility for nuance or vision. However, isn't there much about teaching that is a craft? There are, after all, a variety of general day-to-day skills that novices need to acquire if they are going to be successful classroom practitioners.

Key to any qualitative research, it seems, are the metaphors used to come to an understanding of the inner dynamics of the praxis. If teaching is no longer conceptualised as an applied science and is on its way to becoming visualised as a craft or possibly an art, then it is most important that we stop and investigate the metaphors that are used to help frame qualitative epistemological concerns. Thus the intention of this paper is to investigate the craft metaphor of teaching and the ideas of those who base their understanding and their own concerns and methodology upon it.

This is by no means the first attempt to put this metaphor to rest. There are those like Broudy (1956) and Schaefer (1968) who argue that in order to gain professional status, teaching must dissociate itself from the concepts and theories of craft. However, their arguments avoid a direct examination of the craft metaphor. What first needs to be examined is the appropriateness of the craft metaphor. If it is to be successfully challenged, one needs to try to pinpoint precisely where the metaphor breaks down. All metaphors have us searching for analogies so that we may better understand the significant parallels and similarities within a particular discourse. If the craft metaphor breaks down quickly, or is found to be illogical, then it needs to be discarded and a more suitable one found. Of course, if teaching is found to be a craft, then we will need to ask precisely what kind of craft it is.

To examine the craft metaphor, Collingwood's (1958) classic definition of craft will be examined, a definition of which Vernon Howard (1982) has said that "though by no means the first word, [it] has more or less stood as the last since 1938-which is to say that there have been many convincing objections to Collingwood's theory of art though

none to his theory of craft" (p. 9). This will solidify a conceptual base from which to work. Further, Collingwood's definition is traditional enough to confront those who envision a European style craft apprenticeship system as a way of 'training' future teachers; it is also clear enough to balance arguments that see teaching as a calculable binary system with a foundation resting upon a positivistic epistemology whose aims are the development of observable teaching skills-skills that are assumed to be related to learning. Next, a brief explanation of Collingwood's definition of art will be discussed and applied to craft. That done, the definitions of craft and art will be applied to teaching so that we may pinpoint where the craft metaphor does and does not fit. But before beginning this examination, a brief discussion of how Collingwood and Howard use the term is in order.

Collingwood and Howard have written extensively about the locus of craft in art. Both authorities have reached diametrically opposed positions on whether to include craft within the purview of art. While Collingwood has insisted on a crisp and clean separation of craft from art, Howard's (1991; 1982) work has focused on reinstating "the inestimable importance of craft in art" (1982, p. 189). For Howard there exists a middle ground in which art and craft can blend together. His conception of craft is understood to mean the skills one needs to produce artistic works or to enhance creative endeavours. Howard does not see these skills as prescriptive. Rather, it is the "better way" of doing something; it is the discovery of the "right response" for the artist's, artisan's or athlete's deft endeavours.

Collingwood uses the word as it would apply in the British sense, to include the learning of a skilled occupation or trade. Thus 'craftsmen' are understood to be 'tradesmen' or skilled 'workmen.' Further, Collingwood's definition is traditional enough to confront those who envision a European style craft apprenticeship system as a way of 'training' future teachers. It is important to understand that craft, in a Collingwoodian sense, is referring to the acquisition of particular skills and techniques that enable each craftsperson to perform his or her job with precision and up to standard.

Howard, on the other hand, is not looking for the meaning of craft based on deep cultural understandings of the word or in its "fixed sufficient conditions," but is in search of a philosophy of craft inherent in a "set of flexible symptoms" (1982, p. 11). He includes in his definition of craft the products of those involved in "trained capacities," like singers and actors, those who cause "mental or physical' effects, like teachers, doctors and nurses, and those people making or manufacturing handicrafts (1982, p. 5).

By applying both Collingwood's and Howard's differing conceptions of Graft to the practice and very necessary daily routines of teaching, a clearer and more precise understanding of one part of the teacher's practice will be brought to light.

Outline of Collingwood's Definition of Craft

Collingwood (1958), in The Principles of Art, assures us that "we all know... that art is not craft: and all I wish to do is to remind the reader of the familiar differences which separate the two" (p. 9). For the purposes of clarity, a brief outline of Collingwood's definition of craft is in order. Six basic characteristics of craft are enumerated.

First, a distinction is drawn between means and ends. Crafts always separate the means from the ends. Finished products or ends stand alone. The means-fuel, machines, or tools-are not part of the finished product for crafts; once a cabinet is built, installed, and polished, the craftsperson packs up his or her plane, level, and square edge and proceeds to the next task.

Second, Collingwood draws a distinction between the planning and execution of crafts. Craftspersons have a preconceived notion of what they are making throughout the construction process. In fact, they plan for an exact and specific result to occur. Therefore, precise foreknowledge is essential in the planning and execution of crafts.

Third, there is a reversal of the relationship of means and ends. The ends are thought out first, and then the means are planned and executed. The wheelwright measures the size of a matching wheel he or she is about to make, and then plans its construction.

Fourth, Collingwood asserts that "a craft is always exercised upon something, and aims at the transformation of this into something different" (p. 16). Materials, such as the mason's bricks or the cobbler's leather, are found ready made by craftspeople, and transformed into finished products.

Fifth, Collingwood distinguishes between form and matter. The matter remains the same both in its raw state and in the derivative state; it is only the form that the craftsperson has changed. The mason, by erecting the bricks into a chimney, does not transform the material of the craft, but instead creates a new form out of the material.

Finally, crafts have a hierarchical relationship. Each craft supplies another with what it needs; "the raw material of one craft is the finished product of another" (p. 16). This hierarchical relationship covers three areas: the raw materials, the means, and the parts. Collingwood explains this hierarchical relationship as follows:

> Thus the silviculturist propagates trees and looks after them as they grow, in order to provide raw materials for the felling-men who transform them into logs; these are raw materials for the sawmill that transforms them into plank; and these, after a further process of selection and seasoning, become raw materials for the joiner (p. 16-17).

Thus included in Collingwood's understanding of crafts are the people who perform minor as well as more difficult or complex tasks. Collingwood concludes his discussion of crafts by saying that "where most of [these six characteristics] are absent from a certain activity that activity is not a craft, and, if it is called by that name, is so called either by mistake or in a vague and inaccurate way" (p. 17).

There are other criteria that could be included in the definition, including the notion that crafts usually act upon objects in a very technical way rather than by playing

upon the emotions and feelings of people or "that crafts work within the sphere of the familiar whereas art strives for creativity" (Martland 1974, p. 233-234) or, according to the California potter, Margaret Waidenhaim, that craftspeople as experiment "inside experiment whatever it is that limits the possibilities of use and function" (Quoted by Fethe, 1977). However, Collingwood's enumeration is true to the essence of craft and would be accepted by most craftspeople as reasonable and fair.

Before applying this definition to teaching, it should be agreed that, to be true not only to the definition but to Collingwood, teaching does not have to fit precisely all six criteria, but only a majority of these to be deemed a craft. (Four is the majority that we might look for while three or less would cause serious doubt about an acceptable craft relationship). Because there are always some similarities when one uses metaphors to help explain a particular view, it is important that one focus on how productive the craft metaphor is for an examination and exploration of teaching. Moreover, it is crucial to extract the conceptual dimensions of the metaphor for review and analysis, if indeed, it fits. If we do find that teaching is a craft, we must then examine just how complex a craft it is. Further, we would have to investigate the parameters and responsibilities of this complex craft.

Collingwood's Distinction Between Art and Craft

Collingwood insists on a crisp separation of art and craft. To him, art is ideas interpreted by the intellect through imaginary experiences. Thus, art transmits to the intelligent viewer, listener, or reader what the creator of the work imagined. For example, Collingwood explains what happens after a composer has thought up an imaginary tune:

> Next, he [the composer] may arrange for the tune to be played before an audience. Now there comes into existence a real tune, a collection of noises. But which of these two things is the work of art? Which of them is the music? The answer is implied in what we have said: the music, the work of art, is not the collection of noises, it is the tune in the composer's head. The noises made by the performers, and heard by the audience are not the music at all; they are only means by which the audience can reconstruct for themselves the imaginary tune that existed in the composer's head (p. 139).

This is not to deny that one does get sensual pleasure out of hearing music, looking at paintings, or reading poetry, but for Collingwood, one must go beyond the sensual into the world of imagination. To Collingwood then, art is a conscious act to express ideas and it is incumbent upon the audience to make an effort to understand the artist's imagination. "Works of art are only means to an end; the end is this total imaginative experience which they enable us to enjoy" (p. 148). Viewers combine their imaginative powers with those the artist purposely placed within a poem or painting to cause activity.

To dissociate art from craft, Collingwood applies his definition of craft to art. The first characteristic of craft is its distinction between means and ends. With any craft there is the sequence of events that is carried out to achieve particular ends. The carpenter chooses a piece of wood to make a molding, sharpens his saw, makes a cut, sands the edges, and nails the molding in place. The poet, on the other hand, who composes a short poem in his head has, according to Collingwood, no tools in the craft sense. And even if the poet were to "get paper and pen, fill the pen, sit down and square his elbows," these actions would be considered preparations for writing and not composing (p. 20).

Hence, Collingwood insists on a separation of the instruments and tools required for creating and the creation itself.

The second characteristic of craft is the distinction between the planning and the execution of the plan. The painter who sets out to paint a city scape may begin only to clear the canvas of paint and to start again on a new tack. Eventually, after making changes in the application of the paint, its tone and its colour, the painting is completed. Collingwood would argue that the artist has a general plan to paint a city scape, but just how it will turn out evolves as the artist works and creates on the canvas. Collingwood would further argue that if the artist, while painting the city scape, decided instead to paint the nearby park, because of the time of year and the play of light on the ice and snow, he would be no less an artist for doing so. The fact remains that, though he is not executing a specific plan, this does not negate his artistry. Works of art are no less works of art because they are not specifically elucidated and planned in advance.

When applying the craft's requirement for planning and execution to art, Collingwood says, if "neither means and ends nor planning and execution, can be distinguished in art proper, there obviously can be no reversal of the order as between means and ends, planning and execution respectively" (p. 22).

Art and craft differ on the next point, that of the distinction between raw materials and finished products. Collingwood states that for the poet the raw materials are perhaps words, but then asks, "what words?" "A Smith makes a horseshoe not out of all the iron there is, but out of a certain piece of iron, cut off a certain bar that he keeps in the corner of the smithy" (p. 23). For the poet, these words or sounds could not be said to reside in the poet's mind as a whole; rather, they needed to be reshuffled and placed in a specific order. It is the emotions and feelings that are the raw materials with which the artist can play, manipulate, and create. As Collingwood says:

> ... perhaps there is a raw material of another kind: a feeling or emotion, for example which is present to the poet's mind at the commencement of his labour, and which that labour converts into a poem. ...But this conversion is a very different kind of thing from the conversion of iron into horseshoes. If the two kinds of conversion were the same, a blacksmith could make horseshoes out of his desire to pay the rent. The something more, beyond that want, which he must have in order to make horseshoes out of it, is the iron which is their raw material. In the poet's case that something 'more does' not exist (p. 24).

Turning to the next part of the definition, that of the distinction of form and matter, Collingwood says that art does not have the same form as craft. The form in art is its "rhythm, pattern, Organisation, design, or structure," but these things were not there prior to the poet's or artist's work (p. 24). They did not exist ready to be transformed into a finished product like the iron awaits the blacksmith:

> Something was no doubt there before the poem came into being; there was, for example, a confused excitement in the poet's mind; but, as we have seen, this was not the raw material of the poem. There was, no doubt, the impulse to write; but this impulse was not the form of the unwritten poem. And when the poem is written, there is nothing in it of which we can say, 'this is a matter which might have taken on a

different form', or 'this is a form which might have been realised in a different matter' (p. 24).

Finally, Collingwood argues that there is nothing within art which resembles the hierarchy of crafts with “each dictating ends to the one below it, and providing either means or raw materials or parts to the one above" (p. 25). If various arts are combined, Collingwood argues, they do not form a hierarchy, but rather collaborate with each playing a part in the making of something new.

With this very tight formulation of craft in mind, it is time to apply it to teaching. The aim here is to examine teaching critically, in a Collingwoodian sense, to be clear on just how craft notions of teaching might fit practice.

Applying the Definition of Craft to Teaching

1. THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN MEANS AND ENDS

Turning to the first part of Collingwood's definition, we need to know if there is a distinction between the means and ends in teaching. To begin, the means often used in teaching, namely the introduction and discussion of new concepts and ideas, cannot be equated to the tools, machines, or fuels used in the production of items by crafts. There is a tight conceptual connection between means and ends in instruction. The student takes away from the lesson memories of the discussion and the ideas that were presented.

Suppose we wish to teach the student that Columbus sailed the ocean blue in 1492. We might begin by asking the pupil to copy this statement into a geography notebook. We then discuss Columbus, the ocean blue, and the date. A map and globe could be used to further illustrate and illuminate the lesson. Attention is drawn to a comparison between early voyages of discovery and more recent space expeditions. Entranced, the student goes off with this information. The question then arises: by what means, within the structure of the lesson, did we teach the pupil? The intention of the lesson was demonstrated by having the student pay attention to the new information, answer questions about the events of 1492, view a map and a globe and analyse modern exploration. A peek into the teacher's plan book might reveal a desire not only to teach information and facts about Columbus, but also to achieve a whole range of affective domain goals and objectives that could include moral, ethical and social concerns.

What begins to emerge from this description is a complex set of objectives whose means of attainment shift and change depending on which variables arise in the give and take of the teaching. Thus, there are different means and ends at work at the same time within any classroom. (An examination of the classroom from the student's perspective would further add to an already complex situation). There is observable evidence that teachers are confronting far more complex issues than craftspeople. Indeed, some of a teacher’ are never fully achieved, while others might seem unobtainable at a given time or only partially obtainable with certain students. Basic academic concepts can be forgotten and have to be retaught. Thus teachers have changing and fluctuating means and ends within each of their classrooms and with each individual student.

By contrast, craftspeople have clearly recognised means and ends that are usually achievable within a relatively short period. What is more, their desired outcomes

are predictable, clearly identifiable, and uniform. The tailor's suit fits, it has the right number of buttons and buttonholes, and the agreed upon cut and hem line. The deck is in place, it can be reached by the side door, and it has correctly placed steps and hand rails. The copier now works and prints effectively without jamming paper.

On another tack, suppose our student forgot what he or she had been taught in the geography lesson, would we be able to say that teaching did not occur, or was not done well? Scheffler (1966) would answer that this was possible but that there was indeed an intention to teach during a given period of time and it was likely that learning could take place given the teaching environment in which the student was placed. Furthermore, we would need to test precisely to see just what exactly was learned and what had been forgotten. But, on the other hand, if a craftsperson did not complete a task or finish a job, we usually know the exact problems we are having and we usually know it immediately because the ailerons fail to respond correctly, the car does not start, or our hands fail to emerge from the sleeves of the newly tailored jacket.

We must concede then that the concepts and ideas used in teaching cannot be equated to the tools, machines, or fuels used in crafts. Furthermore, (1) because teachers have a more complex set of objectives that can have short, intermediate, and long-range goals, all of which can fluctuate throughout the year, (2) because these ends contrast sharply to the clearly defined ends of crafts and (3) because final outcomes or achievements are much more evident and visible for craftspeople than they are for teachers, it is evident that teaching does not fit Collingwood's definition of craft on this first point.

2. PLANNING AND EXECUTION

The second part of Collingwood's definition addresses the planning and execution of craft objectives. Teachers do make plans and do execute them; however, as often can happen, plans are laid aside during a lesson. Let us say that as our teacher engaged the pupil in the geography lesson, it is quickly discovered that the student has no concept of the shape of the world or of the ocean blue that would come under discussion. The original lesson plan is then abandoned and the teacher puts away everything except the globe and a Mercator map. The lesson is then begun on a different tack. Even if the teacher decided that the pupil was a whiz at geography and determines it is time to catch up on place value in mathematics, the fact remains that if a teacher completely abandons a lesson plan, teaching still continues, but with a different intent. The teacher knows the direction and the skills needed to proceed whether in geography or mathematics. With long-range plans in mind, a judgement is made as to what will be more beneficial to the pupil's academic growth. Similarly, we can say that the teacher who seizes the moment by using the sudden appearance of a rainbow during a spring shower or the honking sounds of arriving Canada geese passing over the school to inspire the class to write a brief story cannot be said to have planned for this particular writing lesson nor can it be said that teaching is not taking place or that this teacher is teaching on a whim. Thus, teachers can and often do adjust their plans as well as their means to achieve educational goals within their classrooms. The teacher can change the intent of a lesson because of certain teaching opportunities, classroom rhythms, and intuitive understandings developed from years of experience.

On the other hand, craftspeople cannot easily abandon their plans and execute something else. The horse came to be shod; the blacksmith cannot change the plan and make a bit for the bridle. The car needs a water pump; the mechanic cannot abandon

contractual obligations and adjust the valves or install new tires. Craftspeople contract out their services for specific purposes and particular outcomes. Both parties have preconceived knowledge of the task to be undertaken and how the finished work or product will look and operate.

Putting aside students' agenda, classroom teachers have a variety of educational, social, moral, ethical, and behavioural objectives in mind as they teach. From past experience and encounter with the learning patterns of
students, they know that each of these s will be reached in varying degrees and at various times throughout the school year. They also realise that shifts in their planning can affect the means as well as the ends in teaching. Since the outcomes of their teaching must be measured in degrees of accomplishment, results cannot be equated with the strict contractual obligations and agreements inherent in the completion of craft objects. Therefore, it is difficult to see how teaching can be made to fit the definition of craft on this second point.

3. THE RELATIONSHIP OF MEANS AND ENDS

As we have seen, teaching often requires that the projected means and ends of a lesson sometimes are dismissed in favour of more suitable or timely ones. Furthermore, teachers may readily choose to extend the boundaries of their plans and adjust the means they have at hand. Conversely, craftspeople are obligated to complete their work within the limits of their plans. They are also required, because of financial or contractual considerations, to control the quality of their materials. A craftsperson may see the appearance of an entry way improved by changing the type of wood used in its construction, but cost factors or compliance with architectural demands might restrict this improvement. In contracted-for crafts, both parties involved in the craft work can agree when the contracted-for task has been completed; the tub and sink have been installed and are seen to be working correctly; the dimmer switch turns and the lights respond accordingly.

The reading teacher, on the other hand, cannot say when his or her task is completed. There is always some area of reading skill that can be worked on or improved. The reading teacher is teaching reading, but also might be placing emphasis on the moral and ethical implications of a particular story or myth being enjoyed by the class. The athletics teacher may decide to work on the psychological aspects of competition or the need to open up space on the court or playing field. Because plans can be quickly exchanged and new ideas substituted and executed in teaching, and because the contractual aspects that apply to crafts are not applicable in the same way to teaching, we can say that on this third point, the reversal of the relationship of means and ends, teaching again does not have much in common with craft.

4. CRAFTS ACT OF TRANSFORMATION

Collingwood's fourth craft characteristic, that of a craft always acting upon something and transforming it into something different, must now be considered. Craftspersons use raw materials to complete their aim of producing a finished product. The raw materials that craftspersons use are distinct and quantifiable. The glazier knows how much glass or installation material he or she has and when it must be reordered. The carpenter can see that the supply of wood, glue, sandpaper, and screws will need to be replenished soon and thus makes up an order. But what are the raw materials used

in teaching? Rainbows, cloud formations, sudden snow storms, current events, Canadian geese? If so, then, which ones? Needless to say, the carpenter can point to the wood and the potter to the clay, but what is it that teachers have in the way of raw material?

The curriculum can be modified or changed, but in no sense can it be requisitioned or reordered because another term is about to start. Craft materials are hard and fast. They get depleted and must be replenished. They are usually replenished by the finished products of other craftspeople. The ideas and concepts used in teaching generally remain constant. They might be modified slightly as time passes and innovations are made, but they, by and large, remain the same. Totally new concepts and ideas can be added to the teacher's repertoire from time to time, but again, these concepts and ideas cannot be equated with the notion of raw materials. Further, we cannot say that the teacher's aim in using the curriculum is to transform students into completely different people as the bricklayer transforms the bricks and cement into a retaining wall, or the shoemaker the leather into a pair of shoes. Nor can the words that teachers use to explain and clarify ideas be categorised as raw materials. If they were, we would then be forced to ask specifically, what words? Thus the raw materials that are specific to crafts have little in common with the concepts and ideas that are expressed in teaching.

5. FORM AND MATTER

Next we come to the distinction between form and matter. Where the craftsperson changes raw materials into something new, he or she does so without changing the basic material itself. The craftsperson could make a circular wooden staircase from the materials or build a wooden deck. In either case, the wood remains wood. Asked to repeat the construction at another building site, the carpenter or one of his or her colleagues could repeat the process to specifications. Indeed, successful craftspeople need to be able to consistently build or make uniform products and, in fact, take great pride in their ability to do so. The glazed china bowls and the soup tureen all match; the piano is constructed and tuned to standard; the sailing yacht is built and tuned to official racing specifications.

Putting aside the question of "materials," a teacher does not approach each class in a uniform way; each class differs because of the individual make-up of the students. Nor, indeed, can one teacher exactly duplicate the teaching style and efforts of another. One teacher may get on well with one group of students and another might be in conflict with them. One style of teaching might be successful with a particular ninth grade class, but not with another. A successful teaching method with one student might not work with another. A highly structured and detailed lesson might be appropriate for one instructional group, but produce questionable results with another or frustration with a third.

If we rotate this form problem slightly, we see that for the teacher who has been teaching a unit on poetry to an English class and then asks the students to try their hand at composing, there can be no way of knowing how each student will explore the subject or what ideas will be expressed. Nor would one know what emotions or feelings each poem will elicit from the reader. Whatever is expressed in the students' compositions cannot be predicted, nor will the structure of their writing be uniform. A student who wrote the same poem each time he was asked to express himself in English class would be judged to have missed the point of the exercise. Mathematics teachers who presented the same problem repeatedly to their classes would not be commended on their

consistency. Thus, on this fifth point, the craft metaphor helps little in the development of an understanding of teaching.

6. HIERARCHICAL RELATIONSHIPS

Finally, we come to the sixth characteristic of Collingwood's definition of craft, that of the hierarchical interaction of crafts by which the finished products of one craft become the raw materials of another. There is little in teaching that can be said to fit the craft hierarchy. Knowledge and understanding are not easily ordered into distinct units that can be recognised and assembled and made ready for the next teacher as would the mason's bricks or the chimney sweeps' rods and brushes. Curricula vary from place to place and teachers vary from room to room. There might be a collaboration between members of a class or even between classes, but the notion of students being passed on to other teachers as 'complete finished products' is unacceptable.

Peters (1966) offers an interesting view on this point. His account of education does not see an hierarchical relationship between students and teachers. The teacher has an advantage at the beginning of the teaching process, but then enters a shared experience with the students:

> The cardinal function of the teacher, in the early stages [of teaching], is to get the pupil on the inside of the form of thought or awareness with which (he/she) is concerned. At a later stage, when the pupil has built into (his/her) mind both the concepts and mode of exploration involved, the difference between teacher and taught is obviously only one of degree. For both are participating in the shared experience of exploring a common world (p. 52).

Often there are prerequisites for particular subjects, but they cannot be equated with the hierarchical placement of materials, of means, or of parts that Collingwood demonstrates exist in the crafts. A diversity of prior experiences can often add to class discussions and help with the inventiveness and insightfulness each lesson provides. A hierarchical motion of order within the specific disciplines of either the arts or sciences does not exist. The relationship that biology has to chemistry, chemistry to physics, physics to medicine, or all to one another, does not in any way support the notion of a hierarchy within the sciences; each functions distinctly within its own discipline. Collaborations often take place between various branches, but these are not done with any sense of hierarchy in mind.

Additional Craft Issues

Vernon Howard's perceptions about the mechanics of craft knowledge and lore draw attention to the subtleties of classroom actions and shed light on the functioning classroom. First, there are the skills which evolve out of the experience of working in the profession. Here, for instance, an elementary teacher might learn when to block in various core subjects to fit the natural rhythm of the instructional day and to meet the peak periods of concentration of younger students; or the high school teacher comes to understand what demands are reasonable and fair to make on advanced history or physics students. Secondly, there are the craft skills that allow the teacher to empathise with the student's position and to perceive the subject under study from the student's point of view. Finally, there is the learning of the professional jargon or 'the language of

the craft' that allows teachers to communicate quickly and effectively with colleagues about a myriad of topics. Howard insists that we look both to the common place and to the specifics in teaching. But importantly, Howard's work allows us to see an aesthetic in a well-constructed and well-taught lesson that covers the prescribed curriculum and possibly ventures beyond it. He would give recognition to the technically perfect lesson achieved through an imaginative practice of all the complexities of the profession (p. 84-85). Howard (1991, p. 81) sees in the achievement of a high level of skilled proficiency a rhythmic ease of execution and a sensation of fluency and inward satisfaction. His work observes the artistry involved in working to maximise efforts, achieve goals, and master course content while at the same time recognising that through increased competence, caused by working within the structure of the practice, an altering of the conceptions of what one is doing and trying to achieve evolves. His understanding of craft blends the aesthetic and the technical, but it is in no sense prescriptive.

Finally two additional issues need to be addressed when considering the craft metaphor of teaching. First, the professional responsibilities of those involved in crafts and teaching need to be discussed. Second, if craftspeople do not make or manufacture anything unless there is a demand for their items, as Collingwood points out, then is this same element true of teachers and artists? Third, what is the place of teaching techniques within teaching proper?

1. PROFESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES

Addressing the first point, those involved in crafts do not have the same responsibilities as those involved in such professions as law, health care, or education. In general, craftspeople are not expected to overhaul, mend, or fix things that are deemed beyond repair. Nor are they expected to take on jobs that have little chance of success. Given the amount of wear, the age, and the difficulty of obtaining parts for a particular piece of old machinery, a craftsperson could well advise a customer or client that repairs are not recommended. Moreover, a craftsperson might advise that if an attempt was to be made, no guarantee could be given how long the repairs would last. In another situation a craftsperson might refuse to work on a machine that he or she sees as a 'piece of junk,' feeling its usefulness has long since passed and that this fact should be quite evident even to a layperson. Conversely, lawyers, nurses, doctors and teachers do have obligations and commitments to their clients, patients, and students, even when future outcomes look bleak. The announcement by a craftsperson that it is the end of the road for the transmission in a classic automobile or that the demise of a nineteenth century covered bridge is imminent is of a different order from those very human and pressing problems that lawyers, health care professionals, and educators face. It is the additional responsibility of coping with human emotions and feelings and of trying to offer alternatives to people facing serious personal difficulties that separate out craft responsibilities from the responsibilities of lawyers, health care workers, and educators.

2. TECHNIQUE IN TEACHING

Turning to the second part of this discussion, we need to address the involvement of craft skills within teaching. Collingwood calls the specialised skills that an artist has technique (p. 26-29). He elaborates on this point by saying:

> The artist must have a certain specialised form or skill, which is called technique. He acquires his skill just as the craftsman, does, partly

> through personal experience and partly through sharing in the experience of others who thus become his teachers. The technical skill which he thus acquires does not by itself make him an artist; for a technician is made, but an artist is born ...Great artistic powers may produce fine works of art even though technique is defective; and even the most finished technique will not produce the finest sort of work in their absence; but all the same, no work of art whatever can be produced without some degree of technical skill, and, other things being equal, the better the technic the better will be the work of art. The greatest artistic powers, for their due and proper display demand a technique as good in its kind as they are in their own (p. 26).

Thus, according to Collingwood, technique is a prerequisite to and for art. Thus, by separating out technique from artistic endeavours, Collingwood allows us to think about the 'technique' aspects of crafts and teaching.

In craft, we can see that a precise knowledge and an ability to use that knowledge is the craft. "A joiner making a table shows his skill by knowing what materials and what tools he needs to make it, and being able to produce the table exactly as specified" (p. 28). Shifting our attention to teaching, we can see clearly what are the techniques or precise skills intrinsic to teaching. Succinctly, those areas that proceed and function alongside the actual teaching act are the techniques of teaching. They include the required and very necessary skills of classroom management, class material production, general housekeeping abilities, methods and skills of coping with administrative paper work, audio-visual equipment usage, attendance calculations and reports, particular marking strategies, and general student record keeping. However, though the mastery of these skills is extremely important, it can be said that they are only precursors or addenda to the teaching act itself. Collingwood's analysis of technique in art and craft allows us to filter out and focus on the main function of teaching, namely, that it is the interaction of the teacher with the students' reasoning powers, imagination, creativity, and classroom efforts that constitute teaching proper.

Conclusion

If, as agreed at the beginning of this paper, the 'teaching as craft' metaphor must meet a majority of the characteristics of craft to be acceptable, then it is apparent that the use of the term craft as applied to the broad definition of teaching falls far short. Indeed, it fails to meet satisfactorily any of the six craft criteria laid out by Collingwood. In addition, evidence has been presented that demonstrates that the responsibilities of teachers, as well as other professionals, are dramatically and significantly different from those of craftspeople.

When we observe consequential teaching it often defies categorising or clear articulation. For example, in the following quotation, John Steinbeck (1955) describes one of his grade school teachers. There is little we can find in the way of an orderly or precise or crafted teaching methodology or style. However, he is indirectly crediting this teacher with the gift of simply allowing him to become a writer:

> She aroused us to shouting, bookwaving discussions. She had the noisiest class in the school and she didn't even seem to know it. We could never stick to the subject, geometry or the chanted recitation of the memorized phyla. Our speculation ranged the world. (She did not

> tell but catalyzed a burning desire to know). She breathed curiosity into us so that we brought in facts or truths shielded in our hands like captured fireflies.
>
> When she was removed a sadness came over us but the light did not go out. She left her signature on us, the literature of the teacher who writes on minds. I have had many teachers who told me soon forgotten facts but only three who created in me a new thing, a new attitude and a new hunger. I suppose that to a large extent I am the unsigned manuscript of that... teacher. What deathless power lies in the hands of such a person (p. 7).

This teacher's precise skills are not at all apparent. She did, however, give Steinbeck many gifts which he gratefully took and cherished before her removal from the system. Steinbeck's teacher functioned in a realm that challenged the conventional classroom structure; her lessons were emancipatory, active, political. Her teaching was not motivated by notions of skill acquisition or by craft lore, but a desire to reorganise the student-teacher relationship. Students worked in a landscape that brought power to their growing literacy.

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USING PICTURES IN TEACHING ART AND OTHER STUFF

R. Lloyd Ryan
Assistant Superintendent
Notre Dame Integrated School Board
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Introduction

Visuals of various kinds - photographs, paintings, diagrams, illustrations - are essential to a good art program. Their purpose is to enhance and hone the visual perception of children. Without the "critical looking" and "educated seeing" that children develop when visuals are used to support their Art program (e.g., in the art history, art appreciation, and aesthetic components of art programs) then childrens' creative art production capabilities will be significantly impaired and retarded.

However, art programming is only one of the many aspects of children's education which can benefit enormously from the competent utilization of judiciously selected visuals.

Learning with Pictures (Experience in Visual Education)

Generally speaking, pictures, paintings, and other visuals constitute the most effective, most plentiful, and least expensive teaching medium. It is also the medium that is least utilized. There are good school-useful pictures in abundance, almost anywhere you look. Yet, we as teachers are underutilizing this eminently useful resource.

The old saying that a picture is worth a thousand words may or may not be true. What is true, however, is that one appropriate picture can be a catalyst giving rise to the production of thousands of words and a multitude of creative and analytical thoughts.

Used appropriately and sequentially, pictures can not only illustrate a topic but also can provide the experience base children require in order to profit from reading and writing and from numerous other learning experiences, including those associated with art programming.

Sources of Pictures

Sometimes, teachers say that they have difficulty finding appropriate pictures. This may be the situation if a picture is looked for when one is needed to fit a particular concept or lesson. The "secret" is to collect pictures, whenever and wherever they can be found, regardless of whether they fit an immediately perceived need. Eventually, the collection will grow. Sources of pictures are numerous, the following probably being the most obvious:

Calendars
Magazines
Post Cards
Greeting Cards
Advertising (Especially Tourist Brochures)

Posters, Etc.
For Quality Prints: Art Stores and
Mail Order Services.

However, we need to keep our eyes open to opportunity and be a bit audacious. (One day, walking along the corridor of an office building, I saw a roll of "poster board" stuck in a trash can with some other 'garbage". I took a quick peek and discovered four absolutely wonderful reproductions of watercolours of scenes of Pads. I took them!)

Also, we might enlist children in picture collecting. They will likely be enthusiastic helpers. Sometimes, they let their grandparents and relatives in other towns know of their quest and, before long, the trickle of pictures can become a veritable flood.

An Organized Collection

Teachers and principals will quickly learn that it is one thing to have a collection of pictures; it is quite another thing entirely to have a collection of pictures that can be used. A collection of pictures will quickly reach such a quantity that it will be of limited utility unless it is an ORGANIZED collection. The organization may be by topic or theme, in individual file folders, and accessibly stored in a file cabinet or picture file. If a teacher has to spend a lot of time sifting through a series of pictures, then it is likely that s/he will find that activity a frustrating exercise... with predictable results.

After some point in the collection building, it may be useful to include identification criteria (i.e., a code) on each visual (i.e., picture) so that when the teacher is finished with a picture, it can be replaced in the appropriate file folder. To make the borrowing process easier, it may be most useful to have pictures (i.e., photographs) filed separately from painting reproductions. A separate file section may be reserved for "illustrations and diagrams".

Building Picture Files

Teachers should pool their picture collections in some central location. Then the visuals should be categorized according to topic or theme. To some degree the category will be determined solely by the content of the picture. However, pictures may also be categorized according to intended use. For example, if a language arts theme is "Relationships", then some of the visuals may need to be categorized to facilitate their utilization in that theme. A set of color codes along the top of each picture will facilitate maximum utilization of pictures.

Some Picture Categories:

Fruit
Trees
Birds
Pots and Pans
People
Waterfalls
Mountains
Barns
Mills
Bridges
Boats & Wharves
Seascapes
Lighthouses
Churches
Street Scenes (Shops, Stores, Etc.)
Antique Vehicles
"Scenes"
Space
Etc.

Wagons and Teams
Animals
Unusual Patterns
Shapes
Designs
Vegetables
Dishes
Costumes
Clothing
Everyday Items
Seniors
Children at Play
Babies
Rivers
Ponds & Lakes
Sports
Airplanes
Etc.
Etc.

How Big Should Pictures Be?

It depends! A small picture can be used in a one-one situation or in a small group. However, a much larger picture will be needed for larger groups. The rule of thumb is "every student should be able to see the detail". In other words, we should get pictures and painting reproductions that are as big as possible.

Large pictures and posters will need their own storage. We may have to ask the school's "handyman" to make a poster file of the type found in Art reproduction stores.

Selecting pictures (photographs, illustrations, paintings) for use with children requires just as much care as selecting stories and other portions of text for reading. The "content" of the picture must be consistent with the age and maturity of the children. Some of the paintings by Degas for example, or some of the work of Toulouse-Lautrec (for example, "At the Moulin Rouge - The Glass of Absinthe") are hardly appropriate for school-age children. Some of the more controversial photographic exhibition, likewise, may be left for students to consider for themselves when they are mature adults.

The visuals selected should be those having elements which the particular group of children will be able to identify, based on their previous experiences. These past experiences may be "real" experiences - a visit, say, to a history museum, or to market, or to a circus, or a stage play - either as an actor or as an observer. Also, the experiences may be more-or-less vicarious - classroom video presentation, say, or tape-slide show, or previous photographs, or a TV show at home, or a movie, or a book read in class, or a newspaper or magazine.

If a picture needs background information or experiences, then we should ensure that these experiences are provided before attempting to utilize the picture.

Particular attention should be given to site-specific or geographic specific pictures. An inner city child who has never been as far as the suburbs will certainly have a different set of site-specific experiences than will a village child who has never visited a city or who has never seen a building higher than two stories.

In other words, a high degree of "fit" is required between the picture and the child-group, if the picture is to be used effectively.

Using Pictures

In order to extract the optimum amount of "experience" from any one picture, the picture has to be "selected" and should meet several criteria:

1. It has to be appropriate. For example, the following criteria will need to be considered:

   - age of students.
   - geographic locale of usage.
   - past "real" experiences of students.
   - past vicarious experiences of students.

"Experiences" include those of a spatial/temporal nature (e.g., travel), as well as those of a more passive/static nature (e.g., past reading/writing experiences, schooling experiences, past experiences with various visual media, including those with pictures).

2. It has to be appropriately sequential. That is, the content of the picture has to have some consistency/commonality with the experience-base of the students. That is, when the teacher is selecting a visual, the background experiences of children will be a determining factor in that selecting process.

For a primary child, for example, the most effective picture will be one which has identifiable life-experience content. Subsequent pictures can have reduced amounts of life-experience content and greater amounts of other, experience-based (e.g., previous pictures) content.

In other words, we should adopt a concept of pictures that is quite like a concept of reading. In order for a student to "read" a picture, s/he has to have a sufficient "picture vocabulary" (i.e., familiar images) to make sense of the picture. Just as it would be frustrating for a child to try to interpret text with much unfamiliar vocabulary, so will it also be frustrating for a child to try to "read" a picture with many unfamiliar images. Likewise, just as children will be able to predict from context in reading print, so will they attempt to predict from context in "reading" pictures.

In other words, there has to be a match between the level of preparedness of the children and a particular visual. That is, the visual has to be such that the child is able to "bridge the gap" between the familiar and the unfamiliar elements of the visual. It is necessary to consider the maturity of children and their interests. If the visual hooks their interest, then they will likely do more looking and experience more seeing.

3. It has to be appropriately complex. We need to avoid simplicity, or visuals which patronize. If the visual does not have some complexity, then children will likely

simply dump their perceptions from the images into their already existing cognitive categories and no learning, no seeing, occurs.

Just as in reading print, there has to be some challenge, room for some judgment, some critical thinking, some learning, some hypothesizing and testing hypotheses, some detail finding, some identification processes, and so on. After all, the visuals are being used as tools of learning, a tool for teaching children to see, a tool for assisting children to develop critical looking to complement their critical thinking.

Some Notes on Utilizing Pictures in Lessons

There may be little virtue or utility in simply using a visual with a group of children if the visual-utilization has not received some thought beforehand. Like virtually any other teaching resource, pictures can be used to enhance student learning and to develop students self-esteem, or their utilization can be of little or no value and, if used carelessly, can, in fact, undermine students' self-confidence. The impact of pictures can be almost magical, when used appropriately. When used otherwise, the impact may be devastating. Utilizing pictures according to the following guidelines will enhance the magic and help prevent negative effects.

1. Do Not Provide Closure

Do not tell the student what the picture is "about". Let the child determine for her/himself. It is appropriate, of course, for the teacher to identify unfamiliar objects and, at the appropriate time, to identify the setting if the children have not succeeded in doing so. If children identify a farming scene, for example, as being "Pop's garden" when it is really a picture of the Peace River District of Alberta, then the evidence in the picture has to justify itself. If the evidence in the picture does not identify itself as being geographic-specific, then there is no point in telling the geographic location. Consider how ridiculous this extreme example is: 'This rosebush and fence is in the Falkland Islands". It may be no different from a rosebush and fence anywhere in the world! There is no value in giving extraneous information, as far as visual education is concerned. The visual has to be complete in and of itself. However, if the picture contains unidentified elements (e.g., a palm tree) then telling students the picture is of a scene in Florida, may help students deduce the picture content.

These statements obviously do not apply if the pictures are used for specific purposes in other subject areas and if other objectives are being addressed. For example, if the objective in Social Studies is "How Newfoundland Island and Rhode Island are alike and different', then it would be essential to identify the geographic locale of the pictures selected to typify each of the locations being compared.

We must let the child decide - tentatively - based on the evidence, always tentatively! The child is encouraged to seek new evidence and to change his/her mind it new evidence suggests it is appropriate to do so... but the child should **NOT** be induced to change her/his mind simply because the teacher **SAYS SO!** (Intellectual tyranny does not belong in the classroom).

We should not succumb to the natural teacher desire to be the "source of knowledge". To provide closure is to effectively destroy the value of the picture as a future teaching tool, as a source of student enjoyment, and as a source of wonder and

discovery. When **THE TEACHER** tells the child "what a picture is about", then the child will have great difficulty progressing beyond the teacher's perception of the picture!!!

2. Accept the Child's Perception

We must remember that as adults we are seeing the world (including pictures) through adult eyes. We have conveniently, long ago, categorized experiences, so much so that our categories cause us to be perceptually blind, at least to some degree. The child has not yet developed firm, closed, mutually exclusive, comprehensive categories. The longer children's categories can be kept flexible, the greater their ability to "see". (REMEMBER THAT IT WAS A CHILD WHO "SAW" THAT THE KING HAD NO CLOTHES ON!!!). Besides, many adults, including teachers, have lost the ability to perceive. Their concepts absorb their percepts. What they know causes them to see only what they know; they see what they believe; they can't see the trees for the forest. Children, generally speaking, retain flexible boundaries for their concepts and are delighted with the positive experiences of having these concept boundaries stretched.

Adults, however, sometimes cause children's concepts to become rigid or closed. This happens when .significant" adults provide perceptual and conceptual closure as, for example, when children are provided with coloring sheets with conceptual stereotypes. Some of these stereotypes are crude - the triangle on a stick representing "tree", for example and sometimes simply condescending - like those unreal bunnies.

When this happens, childrens' ability to see and to look are both impaired. Whatever trees children "see" will be interpreted as triangles on sticks; birds will be "flying W's", and rabbits and hares, of whatever type, will be "bunnies".

Likewise, children's perception is impaired, and their concepts polluted, whenever human relationships and functioning are presented insensitively or stereo typically. Consider the impact, for example, of showing women and girls doing only"women's work", or boys and men doing "masculine' things. Consider, also, the negative racial concepts which have been fostered by books such as the Little Black Sambo series, or the stories and pictures depicting Orientals and "Indians" in stereotypic ways. Consider, also, the damage done through the depiction of North American aboriginal peoples as savages, rather than as people of integrity with different languages, with complex, well-developed religions, and with a rich diversity of cultures and customs - all of which we should cherish.

In other words, some pictures deserve to be consigned to the trash can because of the obvious damage they can do to children's perceptions, to their conceptualizations, and to their functioning.

3. Use Child Responses as A Catalyst for Questioning

We might ask a child why s/he claims to see what s/he claims to see. S/he might be right! Judicious questioning may be used to bring the discussion around to those aspects which teachers feel to be pertinent.

4. Provide Positive Feedback

We should make the child feel good because of his/her perception. If the teacher feels that the child is wrong, he/she must remember that the child may be right (a) in light of his/her experiences, and (b) in absolute terms. Teachers should be aware

of their perceptual blindness and make sure the child perceives the experiences as a positive and rewarding one.

5. Ask Easy Questions to Reluctant Students

This is one way to ensure success! Success will bring children out of their shells. If they find that they can be "right" for a change, they will gradually take bigger and bigger risks.

6. Don't be Afraid of Stimulating, Challenging, Even Difficult Questions

Teachers should be prepared for some unexpected answers... and not be too hasty in providing **THE** one, right, incontrovertible answer. It might be wrong! Absolutely!

7. Post the Picture

After being used in a lesson, the visual should be posted in the classroom, at student eye level. Children, if their interest has been aroused, will take the time to take a closer look, thus reinforcing the concepts of the lesson.

Typical Questioning Routes to Take When Using Pictures in Classroom Teaching

Obviously, the level and type of questioning used in the classroom will depend on the age, maturity and experiential background of the students. Questions such as the following will be adapted to "match" the readiness of the students:

1. What do you see in this picture?
2. How do you feel when you look at the picture?
3. What do you like about this picture?
4. What do you dislike about this picture?
5. Does this picture have some parts which are more interesting than other parts? What are they? Why are they more interesting?
6. What is the setting? Where? When? Date? Season?
7. Is there any action - describe.
8. Are there main figures?
9. What is the relationship between the main figure(s) and the minor figure(s)?
10. What is the relationship between the figures and the setting?
11. What feelings are exhibited in the picture? Do they "fit" the picture?
12. Talk about shape, line, light and shade, color, tone, texture, balance, repetition, variety, etc., especially in a 'painting" or other "work of art'.

13. What is this picture about? (Some pictures are really "sententious"; other less so).

14. Include both sensory and sentient experiences in discussion. (Sensory Experiences: touch, smell, taste, sight, sounds. Sentient Experiences: [emotional content?] fear, happiness, pleasure, loneliness, longing, sadness, love, hate, etc.)

Some Teaching Suggestions

The following are some general teaching suggestions:

(a) We might let individual students find/select a picture (photograph or painting) and make a presentation in class or conduct a discussion to analyze the picture or painting.

(b) We can have children f ind/select a picture and do a written analysis.

(c) We might encourage (a) and (b) with groups.

(d) As teachers, we should provide the pictures or paintings, initially, since children may have difficulty finding or selecting pictures until they have had related experiences.

Pictures have enormous potential as teaching tools. However, they have to be carefully selected and professionally utilized. When used appropriately children will learn to see and to think. Isn't that what education is about?

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SOCIAL STUDIES VIA SOCIAL PARTICIPATION: CROSSING THE RUBICON

Keith W. Ludlow
Faculty of Education
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The goal of social studies education has traditionally been to educate the young to be effective citizens, often referred to as citizenship education (Allen & McEwin, 1983; Banks & Clegg, 1990; Barr, Barth & Shermis, 1978; Engle & Ochoa, 1988; Jarolimek, 1984; Nelson, 1992; Shaver, 1992). The nature of citizenship education as claimed by Shaver (1992) is the transmitting of values and encouraging the development of competencies in decision making. This citizenship transmission is conducted because our society is dependent upon citizenship participation. For the purpose of this paper citizenship participation and social participation are regarded as interchangeable.

Students today face a myriad of social, political and personal problems which demand responses on a daily basis. Therefore, students must be taught the most effective ways to deal with these problems. Allen and McEwin (1983) noted that dealing with a plethora of practical problems assists students to cope with real life situations and thus prepares them as future citizens. These practical learning experiences are best provided through direct social action in the local community (social participation). Engle and Ochoa (1988) claimed that social participation will assist students to develop a greater sense of personal, social and political efficacy. Social participation is a strategy that has implications for the development of the effective citizen and should be an integral part of our intermediate/senior high school social studies curriculum. This age group is targeted for social participation because, as Zachow and Cartier (1988) have indicated, adolescents are forming a coherent conception of their role in society. Research has found a statistically significant positive relationship between social action projects involving adolescents and later political activities (Hanks, 1981; Holland & Andre, 1987; Lindsay, 1984; Milbarth & Coel, 1979). Therefore social participation must include activities which enhance critical thinking, problem solving and decision making skills.

To be effective, social participation projects must have specific guidelines. The following guidelines, based on the work of Banks and Gregg (1990), are considered useful in developing and implementing social action projects:

1. Social action projects should be meaningful experiences providing opportunities for students to address relevant social, personnel and political concerns.

2. The primary goal of social action projects should be to provide experiences for the students whereby they can attain a sense of political effectiveness and not just serve the community.

3. Students should participate in social activities only after they have studied the related issues, analyzed and clarified their values regarding involvement, identified the possible consequences of the action and expressed a willingness to accept those consequences.

4. The experiences and age of the students should be considered when action projects are planned and implemented.

5. Full cooperation of students, teachers, school administrators and relevant community agencies is necessary before embarking on a social action project.

6. School facilities should be flexible allowing for active participation in the local community.

7. No individual student should be required to participate in a project that he or she feels is contrary to his or her values or beliefs.

8. Social action projects in the social studies program should be nonpartism. Although groups of students may decide to highlight a particular issue, students with other beliefs and goals should have the option to plan parallel projects to support their beliefs.

The following are examples of potential Social Participation Projects:

1. Students helping people in the community (i.e., elderly)

2. Student participation in the community clean-up day

3. Students attending and participating where necessary in court of law sessions, community town/city council meetings, government house meetings, constitutional debates, etc.

4. Long term projects - student involvement with senior citizens, hospitals, red cross and charitable organizations

5. Short term projects - develop and participate in specific projects-walk-a-thons for specific charitable organizations.

6. Student development of a campaign leaflet to support a major political issue in the community (removal of historical buildings, waste disposal, etc.)

7. Sponsor activities to promote human rights.

8. Student participation in environmental protection programs.

To facilitate and implement social participation a supportive stimulating environment which encourages open communication is essential. At the heart of such a classroom is a reflective teaching approach. Engle and Ochoa (1988) proposed the following model that could be adopted to highlight discussion of societal issues, which in turn stimulates social participation:

Identify and define the problem
The use of probing questions
Identifying value assumptions
Identifying alternatives and predicting consequences
Reaching and justifying a decision

Social participation in itself is of little use. Students must be given opportunities to follow up on projects and both teachers and students must be aware of the effectiveness of participating in a social action project. The students' expressions of feelings, beliefs and attitudes about participation in the community must also be

encouraged and openly discussed. The teacher can use a variety of devices to assess students attitudes: students' log books, student interviews, class journals, anecdote records, attitudinal measures. In reflective teaching students will learn the role of effective citizenry. They will debate contemporary issues, seek dialogue and become activity involved in decision making processes.

Conclusion

The 21st century is less than a decade away. Social participation is the linchpin to assure that our future citizens become involved as decision makers. Profitable outcomes of social participation in our intermediate/senior high social studies program can result in improvements in school community relations and a more effective school climate (Banks & Gregg, 1990; Barth & Shermis, 1979; Engle & Ochoa, 1988; Jarolimek, 1990; Shaver, 1990). Also, our future citizens will be equipped with critical thinking skills that have been 'honed' on social participation projects and fine tuned in reflective classrooms.

We can cross the Rubicon and make the call for social participation louder or we can play it safe, dealing out knowledge via lecture and textbooks to passive obedient students, the result of which will be a passive, acquiescent, uninformed, armchair citizenry waiting to meet the 21 st century.

It is hoped that this discussion has stirred the readers imagination resulting in a social studies program that is vital and exciting, which is the way it should be.

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"ARTS SMART"

Patricia Ryan
Faculty of Education
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> Providing a decent place for arts in our schools may be one of the most important first steps we can take to bring about genuine school reform. (Eisner 1992)

The purpose of this paper is to address how a new emphasis on the arts in curriculum is necessary if our schools are to produce adults of the twenty-first century who are perceptive, flexible, creative, adaptable and, most of all, able to solve problems and make decisions in a multiplicity of personal and professional situations as yet unimagined. It is essential that our schools provide experiences that stimulate the imagination and pose problems that require creative solutions. The unique properties of art (not always inherent in other academic subjects) enhance the development of the creative and intuitive thinking process towards fully functioning individuals who will cope with the challenges of our evolving culture.

The notion of culture includes several aspects of people's lives of which one aspect is technology. A technological phenomenon that is currently becoming an extremely popular development is multimedia. This industry has many implications for the arts and for the job market that is open to creative individuals. Canada's multimedia industry is rapidly emerging. More and more business corporations realize that they must recruit artists to assist in the design and creation of multimedia products and services. The arts are seen by computer communicators as being the engine to promote other Canadian industries in the global marketplace.

Multimedia is a type of presentation that involves the directed control of several forms of communications such as text display, graphics, still imagery, animation, sound and music. A multimedia presentation is a composite of many audio-visual sources and allows the discriminating viewer to proceed at a desired pace and with some level of interaction. The user controls the order and speed of the presentation. With some systems the user, or viewer, can import information from various sources, merging them into a new assembly or package, thus creating a new presentation, product or service. Multimedia can be sold as products or services, and it is also used to produce these products or services.

Canadian companies having a successful background in corporate communications understand the value of artists in the emerging market place. President Matthew Diamond of Digital Presentations expresses the view of many:

> Our focus as a company is now on creativity and recruiting artists who are acquainted with the new technology and possess the skills to use it. Campbell (1993), p. 14.

Michael Keefe, director of multimedia, **Multiple Images Inc.** comments,

> As cultural - and other - multimedia products and services become more and more refined, artists' skill and imagination provide what is often a subtle but critical improvement in the presentation. This

> improvement becomes the competitive edge in the information-glutted marketplace. (Campbell, 1993: 14)

We are on the threshold of a new age - a high tech information age where there is the greatest explosion of knowledge in the history of mankind. Information is proliferating at a phenomenal rate and information processing has become the backbone of a whole new era. Storing, retrieving, creating, distributing and exchanging information, using tools of high technology, are now important aspects of our economy and the foci of many jobs which did not exist a decade ago.

The computer is an instrument central to the late twentieth century methods of work and play. It is still in a state of technological infancy. Yet, just as the steam engine spurred the industrial revolution, so has the micro-chip launched us into the technological revolution. The invention of interactive multimedia has allowed computers to become a creative environment - a new medium - for discovering the human interweave of ideas. This new media environment challenges our educational systems to meet the needs of society. This will mean altering our goals to reflect the changing needs.

Specific skills and knowledge areas must be developed, added to, or emphasized in our school curriculum in order to prepare our students to perform adequately in the high technology information age. With a focus on developing skills for lifelong learning, information processing skills, and with computer proficiency as the guiding light, our curriculum planners may be successful in exposing today's students to the "new basics" (Caissy, 1989).

Because of the rapid change in society and the workplace, education and learning are no longer confined to the years spent in school. Current high school graduates may have to change their jobs four or five times. Updating job skills and retraining are quite common occurrences. Students must be equipped with skills that allow them to fulfil current job requirements and to adapt to new ones. Students must develop a base of learning and thinking skills that will enable them to become independent learners and will allow them to apply, transfer and use skills in a variety of circumstances and settings. These ideas are not new - but the development of these skills has been limited.

Toffler (1990), Naisbett (1990), Postman (1992), and others writing about social change, see a growing need on the part of workers for more creativity, problem solving skills, perceptual development and evaluation skills. In our economy today innovative techniques for bringing new products on line are necessary for our survival. Innovation demands that ideas are free flowing, which in turn requires that workers need to be creative and well educated. Worker ideas are eagerly sought by many companies. The "innovation imperative", as Toffler (1990) called it, requires a diversity of ideas for survival. In a society where new fragmentations and new forms of synthesis occur often, both workers and leaders need to develop the ability to cope by becoming more comfortable with ambiguity and less fearful of the unknown. A person with the ability to demonstrate art knowledge and art proficiency will have a better chance of procuring employment in the workplace of the future.

At the Arts Work Conference, Toronto (1992), Professor Ken Robinson addressed the topic **The Neglect of Arts in Schools**. He argued for the range of complex and related roles that the arts fulfil in the whole curriculum. These include:

(a) **Developing the full variety of children's intelligence.**

...The arts are fundamental ways of organizing our understanding of the world and call on profound qualities of discipline and insight. They must be included in education wherever schools are concerned to develop the full range of children's intelligence and abilities.

(b) **Developing the capacity for creative thought and action.**

As the rate of change accelerates in all areas of social life, two qualities in young people are becoming more important - those of capability and adaptability ... Industry and commerce want those entering employment to show powers of innovation, initiative and application in solving problems and pursuing opportunities. These are widely held to be prerequisites for economic health. For the growing numbers of those for whom conventional employment is ceasing to be an option, these powers may be more important. Creative thought and action should be fostered in all areas of education. In the arts they are central.

(c) **The exploration of values.**

Feelings are intimately concerned with values. Many for example are considered as vices or virtues - lust, envy, hope, despair, etc. The education of feelings is thus concerned with moral issues and the exploration of values. An education which sets out to help young people make sense of - and contribute to - the world in which they live must be concerned with helping them to investigate their own values and those of others. Artists are characteristically concerned with such things; with the evaluation and the re-evaluation of the world around them.

(d) **The education of feeling and sensibility.**

No sensible person would doubt the value of intellectual activity and development. The danger lies in the separation of this from other capabilities. Mainstream Western philosophy since the seventeenth century has held that feelings and emotions disrupt the pursuit of knowledge through the intellect and should be disregarded in the classroom. Some have argued against this that the free expression of emotion is essential to healthy development, and this is the value of the arts in the schools. Both views divide intellect from emotion, thus neglecting the intimate relationships between them. The arts are not outpourings of emotion. They are disciplined forms of inquiry and expression that help to organize feelings and ideas about experience. The need for young people to do this, rather than just to give vent to emotions or to have them ignored, must be responded to in schools. The arts provide the natural means for this.

(e) **Understanding cultural change and differences.**

The arts are characteristic expressions of any culture and evolve as part of it. In a multicultural society, schools have important responsibilities with regard to cultural education. The arts are important here for two reasons. First, both the practical and the discriminating enjoyment of the arts involve observation, analysis, and evaluation of personal and social experience. Second, the products of the arts - plays, paintings, literature, music, dancing, sculpture, and so on - are integral parts of the social culture and are among those things children need to experience in coming to understand it.

(f) **Developing physical and perceptual skills.**

Children need to be enabled not only to have ideas about the world, but to act on it. Natural abilities must be developed of a range of qualities and skills with a wide application and value.

Fairly recent, but now familiar, research on brain hemisphericity (Sperry, 1975; Bogen 1975; Orstein 1973) substantiates the importance of developing imagination and divergent thought processes. Research into the psychology of the brain suggests that two hemispheres of the brain are involved in different but related forms of perception and conception. One summary of this thesis is given by Ornstein (1975) who suggests that:

> The left hemisphere is largely involved in the analytical, logical thinking, especially in verbal and mathematical functions. Its mode or operation is primarily linear. This hemisphere tends to process information sequentially. The right hemisphere is involved in orientation in space and recognition of faces. It processes information more diffusely and is more rationally simultaneous in its mode of operation.

These two sets of functions are complementary. The implication is not that education should now become right-brained. It is that equal emphasis should be placed on the capacities of both hemispheres and the relationships between them. Carl Sagan (1979) makes this point forcibly:

> There is no way to tell whether the patterns extracted by the right hemisphere are real or imagined without subjecting them to left hemisphere scrutiny. On the other hand, mere critical thinking without creative and intuitive insights and search for new patterns, is sterile or doomed. To solve complex problems in changing circumstances requires the activity of both cerebral hemispheres. The path to the future lies through the corpus callosum.

Betty Edwards (1979), author of Drawing on the Right Side of the Brain, has been conducting research using art to unlock right-brain potential. Results of her studies imply that training in art might be used as a means of teaching students to improve their perceptual skills and to utilize more fully their right-hemisphere capabilities. Schools must provide a climate in which both sides of the brain are cherished and nourished.

Some learning calls for logical, analytical thinking. However, computers and data banks can hold more information than one mind ever could, and it is here that the ability to think creatively and with feeling will be crucial in the child's future.

In the Betrayal of Youth, James Hemmings (1980) observes that education is dominated by the "academic illusion", the idea that:

> The supreme role of education is the development of the logical, intellectual, analytic aspects of the mind and that other aspects, the social, perceptive, affective, practical, intuitive, aesthetic, imaginative and creative aspects are of minor importance - worth a nod or two here or there but to be valued as nothing beside the glories of academic excellence.

This is not an argument against academic education - it is an argument against the confusion of academic ability in general. Academic ability involves the capacity for logical - deductive reason and for propositional knowledge. These are important abilities, but there is more to a child's mind than these alone.

Eisner (1992: 594) states that the core contributions of the arts and their potential role in furthering the aims of education as follows:

1. **Not all problems have single correct answers.**

   One of the important lessons that the arts teach is that solutions to problems take many forms. This lesson from the arts world would not be so important were not the fact that so much of what is taught in school teaches just the opposite lesson. Almost all of the basic skills taught in the primary grades teach children that there is only once correct answer to any question and only one correct solution to any problem. The arts teach a different lesson. They celebrate imagination, multiple perspectives, and the importance of personal interpretation. The last thing a modern teacher in art wants is a class full of standardized performances on a given task. When the curriculum as a whole is so heavily saturated with tasks and expectations that demand fealty to rule, opportunities to think in a unique way are diminished. When carried to an extreme the school's program becomes intellectually debilitating.

2. **The form of a thing is part of its content.**

   We have a tendency in our schools to separate form from content. Form is regarded as the shape something takes, and content is the meaning something conveys. As Dewey pointed out, perception ceases when recognition begins. Assigning a label to an entity is an act of categorization and exploration of their uniqueness stops. The arts, however, teach the child that the grass is not simply green: it is lavender, grey and gold. And when it is green its varieties are endless. In the arts and in very much of life, the form something takes is very much part of its content. In fact

what the content is often depends on the form it takes. Eisner accepts the fact that some of the features the arts possess are also found in the sciences. The products of science have their own aesthetic features: the parsimony of theory, the beauty of conceptual models, the elegance of experiments, and the imagination and insight of interpretation. The point Eisner makes is that the difference between the arts and the sciences is in the context of creation. A work of science is a work of art.

3. **Having fixed objectives and pursuing clear-cut methods for achieving them are not always the most rational way of dealing with the world.** The arts teach that goals need to be flexible and that surprise counts: that chance, as Aristotle wisely remarked, is something that art loves; that being open to the unanticipated opportunities that inevitably emerge in the context of action increases insight; and that purposeful flexibility rather than rigid adherence to prior plans is more likely to yield something of value.

   In the context of much of today's schooling, the lessons taught by the arts are closer to what successful and intelligent corporations do and to what cognitive psychologists are discovering constitute the most sophisticated forms of thinking. These recent psychological discoveries are lessons artists have long understood. What are these lessons? They are that solving complex problems require attention discrete to wholes, not simply to parts: that most complex problems have no algorithms solutions; that nuance counts; and that purposes and goals must remain flexible in order to exploit opportunities that one cannot foresee.

   The problems in life are much like the problems encountered in the arts. They are problems that are often subtle, occasionally ambiguous, and sometimes dilemma-like. One would think that schools that wanted to prepare students for life would employ tasks and problems similar to those found outside of schools. This is hardly the case. Life outside of school is seldom like school assignments - and hardly ever - like a multiple choice test.

4. **In addition to their expressive function, the arts perform another function of critical importance.**

   That contribution hinges on a distinction between expression and discovery. In the arts, students learn that some kinds of meaning may require the expressive forms that the arts make possible. The arts provide the forms through which insight and feeling can emerge in the public world.

> But the arts also make discovery possible. Discovery occurs as students learn through adventures in the arts something of the possibilities of human experiences. The arts can help students find their individual capacity to feel and imagine.
>
> The arts more than most fields, put a premium on activities that can help students discover the special qualities of experience we call aesthetic.

Culture ought to include significant opportunities for students to experience the arts and to learn to use them to create a life worth living. Art is a part of the cultural heritage of every society. The arts can make an impact on a scale that is literally worldwide. Our culture regards the arts as among the highest of human achievements. We build places we call museums to display the fruits of artistic inquiry and construct concert halls to experience the heights we can reach through music, drama and dance. Yet we provide little place for them in our schools. Approximately 80% of all secondary students never enrol in a fine arts course and we are being told by such writers as Allan Bloom (1987) and E.D. Hirsch (1987) that students, even those in prestigious universities, are culturally illiterate.

If one were to produce a report card for Newfoundland schools the place of arts in the curriculum would reflect a low level of priority in comparison to other areas of the curriculum. Our High Schools are still expected to priorize within the norms of math and science above all else. While art and drama are integral to every high school's list of courses available, it is a fact of life that those classes are filled with the low-academic non-achiever type. The question one must ask is WHY? - why deny our top students exposure to the arts? The answer lies with the increased emphasis placed on raising the level of statistical performance in math and science of our Newfoundland students in comparison to national norms. While no one wishes to down play the relevant importance of math and science in today's changing society, it is imperative that the benefits of exposure to the arts be given equal recognition. This situation is compounded by the fact that curriculum decision makers themselves are a product of a past environment with a very limited exposure to the arts. The result of access denied is a program of education that leaves most students unable to participate in the arts. Artistic literacy is a rare educational commodity.

Like the young child in awe of the miracle of the emerging bean plants, we look with wonder towards a rapidly unfolding future. Children of today and teachers preparing for their profession will shortly advance into the 21st century and the education they receive will need to prepare them for unknown social changes and technological advances. Only through a multifaceted education program that develops divergent thinking - that encourages intuitive as well as rational thought processes - can today's younger learner begin to be prepared to cope with the rapidly changing aspects of a technologically oriented world. The information age changes are dictating that art programs are essential. In educational reform a richer nurturant culture can be created for our students if they are given the opportunity to experience the arts.

Powerfully, **Tennyson** closes **Ulysses'** epic quest for knowledge of the world in body, mind and spirit:

...to strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield - Tennyson.

That same theme is relevant today as educators enable students to understand more about themselves in the third millennium techno-culture.

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OFFERING A PSYCHOLOGY ENRICHMENT MINI-COURSE TO JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

Gary H. Jeffery
Faculty of Education, M.U.N.
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Abstract

The planning, delivery and impact of a three day (15 hour) mini-course in psychology is described. The course was delivered to 12 grade eight and nine students. Implications for course and program development are discussed and an outline of the course content is offered.

A three day (15 hour) mini-course entitled "The Marvellous Mind Machine: A Peek at Psychology Today" was offered to twelve students from grades eight and nine. The project was conceived and organized as a pilot project by members of two school boards and supported by a number of volunteer professors and instructors from the university and nearby colleges. The psychology course was developed and delivered by the author, a professor and practising psychologist. The students who took the course where drawn from nine different junior high schools all within an easy drive of the University. This course was delivered about seven weeks from the end of the school year.

All students in the course had selected it from a dozen different offerings based on information presented to them through their schools. The following description was given for the psychology offering:

> Can you really "wash" a brain? Are people really just like those rats when they learn? Is there a way I can train my baby sister to eat worms? This mini-course will look at these questions and many more about how humans (including kids, parents and pets) learn, think, feel and behave. It will offer you a chance to learn what psychology is and what psychologists do. It will let you experience psychological phenomena and design and conduct a psychological experiment. Mostly it will let us talk about things like intelligence, habits, dreams, learning, thinking, mental health, mental illness and generally why we act the way we do.

Goals of the Course

While the course sought to introduce students to psychology, as a discipline and a possible future profession, this was only one or several reasons for offering students the "experience". The course (and the program) sought to offer young people a chance to "see" and be a part of a large institution (i.e. a university) which was considered to be very different in many ways from their school. It also sought to let them: (a) experience meeting with a new group of students who shared a similar academic interest, (b) cope with a new educational environment and (c) take part in experiences like "seminars",

"labs" and "discussion groups". Learning specific content (in this case about psychology) was a secondary objective. More appropriate was the learning of an "incidental" or "enrichment" type which was deemed likely to occur. In other words, the course sought to "broaden" the students' career and academic horizons. It was believed that if the children were "immersed" in a rich and focused environment that they had selected and identified, considerable specific content and more general and diverse learning, some reflecting a positive valuing of higher education, and a heightened motivation to "stay in school", would take place.

While it is possible that some of these young people could chose a career in psychology, it was fully appreciated that many would decide they did not want this career. Many could also get a taste of "higher education" and hence perhaps better decide if they liked the kind of focus and "more in depth" type of study that is required of those entering a profession requiring several years of advanced training. At the very least, the young people would be offered the chance to meet, question and interact with people who were: "researchers", "professors", or professionals involved in fields like engineering, biology and geology.

Course Content

Deciding on what young students should or might be offered as an introduction to a discipline is difficult. An even moderately detailed and comprehensive overview of the field was considered to be "dull" and likely not understood. With this age group an emphasis on overviews, outlines and definitions also was considered as inappropriate. It was decided that samples of information on topics within psychology and samples of activities that persons working in the discipline performed would be offered.

An effort was made to give students experiences and information of four types. These included (1) learning about the area of psychology, (2) learning about a possible career in psychology, (3) learning about "higher education" and "university" study and (4) learning about their own personal interests and perhaps abilities.

The class was exposed to several "foundational" concepts and ideas in psychology. Students were given the chance and encouraged to ask as many "personal" questions of the instructor as they wished. They asked, for example, about how I (as a living example of a "psychologist") "saw" others, "thought" about young people and about what my day to day work involved. My training and income were also sources of interest. The course opened with a discussion of, "What's a 'psyche' and what's an 'ology'". Students were introduced to the detailed work that researchers do, the vagueness and difficulty of many issues and to the role of psychologist as a therapist and clinician. They had a "peek" at "standardized testing", the use of distributions of scores and norms and at the range individual differences that people display. They discussed intelligence and were shown the range of tasks typically found on intelligence tests. They also experienced "scoring" children's drawings of people. About three hours were spent on collecting "objective naturalistic observations" and related concepts like "operational definitions" and "behavioral descriptions". The observations were made in a campus daycare setting where the students interacted with and observed the children and where they collected samples of child drawings for subsequent "analysis". (For additional information on class activities and the sequence they were offered, see Appendix A.)

The class activities and the direct content of the course were supplemented by offering students access to a library of approximately 75 books on areas related to

various aspects of psychology and to the needs of young adolescents. This library was established in the room and available for perusal and overnight borrowing. Several video tapes on various aspects of "psychology" were also made available. To allow both these resources to be sampled the room was opened for 30 minutes before class and kept open over lunch.

In addition to the classroom and field trip, students explored questions about several aspects of University life including the freedom, independence and workload. The physical nature of the University was explored and places like labs, large classrooms, the library and cafeteria were visited. Students noticed and commented on the sheer physical size and diversity of the campus.

What Participants Experienced and Potentially Learned

It is difficult to know exactly what was gained from the course. Students were asked to rate the course "in secret" using a brief questionnaire prepared by the program organizers. All students agreed that the course was interesting and that they enjoyed the activities offered. All except one recommended the course to others and all except one agreed that they would like to take part in such a program again. Interestingly, one student stated that psychology was not a career in which she had a future interest. Ten of the twelve students said the course was challenging and two rated it in the middle of the scale. All of the students found the visit to the day care and the related activities worthwhile. Three expressed that they found the intelligence and I.Q. test related experience interesting. Individuals remarked that they found the study of gestures, hypnosis and dreams interesting.

It was noted that outside the classroom, the young people, several times, used terms that had been earlier discussed in class. The students, in class and out, posed many very good and reflective questions about the nature and implications of concepts that were offered. It seemed that the materials offered were found to be interesting and it was clear that all eagerly participated in discussions and activities. Several times students expressed a desire to spend more time on specific topics.

At a personal level, students experienced meeting new people and forming a new group. They also experienced handling a new setting and a moderate degree of offered independence and responsibility. They were told, for example, that they were in a university and would be treated like university students. This meant that they could leave the room if they needed to, that they had to take some responsibility for offering views and that discussion and speculation were expected.

It was clear throughout the course that students were pursuing a personal interest and that they were with others who had expressed and shared similar interests. It was also significant that the students, perhaps for the first time, focused on a single (albeit somewhat diverse) topic for a relatively long time (three days). If anything, their interest and ability to focus appeared to increase as the program progressed.

The participants' personal identity and esteem were no doubt enhanced by the uniqueness of the experience as was the pleasure and challenge of learning new ideas. The program ran parallel to their regular classes hence they also had the status of being "out of class" and of doing something "special". They appeared to value this.

Besides learning about a subject new to most, this course, as noted above, offered students the opportunity to interact directly with a person likely to be seen as "authority" (i.e. doctor, professor, psychologist) in a setting (namely the university) likely to judged to be "special" and perhaps even intimidating. Such experiences can help overcome stereotypes and potentially help open students' minds to other opportunities while allaying misgivings or fears that might exist. While such incidental learning is very difficult to assess, the rich and diverse environment offered them was well explored by the students and the learning was deemed to be considerable.

It was clear that the students responded to the opportunity and the encouragement they were given to question and challenge information and positions. Their appreciation of being treated as responsible young people with opinions and information was evident and clearly considered valuable to them.

Course Development and Suggestions for Future Mini-Workshops

It was a significant challenge and quite time consuming to identify topics relevant to the age group and legitimately part of the discipline of psychology. It was very challenging to find ways to offer experiences and activities that related to the topics selected for inclusion in the course. The goal was to find activities and examples that were both representative of the psychology and concrete enough to be within the cognitive ability of the students. For the three day (15 hour) workshop, at least 40 to 45 hours of searching, preparation and planning needed.

Many concepts common to this subject were considered and deemed too abstract (i.e. mental illness, therapy and some aspects of thinking) to be dealt with at any length. Some topics, because they seemed too "risk laden" (i.e. sexuality, family relations, suicide, personal problems and coping) also were not touched upon directly as it was felt that dealing with these in a group that was unknown and possibly without subsequent direct support was not acceptable.

When developing the course, an effort was made to search the literature for curriculum or activities to help one introduce or explain "psychology" to the target age group (i.e. 13-15 years). None was found.

It is felt that there is considerable value in offering this course and similar courses to such "small" groups. My group and the other groups that were a part of this project were all small. The psychology group consisted of 12 people. The size was perfect as it allowed ample opportunity for all individuals to interact, raise questions and discuss their views. Discipline was not a problem or an issue, in part because it was relatively easy for the instructor to monitor and interact with virtually all individuals on an ongoing basis.

The developers of the program, utilized a strategy which involved accepting students who had expressed an interest in the subject of the mini-course. Those who came forth needed to be "supported" by their principals before being placed. Students in the course were randomly drawn from the pool of those expressing an interest and having support. This appears to be an excellent procedure. Such a "support" (versus "selected") strategy allows children who may not be deemed "outstanding" or "strong" to be included. Opportunities such as this can be motivational and can offer an opportunity for a mixing and diversity of views in a group. "Good and responsible" and not just "very able" children have a chance to experience "other worlds" and this is viewed as very

positive. It was clear from psychology group, that all participants had thought about what they would be learning and doing. All had selected "psychology" as their first choice.

In future, it would be useful for persons delivering workshops to know better what students were expecting or what they would like to learn about. It might be possible to have the students, perhaps at the time of application or after being notified of acceptance, write down one or two questions or topics that they would like to explore in their mini-course. This information would help the instructor better select and develop materials and activities.

The psychology mini-course lasted three days. For an "introduction" to an area this was seen to be a reasonable length of time. A longer (i.e. five day) psychology program could have involved some "project" (i.e. doing some "research" or creating a product or test) as contrasted to just exploration. The optimal length obviously depends on the subject being studied and the ease with which "projects" can be developed and introduced and of course the availability of an instructor.

Conclusions

It was found that for this course, there was a high level student involvement and apparent interest. Virtually all participants contributed by asking questions and readily engaging in offered activities. There was very little obvious boredom (yawning, doing other activities, talking to each other, etc.) Many students wanted to extend activities beyond available time. In mornings and at lunch, individuals looked through the books supplied and sampled video materials that were present. A few borrowed books overnight. Questions were frequent and forthcoming from literally all members of the group.

There appeared to be a serious effort put forth by all participants and a genuine attempt to integrate the offered materials. Many home examples and some personal examples of related experiences were offered by the students. At the end of session, many questions about university and professional training were asked. Questions about being a professional were also asked. Frequent "why" questions possed and "is that because" speculations were offered.

The young people readily formed groups and appeared to bond together well. By the middle of the third day, all of the students interacted easily with each other, ate lunch together and shared information. Only two of the twelve students seemed slightly hesitant to enter the newly formed social group. All shared and discussed ideas.

As noted, discipline was excellent and students were cooperative and responsible. There was no damage, mess, material loss or any other type of problem. Overall, from the instructor's perspective, students appeared to enjoy and learn form the process and experience.

I strongly feel that offering mini-courses to this age group is of considerable value and I would encourage that students continue to be given the opportunity to engage in such activities. While, unfortunately, it may not be possible to offer all students such access, offering such experiences even to some is better than offering the experience to none.

Appendix 1: Activity Schedule

Monday A.M.

A. Intro, Basic Rules, Getting to know each other Exercise
B. Discussion/ Definitions of "Psychology"
C. Discussion of What Psychologists do:
   (i.e. Research, Practice, Teach, Design and Evaluate Environments and Products)
D. Discuss Being "Egocentric"
E. Discuss How We Communicate (Verbal and Non-verbal)
F. Task/ Activity: Developing a "Gesture List"
G. Discuss Observation and How We "Quickly" Interpret Data

Monday P.M.

A. Discuss Play, Curiosity and Learning:
B. Activity: Study Why do Children Play with Toys
   (In small Groups class studied: What a child learns from a toy?, How long a toy might be "used" and why? What's a Good Toy?)

Tuesday A.M.

A. Discuss Naturalistic Research (in preparation for observation at the preschool)
B. Discussed data to be collected at preschool.
   (Included: peer relationships; coordination; language usage; adult/caretaker actions; children's curiosity and exploration)
C. Visited Preschool
   (Collected "data" on above topics plus samples of child drawings.)

Tuesday P.M.

A. Discussed Collected Drawings
B. "Scored" children's drawing re amount of detail included
C. Discussed why psychologists use tests. (special attention to I.Q. tests)

Wednesday A.M.

A. Discussed Intelligence Tests - Displayed Samples
B. Group Activity on Impact of TV by Age of Child
(included discussion of how parents roles change with the age of the child)
C. Discussed Topics of Students Introduced
(Dreams, hypnotism, sex differences, lying)
D. Discussed Becoming a Psychologist (training, income, being a professional)

Wednesday P.M.

Toured Campus

ENDNOTES

1. Topics explored included: communication; perception; information processing (more specifically, "sensory store", "working memory", long term memory, forgetting), developmental change and growth curves; egocentric thinking, sex differences, I.Q., and play.

2. Videotapes were offered on topics including: the brain, family communication, suicide, children's thinking, and mental illness.

REFLECTIONS ON RELIGION IN THE SCHOOLS OF NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR

Harry G. Elliott
Faculty of Education
Fall 1998

Introduction

The Education System of the province of Newfoundland and Labrador has undergone a period of turmoil during the past decade. Attempts to reform the system have led to periods of frustration, confusion and, in many cases, conflict between parents, teachers, leaders in education and the churches. The province has been subjected to a Royal Commission in Education and two referenda in order to develop a more effective and efficient educational system. The following represents a brief review of the events which have led us to the current state of education in this province. The focus in this paper is primarily on the involvement of the churches in education and some personal views on the potential which exists for churches and parents to have input into the Religious Education Component of the school programming. It is worthy of note that the views expressed by the author may reflect an element of bias resulting from his former role representing the *Churches In Integration* as Executive Officer of *The Denominational Education Commission.*

Historical Background

In the province of Newfoundland and Labrador, schools were started by churches or by various religious societies inspired by churches. As a result, a system of denominational education evolved with several denominations having rights in legislation when Newfoundland became a Province of Canada in 1949. These rights were included in the Canadian Constitution under *Term 17* of the Terms of Union. Following Confederation, tremendous growth was experienced in many aspects of education in the Province. Largely in response to this growth, in 1964 the government of the day established a *Royal Commission* to make a careful study of all aspects of education in Newfoundland and to make recommendations regarding change. As a result of the discussions which were prompted to a substantial degree by the work of this Commission, two major developments occurred which were very significant for the denominational system of education. Through a process of discussion and negotiation, the major churches involved in education agreed to withdraw from direct involvement in the *Department of Education* and carry out their mandate through agencies established outside the Department structure. As a result, in 1969 *Denominational Education Councils* were established to represent the educational interests of classes of people which had rights to operate schools in the province. Therefore, the rights exercised by the various denominations in matters of education were reposed to these councils which were given specific mandates in provincial legislation.

A Royal Commission: Our Children Our Future

In August, 1990, the *Government of Newfoundland and Labrador* announced the appointment of a *Royal Commission* to study the organization and delivery of education in the Province. Over the next year and a half, the Commission examined all aspects of education and were told by the public that significant changes needed to be made in the whole educational enterprise. Although most people felt that something drastic was needed in order to improve the quality of education for the children of this province, there was no clear consensus as to what ought to be done. Each special interest group was lobbying for their own version of reform and these, not surprisingly, were often in tension and conflict. With respect to the denominational nature of education, the report states that "the Commission was told repeatedly that the denominational system in its present form creates divisiveness and is an impediment to social cohesion." Parents wanted to maintain traditional values in schooling to ensure the stability of the family and the community. A public opinion poll conducted by the Commission clearly showed that the public viewed offering a religious education component in the curriculum as contributing to a better overall education. The public also expressed the view that teachers have a responsibility to show a commitment to religious values and standards.

After significant input and consideration, the Commission in its report of March, 1992, proposed a modified denominational system. Under the proposed model, the churches were to have educational input at the highest level of government and a continuing role in the spiritual development of students of their denominational persuasion through the development of religious education programs and pastoral care initiatives. It envisioned a system which involved the formal integration of all faiths and the development of policies and practices which would involve all citizens in schooling and school governance.

The Referendum of 1995

Following the release in 1992 of the Royal Commission report *Our Children Our Future,* considerable discussion took place between Churches and Government related to possible ways to make significant changes in the structure of the educational system and yet maintain a significant influence of the Churches in the governance and operation of the school system. When it became apparent that differences held by the two parties were not resolvable, government went to the public of the province to seek approval for a change to the *Terms of Union* which would allow for the implementation of a new model for education. A referendum was thus called for September 5, 1995. By a majority of 55%, the people of this province voted to accept a new model for education, one which would retain the denominational character of the previous system, but which would provide the provincial government with additional powers to organize and administer education in the province. In October, 1995, the provincial legislature passed a resolution to amend *Term 17,* adopting the model that had been presented during the referendum. In December, 1996, the Term was passed by Parliament in accordance with section 43 of the *Constitution Act, 1982*. The amendment was proclaimed April 21, 1997.

The Legislation which followed the change in *Term 17* mandated that the denominations representing the classes of persons having rights under Term 17(a) of the Terms of Union of Newfoundland with Canada jointly establish a *Denominational Education Commission.* An agreement to establish this Commission was signed on January 24, 1997. The main roles of the Commission were to support programs in

religious education and to advise the Minister and the denominational committees of school boards respecting issues of concern to the Commission.

The government, through a revision of Term 17 and the introduction of new legislation assented to December 19, 1996, provided for significant input by the churches into the governance, administration and programming of the school system. In the programming area, the new Term gave persons having rights the right to provide for Religious Education as well as religious activities and observances for the children of these classes in these schools. However, what was created with this new constitutional term and legislation was a system which was more confusing and complex than existed prior to the 1996 legislation. The new legislation made provision for uni-denominational schools as well as interdenominational schools. School trustees were allocated on the basis of proportional population by denomination. Committees of school boards had significant authority in uni-denominational schools with lesser roles in interdenominational schools. Often these committees consisted of individuals who were not school board trustees. Inequalities began to occur as a result of teacher reassignment and redundancies. Concerns were being expressed as to which students would be able to attend schools classified as uni-denominational and those classified as interdenominational schools.

A particular concern for the *Church Leaders in Integration* was the greater division which was created among their people as result of the new structure being put in place. Within our province, some neighbors and family members with opposing viewpoints on these educational issues were having significant problems resolving their difficulties. Indeed, friction was created among church leaders and further divisions occurred.

On May 23 and June 18 -20, 1997, Mr. Justice Leo Barry heard a petition from the applicants, adherents and representatives of the Roman Catholic and Pentecostal denominations, seeking an injunction to prevent alleged violations by the school boards and government of constitutionally guaranteed rights to uni-denominational schools. On July 8, 1997, Justice Barry made his decision known and subsequently issued an order restraining the school boards from closing schools operated as Roman Catholic and Pentecostal schools in the school year 1996-97, without the consent of the *Catholic Education Committee* or the *Pentecostal Education Committee* of *The Denominational Education Commission*. Mr. Justice Barry stated, however, that there must be an expressed parental preference for a uni-denominational school under the minimum standards or requirements for adequate schooling by the *Department of Education* and the school boards for 1996-97, after allowing, in a non-discriminatory fashion, for changes necessary to recognize the declining student population and reduction in teacher allocation. The order also required that the effects of the school designation process carried out in the spring be suspended until the government had an opportunity to have school board members elected on September 30, 1997. The newly elected boards were to have had a reasonable opportunity to carry out a new registration process to determine parental preference for any school, where so requested by a Denominational Committee of the Denominational Commission. In the new designation process, the non-returns were to be ignored.

The decision of Justice Barry referred specifically to the Roman catholic and Pentecostal Denominations. On Friday, July 11,1997, the *Church Leaders in Integration* met with the Minister of Education and members of his staff and requested the same benefits afforded the Roman Catholic and Pentecostal denominations be afforded to *The Churches in Integration.* In a letter dated July14, 1997, the Minister of Education stated

that "we would be willing to afford your committee similar treatment in similar circumstances and facilitate discussions with the appropriate school board, as necessary." The proposed new structure for education and the resulting frustrations appear to have precipitated the call for a new referendum in September, 1997.

The Referendum of 1997

A new proposal from government to the people of Newfoundland and Labrador involved the complete removal of the churches from the governing of the schools. It meant that the existing *Term 17,* which sets out denominational rights in the constitution, was to be completely replaced. The new term made the legislature responsible for the administration of schools and gave students the opportunity for religious education and observances. The question posed to the people of the province on September 2, 1997 was as follows:

> "Do you support a single school system where all children, regardless of their religious affiliation, attend the same schools where opportunities for religious education and observances are provided?"

Prior to the referendum vote the wording of the proposed *Term 17* was released to the province's people:

> 17.(1) In lieu of section ninety-three of the Constitution Act, 1867, this term shall apply in respect of the Province of Newfoundland.
>
> (2) In and for the Province of Newfoundland, the Legislature shall have exclusive authority to make laws in relation to education, but shall provide for courses in religion that are not specific to a religious denomination.
>
> (3) Religious observances shall be permitted in a school where requested by parents.

Seventy-three percent (73%) of those who voted indicated support for the approach which the government was proposing. Analysis of the results indicated considerable support in all parts of the province and among people of all denominations and religious faiths.

Post 1997 Referendum Initiatives

Since the passage of the revised *Term 17* and the subsequent legislation, new school boards have been elected and considerable reorganization has taken place at the school level. In the programming area, development of a common religious education program for all students has been taking place.

In a document entitled *Religious Education, A Curriculum Framework (Interim Edition),* the *Department of Education* has clearly described a rationale for a religious education program. This framework points out that humans have always had a quest for the spiritual side of existence and a determination of the purpose of life. Young children seek answers about life here on earth and life beyond. They wish to know what makes us different from other living things, what is the source of suffering, how happiness can

be found, what happens after death, and other fundamental questions. These are questions addressed by all major religions and should be addressed in the curriculum of this province. Although the school has an obligation to provide opportunities to address these questions, the church and home carries greater responsibilities in this area.

Students in this province must recognize that they live in a world that is truly multi-cultural and multi-faith and that each person can value and celebrate his/her faith. Religious and denominational intolerance can only be eliminated when individuals have a greater understanding of the worth of religious views and traditions that are not their own. Although our tradition has been greatly influenced by the Judaeo - Christian, a religious education program should provide accurate information about other world faiths without diminishing the values and truths found within Christianity.

Support for a religious education program in this province exists within *The Atlantic Canada Framework for Essential Graduation Learnings in Schools.* A specific Learning for this province states that "Graduates will demonstrate understanding and appreciation for the place of belief systems in shaping the development of moral and ethical conduct."

The religious education program proposed for this province is a non-denominational program. Some of the principles and objectives which underlie the curriculum are:

- the curriculum will be non-confessional.
- major attention will be given to Christianity because this reflects contemporary Newfoundland society and its heritage.
- students will be given opportunities to make personal decisions about their own spirituality and religious traditions.
- students will develop an understanding and a respect for different belief systems.
- students will develop an awareness of the influences of religion on local and global events.
- students will acknowledge that human beings share essential truths and experiences that are much more important than those which divide them.
- students will develop a respect for the place and role of parents and faith communities as primary influences on the faith lives of young people.
- through their study of Christianity and other religions, students will come to appreciate the intrinsic worth of each of these religions for its adherents.

Further delineation of these principles is evident in the Curriculum Framework. Curriculum materials which existed under the former structures are being used and others are being developed to meet the needs. The result will, no doubt, be a strong curriculum and with periodic modifications will help prepare the students of this province to face the challenges of the twenty-first century.

Conclusion

During the past decade the educational system in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador has confronted significant challenges. Declining enrolments in a province with vast and varied geography have meant that difficult decisions have had to be made related to the reorganization of the school system. Movement from a system where the churches have had a considerable impact on the administration of schools and on the delivery of programs to one which removes all legislated authority has been a difficult and demanding one. The system which is developing, however, appears to be a one in which there will be a greater cooperation among those who administer the school system and a greater understanding of and appreciation for the religious beliefs of those who adhere to different denominations and faiths.

There are those who have concerns about the availability of a religious education curriculum and the opportunities to celebrate religious observances. Legal opinions state that, under the revised *Term 17*, religious education courses of a non-denomination nature are guaranteed. The term also makes it clear that "religious observances shall be permitted in a school where requested by parents". It is thus the responsibility of the churches and parents to ensure that the valued religious observances and celebrations are carried out.

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RETHINKING ENGLISH LANGUAGE ARTS TEACHING: IMPLICATIONS OF CURRICULA AND COMPUTER TECHNOLOGIES

READ Literacy Conference, May 13-14, 1999
(Reading, English and Drama)

Roberta F. Hammett
Faculty of Education
Memorial University of Newfoundland
http://www.ucs.mun.ca/~hammett/
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The Atlantic Provinces Education Foundation

Since my first introduction to the Atlantic Provinces Education Foundation (APEF) and its documents relating to English language arts curriculum, I have found several of its themes and controversial directions interesting to explore in both my teaching and my research. Media literacy or cultural studies, critical literacy, and, especially, the integration of technology in all aspects of English language arts curricula continue to be my areas of research interest. In this article I will talk about and illustrate these issues in relation to the preparation of English education students here at Memorial University.

I am an advocate of the new English language arts curriculum. I approve of its six strands and its six essential graduation learnings. This does not mean that I de-emphasize the importance of reading and writing, but rather that I believe these abilities can be taught and practiced in relation to different texts and literacies. If I were to point out a weakness in the APEF English language arts curriculum, it would be its attention to critical literacy, and it is thus the point on which I will focus.

The Newfoundland/Labrador Context

Although I am relatively new to the Newfoundland/Labrador context, I understand the fear of de-emphasizing reading and writing, the traditional literacy. Nonetheless, I will argue that it is important to expand our notions of texts and literacies, in both cases broadening our meanings of the terms to include a wide variety of forms and new media. And it is equally important to build on the cultural strengths Newfoundlanders and Labradorians do have – like a strong oral tradition. What I will attempt to demonstrate is that there is an inter-linking of these texts and literacies that will continue to support the acquisition and practice of traditional literacy while offering additional abilities important for students entering a new century.

To return for a moment to the teaching of education students: I often remind them and myself that they're learning for the long term – possibly 35 years in the teaching profession. I need to get them to look forward to new curricula and trends in English language arts learning rather than back to their own literacy learning experiences (although I encourage this kind of reflection for a different reason). The same holds true with school children. We hear a lot about lifelong learning, and of course that's true of all education – we apply the knowledge and literacies and abilities we acquire in all kinds of situations throughout our lives, and, in those situations, learn new knowledge and

further develop and diversify our abilities. I believe the APEF document provides a framework and encourages the acquisition of a variety of literacies that will provide a solid base from which to learn new technologies in a future that promises to continue to change at a rapid rate.

Multiple Literacies

One of the foundational assumptions of the APEF documents, in my view, is the expanding of notions and definitions of literacy. No longer are we to emphasize the reading and writing of only print texts at the expense of media and other texts. In response to new information technologies and computer mediated communications – to changes in both media and messages – as well as to the altering entertainment preferences of the students we teach, most new curricula (for example, the APEF, the Western Canadian Protocol, and British and Australian curricular documents,) are re-defining literacy for the English language arts (ELA) classroom. The APEF, for example, tells us that:

> … what it means to be literate will continue to change as visual and electronic media become more and more dominant as forms of expression and communication. As recently as one hundred years ago, literacy meant the ability to recall and recite from familiar texts and to write signatures. Even twenty years ago, definitions of literacy were linked almost exclusively to print materials. The vast spread of technology and media has broadened our concept of literacy. To participate fully in today's society and function competently in the workplace, students need to read and use a range of texts (p. 1).

Although I do not particularly endorse the role of schools as preparing students to "function … in the workplace," I do believe that reading the world is as important as reading the word, to paraphrase Freire (Freire and Macedo, 1987, pp. 30-32) and believe it is important to prepare students to be informed citizens who read media and other texts competently and critically, for social and political purposes.

Trend (1997) highlights the importance of incorporating other literacies when he says, "Young people are alienated by the disparity between the type of literacies sanctioned in school and the literacies they practice in their daily lives" (p. 139). New curricular documents are redefining literacy, texts, and goals. They have recognized that media and technology figure ever more prominently in the lives of students we teach, and that the nature of English language arts instruction and curricula needs to expand to incorporate the forms, genres, conventions, and structures of a wider variety of texts.

As members of a global society at the end of the twentieth century, we have come to expect that information will be shared with us through a wide variety of media–billboards and bus boards, television programmes of all kinds, vanity license plates, computer programmes, Web pages and other Internet sites and technologies, newspapers and magazines, memos, tabloids, graffiti, digital signboards, and on and on. The impact of new technologies on mass communication media is highly familiar to us as citizens. In response, curricular foundation documents also expand definitions of texts. The APEF, quite explicitly, notes:

> In this document, the term text is used to describe any language event, whether oral, written, or visual. In this sense, a conversation, a poem,

> a novel, a poster, a music video, a television program, and a multimedia production, for example, are all texts (p. 1).

Curricular documents, as should be expected when our North American world runs on technology, indicate that our students should learn to use technology “to meet their own information needs” (APEF, p. 40). The APEF describes a series of competencies for information retrieval and processing (p. 40) and provides examples of Technological Competence, one of six Essential Graduation Learnings (p. 9). In the Western Canadian Protocol (WCP), grade 9 students will “prepare and use a plan to access, gather, and evaluate ideas and information from a variety of human, print, and electronic sources (p. 36). Just as instruction and learning in reading and writing does not end when we learn to decode and encode meanings in words, so are there conventions and rules and competencies we may acquire with greater fluency and discrimination in relation to other forms of literacy. These are defined in the APEF documents as speaking and listening, viewing and other ways of representing, in addition to reading and writing. I advocate the use of computer technologies as production tools that assist students in discovering and understanding some of the conventions and techniques that define the craft of other creators of texts. Just as we learn and teach literary conventions, we can analyze and reproduce the conventions of other kinds of texts. Thus I argue that, within a critical pedagogy, a variety of computer technologies can be used to achieve some of the outcomes defined in the APEF documents. Thus, at this point, I think I should comment a little more on critical literacy and pedagogy.

Critical Literacy in the Freirean Sense

By now one of the phrases that has become common in English language arts circles and in the APEF document is “reading the word and the world.” Freire’s phrase, as it is often translated into practice, means that students are challenged to read the texts around them as well as print texts, that they bring their own experiences to bear on the more formal texts with which they engage, and that they engage in a critical examination of their own oppressions. The objective is to resist cultural reproduction and to bring “students’ cultural capital – i.e. their life experience, history, and language’’ to canonical and popular texts, so that they are “able to engage in thorough critical reflection, regarding their own practical experience and the ends that motivate them in order, in the end, to organize the findings and thus replace mere opinion about facts with increasingly rigorous understanding of their significance” (Freire and Macedo, 1987, p. 148).

These conceptions of critical literacy developed, for me, from Louise M. Rosenblatt’s work (1938, 1970). With others, she argued for reader response, for replacing the customary model of literature study which features teacher-directed discussion of specific "revealing" passages in the literary text and privileged meanings, with activities that encourage students’ exploration of their own responses to the text. This rejection of “new criticism” approaches de-emphasizes the author's intention and craft; it also mitigates against teaching strategies that intend to get at the meaning to focus attention, rather, on the life experiences and cultural knowledge and beliefs that students bring to the text and which give rise to their individual and shared responses.

Such discussions can lead into different kinds of critical investigations. On the one hand, students might further investigate how their identities, relationships, goals, beliefs, and values are represented in their responses, and further, how these identities and values are constructed in the texts they read or consume in school and other social venues. This can lead into the kinds of activities commonly undertaken in media literacy

and cultural studies. The APEF uses the phrase "writing and other ways of representing" to suggest, among other meanings, that a variety of technologies and kinds of texts can be created to convey ideas, responses, knowledge, and understandings; in fact, to represent identities, meanings, values, experiences, ideologies, and cultures. And our engagement with others' texts is, in effect, a process of understanding their representations and making them meaningful to ourselves. In critical literacy, we are helping students to question those representations, to dig into them to uncover seemingly hidden meanings and ideologies; to make explicit the assumptions and beliefs that underlie the surface meanings of both the texts they create and the texts they read and view. To accomplish these ends, we may acquaint students with the conventions of various media as I have just suggested; involve them in semiotic analyses of signs and their iconic, indexical and symbolic meanings; engage them in intense hermeneutic readings; and challenge them with deep viewing of television programmes and commercials, to name a few possibilities.

A second sense of critical literacy is often found in the writing of British and Australian educators who use conventional, even canonical texts, as well as new media texts, to explore with students the ways in which texts themselves position us to accept and reproduce particular meanings (Peim, 1994; Morgan, 1997). Thus the work with students involves examining texts to see how particular genres, narrative modes, literary devices and styles themselves encode meanings. It also involves encouraging resistant readings and investigating the gaps and silences in texts that we are positioned to fill in culturally ordained ways. In a moment, I will show some texts produced by education students to demonstrate this kind of work.

Critical literacy and pedagogy, however, "incorporates both critical thought and critical action" (Myers, Hammett, and McKillop, 1998, p. 77), as readers of the world and the word develop and act on critical projects that are transformative, emancipatory, and democratic (Freire and Macedo, 1987). If we take seriously the APEF outcome that includes citizenship (see page 6), we will recognize the role of critical literacy in the preparation of informed, active citizens. The APEF English Language Arts document urges that students "use their own voices to understand, shape and share their worlds" (p. 42). Freire and his interpreters argue that literacy learners should be offered opportunity and assistance in reading, discussing, and writing their own worlds and lived experiences, as I said earlier. In addition, however, the political goal of conscientization is important. It is achieved as learners, collaboratively and individually, recognize oppressions and as they acquire and use literacies to name the world, that is, to write and thus transform it (Freire, 1970). In classrooms, we may engage students in discussion, in "critical and liberating dialogue" (Freire, 1970, p. 52) about histories and representations that may not on the surface seem to oppress them, but which do so in leading to the oppression of others. The construction of particular versions of masculinity and femininity are examples of such oppressions, but they can include other racial, class, and ethnic prejudices, as well. We can encourage them to publish texts that use writing and other ways of representing to explore representations and to share personal histories and cultural and other identities. Lewis (1995) provides us with another fine example. His students at Jimmy Sandy Memorial School in the "isolated sub-Arctic" (p. 30) community of Kawawachikamach, Quebec, used Internet, multimedia, and other technologies to collect and audio record, write, illustrate, and publish community legends and stories, thus preserving Neskapi traditions and cultures. Not only do such activities preserve culture, they also open up histories for examination. Students who have engaged in these activities can, I think, begin to "understand the connections between their identity formation and subjectivities and their positioning in sociohistorical discourses," and, further, can "envisage and work toward preferred futures (Singh and

Moran, 1997, p. 126). Furthermore, they can articulate these preferred futures and begin to take steps toward their realization through projects of possibility (Simon, 1987). In venues like the Internet, students can publish their points of view and advocate kinds of social action that they deem appropriate in the given situation. It is important that they not feel powerless and frustrated to influence their worlds, but that they learn to act in socially just and appropriate ways to bring about change. This challenge is a radical and dangerous-sounding one; it does not have to be. It can involve creating informational Web sites, writing letters and electronic communications to those with institutionalized power, creating alternative and changed images with the same technologies that originated them, and so on. Which leads me to the uses of technologies in doing English language arts.

New Technologies and the English Classroom

Most of my research in using new technologies for knowledge construction and literacy learning, including media literacy, has been with secondary English education students at The Pennsylvania State University. There, my colleagues and I asked our students to consider the usefulness of computer technologies in teaching English language arts by experiencing those possibilities themselves. Here at Memorial University, Dr. Barrie Barrell and I have continued that approach.

One of the obvious uses of technology is to have students discuss texts, issues, and ideas on electronic bulletin boards or asynchronous Web conferences or through email. Web conferences generally involve a student raising a question or issue for discussion with some explanatory comment, and other participants contributing to any particular thread of conversation that appeals to them. In high schools, such conversations might be initiated in relation to media or other texts students are studying as individuals, small groups, or as a class. One common text or multiple texts with similar themes or other commonalties might form the basis for the Web conference/discussion. One grade 12 teacher with whom we were working had each student present speech on a topic of interest to her or himself. Fellow students each wrote and emailed a response to the speech, with discussion of points raised as well as other kinds of comments; the speaker responded to each student and then provided the class with a composite of the important ideas raised by classmates. These activities use technology to satisfy some of the instructional demands set out in the speaking and listening strands. They also require reading, writing, and synthesis or précis. My colleagues and I have asked students to compose Web pages that represent knowledge, ideas, readings of texts, and challenges to an Internet audience. These Web pages, as well as sharing students' perspectives, invited debate and response from others, thus stimulating further reflection.

We also asked students to compose several different hypermedia projects. Students were able to learn quickly how to digitize audio, video, and images; how to create movies from scanned images and digitized audio; how to replace the soundtrack of a digitized video clip with a different audio track; how to manipulate and change existing images; and how to combine any and all of these products with print text in a hypertext programme or Web site. The hypermedia were composed to represent readings of and reactions to text sets (a variety of books on related themes read by individuals or small groups); to explore critique representations of race, gender, and so on in the media; and to represent meanings of classic texts like Shakepeare's Romeo and Juliet. In hypermedia, not only can a number of different media be combined in one space or window, but also hyperlinks between spaces can take reader/viewers instantly to related sites. Several spaces can be kept open on the computer screen so that

several different texts can be viewed together. This juxtaposing of texts invites discussion of the questions, challenges, and conflicting views they represent individually and in relation to one another.

In addition to the computer technologies discussed above, there are other technologies already familiar to teachers in schools: cassette recorders, school PA systems, radio broadcasting booths, video cameras and VCRs, and computer desk top publishing programmes that produce newspapers, brochures, and magazines. All of these media permit students to represent and share ideas, knowledge, and identities. And all of them can be used within a critical pedagogy to achieve the outcomes envisioned in the ELA curricula.

Constructing Knowledge

Let me talk a bit more about the *Romeo and Juliet* hypermedia. By gathering together a variety of media culture texts on related themes (suicide, first love, parent-child conflicts, despair, etc.) the students were constructing knowledge about those themes and about Shakespeare's play. Hypermedia, which allows several texts to be available or open on one screen, makes explicit the connections between ideas and texts. Rosenblatt (1978) declares, "We are not usually aware of the organizing or constructive process – the fitting together and interpretation of visual clues – which results in the act of perception" (p. 50). Similarly, we are not always concretely aware of the previous readings, events, and experiences that we bring to a "new" text in order to make meaning of it. This intertextuality is made explicit in hypermedia when several windows are open on the monitor screen; in each space or window, too, several different texts can be displayed: print text (the Wordsworth sonnet, the student's personal reflection (M.A.M), an introduction to the Styx song "Babe," and the quicktime movie that shows scenes of ninth grade students reading *Romeo and Juliet*. The soundtrack is the Styx song: "Babe I'm leaving/I must be on my way …/I'll be missing you" (Styx, 1987). These textual explorations of various moments of despair can lead the students to a deeper understanding of the Shakespeare text. Although, in composing hypermedia, they start with the Shakespeare text and bring in the media culture texts to illustrate it, in reading *Romeo and Juliet* they, rather, bring understandings formed in multiple experiences with media culture to the classic text.

In the Suicide strand of the hypermedia, clips from several videos and quotations from poems, novels and songs illustrate this: *My Darling, My Hamburger* (Zindel, 1969), "Wanting to Die (Edmund Vance Cook), "Grind" (Alice in Chains, 1995), *Dead Poets Society* (Weir, 1989), and several others have provided the students with understandings of suicide. Similarly in the Balcony, First Love, and Parental Conflict strands, popular culture texts demonstrate the variety and number of perspectives on the themes shared in songs and films that students bring to their reading of Shakespeare. What I am saying here is that we do not need to abandon our traditional texts altogether: media texts bring new understandings to those texts; and conversely, those traditional texts bring new perspectives to media texts if we begin with them. To digress and return to my political/citizenship theme for a moment: if a unit of activities begins with representations of a current media controversy, students could go from there to find historical literary protest texts (perhaps with each student finding and linking a different one in a common Web site). This is a useful activity students might well be motivated to undertake. Other follow-up lessons could invite response to and critique of classmates' texts or even the identification of points of similarity to create additional (internal) links between specific words, and images, etc., in the various texts. Some of these canonical

texts would be easily available online. (I am thinking, for example of Milton's sonnet "To the Lord General Cromwell" or Swift's satirical essay "A Modest Proposal" about eating Irish babies.)

In another way, hypermedia facilitates knowledge construction. Students may also learn first hand about the construction and manipulation inherent in media texts. Combining scanned images and digitized audio tracks (including their own tape-recorded commentaries), students create movies. They also use image software to scan, crop and manipulate images, including their own digital photographs; they use sound software to digitize, crop, and change audio; and they use video software to work with video clips. In composing the *Romeo and Juliet* hypermedia, students learned how movie soundtracks affect and change the mood, reactions, and meanings of the visual images and scenes. They experienced the effects they can create in viewers when they replaced, with several different songs, the original soundtrack of the Juliet's funeral scene in Zefferelli's (1968) movie version of the play. Alice in Chains' "Grind" (1995) and "Girlfriend in a Coma" (The Smiths, 1987), when used as soundtracks for the scene, seemed to completely change our reaction to and interpretation of the scene. Our attention was focused on different visual images, and the visual images appeared to be different (movement seemed faster, and so on.) By constructing these effects themselves, students will have a more practical understanding of how professionals achieve the effects that move them as audiences.

These are a few illustrations of the constructivist learning possibilities of hypermedia and other technologies. As others have argued, computer technology supports learning in a variety of ways that empower students as producers of knowledge (Spender, 1995, Jonassen, 1996; Jonassen, Peck, and Wilson, 1999). It can also support learning within a critical perspective used to support the accomplishment of critical literacy objectives laid out in the curricular documents. The APEF, for example, includes a section on Equity and Diversity that tells teachers that "...the curriculum must...":

- critically examine different experiences and perspectives within social and cultural contexts

- examine ways in which language and images are able to create, reinforce, and perpetuate gender, cultural and other forms of stereotyping and biases

- use their own voices to understand, shape and share their worlds … (p. 42)

There are other challenges to teachers within the realm of critical literacy/pedagogy included in the document. Some of the activities I have already described illustrate how computer mediated communications technologies can be used by students to exchange points of view. These same technologies can be used to access diverse viewpoints on a global scale. Additionally, Internet technologies can be used to access, deliberate about, and research multicultural and world literature within a critical pedagogy. My colleague Barrie Barrell and I (Hammett & Barrell, 1999) have also used the possibilities of Internet technologies to encourage secondary English education students to represent their cultural identities and resistant readings of E. Annie Proulx's (1993) novel *The Shipping News.* In a site entitled Newfoundlanders Read *The Shipping News* (http://134.153.160.118/educ4142/index.html), the students shared their reactions – not always favourable – to the novel, interpreted and explained different passages,

provided additional information, and represented their own identities, cultures, and communities to illustrate or challenge various themes and ideas in the novel.

Such generative processes as the construction of Web pages in response to readings of other texts does involve students in "critically examin[ing] different experiences and perspectives within social and cultural contexts" (APEF, p. 42). In their *Shipping News* Web pages the students explored connections between a variety of texts, building an intertext that exposes ideas, representations, readings, and reactions for critique. By publishing their work (and their identities) on the Internet, and by inviting responses, the students are potentially discovering how their texts affect an audience. They are engaging in a unique social and cultural experience. It is social at the point of creation, as the students' work collaboratively on the class Web site to represent readings that are themselves social engagements (with E. Annie Proulx and her text participants or characters), and at the point of publication, as the students both add their e-mail addresses to invite response and post their pages on the World Wide Web. It is critical in the sense that students adopt agentic rather than objective positions in relation to texts; that they intervene in, interpret, and reinterpret texts; and that they contest the positions and ideologies offered by texts. Students learn that experience is mediated by authors of print and other media texts, and they learn that they, too, can mediate their own and others' experiences.

These are a few of the possibilities I see in the APEF English Language Arts Foundation document. Studying media and using new technologies should pose no threat to the traditional literacy of reading and writing. As I have demonstrated and as new Canadian curricula have recognized, the study of all these texts and literacies can be integrated to both complement and challenge one another.

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LITERACY

LITERACY: PROVIDING A CONCEPTUAL AND OPERATIONAL DEFINITION

William T. Fagan
Visiting Professor
Faculty of Education
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That there is a concern regarding low levels of literacy in Canada today is an understatement. Fairbairn (1987), a Canadian senator, describes the situation as follows:

> ... illiteracy is truly a national disease and a national crisis. It spreads across all groups in our society, regardless of age, economics, or region. It cripples individual(s) ... for a lifetime - in a way sometimes just as deadly as a physical disability - and, in doing so, it also cripples the social development and economic productivity of our country (p. 597).

While causes of illiteracy are many and varied, the school is often a prime target in terms of how it honours its mandate of teaching children how to read and write (Calamai, 1988). Mishra (1987) expresses concern that the increase in adult illiterates in Canada each year is approximately 30,000, due in large measure to a 30 percent dropout rate of Canadian high school students. Deciding who and what is at fault may not be a productive task to pursue. There is no doubt that all segments of society, including schools, can do a better job of improving the literacy skills of Canadians. As Newman and Beaverstock (1990) state, literacy is "a value we cannot do without" (p. 1).

Lack of Definition

A key problem in discussing literacy (illiteracy) and its implications is the lack of a clear cut definition as to what it means. This problem is characterized by Venezky, Wagner, and Ciliberti (1 990) as follows:

> Social concepts such as literacy and poverty are integrally tied to their labels. Like jelly and sand, they are without intrinsic shape, defined and redefined by the vessels that hold them. Who is literate depends upon how we define literacy (p. ix).

The problem is not that there is not a definition but that there are too many definitions; for example, the school system may be unjustly criticized for what it does in terms of business expectations for literacy, or there may be a lack of congruency between literacy development in schools and literacy demands on adults. Cervero (1985) questions whether a common definition of literacy is possible and eventually suggests a way out of this dilemma by proposing that in order to give the direction necessary to policy makers, program developers, and teachers/instructors, any definition of literacy must be viewed from a conceptual framework and an operational perspective. The conceptual framework would provide a mechanism for understanding literacy as a unitary construct while an operational definition would provide direction and leeway for implementing this construct according to specific contexts and demands. Cervero refutes a common belief that conceptual frameworks or theories are the opposite of practice. As

the famous psychologist, Kurt Lewin, said, "There is nothing so practical as a good theory" (1944/1951, p. 169). Consequently, it is necessary to develop a conceptual framework which provides a unitary and common conceptual understanding and which allows for variation in implementation as conditions demand. On the basis of such a conceptual framework, teachers could make decisions about the choice of a literacy curriculum, would understand the commonalities and differences between literacy in the school and in the workplace or other out-of-school contexts, and could determine the evaluation criteria by which literacy development could be measured.

Developing a Model: The Process

The methodology for deriving an appropriate definition or model of literacy may be considered as operating at two levels. On one hand, a series of eight studies on literacy completed by the writer formed the "basic data". While each study involved a particular research design, the data of all studies were subjected to content analysis in order to identify significant concepts and relationships that would become the building blocks of a conceptual framework (Budd, Thorp, and Donohew, 1967). Carney (1972), however, proposed that content analysis should go beyond identifying concepts, information, etc. to that of inference making. Four of the six stages of content analysis suggested by Budd, Thorp, and Donohew (1 967) were chosen to guide the process of developing a definition. These were:

1. Formulate research questions, theory, or hypotheses.
2. Select a sample and define categories.
3. Read, listen, observe, and code content via objective rules.
4. Interpret findings.

The research question may be paraphrased as, "How shall literacy be conceptualized to provide a common framework of understanding and operational variability?" The sample consisted of the resulting data of the eight studies conducted by the researcher. With regard to stage 3, the focus was on non-frequency counting, which according to Carney, "involves qualitative assessment of the significance of a single, an intensive, or an attenuated mention" (p. 39). Significant literacy concepts and relationships were identified. The final stage was most challenging for as Carney states, "There are no rules to tell anyone how to make the inferential leap" (p. 4). To do so, the researcher drew on critical or reflective thinking (critical reflection) as part of the methodological framework. Higgins, Flower and Petraglia (1990) state that critical reflection "can play an important role in helping (individuals) move out of knowledge-telling and into knowledge-transforming" (p. 3) - an important goal in a definition building process. To accomplish this step, the researcher adopted a modified form of a model of the process of theorizing by Snow (1973), trait-state theory of Allport (1937, 1960, 1961) and Cattell (1950, 1979) and psychopathological constructs from psychologists such as Murray (1938) and Millon (1986).

A Definition of Literacy: The Trait-State Model

The Trait-State Model

In order to conceptualize literacy as construct and operation, the Trait-State model was developed. (While trait-state is a term borrowed from personality theory; only those aspects of personality theory were adopted which were pertinent to developing a model of literacy.) A trait, according to Allport (1961) consists of:

> ... a broad system of similar action tendencies existing in the person we are studying. 'Similar action tendencies' are those an observer, looking at them from the actor's point of view, can categorize together under one rubric of meaning (p. 337).

Literacy traits would include skills, knowledge, language conventions, and language processes - all focal aspects of a school literacy curriculum. In order to infer trait from behavior Allport proposed three criteria: the frequency of its enactment, the range of situations in which it occurs, and the individual's intensivity of his/her reactions in striving towards a preferred pattern of behavior. Rather than making a decision about such competency on a single test (with a specific score often assigned), a teacher should sample a child's literacy expertise over a range of situations at different times, including the child's commitment and determination in pursuing literacy goals.

Another trait characteristic is that it may be surface or source (according to Hergenhahn, 1990, this distinction was first made by Cattell). A surface trait correlates with other characteristics of the individual and, according to Street (1 984), literacy as trait correlates with such characteristics as 11 empathy, abstract context free thought, rationality, critical thought, post-operative thought (in Piaget's usage), detachment and the kinds of logical processes exemplified by syllogisms, formal language, elaborated code, etc. (p. 2). An erroneous conclusion, frequently made by literacy advocates, is that literacy is a source trait or the cause of certain behaviours. It is not uncommon for such advocates to describe literacy as the cause of poverty, crime, unemployment, physical abuse (see Fagan, 1990), or even ill-health (Movement for Canadian Literacy, 1990).

Literacy as trait focusses on the individual operating in a fairly constrained language situation, such as occurs in schools, where the mandate of the literacy curriculum is to develop competency in language related knowledge, skills, processes, and tasks. In school, students read to answer questions, complete worksheets, discuss stylistic components of various authors, or write journals.

Allport (1961) did not view behaviour only as trait but conceived of trait as extending beyond competency to functioning in different contexts "according to the demands of the situation" (p. 181). Allport insisted that the whole individual - the possessing and the doing - should never be lost sight of (note the similarity to 'whole language' philosophy, now common in schools). The doing, of course, refers to state, a notion extended by Cattell (1950, 1979) to include mood, disposition, and emotional status. State refers to literacy as use. Kirsch (1990) maintains that "It is the difficulties individuals have with employing skills and strategies that characterize the literacy problem for much of the young adult population, not illiteracy or the inability to decode print or comprehend simple textual material (lack of literacy as trait)" (p. 46).

Focus on literacy as state is directed to providing for survival skills such as locating street names, reading medicine labels, ordering from a menu, or applying for a

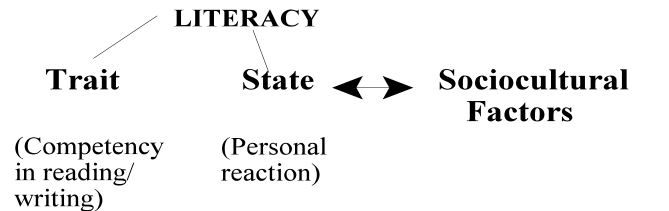
loan. The context or occasion becomes the controlling factor; often very little attention is given to the cognitive processes and linguistic skills which are needed to encode print integral to such situations. On the one hand, educators/program developers often fail to distinguish between child and adult literacy as trait and state and adult literacy programs are often similar to school type programs, being taught in the same developmental manner, and using school (child) oriented reading material. On the other hand, educators/program developers may dichotomize child and adult literacy on the basis of trait and state. In schools, children often work only on language/reading related exercises without any attempt to relate what they are learning to their lives beyond the classroom. In the field of adult literacy, programs may focus on individuals' rights through tenants' organizations, churches, or neighbourhood activist organizations where attention to language processing is minimal and incidental (Brookfield, 1984). The goal in such programs is that of "empowerment", defined as obtaining power over some socio-political economic aspect of one's life as opposed to control over knowledge, understanding, and manipulation of language. While such a goal is worthy, one must question whether indeed the adults are participants in a literacy program or a community support group. The implications are significant for program evaluation, program development, policy makers, and funding agencies (including government).

The Trait-State Connections

The relationships between trait and state aspects of literacy are best understood through drawing on constructs from psychiatric literature. In 1938 Murray proposed the needs-press construct. Applied to the trait-state model of literacy, this would mean that an individual has certain needs which involve literacy (writing a resume for a job application, understanding a memo from one's work supervisor, shopping at a supermarket, writing a thank you note, reading a daily paper, or writing an exam). The context or situation may be kind or hostile depending on the degree of literacy competency one has in executing a particular need, the understanding one has of a particular environment or set of conditions, and the awareness one has of her/his level of functioning. Literacy needs may be thwarted or met. One's reactions will be determined by, and will vary, depending on, the participation and outcome. Four types of functioning, including maladaptive patterns and resulting reactions, may characterize the state-trait relationships with respect to literacy. These are presented in diagram form in the figure below and are described briefly in turn.

1. An individual may attempt to meet a certain literacy need (for example, reading the dosage on a medicine bottle) and becomes aware that he cannot do so; he may guess at the dosage resulting in his taking an overdose with unpleasant but not fatal complications. This individual becomes aware through external sources that he needs to develop greater competency in language decoding. This relationship is labelled (++) since the individual concurs with the press or feedback that literacy skills are lacking.

Trait-State Construct



Relationships between State and
Sociolocultural Factors are variable

+	+	} homeostasis
-	-	
+	-	
-	+	

2. A
(+-)
relationship occurs when an individual decides that she would feel better about herself if she could read and/or write better. This decision may not have come from an external conflict situation as in the case above, but through observation of others, introspection and awareness of one's functioning in written language skills.

3. A third relationship (-+) exists when an individual is informed by an external agent that he does not have sufficient literacy skills to accomplish a particular task but the individual rejects this assessment. For example, a research assistant who is hired to do a literature review may not be able to provide a synthesis of literature researched and may have difficulty accepting this, with the result that this person may not attempt to improve this skill for future employment.

4. The final relationship (–) occurs when an individual does not encounter situations where meeting literacy needs is perceived as a problem, either from a personal perception or through feedback from others. A (–) relationship will not only characterize those individuals whose literacy ability is adequate for the tasks encountered but also those individuals whose literacy abilities, while low (or even minimal), do not encounter situations where manipulating print is a factor. Such a relationship may characterize older individuals living within a secure family unit, those in non-skilled or semi-skilled jobs and who live in a simplified environment (away from taking buses, using banks, and shopping at supermarkets). Whether the latter group is literate, low-literate, or non-literate is not an issue; for this group, literacy is simply irrelevant.

One of the criticisms of school literacy is that it is limited in providing contexts for students to become aware of the relationships described above, a condition described

by Venezky (1990) as contributing to "plain vanilla literacy". In schools, students may be told they are not achieving, an evaluation with which they concur and they try and do better (#1), are told they are doing well and continue to do so, or are not told they are doing poorly and continue to do so (#4), or are told they are not doing well and they refuse to work harder (42). Number 3, though rare, may also be present where students simply want to do better even without external feedback of any kind.

Implications

An understanding of literacy must encompass trait and state; however, the degree of focus will depend on the contexts and goals. For example, school literacy programs and literacy programs for adults planning on completing high school or entering post-secondary institutions will focus more on literacy as trait, on developing competency in language: competency in language analysis, construction and generation of meaning, evaluation and extension of language use through manipulating various linguistic structures (word, sentence. clause, argument, thesis, connective, etc.). On the other hand, workplace literacy, and literacy for personal development will relate more to the situation demands than to language control per se. It must be emphasized that children must encounter literacy as state within schools; that is, literacy as trait (language control) must at times be related to the various activities that children engage in which involve print. Otherwise, these children will develop an extremely narrow perspective of literacy and will be limited in the degree to which they can use their level of literacy expertise as they encounter various situations. Likewise, adult literacy programs (if they are to be called literacy programs) must to some extent involve the participants in print, no matter how focal the goal of empowerment may be. From a trait-state perspective, literacy programs need considerably more balance than presently exists.

Accepting a trait-state model of literacy necessitates a different perspective towards assessing literacy than is common at the present time. Standardized tests, which are frequently used in schools, tend to measure trait aspects only. Even from a trait perspective, evaluation, according to Paris (1984), should also be directed at an individual's competency in tasks, knowledge, skills, and strategies. Literacy as use must also constitute part of evaluation, use, of course, being dependent on the situations in which individuals find themselves.

Understanding literacy as trait-state will help clarify the notion of empowerment. A common perception is that only those literacy activities which could be described as state would constitute empowerment occasions. However, Delpit (1988) points out that empowerment through literacy necessitates having control over language use (trait aspects) and considers it a disservice if individuals are not provided with sufficient language control (competency) that they can meet the possessors of power on their own literacy terms. In other words, empowerment through literacy may grow out of states or situations, but depends on trait competency.

Finally, those who inform us that the literacy standards of Canada today put us in a crisis situation (Fairbairn 1987), those who present simplistic notions for improving literacy standards (Calamai, 1988) and those who try and shame individuals into attending literacy classes, would learn from the fourth relationship (–) of the trait-state model that for some people, literacy is simply not relevant to their lives.

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POWER AND INFLUENCE IN THE CANADIAN HIGH SCHOOL LITERARY CANON

Barrie R.C. Barrell
Faculty of Education, M.U.N.

Ian R. Brockie
Ph.D. Candidate, English, M.U.N.
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When the editors of this journal asked us to report on the current issues encircling the high school literary canon in Canada, the task, at first, seemed relatively straight forward. We were asked to keep in mind the readership of the journal, to avoid getting bogged down in one ideology and to paint with a broad brush the significant issues surrounding canonicity. The major difficulty for us was in deciding when to leave a group's specific challenge or concerns before moving onto the next. In addition, we faced problems in selecting spokespersons for particular broad positions. With these points in mind, we have chosen two fundamental questions to help guide the review. First, are there any literary works that should be read and studied by all Canadian high school students? Second, what are our goals in having students engage in literary study? These two questions focus attention on specific curriculum content and the competing discourses that surround it.

Asking these two questions puts one on the edge of an evolving academic and societal battlefield. The combatants (members of the literati, textbook publishers, reviewers, traditional conservatives and liberals, radical educators and revisionists, high school administrators and officials, feminist and cultural critics, iconoclasts, politicians, members of the religious right, gay and lesbian activists, deconstructionists, linguists, concerned members of the professorate, etc.) all vie for positions that will allow them to influence or dictate provincial and regional school board literature policies. While gathering political support for their own philosophical positions, the various groups will often make alliances with sympathetic or somewhat like-minded individuals to promote their collective lobby's interests. Some combatants battle honestly and vigorously over philosophical differences, while others edit and sanitize works for little more than monetary gain. Writing in *The Globe and Mail*, the author Oakland Ross explains how he was approached by a Canadian textbook publisher to consider approving the editing out of references to smoking and drinking in one of his short stories. He writes:

> "Come. We go to the bar," the alcoholic says in the original version of the story--but not in the version edited for the textbook. This bit of dialogue, like a great many others, is cut.
> At another point, two of the characters-both foreign reporters in El Salvador--get caught in a crossfire in a garrison town. They take shelter near some gasoline pumps. With the bullets flying over their heads, one of the characters looks at the gas pumps and warns the other guy not to smoke. Okay, ... [i]t is a reference to smoking ... [but] it is a joke! ...[T]here is no conceivable chance that either of these guys is going to light up a cigarette at this juncture in their lives. They're in the middle of a street battle in El Salvador, for God's sake, and they are lying beside gasoline pumps.
>
> Yet the reference to smoking gets cut....

The cause of this exorcism is the publisher's efforts to get a text, aimed at secondary students Ontario's Ministry of Education and Training's official list of acceptable school based literary texts *Circular 14.*

Despite the changing make up of many urban and suburban school populations in Canada and the United States, Morgan (1990) and more recently Appleby (1992), have found that, in general, secondary literature classes continue to be clearly dominated by traditional Anglo/American canonical texts. These texts, despite the minor boom in Canadian studies in the early seventies, still focus on similar Anglo and American choices of novels, Shakespearean plays, modern plays, poems and short stories. Thus, English, as a high school subject, continues to perpetuate a traditional form of cultural heritage, ideology and literacy.

Cultural Literacy

Under traditional notions of cultural literacy, the literary canon is made up of those works assumed to be the heritage of all well-educated persons. This heritage is purported to have evolved in a natural, objective and bias-free manner, a literary extension of the Darwinesque notion of the survival of the fittest. The fittest are then stratified into categories such as literary masterpieces, minor classics, popular classics, and so on.

It is from these authoritative lists that high school literary works are drawn. These texts are seen as having been tested by time, sifted and scrutinized by the academy, and selected by professionals for the intellectual betterment of all. They are argued to be solid representations of western high culture and have changed little since such nineteenth century policy-makers as Egerton Ryerson, Henry Scadding and George Ross saw the study of English as a form of social control. Such policy-makers can be seen as representative of a colonial discourse that envisioned a Eurocentric and institutionalized division of knowledge - an understanding of knowledge that does not shy away from promoting a hegemonic ideology based on preconceived suppositions about the nature of literary works.

Responsibility for the canonization of traditional literary texts can be attributed to a number of individuals beginning with school inspector and the first professor of English literature in western history Matthew Arnold. It extends in this century to such canonizers as T.S. Eliot, F.R. Leavis, Northrop Frye, and M.H. Abrams. Beginning in the 1930s and 1940s academic guardians of the literary canon like Mortimer Adler (1940) and Mark Van Doren (1943) railed against progressive educators who offered challenges to the canon. Together, they produced lists of the seminal works of the western tradition for the convenience of concerned educators and to clear up any possible canonical confusion. Adler introduced his list of "Great Books" and commented that this was the only reading worth doing. In the 1960s and 1970s efforts were made to use more inclusive literary forms. For instance, English teachers were encouraged to use the lyrics from popular music or the poetry and stories of contemporary writers in their classrooms. In the 1980s, Alan Bloom's *The Closing of the American Mind* (1987) warned about the consequences to befall a culture that fails to learn from the great thinkers of the past. He saw a society of young scholars who, because their instructors lacked academic purpose, had failed to read the great works of literature and philosophy.

The desire to protect western culture and "cultural literacy" continues to find politically astute and influential proponents. In this decade, conservatives look to

politicians like Bill Bennett and media personalities like Andrew Nikiforuk and George Will to promote the ideologies of Hirsch, Kett and Trefil. In the early 1990s, William Bennett, US Secretary of Education, often used an instrument of popular culture - the talk show - to preach the conservative agenda. Appearing frequently on the public air waves, he exhorted teachers to "teach the classics of western culture and its language, and to point out the cultural heritage found in its literature" (*This Week With David Brinkly*, ABC Television News, December 18, 1994).

To negate or deflect literary discourses that drifted away from authoritative text and textual interpretations, conservatives began to specify the data and concepts students should be required to learn as they made their way through various humanistic curricula. This movement reached a zenith in an appendix to *Cultural Literacy* when Hirsch, Kett and Trefil put forth a list of 5000 very specific names, places, dates, terms, quotations and concepts that they felt all educated Americans should know. A continuation of this prepackaged listing of knowledge can be seen in the 1990's movement in western Canada, Atlantic Canada, and Ontario for 'outcomes based learning' (OBL).

OBL is being sold to the Canadian public and to teachers as a reasonable concept in which the mastery of instructional outcomes are checked off as students progress in school. To make parents aware of when their children master the times tables or are reading and writing at grade level sounds innocent enough, but in Ontario the list contains hundreds of items in all academic areas to be assessed and reassessed by teachers between grades 1 and 9 (Ontario. Ministry of Education and Training. *The Common Curriculum: Policies and Outcomes Grade 1-9*, 1995, p. 38-104). As OBL moves into the high schools in 1996 and 1997, one can imagine that English educators will be expected, indeed required, to peruse the English OBL list to generate teaching objectives that match concepts set out in the listings. Whoever controls the stated outcomes on English OBL lists, will control the texts and, indeed, much of the dialogue that surrounds classroom textual engagement. By stating, listing, and testing for specific literary knowledge, conservative educators gain control over the structure of the English curriculum, dictate the kinds of literary engagements that can take place, and control what specific knowledge is required to be transmitted, or in Ontario ministry terms 'mastered'.

One can see how future 'effective English teaching' could be monitored by matching the results of standardized tests against individual class results. Having the power to list what outcomes (facts and concepts) students need to be considered knowledgeable in English studies is to have *de facto* control over the high school literary canon and the theoretical direction its instruction will take. Outcomes based learning, when applied to the reading of literary texts, has an inherent danger of assuming that a single meaning can be arrived at through textual engagements. Outcomes based learning has the potential to see the reader's task as one of figuring out predetermined meaning in a *meaning-getting process* rather than a *meaning-constructing process* Rosenblatt (1978), Bogdan and Straw (1990).

To defend the traditional canon and the preconstructed meanings found therein is thought to promote cultural homogeneity, and to give a cohesiveness to issues surrounding nation building. A literary education based on a fixed notion of culture, delineates what counts as cultural capital and what is to be viewed as trivial.

The Challengers' General Position

It is the descendant of the traditional western European literary canon that is facing various linguistic, pedagogical, social, and political challenges. Voices from outside its borders are demanding to be heard. The canon's authoritative claims are being examined and questioned in terms of their political or historical motivations, truth claims, aesthetic judgments and literary insights. Thus, the canonical battlefield is quickly expanding. Indeed, questions like: what constitutes literature, what is a literary experience and who should decide these things are being revisited. In Canadian education, what texts get chosen for provincially sanctioned book lists (and again who decides) and what critical questions should be asked about the chosen texts form a central part of the pedagogic challenge.

Those who challenge the present high school canon examine both the function and mission of English studies. Their questions are concerned with the cultural, institutional, social, and political nature and identity of the discipline. It is a reconfiguring and restructuring of literary practice and classroom instruction that they wish to bring about. There are three broad outcomes that most of the challengers are striving to put in place. First, they want to alter the orientation of English studies by opening up the canon to diverse literatures and texts. Second, they wish to displace the authority of the text and author, and place the individual reader's textual engagement and literary responses front and centre. Third, they wish to review the nature of literary assessments, specifically focusing on how meaning is derived, assigned, and given value.

The Linguistic/Deconstructionist Challenge

Deconstruction is a theory of language and textuality which observes the interplay between class, race, gender and other social differences based on a critical stance towards ethnocentric positioning of subjects. Among other things, it draws upon theories of linguistics, semiotics, phenomenology and psychoanalysis in order to establish a challenge to fixed notions and stances. Deconstructionists challenge conservative notions of canonicity in which a literary heritage is born of texts vaunted as universal, unified, and consistent.

Since, in the deconstructionist view, all language is metaphoric, our readings are not to be judged right or wrong. Deconstruction's intent is to "expose the particular systems of thought at work in language practice, to indicate their relative and always provisional status. It aims to expose the rhetoric of texts as undermining any fixed centre, any determined meaning, any claim to be grounded in some kind of 'truth'" (Peim, p. 55).

Milner and Milner (1993) cited a well-known baseball anecdote that plays with these concepts and amply illustrates the social construction of reality.

> A seasoned umpire was behind home plate and a young hitter at bat. The tension was high for the young player. He was sweating with every pitch. After a fast ball whizzed over the plate, the umpire paused in his calling of balls and strikes. The hitter, puzzled, turned and said, "Well, what was it? A ball or a strike?"
>
> The umpire gazed directly at him and slowly said, "Sonny, it ain't nothin' til I call it (p. 170).

This story nicely contrasts the young batter's assumption that "balls" and "strikes" exist in the world as independent *facts* with the umpire's refusal to acknowledge their

autonomous existence. From a deconstructionist's point of view, this anecdote demonstrates the social construction of meaning, and shows the necessity of understanding that the world is made and remade through language.

Issues surrounding fixed notions of culture that emanate from the literary canon are challenged by deconstructionists on several fronts. Linguistically, deconstructionists start by disputing definitions of literary greatness. Those deconstructionists interested in pedagogical issues argue for the opening up of the canon and for the acknowledgment and accepted use of multiple canons and reading strategies like "reading against the grain". They propose a transversing of existing canonical boundaries in the name of pluralism and inclusion. And it is from such an ideological base, that they view textual engagements with students. Deconstructionists challenge conservative positions that place meaning *in* texts. Rather, they see texts as the sites of negotiated, often contradictory, meanings. In the interplay between reader, text and context, deconstruction forces readers to examine their own subjective responses.

Cultural Critics

A broad range of political objections are raised about the traditional literary canon by cultural critics such as Cornel West. In the literary relationship between writer, text, reader, and instructor, the cultural critics privilege the reader and match their critical stance to a much broader understanding of the purpose of school-based literary textual engagements. Writing in *Textual Power* (1985), Scholes reasons that what students need from educators is

> the kind of knowledge and skill that will enable them to make sense of their world, to determine their own interests, both individual and collective, to see through the manipulations of all sorts of texts in all sorts of media, and to express their own views in some appropriate manner (p. 15-16).

Cultural critics do not want students to revere the canon. They do not want texts seen as a source for moral instruction or as instruments for value formation. They resist teaching methodologies that train students to extricate a "right response" from authoritative works. Rather, they wish to have students study literature in its historical contexts and to become aware of the social forces that surround its construction. Further, they wish students to become aware of the political forces that act upon their own reconstruction and engagement with literary works. Hence, as Scholes reasons, textual studies are pushed beyond paragraph and page to include "institutional practice and social structures" (p. 16-17), and on towards an understanding of the political and cultural conflicts that privilege some texts over others.

Representing this perspective, Cornel West (1987) argues

> we must no longer be literary critics who presume that our cultivated gaze on literary objects - the reified professionalized disciplines - yield solely or principally judgments about the literary properties of these objects (p. 200).

He further argues that the literary objects we examine are

> never merely literary, and attempts to see them as such constitute a dehistoricizing and depoliticizing of literary texts that should be scrutinized for their ideological content, role, and function" (p. 200).

Besides asking obvious questions about whose culture and whose heritage is being studied and protected in traditional canonical study, critics like West, are attacking western culture's literary gaze upon, and fixation with, its own past imaginative works. "To put it crudely, this notion rests upon a fetishism of literature - a religious belief in the magical powers of a glorified set of particular cultural archives somehow autonomous and disconnected from other social practices" (West, p. 199).

Other critics in this area are Piem (1993) and Eagleton (1985). Piem's political stance calls for the abandonment of English altogether because it "is founded on premises and practices that are no longer really viable" (p. 4). He argues against literature studies as they are presently configured and calls for "a newly defined field of ideas and activities" (p. 5). Eagleton, arguing from a Marxist perspective, has long called for the end of literary study altogether and for a new field of cultural studies in which literature will play only a role.

In general, cultural critics see the canon as an effete and rarefied aesthetic which purports to teach, as Scholes says, "'the best that has been thought and read'--provided it has been said indirectly" (p. 12). They refuse to see literature as a repository of true greatness and are suspicious of a cultural tradition they feel has limited the representation of women, marginalized the working classes, and ghettoized the literatures of minorities.

When it comes to literary instruction, cultural critics argue against leaving students alone to make "reader responses" in reflective isolation. Rather, they prefer students to be involved in analyzing literature from a cultural stance, and developing a world view that does not see events as inevitable, stagnant, and unchanging. No longer are students to rely on an all-seeing, all-knowing teacher or author. Rather, they are encouraged to enter into a discussion based on a shared investigation of texts. Cultural critics wish institutions to encourage students to be more thoughtful and politically mobile.

If it is a student's intellectual growth through analysis of experience that is the goal of a literary education, then cultural critics would agree that students need to be encouraged to question the nature of their personal experiences with text. Greene (1978) believes "persons are more likely to ask their own questions and seek their own transcendence when they feel themselves to be grounded in their personal histories, their lived lives ... the actualities of experience" (pp. 2-3, as quoted in Milner).

By questioning their experiences with texts, students begin to make sense of their world and their shared lived experiences. Cultural critics want educators to move away from a pedagogy that is felt to distance students from their authentic experiences, and to disempower them along class, linguistic, racial, and gender lines.

The Genre Challenge to the Canon

The genre challenge to the canon stems from a perceived need to redefine culture and a desire to find texts that high school students are willing to read. At the heart of this challenge is the breaking down of the divisions between high or elite culture, in which traditionalists have usually had a vested interest, and low or popular culture. Thus,

texts are understood to be any number of cultural items that can be read and interpreted (i.e. rock videos, commercials, tee shirts and fashion, found poetry, music lyrics, and other texts from popular culture). The canon is thus opened up to all media and gives recognition to the high school student's need to engage with works that encompass popular culture. This approach represents a desire to broaden the canon, to allow a range of alternative texts into the classroom, and to reflect student experiences. In this search for relevance, texts are often sought that have adolescents as protagonists.

The Multicultural Challenge

Multiculturalism, within the Canadian framework, gained momentum in the 1980s. One of its central goals was to improve the representation of women, first nation's people, people of color, and non-Europeans in the school curriculum in such a way as to reflect the more diverse composition of Canada's rapidly evolving society. School boards set about broadening and enriching the traditional curriculum to include either social groups who had not been considered in much depth, if at all, in the past, and to begin to become more sensitive to newly arriving immigrants. The origins of this movement lay in a genuine desire for a broader understanding of the emerging Canadian reality. While some moderate critics of multiculturalism accepted the contributions made by non-European groups to Canada, and acknowledged the contributions newly arriving groups continued to make, they refused to give literary parity to these groups. Rather, they insisted on an overwhelming indebtedness to Europe and its ideas and ideals. They argued for the continuation of the teaching of works from the traditional canon.

In the remainder of this article one of the researchers will relate two recent teaching experiences that highlight a few of the issues surrounding the pedagogic debate about the literary canon that have been outlined in this article. This is done to demonstrate some of the realities associated with the teaching of literature in the modern Canadian high school and to give concrete examples from the educational front lines.

A High School Visit

As part of the preliminary field work for a research project, one of the writers recently had the opportunity to spend time in a Catholic high school situated just north of Toronto. Canonized high on the walls of an advanced grade 12 English class were various (male) Romantic and Victorian poets and writers. The readings for the coming term were listed on the chalkboard and represented, by the standards of Adler or Hirsch or Bennett, classics of western literature. Gradually, the neatly uniformed students filed into the room, took their places and prepared for class. The writer was introduced as a university professor and asked to speak on a variety of topics, but centered on one question asked by a young man in the back of the classroom. His question was: exactly what do you do in the university? Because this was the last class of the day, the writer began by encapsulating what he had observed during his visit. It was noted the school placed a great deal of emphasis on community, sharing, the building of a safe atmosphere, cooperation and belonging. The author stated that he thought these ideals were admirable and that the school was a very pleasant place in which to learn. He then drew a circle on the board and indicated how the school worked on the inside of the circle trying to creating a sense of cohesion and community. It was stated that people in the university often ask questions that challenge the 'security' of a community (the circle) or raise questions about the soundness of some of the structures within various

communities. It was noted that some of these questions challenge the status quo and can be seen as rather threatening and in some cases possibly dangerous.

A student quickly asked for an example. Since the class was made up entirely of students whose families originally came from either Asia, Africa or the Caribbean, the author decided to offer a challenge to their English curriculum. "Suppose one of you were to make an appointment with the principal and during the meeting said, 'Look, I have spent four years in this school and each year I have taken English. Would it be possible before I graduate from high school that my English class read and study a novel by just one person of color?'"

As if to prove the author's point about uncomfortable questions, this last period Friday class came alive and began to squirm, wriggle and exchange glances. The discomfort that pervaded the room was immediately acknowledged and the class was asked to examine what it was about the question that made the community so uncomfortable. "Is it a rude question to ask of a principal, is sex or violence involved in the question?" "Could it be said to be a reasonable request?"

The class was quickly asked if they would be allowed to read *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*? In a classic example of self censorship, a number of students shook their heads. One young man said, "Not a chance" and other class members nodded in agreement. The challenge to the canon, couched in a simple question, had made at least two points. First, beneath the surface of a multicultural group of students exists a sincere desire for more inclusive literature and a desire to hear voices from across the divide. Second, the question was seen as threatening because it challenged authority and power, and acknowledged that there might be authors worth studying other than those pictured on the walls above their heads. Time did not permit follow up questions on a number of important pedagogical, social, political or aesthetic issues (nor was it possible to set the stage for a discussion about the author's position as a white male asking such questions). At the end of the class a number of students went to the back of the class to continue the conversation. Some stood for a few minutes laughing and talking about the questions. The author was left with a feeling that the 'cat was out of the bag' and that, as the class made its way through the books listed on the chalkboard, the teacher was going to face some resistant readers.

A University Visitation

The following week the author was a guest lecturer in an English Methods class at the University of Western Ontario. As part of the class, these future English teachers were asked to pretend that a year had passed and that they had all been hired in a new and quickly growing community called New Town. They were to take a few minutes and in groups of five or six simply to come up with the reading list for each of the grades for New Town high schools. The all white class set about the task in a variety of ways. For some it was a romp through their undergraduate English degree transcripts picking and choosing texts they had most enjoyed studying. Avid readers wrecked their memories for 'good books.' One group started by listing each of the grades and then set about choosing a Shakespearean play suitable for each. Others, realizing that they had only chosen texts from this century, began rearranging things to include writings from other centuries. Someone wished to use a Stephen King novel and a debate broke out about the issue of violence in school texts. As the writer moved away from the group he heard comments about the violence in Shakespeare and the plucking out of eyes in *King Lear*. Though the students were doing their best to complete the task they had been assigned,

no one asked about the students they would be teaching or stated that the task was impossible without more information about the mission of the schools or the needs of its students. In general, it could be said that these future English teachers were recreating the canon complete with its associated literary heritage.

Of course, the question was far from simple and the writer did not expect the students to be able to produce anything close to a satisfactory syllabus for each of the grades. As various groups thought they were beginning to complete the task, new information was mentioned and brought into the conversation. It was stated that a parent had just called asking if his daughter would be studying any works written by women or that had 'real' female heroes. Quickly novels by Alice Monro and Margaret Atwood appeared on some of lists. The question triggered some to deliberate the need for Canadian content in the curriculum.

One student thought the exercise was unrealistic; he thought he would be told what to teach. This was an interesting comment because if the student assumed he would be told all the poems and short stories his classes would be reading, then we might assume he would be looking for a list of questions to ask his charges about those same readings. Of course, the point in this exercise was to demonstrate, among other things, the aesthetic, political and social possibilities and requirements involved in text selection, the need to be inclusive, and the need to look at the students one teaches and their literary requirements expectations. This opening exercise was chosen because it quickly problematiced literature education.

Concluding Comments

This visit to the front lines point out some interesting insights for those wrestling with canonical issues. First, present economic circumstances would seem to dictate that if the University of Western Ontario graduates are going to get teaching positions, the chances are that they will be teaching in one of the fast growing districts around Toronto. These districts are multicultural in make up. Markville District High School in York Region has over seventy different nationalities represented amongst its growing student body. Brother Andre Catholic High School has similar representation. The fact that all the English teachers in training at the University of Western Ontario were white is, in our opinion, very problematic. No one in their class could speak, from personal experience, to the issues of exclusion, the need to broaden the canon or what is said when literature from outside the literary establishment is excluded from a shared classroom reading and response. Without some direct teaching about the nature of school populations or modern demographics, the university students would probably continue to reproduce the canon and its traditions. Authors mentioned for study by the university students were typically male and white.

The high school students expressed a recognition that politics was directly involved in text selection and most definitely a part of the theoretical question asked them. To be succinct: surely we can all see that something is dramatically wrong with a situation in which white instructors teach the novels and plays of white authors in schools that have diverse races and creeds represented. The resolution of the tension between inclusive literature programs that include nonwhite authors and women, and the traditional canonical curricula is an ongoing quest of many English educators. Applebee (1992) reports that the Center for the Learning and Teaching of Literature found that in the United States only five percent of literature teachers claimed to have little or no leeway in selecting the works they taught (p. 30). He identifies three reasons why English teachers do not include more works from alternative traditions.

1. Teachers remain personally unfamiliar with specific titles.
2. Teachers are uncertain about the literary merit and appeal to students.
3. Teachers are worried about possible community reactions. (p. 31).

He adds "...the majority of teachers report that they have been successful in teaching the 'great works of the Western tradition'--titles of assured literary merit that are less likely to provoke community reaction and that scholars and critics...find interesting and worthwhile" (p. 31). Given these general facts, and assuming that the study of literature does not slip into cultural studies, it seems appropriate that part of the reform process can begin in our professional schools. To start, we must bring more people of color into English education; administrators and admission committees need to recruit more actively. English methods instructors will need to integrate the literary works from alternative tradition into their course work and acknowledge orature as a legitimate part of an English program. The literary merit of such works should emerge as methodological work is completed using these texts. Full class discussions about the diverse cultural make up of many urban schools, the compiling of various and varied works by nonwhite authors and the inclusion of more women authors will all add to the traditional background knowledge of the novice English educators. The exposure to such a curriculum will, at the very least, form the basis for a more equitable Canadian literary program. A program that will allow future English teachers to approach both ethnically mixed and homogeneous classes with an understanding about what is said when we exclude particular writers and expressive traditions.

Teacher concerns about possible community reaction against alternative traditions might be a red herring. Limited as the inclusion of female authors into the high school canon has been, we are unaware of any parental backlash against it. On the other hand, if curriculum choices keep marginalizing the contributions made by women and people from diverse cultural traditions, and if we keep teaching a white, male, Eurocentric curriculum, English teachers will eventually face community resistance if not outrage. A detailed plan for the continued reform of current literary curricula is beyond the scope of this article. However, we believe one additional place to start is with a name change. We suggest that 'English' be dropped from English literature and that students be required to study literature and orature in high school. This would allow us to open up the canon to include various authors from many backgrounds and demonstrate to students that the creation of imaginative texts that speak to and about the human condition is universal and not the exclusive domain of those presently canonized on the walls of high school classrooms.

These recommendation and many others like them were addressed at the July 1995 convening of the International Federation for the Teaching of English (IFTE) in New York. The delegates in one IFTE subgroup drafted a document (Barrell *et. al* , 1995) to be submitted to the executive that, in part, addresses the issues encountered in the two Canadian visitations mentioned above. The document gave international recognition to the current situation in English education and teaching. It states in part,

> In a world that has only begun to acknowledge the instructional needs of diverse learners--needs shaped in part by students' ethnic background, skin tones, sexual orientations, economic status, and geographic settings--students bring a variety of languages, literatures, and literacy experiences to their schoolrooms.... (p.1).

The document also gave recognition to student literary requirements. It went on to state,

> In the current era, it will not do, for example, for teachers or external agencies to address the challenges of teaching diverse learners simply by adding new works to...the literary canon, no matter how relevant these works.... [T]eachers must invite students to use languages--spoken, written, and visual--for a wide range of audiences, purposes and occasions; and they must invite students to be collectors and creators, as well as critics of literatures (p. 2).

The drafters did not stop there. As well as asking that English teachers from underrepresented groups be recruited into the teaching force, they addressed the role teacher education can play in the development of English teachers.

> Because inquiry-based approaches to teaching and learning provides students with opportunities to question and uncover embedded meanings in language use, literary texts, and literacy practices, teachers must prepare their students to think critically about them. Therefore, teacher education programs must engage teachers in critical study of these practices and artifacts. For example, these programs must not only introduce teachers to literatures with which they are unfamiliar, but they must make teachers familiar with new ways of approaching the study of texts which have come to be called canonical in [the United States and the Commonwealth] (p. 2).

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LITERACY, *DEAD WHITE MALES*, AND *BONEMAN*

CLAR DOYLE
Faculty of Education, M.U.N.
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Recently I have had the experience of reading two drama books. One of these drama books is **Dead White Males**, a new Australian play by David Williamson, and the other is **Boneman**, a new anthology of Canadian plays edited by Gordon Ralph. Both of these "finds" come at a time when I am trying to make sense of the concept of literacy as it applies to education. Inevitably discussions about literacy quickly become discussions about illiteracy. In that process, I also have to struggle with the concept of exclusionary literacy. Candace Mitchell and Kathleen Weiler (1991) tell us that exclusionary literacy sees itself as the model for all that is good and holy. Such an exclusionary literacy does not hear the voices of the many who are often designated to be on the outside; to be the other. Both of the books mentioned above contribute to a view of literacy.

David Williamson's **Dead White Males** represents a frontal attack on post structural literary thinking. This is done by demonizing its academic antagonist and by bringing Shakespeare on stage to demonstrate the universal value of his dramatic work. Where Williamson deals a vicious script Ralph in **Boneman** offers a multicultural mosaic of crystallizing Canadian plays. The plays that Ralph has selected for this anthology cover the gamut of Indigenous People, the French/English question, immigration and identity, as well as national comedy and contemporary problems. Ralph is aware that readers do not encounter text in a void but that they work out of their own culture and history to interpret literary works (Eagleton, 1983).

Ralph has chosen and edited plays with magical names ranging from **Boneman** to **Old Boots** and from **On the Rim of the Curve** to **Moon People**. These play scripts take us across Canada and our literary ears ring with the voices of the many as we imagine and re-imagine the varied places that give context to the plays. In selecting these scripts Ralph seems to be aware of Deanne Bogdan's (1992) crucial question of whose interests are being served by the use of particular text. Following on this reminder Ralph has selected dramatic texts that "gradually widen the circle of identifications through an increasing array of literary genres, authors, and subject matters, so that readers come to accept greater kinds of difference in an ever-expanding consciousness-raising" (p. 137). In order to get at such wider social, cultural, and historical identifications **Boneman** offers drama students a cross-section of people, places, and themes from varied playwrights.

The selected Canadian playwrights vary from Louis Byrne, Michael Cook, Mavor Moore, and Betty Lambert, to Gord Ralph. The other playwrights in this anthology, Ron Chudley, Al Pitman, Glen Rockwood, Ariva Ravel, and Carol Sinclair represent world views specifically positioned in place, time, and culture. This assembly of playwrights is certain to contribute to what Tony Bennett (1991) calls a culturally suspicious readership. One cannot read **Boneman** without questioning how and why the Innu, in many ways, give their lives over to the trusted white man, often with devastating results. In **On the Rim of the Curve** Michael Cook uses a circus motif to depict the senseless brutality involved in the extinction of the Beothucks. This indeed is a disturbing pleasure (Giroux, 1994).

In **After Abraham** Ron Chudley examines the "two absolutes" involved in the ongoing struggle between the French and the English in Canada. This is a recurring bad dream self-inflicted on the Canadian psyche by means of myth and media. One of the design conventions the playwright uses in **After Abraham** is to depict the political conflict by theatrically structuring a split stage where the "ignorant armies clash at night". There is great power in the symbol! In **Customs** Mavor Moore asks the perennial not answered question of "who are you?" and "who am I?" This play is offered in a way certain to make us culturally suspicious and force us to ask how our identities are constructed. Such questions are crucial for thinking students.

Ralph has done a marvellous job of selecting scripts that put literature, and our notions of literature, in a much wider social, cultural, and historical context. This is done while being acutely aware of the value of the different voices that people the various plays. This acceptance and presentation of difference is in itself a significant contribution to how drama students will see the world. This acceptance and presentation also contributes to our view of literacy. In Glen Rockwood's **The Second Coming** we have the opportunity to get involved with three characters who belong to a poverty subculture. These days there is a lot of discussion about overclass and underclass and here is an opportunity for students and teachers to examine such realities. Betty Lambert's **The Song of the Serpent** presents a melodrama which allows us to see stereotypical characters in a way that invites us to look at ourselves through a contrived yet safe site. Such a play can point with a very straight finger to serious matters in a seemingly simplistic way. Often these plays are simplistic like Monty Python is simplistic. Simplistic yet living dangerously (Giroux, 1993).

In the last section of this anthology, which Ralph has called Contemporary Problems, we have play scripts on teenage pregnancy, reproductive technology, and the elderly. The three plays are **Moon People** by Aviva Ravel, **I Want Your Body** by Gordon Ralph, and **Old Boots** by Carol Sinclair and they lay bare some of the most troublesome concerns and problems of our time. The reality is that such problems will not easily go away. It is best that we deal with them. These three very telling plays give many opportunities for students, along with their teachers, to deconstruct and reconstruct their own realities. There are many opportunities for teachers working with these plays to use the drama convention of teacher-in-role (Hawksley, 1987) to examine the presented realities.

Those of us who work with drama must realize that the scripts we present to our students and colleagues are not neutral, value-free, asocial, or a historical. These scripts represent a snatch of someone's life and circumstances. Such scripts can be examined and worked for the light they allow on someone else's reality, and therefore on our own.

Drama, dealing as it does with tension and conflict, can develop a critical discourse. That is a discourse that invites opposition and argument. In this way drama resists the temptation to easily resolve contradictions in a spurious harmony. By allowing argument and discourse drama can show the contradictions of social reality. The plays presented by Gord Ralph in **Boneman** certainly can contribute to this pedagogy.

Culture is the expression of human consciousness which is shaped by social living. As Richard Courtney (1984) says the expression of culture comes in dramatic forms. It is important to realize that each society develops its own dramatic patterns which form part of our dramatic inheritance. However, we have to ask how drama is used, either through conscious intention or simply as a result of entrenched attitudes, to objectify a given culture. The very diversity of culture and cultures offered by Ralph

through the playwrights he has chosen would seem to militate against such an objectification.

Jack Zipes (1976) claims that:

> German children have been given a steady diet of banal, cute plays diluted of reality in order to distract them from their real oppressive surroundings and to keep them unaware of how they might use their wits and initiative to develop their potentialities and possibly change society (p. 1).

Ralph will never be accused of offering banal or cute plays. The plays selected here are filled with fire, passion, and torment. Part of the challenge for a critical pedagogy of drama is to take the world of students seriously. This drama should move towards greater collectivity and equality. We have to realise that the drama produced for and by students is drama about society at large. The problems and promises of students are the problems and promises of society. It is more important to encourage dialectical thinking than to produce entertaining plays or merry tragedies. The plays in **Boneman** go way beyond mere entertainment and few of them are merry tragedies.

I believe that we do not always have to invent new plays to contribute to a critical drama. There are many openings for the production of new plays but there are also many scripted plays, in wide circulation, that offer transformative moments. Much of what I am suggesting for a critical drama pedagogy has less to do with new content than it has to do with looking at existing content with new eyes.

The tools of theatre can be focusing and precise. They can be used to help students build their own drama, which in turn enables them to produce their own culture. The intent is to extract these critical moments in a way that allows students and teachers to produce their own meanings out of someone else's script. After all, the scripts found in **Boneman** are filled with experience, history, and vested interest and as such are very fruitful material for student examination. Maxine Greene (1990) reminds us that scripts are not invented from nothing:

> Human beings, of course, devise their life projects, in time, against their own life histories, and the wider human history into which those histories feed...To be aware of authorship is to be aware of situationality and of the relation between the ways in which one interprets one's situation and the possibilities of action and of choice. This means that one's "reality", rather than being fixed and predefined, is a perpetual emergent, becoming increasingly multiplex, as more perspectives are taken, more texts are opened, more friendships are made (p. 23).

In examining the scripts in **Boneman** we have the opportunity to get away from the idea that play writing is only done in isolation by the gifted few. Here we can realize that playwrights come to their craft from very different places. Many of the plays presented in this anthology were written by people who lived varied and demanding lives. There must be an invitation to students to see that their culture is a product, not only of the values of science, humanities, art and religion, but also the product of the daily patterns of living. It is possible that the great range of playwrights offered for consideration here can be used to coax students into doing some dramatic writing. Students can be helped to look at the raw material of their lived culture. They can draw

from this material and interpret for themselves and for others. They can also be encouraged to probe the history of a given shared community experience and build on that history. The history can be then examined for its moments of resistance and hope and played out in dramatic form. That is the gift of Gord Ralph's **Boneman**. The playwrights in this anthology are people who were formed out of social webs in concrete places. They simply put their gained dramatic knowledge into text and in so doing produced culture.

Gord Ralph, as a gifted educator and serious student of social processes, knows that drama is a given in students' lives and culture. He also realizes that very often this drama is left unattended and goes unexamined. Student culture is filled with the drama of movies, rock videos, and hang-outs. Students "hang out" in dramatic clusters in shopping malls, hamburger restaurants, and school washrooms. They move in discrete packs seeking drama; a shout here or an encounter there. The dramatic play is made up as they move inside rituals of resistance and loyalty. This dramatic play, within their rituals, should not go unattended and unexamined. It is the stuff of their lives and it is inherently dramatic (Doyle, 1993).

There are many things we have to watch for in **Boneman**. Drama can be a trap for teachers and students because it offers plays that are very ripe for production. It is very easy for teachers and students to get caught up in the applause of a fine dramatic presentation. There is nothing wrong with this. It is only amiss if the applause is the prime reason for doing drama. We should not be afraid of silence. Even though the sound of no hands clapping can be unnerving, the drama can still be transformative. We must not confuse enjoyment with understanding. People still want to know. I believe one good question can justify an otherwise merely entertaining play. There is little value in showing people what they already know. Many of the dramatic scripts found in **Boneman** go well beyond this type of showing. In fact they urge us to encounter the uncomfortable. Drama should not be afraid of ambiguity. **Boneman** is certainly not afraid of ambiguity. The text flaunts ambiguity and forces us to wonder and examine.

One of the strongest emancipatory clues for drama pedagogy is to appreciate how scripts can be produced in such different fashion. No two presentations of a play are the same. Drama is forever new. Because drama is multi-dimensional, scripts can be interpreted in many ways. Directors can decide to emphasize one aspect over another. A drama script does not have to be frozen. Scripts must become open to re-reading. I believe that many of the play scripts presented in Ralph's collection are very open to re-reading as well as fresh presentation. Any of these drama script can serve as an educational grid for examining different social, cultural, and political contexts.

Drama represents a site where students can inquire into the literary forms that are presented through the school curriculum. The students can see, through drama experiences, that given curriculum forms affirm and disaffirm certain individuals and groups. Once again this is where we can appreciate the intentional diversity of plays selected for this anthology. That is why the text can be used on so many educational fronts; as a package of ready plays, as a tool for critically analysing facets of our wider society, and as a widened vision of literacy.

Drama is not and cannot be immune from the normative interests behind schooling in general. However, if these interests are allowed to be examined, as opposed to being simply accepted by teachers and students, then there is hope for transformative education. If such an approach is possible then drama in schools can be rescued from its acritical groundings.

Students must be free to work the various forms of drama that enable them to explore their worlds and plot their destinies. Drama in schools must be more than a reflection of social reality. Drama must be free to show alternative visions of the relationships between the individual and society. We have to place drama in its overall social context and remember that it is a cultural activity. As teachers work with the scripts found in **Boneman** they should be willing to probe each play to excavate both social context and cultural activity. The high school play that glosses over the unequal relationships within society is not living up to its educational possibility.

In what will not be the final analysis of this new text it is necessary to say this is an important anthology of Canadian plays. Gord Ralph's contribution to us teachers and to the students we work with is timely, usable, and significant.

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EARLY LITERACY DEVELOPMENT: CIRCUMVENTING THE HOME-SCHOOL GAP

William T. Fagan
Visiting Professor
Faculty of Education
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Abstract

The significance of early literacy development and the importance of the home for this purpose has been widely recognized by educators. However, the nature of the model by which early literacy best occurs has not been critically addressed. Both home and school are necessary and crucial partners in fostering children's early literacy development. Models cannot be unidirectional in focus but must recognize parents and teachers, homes and schools as co-partners.

Early literacy, family literacy, and intergenerational literacy tend to dominate current writing, research, and projects on literacy development. Within the past 25 years or so, the focus on early literacy has shifted from the school to the home (Spreadbury, 1996). This shift was partly based on the realization that early literacy development extends beyond school - that teachers cannot accomplish the task alone (Neuman, 1996), and that parents, regardless of home conditions, are generally interested in their children's educational welfare (Snow et al, 1991). However, many models conceptualizing this shift have become lopsided in that schools have generally being given the role of telling parents what to do to help their children. This approach is most commonly used with lower socioeconomic and poor working class parents whose homes are often viewed by schools from a deficit perspective.

The purpose of this paper is to argue that while early literacy, family literacy, or intergenerational literacy are key to literacy development, a unidirectional model from home to school is not the most appropriate model. If children, especially children from non-middle/upper class families are to have the necessary opportunities and experiences for literacy, then there must be a co-partnership model between school and home.

Valuing Home Literacy

One reason why a school-home unidirectional model of literacy development does not work is because it fails to recognize that parents/caregivers are the children's first, continuous, and most important teachers, a point emphasized by Voss (1996). It does not respect parents' knowledge or what they already have accomplished with their children. It ignores the fact that even with few literacy materials in the home and/or with low levels of formal education, parents have the best interests of their children at heart, and often automatically and subconsciously do things which support and foster their children's learning. Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines (1988) found this to be the case even among inner-city families growing up in great poverty.

Purcell-Gates (1997) argues that there is a significant influence on school literacy from the reading and writing experiences of the home. In the home children learn important literacy concepts such as intentionality, written language register, and the alphabetic principle. These concepts are generally learned at home for as Meier and

Britsch (1997) point out, literacy is a dynamic and developmental process involving language, thought, and social interaction which children experience from a very early age. In fact, Roskos (1997) notes that the integration of play and literacy by children is no accident. Play and literacy are normal aspects of development - play provides a social context for literacy.

A project, PRINTS (Parents' Roles Interacting with Teacher Support) was initiated by the author and two colleagues in two community centres in St. John's (Fagan, Cronin, Anderson, 1997). This project was based on an asset oriented model. The goals of the project were:

1. To empower parents as early literacy providers.

2. To help parents become more aware of the roles they play and can play in their children's early literacy development.

3. To support parents in initiating positive changes in the home environment to foster literacy development.

4. To help teachers become more aware of the roles they play and can play in children's early literacy development.

5. To support teachers in initiating positive changes in the school environment to foster early literacy development.

6. To help parents and teachers become more aware of each others' roles in early literacy development and to foster co-partnerships. This also entailed acquainting parents with "technical" or "school" terminology whenever the occasion arose.

7. To provide a cost-effective model for fostering home-school partnerships and early literacy development.

Parents were provided opportunity to demonstrate the range of literacy activities in which they engaged their children. They were already very much involved in their children's learning; there was much for which they could be given positive feedback. Parents were aware of their children's knowledge, such as being able to recognize letters, and count. One parent brought sheets of scribbling/drawings of her child to the Program to show what the child could do. Parents sang and recited nursery rhymes to their children, and when the words of the song, Hush Little Baby, was given out in a session, one parent said now she could sing all the words because it was her child's favourite. They played a variety of games with their children. One of the parents, who also had a child in grade four, had enrolled the child in a special reading class offered at the university. They read to their children; they were aware of which books were appropriate for young children. One parent told of how she used a trip to the supermarket to help her child recognize letters by directing the child to the letter which began an item, such as "b" for "beans". The parents demonstrated great patience with their children. When they returned from the centre at the end of a project session, it was not uncommon for the child to be waiting and have the parents read and re-read a book five or six times (books were given to the parents for the children). Most parents knew the stories of the books by heart. Some parents took their children to the public library (a bus ride) to borrow books, and to performances by child entertainers. A parent of one kindergarten child, who wanted to attend the Homework Haven sessions at the centre but who had no homework from school, went to a local general store, and purchased a book with

exercises which the child could take to the centre for that purpose. They were very aware of their children's needs and abilities and monitored their children's progress. Two of the parents noted that initially their children (age 2 and 3) were not interested in books and print, but then during the project became very involved and demanded that books be read to them and that the parents make various letters of the alphabet for them. Similar results of literacy in the home were documented in studies as far away as Texas (Williams and Lundsteen, 1997) and Oxford, England (Grimes and Davies, 1997).

Meier and Britsch (1997) suggest that educators have been using the wrong metaphor for home-school relationships - bridging the gap. This metaphor suggests a divide, a chasm, a separation. Instead they promote strengthening connections. Positive literacy experiences already exist in the home as well as at school. The task is to recognize and acknowledge both and to make connections so that one reinforces the other and children become the key beneficiaries.

Strengthening School-Home Connections

While home and school entail many literacy experiences, these sometimes differ in their nature and in the contextual setting in which they occur. Purcell-Gates (1997) reminds us that literacy experiences of the home come from the lives of the children - their living rooms, the playground, the streets, their family context and from community involvement. Literacy in school, on the other hand, is usually based on books. Strengthening connections may originate from various directions.

Home-Literacy Projects

In home-literacy projects, the mediator is usually a professional, a community worker, researcher or facilitator. Workshops or sessions with parents (and perhaps the children) are important in early literacy development, according to Williams and Lundsteen (1997) as they "allow parents to be active participants in their children's education" (p. 10).

The outcome of PRINTS was highly successful based on information on parental involvement, expressed satisfaction, children's literacy participation, and parents' knowledge, and adaptations, of literacy tasks according to their children's needs. A project based on a similar model in Oxford, England, did not have such positive results. The differences in results between both can best be highlighted by noting the different characteristics of both settings. A key factor in the Oxford project was the role of the professionals who initiated the project. The authors of the project evaluation (Grimes and Davies, 1997) state that the "reciprocal relationship between parents and professionals is a complex and challenging task for which there are few common guidelines" (p. 1). According to the evaluators the parents felt either intimidated by theoretical language or patronized by simplistic information, or annoyed by suggestions of keeping records, etc. While the project facilitators modeled literacy activities with the children, the parents were not always clear of the purposes of these activities. Also, parent sharing of home literacy activity was often limited and when comments were made, they were not always responded to in terms of explanation and noting relationships to other activities. The evaluators concluded that the organization of the project produced an imbalance of power perception between project staff and parents "which served to perpetuate the common perceptions of their 'expert' and non-expert' roles, respectively" (p. 10).

The PRINTS project did not encounter any of these difficulties.

1. The project was community based. The parents gathered at their community centre and not at a school. They took responsibility for setting times, for opening and closing the centre, use of facilities, deciding on the feasibility of literacy activities for their children (who ranged in age from 2 to 5 years). For a final session, teachers were invited to attend their centre. As one parent commented during the program, "These are our Thursday nights".

2. In order to play down any imbalance in facilitator-parent background, little reference was made to university (from which the facilitators came). In introductions, the facilitators talked about experiences in their lives with little reference to the university setting. (About two-thirds of the way through the project, one of the parents asked a facilitator if he were with the university.) First names were used. Adopting an asset orientation helped in that facilitators expressed interest in the parents sharing about what they were doing and did not promote a perception that they were there to tell parents what to do. There was an attempt to avoid theoretical and simplistic language, but when an occasion arose from parent discussion/sharing, a technical or school literacy term would be introduced as another label for that experience.

3. In the PRINTS project, children were not directly involved. The children were considered the "absent participants". This did not mean they were not important; any activities introduced in the project always kept the children in mind and the children were the beneficiaries of these activities from the parents and in a playtime setting at the centre.

   When literacy activities were shared with parents by the facilitators, they were modeled with the parents in terms their rationale and procedures to be used with the children. When feasible, parents were involved in constructing and gathering materials and resources for the activities. Parents were given an "activity cue sheet" to help them remember the activity. These sheets tended to include drawings or non-print cues.

4. The parents were never asked to keep records. This was an issue of discussion, especially with respect to transfer of knowledge. But parents seemed to have very occupied days and "demands" on them may have made the workshop a less pleasant experience.

5. The basic structure of the model on which the PRINTS and Oxford projects were constructed was always visible in the PRINTS project in contrast to the latter. Five contexts in which literacy develops were identified: talk, play, books and book sharing, environmental print, and scribbling/drawing/writing; there were five roles which parents and teachers could take in facilitating literacy development in these contexts: providing opportunity, recognizing/ acknowledging, interacting, modeling, setting guidelines. Wooden blocks (2"x3"x8") were used to build a "stairs to literacy" and each step was labeled as one of the contexts; the supporting blocks for the steps represented the roles. Also the contexts and roles were printed on poster cards and displayed during discussions. All literacy activities shared with the parents were discussed in terms of the five roles although the terms were not always used.

6. One of the recommendations of the Oxford project was that specific practical strategies be developed to be shared with the parents. This was an essential part of the PRINTS project. The first part of each session was devoted to having parents share what was happening in their and their children's lives with respect to literacy, while the second part consisted of the facilitators sharing activities with the parents. There were a total of 34 literacy activities across the five contexts shared with the parents.

7. Unlike the Oxford project, PRINTS facilitators capitalized on any comments made by the parents and extended them and related them to other literacy activities so that the parents could better understand the literacy value of the activities they described. For example, when one parent, said she would "go crazy" if she had to read a certain book one more time, the facilitator talked about the importance of re-reading, and memory of stories, as a way of helping children develop competence in book language (written register). On another occasion a parent brought a drawing of her 3 year old which consisted of different size circles but which represented (according to the child) different members of the family and a story line. The parent excused the drawing as being "not very good", at which point the facilitator talked about the important knowledge the child had developed: the meaning of lines/drawings as a code, an awareness that this code could be used to name people and tell a story, and that it was only a matter of simple transfer between the child's lines/drawings and the use of print for similar purposes.

The one place where PRINTS and the Oxford projects were similar was that initially parents did not contribute much in the way of sharing home literacy experiences. Later in the session, one parent volunteered, "You know, we didn't really know what you were looking for. We thought you expected something special. We never knew you were interested in day-to-day things."

Kindergarten-School Contexts

There is no doubt that kindergarten and school contexts differ from home contexts; the question is the extent of these differences and the implications for literacy development. Purcell-Gates (1997) points out that while the home is bounded by the family and community context, and the use of literacy within these environments, literacy in school is bounded by school uses of print which may differ to a greater or lesser degree. The fact that there are more books in kindergarten classrooms may not make a difference, a point demonstrated in research by McGill-Franzen and Allington (1997). They studied a number of kindergarten classrooms in the Philadelphia area under three conditions: providing a significant number of books, providing the books and training sessions (30 hours) for the teachers, and a control condition with neither. It was only the classroom with the books AND training that resulted in a marked improvement in the literacy of the children.

A surprise finding in a study by Meier and Britsch (1997) in preschool settings was the lack of reading to children. Since school eventually moves into more "print contextualized" versus "environment contextualized" demands, the importance of story reading is crucial as Meier and Britsch point out. They maintain that story reading "introduces children to a situation in which language alone is used to create experiences. Since language becomes more and more central to learning as children progress through school, story reading in preschool provides essential preparation for a style of teaching that is frequently part of later school experiences" (p. 14).

But it is not simply a matter of reading stories to children according to Lo (1997). Children benefit most from story reading when the interaction between story reader and child is one of co-construction rather than of a question-answer nature. Neuman and Roskos (1997) maintain that children best develop literacy expertise through social practice. There must be engagement of the children in real life (or simulated) literacy tasks and that such experiences should be available in kindergarten. Meier and Britsch (1997) note that teachers identified lack of consistency in home literacy experiences for many of the children as a problem. If the focus is on making connections, rather than bridging the gap, then kindergarten should form a transitional experience from home to school. Kindergarten should promote socially based literacy activities. The role of kindergarten should not be intervention or remediation, but one of continuation, collaboration, congruency, and challenge. Teachers must foster the interweaving of social and academic factors. While independence for the children may be a goal of kindergarten, this may not be a meaningful goal for children of some families where there has been little parental supervision. The children may already have attained great independence. The teacher's task then is not to help the children attain independence but to develop with them a sense of ownership and responsibility. However, to provide this kind of transition, the kindergarten teacher must understand the home environment.

Williams and Lundsteen (1997) suggest that kindergarten teachers be knowledgeable of the earliest literacy development so that they can understand the continuity from home to school. The PRINTS project is based on the premise that children, especially from non-middle/upper class families, will more likely attain success in school if parents and teachers become co-partners. For that reason, PRINTS was also implemented with kindergarten teachers in a school which the majority of the children from one of the communities attended. The teachers were exposed to the very same model as were the parents, except that the school context became the focus for the literacy activities. Information on literacy activities in the home was shared with teachers, and from school settings with parents by the project facilitator.

Parents and Educators

The perceived role disparity between parents and early literacy professionals may also apply to parents and educators/teachers. Since there is a common basis (children), the role disparity seems to result from knowledge base, language used, perceptions, and attitude. Expectations by teachers for parents to have taught their children certain things before entering school seems to be a recent rather than an historical occurrence. In the PRINTS project, the teachers placed more emphasis on activities that were more print related. They believed that parents could be expected to (a) teach their children their address and phone number, (b) introduce the alphabet and beginning sounds, (c) help them develop fine motor skills through such activities as stringing beads, and cutting, (d) ask questions about things, (e) take time to answer all the children's questions, (f) engage in discussion, and (g) help them read. In fact, school expectations were so dominant that they were known to the parents and influenced what the parents did. Consequently, the parents were more inclined to involve their children in tasks that contained letters or words. They often had difficulty seeing how "play-like" literacy activities would assist in their children's literacy development while they readily saw the connections of print based activities. However, one parent pointed out that "not all parents will have their child up to the expectations of the school so the teacher must do whatever she can to help these children." The parent added - in a low voice suggesting a possible unfamiliarity with a new term that had been introduced during the project, but with pride that she was able to understand and use it - "that is scaffolding, isn't it?"

If parents and teachers are to be co-partners, then the parents must have some access to the technical terminology used to describe literacy development. Such terminology cannot be taught didactically such as a vocabulary class in school. Rather the terms must describe activities or situations shared by the parents and introduced at that time. Some of the terms introduced in this way during PRINTS were:

- emergent literacy
  - environmental print
  - invented spelling
  - setting (as in a story)
  - metaphorical language/figurative language
  - scaffolding
  - phonics
  - sounding words by analogy

"Scaffolding", for example, was introduced when parents were talking about what was important in their children's lives at that time. One parent noted that her child (age 4) was now imitating her in dusting and in drying dishes. She always wanted the dish towel. The mother made her a small dish towel of her own, and gave her one dish to dry. This occasion was used to illustrate how parents are keenly aware of their children's interests and abilities, and of parents' interest in involving them in different tasks. The experience was used to point out how parents make tasks manageable for children, how they meet the children halfway so that they will be involved and will be successful. The term "scaffolding" was then introduced as a label for how the parent acted. It was pointed out that "scaffolding" was a term commonly used by teachers/educators today, and different examples of scaffolding in a school environment were given. The terms "figurative language" and "metaphorical language" were introduced when an activity about recognizing sights and sounds around the house was discussed as a way for children to attend to detail. When the parents were asked to talk about sounds around

the house, one parent mentioned the kettle boiling, and said that her daughter (age 3) described this as the "kettle crying". This example was used to talk about figurative and metaphorical language, and its role in poetry and in school in general.

As a result parents gained considerable confidence in themselves and in their knowledge. At the start of the project, they were cautious about who would be involved. Towards the end when a Department of Education primary coordinator expressed interest in visiting the project, the parents were excited and anxious for the person to arrive. They were likewise enthused that the teachers were to meet at the center for the wrap-up session.

Williams and Lundsteen (1997) provide an interesting suggestion for making connections between parents and kindergarten teachers. They advise that parents and teachers be shown how, and encouraged, to keep portfolios of their children's literacy work. A parent in their study commented that portfolios contained "evidence" of what the parent knew about her child's literacy development. By sharing examples from portfolios, parents and teachers can better appreciate the similarity and differences in home and school contexts.

A study by Graue (1991) showed how the parents of two communities (one an upper middle-class suburb, and the second a rural working class community) differed in their behaviour during parent-teacher interviews. The parents from the middle-class background usually brought their own agenda, initiated questions, and shared information about their children. The parents from the rural working class community perceived their role as attending and listening. The teacher as authority was to inform, tell, explain, and advise. If parents keep portfolios for their children, then these can constitute starting points for parents (regardless of SES) to share, explain, and advise about their children during parent-teacher interviews.

Socio-cultural Factors

Making connections between home and school is not a simple matter. Teachers may not come from the same backgrounds as many of the parents and may not even understand their communities and their lives. Teachers have developed a particular philosophy on literacy development which may or may not correspond to current thinking and research in the area. A big mistake that is often made in providing for connections between school and home for parents of non-middle/upper class status is that parents within this group are homogeneous. Nothing could be further from the truth. Throughout the PRINTS project, the authors learned that there is a hierarchy of parents based on interest, determination, and involvement in the literacy/education of their children. Given the opportunities, these parents will likely match middle/upper class parents in supporting their children's literacy development. Roskos (1997) points out that literacy is a different experience in different SES settings, but as the authors of PRINTS discovered, literacy is a different experience in different families, regardless of SES. A challenge in making connections between school and non-middle/upper class families is to reach all, especially those parents whose children have the least enriching and productive literacy experiences.

A second important sociocultural factor is the influence of transgenerational experiences and attitudes. A study by Kaplan, Liu, and Kaplan (1997) with students in junior high and with the same group as parents twenty years later, found varying impacts of transgenerational factors. They state, "Parents who have not had successful school

experiences may consciously or unconsciously expect and end up reinforcing the negative school experiences of their own children. On the other hand such parents may remember their own negative school experiences, and they may want to do whatever they can to reduce the likelihood that their children will experience the same types of negative events at school as they did" (p. 10). Whether parents who have had negative school experiences transfer this effect to their children depends on a number of factors, such as the experiences which the children themselves have, the degree of contact between parent and child, the emotional bond between them, the perceptions of the child of parent support, the birth order of the child, and the current relationship between school and the parents. Parent influence may also be based on their experiences in academic programs (GED, ABE) in which they are currently enrolled. The nature of the instruction they receive may become a powerful mediator influencing their expectations of the nature of school learning for their children. For example, one setting in which parents are expected to do much of the work on their own, read information to answer questions or complete "tests", and to redo these tests until they get the expected mark, is going to generate a vastly different model of expectations for learning than a setting in which parents and instructor co-construct problems and solutions, in which the parents as learners are challenged to think, read, and write critically, and engage in literacy related action, when appropriate.

Another factor that has implications for building school-home connections is the gender of the parent who becomes involved. In the case of PRINTS, all parents/grandparents were female. This was also the case in the Meier and Britsch study in California. The reasons for fathers and grandfathers not getting involved, and the significance of this non-involvement needs to be investigated.

Summary

Making connections between school and home is vital if all children are to advantageously engage in literacy development. A quote from Meier and Britsch (1997) provides an excellent summation of this goal. They state there is a "need for a continual and evolving emphasis on central aspects of literacy teaching and learning in early childhood settings, and in particular, the role of literacy as community in the process of better understanding central factors influencing the quality of the collective literacy experiences between teachers, students and families" (p. 3).

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EXPLORING LITERACY DEVELOPMENT: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LOW-ACHIEVING GRADE 9 STUDENTS IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND ALBERTA

William T. Fagan
Visiting Professor
Memorial University of Newfoundland
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The results of the most recent literacy survey of Canadians 15 years and older showed that 16 percent functioned at Level 1 (out of five Levels), the most basic level of reading prose type material, with another 26 percent at Level 2 (Literacy, Economy and Society, 1995). Mishra (1987) expressed concern that the increase in low-literacy in adults in Canada each year approximates 30,000 due in large measure to a 30 percent dropout rate of Canadian high school students. In order to address the problem of literacy standards, it is necessary to understand why young Canadians can spend years in school and yet not acquire adequate reading and writing skills. It is likely that some factors leading to failure and dropout surface when a student reaches high school. It is more likely that such factors have their beginnings in the early stages of schooling and even in the home/community, prior to schooling (Speece and Cooper, 1990).

The purpose of this study was to identify which factors influenced the literacy development of a sample of grade 9 students in two Canadian provinces: Newfoundland and Alberta. These two provinces were chosen since literacy surveys show that Alberta enjoys one of the highest adult literacy rates in Canada, while Newfoundland experiences one of the lowest. This is a cross-regional and not a cross-cultural study and is pertinent in light of current cross-Canada testing in various subject areas, such as the evaluation project of the Councils of Ministers of Education Canada (McEwen, 1993). Provincial results are often compared without regard to the many factors that contribute to success or failure.

For the purpose of this study, literacy was defined as competency in reading and writing, including both the strategies or procedures which subjects employ in reading and writing, and the use of reading and writing in various contexts. The influences on literacy development and use, including affective reactions and interpersonal-social relations, were considered essential to understanding literacy achievement. Part of this definition is not unlike that used in the National Assessment of Educational Progress studies in the United States (NAEP Profiles of Literacy, 1985), in which literacy is defined as using printed, written or spoken language to function in society to achieve one's goals and to develop one's knowledge potential. Part of the definition is also consistent with Schiefflin's (1986) notion that literacy is a "social and cultural phenomenon, something that exists between people and something that connects individuals to a range of experiences" (p. viii).

A Model for Understanding Literacy Development

It is important to understand the model which provides the analytical framework for interpreting those factors which affect literacy achievement. The model chosen for this study was termed the Support Systems Model and was developed by the author on the basis of his earlier research (Fagan, 1987, 1988, 1989a, 1989b, 1990a, 1990b). The model consists of three categories of variables, referred to as Phases. One phase was

termed Tertiary in the sense that forces at this level were generally no longer present in the student's life, such as one's early home environment and early community experiences. The Secondary Phase includes school related experiences. The Tertiary and Secondary Phases are distinguished by sequence of time. The Primary Phase variables may be considered as encompassing residual affects/effects from the other two phases. They were designated Primary because, in the studies which led to the development of the model, they were the factors first mentioned when low-literate adult subjects were questioned about the nature of their school and home experiences. Furthermore, the factors were still dominant in the orientation or attitude of these adults towards literacy development or academic upgrading programs. An underlying assumption of the model is that each individual experiences support (positive) and non-support (negative) factors or forces during the course of his/her academic development. The influence of such experiences on child development is aptly described by Cochrane, Cochrane, Scalena, and Buchanan (1985):

> Each of us is made up of pieces that we get from one another. Everyone we meet has an impact on us, no matter how small, and the experience becomes a piece of what we are. Our experiences with other human beings are the means whereby we gain our own humanity (p. 134).

Considerable research exists in the literature supporting each of the phases of the model. The Tertiary Phase of the model contains eight variables: literacy models, literacy events, general experiences, academic knowledge, orientation toward beginning school, cultural influence, and physiological factors. The importance of these as the basis for support and non-support influences on low achievement is documented in many research studies (See, for example, Almy, 1949; Clark, 1976; Doake, 1981; Heath, 1983; Schickedanz and Sullivan, 1984; Torrey, 1969). Research indicating the relevancy of the Secondary Phase or school-related variables has been conducted by Baker and Brown (1984), Berkowitz (1986), Garner (1980), Goodman (1969), Miller and Yochum (1991) and Paris, Lipson and Wixon (1983). The specific variables within the Secondary Phase of the model include: home involvement, academic related experiences, academic assistance, perceptions of success, interpersonal relations/teachers, interpersonal relations/peers, commitment, concepts of literacy/metacognition, effective instruction/strategy use, cultural influence, and physiological factors. The third category, Primary, refers to the formation of beliefs and feelings based on one's exposure to various experiences (successes and failures). This phase may be considered residual in the sense that it occurs and remains as a result of prior experiences in the home and at school. In a sense it transcends the other two phases. The three specific variables within this Phase are attribution, general attitude and, in the case of those experiencing considerable failure, learned helplessness. Research results identifying the significance of these variables have been reported by researchers such as Bloom (1983), Johnson and Winograd (1983), McDermott (1977) and Wilcox (1982).

In order to overcome a weakness of models identifying factors correlative with literacy development, it was necessary to understand the interrelationships of these variables and how they operated across different grade levels (sequence). The importance of accounting for sequence and interrelationships is supported by Reynolds (1981) who studied the early schooling of children at risk and also by Willett and Singer (1991) in their research on student dropout and teacher attrition. The guiding question for the latter was "when?" rather than "whether?", that is, noting "when" a significant event occurs as opposed to noting "whether" or not it has occurred. Such a question, according to Willett and Singer, is best addressed through methods known as survival analysis,

event history, or hazards modelling (p. 409). One adaptation of Willett and Singer's work for this study was the use of the concept of "at-risk probability." At-risk probability was calculated as a percentage of the non-support factors which the students experienced within each grade level. This allows the researcher to identify which year or years the students were most vulnerable and were most at risk in terms of school failure and whether these years occurred in isolation or in clusters.

In summary, the type of learner an individual becomes depends on the cognitive and affective meaning which he/she abstracts from the impact of school and community experiences (positive or negative) over a particular course of time. Vygotsky (1981) describes the formation of the learner as follows:

> We could say that it is through others that we develop into ourselves. The individual develops into what he/she is, through what he/she produces for others. This is the process of formation of the individual (pp. 161-162).

Methodology

A survey research design guided the choice of procedures for the collection of the data. The specific measures within the survey design included interview, strategy tasks in reading, and a Concepts of Literacy Task.

Interview. The interview was the main data gathering instrument and consisted of a number of questions on the factors at each phase of the model. Mishler (1986) states that the goal of an interview is to provide an opportunity whereby interviewer and respondent can jointly construct meaning based on an understanding of shared contexts. By having a common core of questions "you are confident of getting comparable data across subjects..." (Bogdan and Bicklen, 1982, p. 136). A structured interview, according to Mishler (1986), need not be limiting or prevent "storying". Mishler states that "Telling stories is far from unusual in everyday conversations and it is apparently no more unusual for interviewees to respond to questions with narratives if they are given some room to speak" (p. 69).

The interview methodology may be considered a modification of the critical incident technique (Borg and Gall, 1989) which allows the interviewer to tap time related events of the respondents. In this study, subjects in a particular group were asked to report incidents which they felt were significant (critical) in their schooling. The use of open ended questions ("Think back over your time in school - what was important in helping you do as well as you have done") in the interview facilitated the collection of this type of data.

One difficulty with interviews is the possible discrepancy that may arise between perception and reality. One attempt to deal with this was to pose the same questions in different format at different times throughout the interview so that responses could be cross-checked. Also, whenever possible, the respondents were asked to describe specific happenings and the nature of feelings engendered were probed in relation to the experiences encountered. The interview was developed by generating a number of questions for each of the category variables in the three phases of the model. The questions were then arranged randomly and an independent rater was asked to assign them to the different categories of variables. The percent of agreement was 94.6.

Strategy Tasks in Reading and Writing. There were five reading tasks that were written so that they measured the use of seven particular cognitive processes: word analysis and identification, meaning derivation, synthesis, prediction, inference, generalization, and monitoring.

Concepts of Literacy Task. This task consists of eight photographs of people engaged in reading or writing activities. In an attempt to lessen any bias in the subjects' responses, the photographs had been selected to represent a variety of reading and writing tasks, and to portray people of different ages and gender.

For both the Strategy Tasks in Reading, and the Concepts of Literacy Task, reliability had been obtained in an earlier study by readministering the tasks to 24 subjects after a six month interval. The average percent of agreement for respondents across both administrations was 89.

Data Collection Procedure

Each subject was seen individually. The Strategies Tasks and the Concepts of Literacy Task were interspersed within the interview. In addition to yielding specific data, they also served the purpose of leading into another topic of the interview.

Subjects

Two groups of low-achieving grade 9 students of 20 subjects each were chosen from Alberta and Newfoundland. Grade 9 was chosen because it is the last year of junior high and a time when many students may drop out of school.

The students from Alberta were chosen in cooperation with two large urban school boards. Low-achieving students were defined as those who scored at least one-half standard deviation below the mean on a standardized reading test administered by the school boards (usually, the Canadian Test of Basic Skills). Students were chosen randomly from those who received parental/guardian permission to participate. The rankings of the students were confirmed by the students' homeroom or classroom teachers. Academic achievement over the course of a year was also taken into account. End of year tests were used to verify the achievement status of the students and only those students who were consistent in their low-achievement placement prior to the research project and at the end of the year were included in the sample.

All subjects were at least of average IQ as measured by a standardized test, usually the Canadian Cognitive Abilities Test, although a large number of low-achieving students had been administered the WISC-R. Information was collected on socioeconomic status, chronological age, and gender. Students who were recent immigrants and who had little experience with the Canadian school system were excluded from the sample.

An attempt was made to choose a Newfoundland sample as similar as possible to the Alberta sample. Students were also chosen in cooperation with two large urban school boards and the same number of students per group (20) was chosen randomly from those for whom parental/guardian permission was given to participate in the study. While the Alberta students lived in a large city (population greater than 500,000), the Newfoundland students lived either in a city of approximately 100,000 which also

encompassed schools in a rural area, or a in city of approximately 20,000. Unlike one of the criteria for the Alberta sample, standardized reading and IQ test scores were not always available for all students and the criteria for choosing low achieving students were homeroom teacher and counsellor judgments and the general achievement record. This was considered acceptable since the goal of the study was to focus on less-successful students. As in the case of the Alberta sample, end of year results were also examined to note consistency of achievement placement. Teachers of students in both provinces considered the "mix" of students in their classrooms to be "typical" of in that province.

Other characteristics of both samples of low-achieving students are given in Table 1.

The age differences can be explained by the fact that the data for the Newfoundland students were gathered two to three months after the data for the Alberta students. The only other meaningful difference is the number of families in which separation or divorce had occurred. Out of a sample of 20, eight Alberta students lived in families experiencing separation or divorce, compared to one Newfoundland student.

Data Analysis

An assumption underlying the results was that low-achievement is due to a lack of support within one or more phases of the Support Systems Model. The responses from the interview questions were converted to numerical scores. For example, if in response to the question, "Do you remember having books in your home when you were small, before you went to school?", the student answered "No", this was coded as 1; if the answer was "Yes", it was coded as 0. A rating of 0 was interpreted as the absence of a non-support or interfering factor. Only questions that were common across all subjects were converted to numerical scores. All scores were summed within Phases of the model.

Table 1

Characteristics of Grade 9 Low Achieving Students (Alberta and Newfoundland)

	Alberta	Newfoundland
Mean C.A.	14.4	14.8
Number of Males	9	9
Number of Females	11	11
Mean SES	2.8*	2.8*
Mean Number of Siblings	2.5	1.9
Mean No. Siblings at Home	1.4	1.5
Number of Separation/Divorce	8	1
Transfers after September	8	6

*1 = Professional/Technical; 2 = Skilled Trade; 3 =Clerical/Sales;
4 = Manual Labour; 5 = Unemployed

Results

Phases of the Model

The analysis of variance data for the low achieving students on the three Phases of the model are given in Table 2.

Table 2

Analysis of Variance for Non-Support Events at the Tertiary, Secondary, and Primary Phases for Low Achieving Grade 9 Students (Alberta and Newfoundland)

Variable	Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	Probability
Tertiary	Between Within	1 38	640.00 74360.00	640.00 1956.84	.32	.570
Secondary	Between Within	1 38	455.62 209913.75	455.62 5524.04	.08	.775
Primary	Between Within	1 38	16000.00 15410.00	16000.00 405.52	39.45	.000

The means and standard deviations are reported in Table 3. The students in Alberta and Newfoundland differed on the Primary Phase variables of the model.

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations for Tertiary, Secondary, and Primary Phases

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation
Tertiary (Alberta)	124.00	37.75
(Newfoundland)	116.00	49.88
Secondary (Alberta)	303.25	59.72
(Newfoundland)	310.00	86.49
Primary (Alberta)	89.00	19.50
(Newfoundland	49.00	20.74

During their school career, the Alberta students experienced almost twice the mean number of non-supports as the Newfoundland students in terms of Primary Phase variables: attitude, attribution, and self-helplessness. It seems that the lack of success of students in both provinces were likely to be equally affected by factors within the Tertiary and Secondary phases of the model. However, the Alberta students were more likely to be influenced by factors of a more personal and affective nature.

Sequence and Clustering of Non-Support Factors

The distribution of non-support factors across grade levels is given in Table 4.

Table 4

Non-Support Probability for Low Achieving Students Across Grade Levels

Grades										
	K	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**
AB	4	7	6	7	12*	13*	13*	13*	9	11
NF	3	9	6	5	5	6	8	17*	18*	22*

AB = Alberta, NF = Newfoundland
** Those grades on which there were statistical significant differences (t-tests) between students from both provinces*
Summing across grade levels equals 100 percent of non-support factors experienced.

A very definite pattern emerges for both low-achieving groups and differs by group. The Alberta students experienced a greater percentage of non-support factors at the elementary grade levels; the corresponding peak for the Newfoundland students occurred at the junior high school levels.

An analysis of the sequence of non-support factors in terms of their occurrence across consecutive grades showed that they were likely to occur in clusters of grades rather than being experienced in a single grade. Alberta students experienced considerable non-support in grades 4, 5, and 6, while Newfoundland students experienced such non-support in grades 7, 8, and 9. If a student has a "bad year" that is immediately followed by a year of support, it is possible that the effects of the "bad year" may be offset. However, when students encounter "bad years" three grades in a row, this is likely to have a more significant effect on their subsequent achievement.

In order to obtain additional information on the significance across different grade levels, the students were asked which grades they remembered as "worst" in their school career. The results are shown in Table 5.

Table 5

Number of Low Achieving Students Remembering "Worst" Grades

Grades									
K	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**
AB	0	1	0	78	8*	8*	6	5	3
NF	1	5*	3*	1	2	1	0	5	8*

9*
AB = Alberta, NF = Newfoundland
** Those grades on which there were statistical significant differences (t-tests) between students from both provinces*

Not only did the Alberta low achieving students experience a greater percentage of non-support factors at the upper elementary grades, but these factors apparently had a residual or continuing effect on the students as most remembered these grades as the worst grades experienced. The Newfoundland students' data on grades least liked were also consistent with those grades when a relatively greater percentage of non-support factors were experienced at the junior high school levels, particularly grades 8 and 9. However, Grades 1 and 2 were also noted by a greater number of Newfoundland students as the worst grade experienced. It seems that from the very beginning, the Newfoundland low-achieving students perceived school as a less than satisfying experience.

Perceived Significance of Support and Non-Support Factors

Responses to questions probing the students' perceptions of which factors were most significant in supporting (fostering) or non-supporting (hindering) their literacy development are categorized and percentages are given in Tables 6 and 7.

Table 6

Percentage of Perceived Significant Support Factors (At Least 10 Percent of the Total) for Low Achieving Grade 9 Students (Alberta and Newfoundland)

	Alberta	Newfoundland
Effort	32	35
Personal/Family	28	25
Teachers	15	17
School/Program	---	14
Peers/Friends	12	---

Both groups were fairly similar in their identification of perceived significant support factors; effort, personal/family, and teachers were the top choices of both groups.

Table 7

Percentage of Perceived Significant Non-Support Factors (At Least 10 Percent of the Total) for Low Achieving Grade 9 Students (Alberta and Newfoundland)

	Alberta	Newfoundland
Effort	46	16
Attitude/Motivation	13	14
Teachers	11	---
Self/Concept/Affect	11	---

The Alberta students also identified peers/friends, while the Newfoundland students believed that the nature of the school/program was a significant factor contributing to success.

While both groups saw lack of effort as the factor most likely to interfere with success, this factor was cited almost three times as often by the Alberta students. Both groups were fairly comparable in noting the effect of poor attitude and little motivation.

The Alberta students also mentioned teachers and low self-concept/affect as being significant non-support factors.

Data on concerns of the low achieving students are given in Table 8.

Table 8

Percentage of Factors Which Cause Concern (At Least 10 Percent of the Total) for Low Achieving Grade 9 Students (Alberta and Newfoundland)

	Alberta	Newfoundland
Success/Achievement	55	30
Job	23	2
No Concern	---	21

Again there was similarity in the pattern of responses for both groups. However, while both groups were concerned about future success/ achievement, this constituted over one-half of the concerns of the Alberta students but less than one-third for the Newfoundland students. Alberta students, while low-achievers, were more ambitious that the Newfoundland students in terms of future goals. Both groups were similar in identifying obtaining a job as a concern. "No concerns" made up 21 percent of the responses of the Newfoundland students.

Summary-Discussion

Low-achieving students may be understood in terms of the lack of support they receive from their beginning school years, and even before coming to school. Support factors are defined in terms of positive experiences, and non-support factors in terms of negative experiences which they have encountered. These may range from physiological difficulties (vision) to the attitude they develop toward school and school tasks.

The results suggest that different patterns of non-support experiences may contribute to lack of school success. The Newfoundland students tended to be more at risk in the very early grades and again at junior high. The Alberta students, on the other hand, felt that the elementary grades represented their most negative school experiences. The influencing factors on both groups of students tended to cluster rather than occurring in single years. A single "bad year" may not be too crucial in determining a child's lack of success, but a sequence of such years would likely be a compounding factor, so that without special help or intervention, a child would likely continue a pattern of failure.

The Alberta and Newfoundland students differed in the number of Primary non-support factors: the attitude, attribution, affect, etc. that they encountered. The fact that a large number of Alberta students came from homes which had experienced divorce or separation could have resulted in their being more inclined to examine their feelings and security. The findings raise a number of questions. Do Newfoundland students who are low-achievers become more complacent by junior high, while the Alberta students are

more likely to express their negative feelings? The Alberta students were more conscious of non-support factors at this stage of their lives than were the Newfoundland students. In spite of their low-achievement, the Alberta students set higher level goals for their future than did the Newfoundland students. The Alberta students had been more at risk in the elementary grades but, whether through intervention or some other reason, were feeling more positive about their current grade experiences. Is a combination of setting high level goals and overcoming the greatest at-risk period of their school lives more likely to lead to better academic performance in the high school years and a lower likelihood of dropping out of school? On the other hand, are Newfoundland students who are feeling at-risk at junior high, who are more complacent in their attitude and feelings about their achievement status, and who have set lower goals for their future, more likely to "give up" and - unless a major change occurs in terms of intervention and academic support - may not complete high school?

Implications

The Support Systems Model provides a suitable framework for understanding literacy development (or educational development, in general). This model can be used as an evaluative model and allows teachers not only to identify factors which the students perceive as significant in influencing their success (or lack of it), but they can also identify the years when students were more at risk and whether several "bad years" compounded their chances of success. If this were the case, such as students having a bad experience in grades 4, 5, and 6, the teacher would then be more likely to understand the skills and knowledge which the students had not mastered. This also points out the importance of teachers understanding the school continuum in terms of expected learning outcomes.

Teachers, through preservice and inservice training, should develop a greater awareness of the impact of various socio-cultural factors on student achievement and learn to capitalize on the strengths (supports) and compensate for weaknesses (non-supports). Unless a pattern of failure is interrupted, it will only become exacerbated. Once students begin to experience difficulty, the total context of that child's environment (as specified by the model) must be examined for the purpose of detecting where the child might be most at risk and how intervention might be most productive. Counsellors might note which non-support events continue beyond a year.

The importance of success for continued success cannot be underestimated and may underlie such other factors as self-concept, attitude, and effort. Teachers should plan and arrange tasks so that at some time each student experiences success and this success is acknowledged. There is still much truth in the old adage, that nothing breeds success like success.

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Validating The *IN* and *FOR* Distinctions of a Workplace Literacy Program

William T. Fagan
Visiting Professor, Faculty of Education

Della Coish
Memorial University of Newfoundland
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Canadian companies spend $4 billion annually on training and development in the workplace. Yet, as Haccoun and Saks (1998) point out, this is far less than what is spent in the US, Europe, and Japan, and must be increased. The challenge for this investment is highlighted by Latham and Sue-Chan (1998), who state: "The changes that will occur in the workplace as Canada enters the 21st century are contrasted with those that occurred when this country entered the 20th century in terms of knowledge, skills, and abilities required of employees ..." (p. 14). One important segment of workplace education and training is that of literacy. Bloom et al (1997) note that "enhancing literacy levels in the workplace improves bottom-line performance for Canada's employers and gives employees a better chance of success for their careers" (executive summary). The importance of adequate literacy skills in the workplace is further noted by Krahn and Lowe (1998), who point out that "the ability to read, write, and use numbers is crucial for the labour market success and social well-being of individuals" (p. 7).

While advocacy for workplace training and development (including literacy programs) is clear, what is uncertain is the impact of such programs. Haccoun and Saks (1998) note that one of the reasons why the impact is not clear is that the area remains largely unresearched. The goal of this study is to analyse the impact of a workplace literacy program through validation of "IN the workplace" and "FOR the workplace" concepts in terms of implications for employee participants.

Defining Literacy and Literacy Programs

One of the difficulties in providing a definition of literacy is that the meanings for this term have been changing, particularly in the past twenty years. Nevertheless, most agree that the key components of literacy are reading and writing skills. Some researchers and educators also include numbers (numeracy) and oral language skills. Literacy is usually considered the socioeconomic behaviour associated with these skills. What one does as a reader, writer, user of numbers, etc., supposedly gives an indication of the literacy expertise of an individual.

The National Literacy Secretariat makes a further distinction between reading as prose reading and document reading. Prose reading (or literacy) is defined as the knowledge and skills required to understand and use information from texts, including news stories, poems, and fiction. Document reading (literacy) involves the knowledge and skills required to locate and use information contained in various formats, including job applications, payroll forms, transportation schedules, maps, tables, and graphs. Since reading can only exist through writing, these subtypes (prose and document) would also define writing. Furthermore, in the case of document literacy, the proportion of reading to writing varies, and there may be more or less of one in relation to the other.

Literacy IN and FOR the Workplace

Analysis of workplace literacy programs indicates that these may be distinguished in terms of their general intent. The concepts IN and FOR become the overall distinguishing characteristics. A literacy program offered IN the workplace refers to a program offered IN the workplace setting. The general intent is to provide employees with additional skills in reading and/or writing. These programs have not been tailor-made for the workplace. They are usually programs that are offered in a variety of other community settings: colleges, schools, church basements, or community centres. The general impact of such programs is that employees upgrade their reading and/or writing standards. An indirect impact is that employees feel better about themselves, develop greater self-confidence, and thereby become more committed and productive workers. Adult Basic Education (ABE) and General Educational Development (GED) programs may be included under programs IN the workplace. Receipt of an ABE or GED certificate often provides employees with credentials necessary for job transfer or promotion.

A literacy program FOR the workplace is developed specifically to meet workplace needs. The intent is that workers will perform better on various aspects of their jobs. A literacy program FOR the workplace would make provision for workers to talk about their work reading and writing needs, and to share tasks and materials necessitating these skills.

The Workplace Context for the Study

This study was conducted in a city in Atlantic Canada. The workplace literacy program was made possible through the collaborative efforts of a national agency, a local committee with representation from city management, and three labour unions. The program was offered in the evening for a two hour session, once a week, for a period of ten weeks. Sessions were designed to allow for a break after the first hour, which allowed the participants and the facilitators to interact and build rapport. Participation in the program was voluntary. There were no monetary or other advantages to those who participated. Those completing the course did receive a certificate.

Steps in the Validation Process

<u>Conducting a Workplace Needs Survey</u>

An advisory committee developed two questionnaires, one for management and the other for employees. Both questionnaires included forced choice items and open ended questions. The goal of each questionnaire was to determine the educational/development needs of workers in the workplace, as perceived by management and by the workers themselves. Forty-seven supervisors, and 49 employees completed the questionnaires.

It was predicted that management would be more likely to focus on skills that would enhance a worker's performance. These responses would more likely be "job focused". The prediction for the workers' responses was that they would be more "person focused" and would identify skills and knowledge that would be more to their advantage as people and as workers.

The results of the needs survey supported these hypotheses. The top five types of programs recommended for workers and the percent of management recommending them were:

Better report writing	77 percent
Basic computer literacy	69 percent
Better communication skills	54 percent
Understanding work related printed material	54 percent
Better writing skills	46 percent

When the employees were asked to rate the areas which would be to their benefit, the top five choices and the percent of employees recommending these, were:

Dealing with on-going change	47 percent
Dealing with difficult people	47 percent
Handling stress	43 percent
Better communication skills	37 percent
Better writing skills	35 percent

An interesting finding was that 71 percent of the employees had experienced change in their work environment within the past five years. These changes were of three types: greater use of technology; downsizing and more responsibility; and change of jobs or job descriptions.

Developing a Literacy Program FOR the Workplace

The program was called Writing for the Workplace: Writing Process with Workplace Content. This was a literacy program FOR the workplace as it was developed specifically to meet the needs specified by management and workers. The strategy was to "kill several birds with the one stone" so the program was written to deal with a number of the identified needs. Three of the needs expressed by management (better report writing, better writing skills, and better communication skills) and two of goals expressed by the employees (better writing skills and better communication skills) formed the basis of the program. The other goals expressed by the employees were integrated as content.

A prototype for the program was developed. Improving writing skills constituted the underlying thread. Since the act of writing is process, the goal was to include workplace content that would help attain the other needs - from report writing to dealing with difficult people and stressful situations. A framework for developing the program was as follows:

- Plan to involve learners in understanding writing as process.
- Identify workplace situations and tasks involving writing.
- Apply writing process skills to accomplish these tasks.
- Use writing as communication.
- Identify sources of stress within the workplace.
- Write scenarios illustrating stressful events and difficult people.
- Apply writing skills to understand and deal with stressful situations.

Implementing the Program

Writing for the Workplace: Writing Process with Workplace Content was advertised among the city employees. The course was first offered from April to June, 1999, and was followed by a second offering from October to December, 1999. Twelve participants completed the course during the first offering, while eight did so during the second offering. The course was offered on Wednesday evenings from 7:00 to 9:00 p.m. Shift work and family commitments were barriers for a number of people who had registered but who had to discontinue. There were no enrollment requirements in terms of a certain writing level. Employees represented a broad range of departments within the municipal structure. Two facilitators assumed a variety of roles throughout the sessions, including information sharing, directing group activity, putting information on flip charts, and taking responsibility for different topics. Since a range of skill levels were represented in the group and there had not been a minimum writing level entry requirement, the availability of the two facilitators made it possible to provide individuals with one-to-one assistance when necessary. Plans for each session were specified and these were basically followed. Participants were encouraged to bring in samples of writing requirements from the workplace. They were also invited to hand in any writing they had done if they wanted individual feedback on it.

The goals for each session were shared with the participants. The sessions then proceeded through information sharing, explanation, group activity, individual activity, sharing, and reflection.

Gathering and Analysing Data

The data were mainly supplied through the process of self-report. While there has been criticism of this technique for data generation, one study has documented validity for this form of obtaining feedback (Fox and Dinur, 1988). Haccoun and Saks (1998), too, believe that this technique has considerable merit. For the purpose of the present study, self-report was considered appropriate, as the goal was to determine the impact of an experience on the lives of the participants, who should best know (perceive) its effect. Certainly, objective observation to verify what the respondents said would have provided for greater credibility, but that was not possible.

Evaluation sheets were completed at the end of every second session and focused on the goal for that and the preceding session. A more extensive evaluation was completed at the end of the program. This involved completing a rating scale on the goals for the course on a 3-point scale and responding to open-ended questions. Some open-ended questions were addressed in a focus group discussion, while others were responded to in writing on an individual basis.

Results

Fourteen goals for the program were rated using a 3-point rating scale.

3 - really met this goal; feel satisfied you have learned what was intended by this goal

2 - partly met this goal; would like additional practice

1 - have not met this goal; are not sure what was intended

The goals and ratings are as follows:

Goal	Rating
to understand writing as process	2.85
to learn how to plan for writing	2.71
to know how to choose an audience and write for this audience	2.42
to get one's thoughts on paper	2.85
to understand how to structure a specific writing task,	2.71
for example, report writing	2.71
to become a critical reader during writing	2.71
to make changes when necessary	2.71
to understand the role of editing	2.85
to develop appropriate editing knowledge, including spelling	2.85
to improve one's writing ability for the workplace	3.00
to address personal and workplace concerns through writing	3.00

to improve one's communication abilities	3.00
to become a better writer outside the workplace	2.85
to feel more satisfied as a person and as worker	3.00
Overall Average Rating:	2.82

These results indicated that the participants achieved the goals which were set for the course. What is perhaps interesting is that the four goals which received a mean rating of 3.00 (the maximum) dealt with the participants as workers, thereby lending validity of writing FOR the workplace.

Two of the open-ended questions dealt with the participants' use of the knowledge and skills they had acquired: use on the job, and use in their lives outside the job. Responses to the two questions were as follows:

What did you learn in the course that you were able to use/may use on the job?

- How to deal with other people
- Improved report writing
- Better communication techniques
- Dealing with stress
- Being able to get ideas together and get them on paper to whomever concerned
- Developing a spelling strategy
- Completing report forms
- Understanding the writing process.

What did you learn in the course that you were able to use/may use in your life outside the job?

- Understand my learning style
- Be able to write to someone effectively
- Write to understand issues
- Better understanding of writing
- Spelling strategy
- Insight into how to write a letter and the impact of audience
- Getting along with people
- Improved communication skills
- Better understanding of dealing with the public
- Better understanding of grammar
- Understanding my child's experiences in writing

Discussion

The concepts of "IN the workplace" and "FOR the workplace" are meaningful in terms of describing workplace literacy programs. A needs survey of management and workers indicated responses consistent with this distinction. As would be expected, the responses of management were more directed towards success in specific workplace tasks. The development of a writing program for the workplace showed that it was possible to construct a program to meet the needs of workers in terms of improving their communication and writing skills and dealing with stress. Finally, the results of the self-reports showed that the participants benefited both as workers and as individuals from their involvement in the course.

Haccoun and Saks (1998) point out that data are not yet decisive on whether investment in workplace training pays off. The controversy centers around whether such training may be too specific. When training is too specific, such as showing a worker how to operate a particular machine, it is likely to benefit only a few. If this is a new skill for the workers, then those trained may find a job involving this skill, which may lead to a high turnover of workers (Gattiker, 1995). This argument could also apply to literacy programs. For example, showing a worker how to complete a particular inventory might not have much transferability beyond that task. If the program is too general, such as learning how to pronounce words by sounding them out, then it may not enable workers to complete certain tasks, such as completing a particular inventory. The challenge of a workplace literacy program FOR the workplace is to make it applicable to job demands but, at the same time, make it general enough so that there is knowledge transfer across a number of reading and/or writing tasks.

An advantage of *Writing for the Workplace: Writing Process with Workplace Content* is that it was developed FOR the workplace and therefore provided the workers with those skills needed to accomplish various tasks, such as writing open-ended reports, completing report forms, communicating, or writing memos. At the same time, because it was based on writing as process, it was general enough so that the skills developed could transfer to a range of writing demands. Skills like planning, determining audience, composing or generating ideas, transcribing information, ordering or sequencing information, revising, and editing are general enough to apply to all writing tasks. This kind of knowledge helped the participants apply their skills to situations outside the workplace as well.

Another advantage of the program was that part of the content for writing activities was based on stressful situations and difficult people. Not only were the participants learning appropriate writing and oral language strategies to analyse various interpersonal scenarios, but they were also engaging in conflict resolution.

The concepts of literacy programs "IN the workplace" and "FOR the workplace" are very useful in understanding the kind of literacy program to which the workers are exposed. They can also act as a guide for choosing a workplace literacy program to meet workers' needs and as a framework for developing evaluation procedures. If a program was designed FOR the workplace, these concepts also make it possible to determine whether there were spin-off effects in the workers' personal lives as well.

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MISCELLANEOUS

THE "NEW" MORNING WATCH

Terry Piper, Dean
Faculty of Education
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Those of us who came of age in the sixties to the strains of The Times They Are A 'Changin' could not have predicted the enormity nor the pervasiveness of those changes, especially in education.

We've seen trends come and go. We've accepted an increasingly heavy burden thrust on us by a society whose greater concern about equality and justice often fails to "trickle down" to minorities and children, and, especially, to minority children. We've adjusted as governments got bigger and more intrusive in education and then adjusted again as they've "downsized." We've learned to do more with less and, more recently, less with less. On the whole, though, most of us can say with confidence, that we are doing a better job of educating children than we were thirty or forty years ago. That the media and government might have different views is the subject for another column. What all this means is that for the past three decades or so, we have engaged in a major rethinking of the entire educational enterprise. In recent years, that thinking has been complicated and enriched by the impact of the technological revolution.

Because of technological advances, our pedagogical capabilities are growing at a dizzying rate of speed. We can now see the potential for educational change of a magnitude that is unprecedented, at least since the invention of the printing press. Never before have we had such a wealth amount of information so readily available so quickly. Whether we can reshape educational practice to take advantage of what we now have and what we will soon have available remains to be seen, but I believe that we can. Members of the Faculty of Education believe that we can, and in the past two years have taken many steps to ensure that our students are exposed to best current practice using computer-based technologies.

A little over a year ago, we opened a new 48-seat Pentium laboratory in the Faculty of Education, and when this laboratory is not filled with students working on course assignments or "surfing" in the way that our generation browsed the library stacks, it is populated by faculty members who are rethinking their delivery options and redesigning their courses to take advantage of the fact that students can now learn 30% more in 30% less time. Realizing that both those numbers will likely get larger, we are cognizant of the need to keep learning and growing. A few months ago, we opened a state-of-the-art Science and Technology Laboratory, another facility that we needed in order to provide our students the kind of education they need to be effective teachers in the next century.

In January, Dr. Ken Stevens will join the Faculty as the first holder of the Chair in TeleLearning, funded in large part by Industry Canada. A specialist in rural and small schools, Dr. Stevens will help to focus the Faculty's research efforts on the impact of technology on schooling in Newfoundland and Labrador. Individual members of the Faculty are experimenting with using the Internet for course delivery, and as a Faculty, we are working toward the goal of having some degree of web page support for every course offered in the Faculty by January of 1998.

Indeed, the times they still are a 'changin', and The Morning Watch is changing with them. As evidence, we mount our first issue of the "virtual" Morning Watch. This

new way of producing and delivering The Morning Watch, however, signals no less commitment to the journal and its readers. Educational technology should be neutral. It is a tool - an instrument and not an agent. The editors of The Morning Watch and members of the Faculty of Education remain the agents of change but hope to use the instruments as effectively as possible. With this issue, then, comes change but with that change we also continue a well-established tradition. We hope that our new format will permit faster and wider dissemination and allow for more direct interaction with our readers.

Career Guidance: A Shot in the Dark

Edward Drodge
Faculty of Education
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Abstract

This paper examines briefly the sociopolitical and philosophical bases of career guidance. It identifies its pragmatic roots in a political era that has passed and is characterized by discrete, decontextualized activities aimed broadly at fostering development. I maintain that specific elements of career guidance erroneously assumes a transcendent view of self that is knowable through objective means. This dominant discourse of career guidance is prescriptive and, it is argued, only one among many possible discourses of the self. While specific alternatives are not proffered, the constructivist view is highlighted as one way of furthering the conversation about career guidance, though it too engages in a self-contradictory language game characteristic of the epistemological world-view.

Systematic career guidance, and more recent views labelled "constructivist" approaches (Peavy, 1994), certainly do not comprise the final vocabulary on the topic. This paper examines the nature and place of career guidance within the culture of education. It does not offer alternatives; rather it serves as an expression of "curiosity about possible alternatives" (Rorty, 1989). Engaging in an alternative discourse entails a sort of leveling of the dominant systematic approach. Specifically, the incommensurability of systematic career guidance with the cultural psychology perspective will be proposed by focusing on two points:

1. Career guidance continues largely to ignore its sociopolitical and cultural roots.

2. The philosophical basis for career guidance assumes the existence of a core, unified self capable of self-knowledge.

The dominant discourse of career guidance in Canada may be described as a "systematic" view. It proceeds along three broad strategies of engagement with students: (1) Providing students with information, as opposed to stimulating active searching; (2) Utilizing tests as objective measures of student abilities and aspirations; (3) Assuming the student as a discontinuous, discrete knower of self. It is characterized by coordinated programs that commence with elementary school-aged children and continue throughout the educational lifetime of the individual. This planned approach is outcome based, relying on clearly stated objectives and evaluative procedures. Systematic, or comprehensive, approaches "endeavour to specify clearly the results sought and the specific methods by which such results will be obtained" (Herr & Cramer, 1996, p. 46). It should be noted that not all school career guidance is conceived as a systematic approach. And there are specific elements of career guidance that do not or cannot adhere to programming.

The philosophical traditions underlying the systematic approach to career guidance illustrate a view of humankind that asserts the existence of a core self, an essence, and implies the possibility that we can be knowers of the truth about ourselves and the world by engaging in structured and objective inquiry based on epistemologically-centred philosophy and positivist traditions. It also possesses an ethic:

it proposes a moral obligation to engage in guidance activities since gaining self-knowledge will allow us to be better citizens.

It would be tempting merely to describe this view as paternalistic, but this would inadequately reflect the deeper issue inherent in such a view. A basic assumption is that there is a knowable human essence, a self that exists and that can be identified in its objective core. Further, individuals can achieve self-knowledge with the assistance of another who possesses the necessary tools for uncovering this truth about the self and the world. The view also ignores the significant cultural bias that links self-knowledge with happiness and that ignores the plight of millions of children in the non-Western world who have more pressing concerns such as food, shelter, basic human rights, and a clean environment (See Apple, 1996).

Contemporary conceptualizations of career guidance appear to be linked to the economic and political decisions taken by the American government in response to the threat posed by the then Soviet Union, i.e. the space race, the arms race, and the perceived decline in American superiority in maths and science (Shertzer & Stone, 1981; Vanzandt & Hayslip, 1994; Stone & Bradley, 1994). Historical accounts of the American guidance movement have noted earlier important events in its chronology. However, formal funding, widespread training, and articulated programs of career guidance counselling proliferated in the U.S. following the events culminating in the Cold War. Of course, the appeal to democratic virtues is linked to modernist notions that value individualism, empiricism, and competition. As Davis (1996) notes, "the desire for progress lies at the core of all modern educational philosophies" (p. 141).

While progress itself is not inherently a bad thing, contextualizing career guidance within an ideological drive toward political hegemony and cultural dominance, where the parameters constituting progress are ill-defined and unpredictable, casts it in the guise of social Darwinism. Notwithstanding the recent geo-political changes that preempt such a system, the questionable effectiveness of career guidance programs demands critical inquiry into the "privileged sets of descriptions" (Rorty, 1996) employed by contemporary guidance counsellors. For example, how does career guidance counselling confront the inequities apparent between the rich and the poor in Western democracies? It is ironic that a popular textbook on the topic of career guidance documents the need for more systematic career guidance services based on the results of surveys conducted by business organizations citing the "growing problem of alienated, disadvantaged, disconnected, and other at-risk youth" (Herr & Cramer, 1996, p. 414). Having institutionalized a system that perpetuates the uneven distribution of wealth, the architects of systematic guidance counselling criticize the results and call for more of the same. In reality, this succeeds only to reproduce the cultural status quo (Bruner, 1996).

Vanzandt and Hayslip (1994, p. 3), in a textbook focusing on programmatic elements of guidance counselling, pose a series of questions to encourage the counsellor to think about their own philosophy of guidance: "Why are teachers so reluctant to let counsellors in their classrooms? Why don't administrators provide more support to guidance programs? Why are guidance positions some of the first to be cut when there is a budget crisis?" Similarly, another text by Stone and Bradley (1994) includes a section at the beginning of the book that "could help schools articulate why a guidance counsellor is needed". Obviously, we live in times where every profession is susceptible to marginalization through economics, but the guidance profession seems particularly prone to self-scrutiny and repeated public justifications of its continued existence. Perhaps this sense of vulnerability and angst results from the awareness that career guidance counselling clearly needs students, but students do not of necessity require

career guidance. Guidance may be construed as a "privileged representation of essences", invoking Rorty's (1979) terminology to suggest the presupposition of what is good for students.

A fundamental contradiction is apparent between the philosphical traditions of systematic guidance counselling and its pragmatic ties to the educational system. The freedom and dignity of the individual that is the centrepiece of the principles of systematic guidance, is located within a pedagogy that continues to foster dependence and decontextualized learning. Shertzer and Stone (1981) reflect this commonplace belief held by the practitioners of systematic guidance when they suggest that, "Guidance is concerned primarily and systematically with the personal development of the individual". The phrase "facilitating development" is ubiquitous amongst statements of philosophical belief for school guidance programs, yet development (moral, cognitve, social) occurs without the aid of facilitation. More importantly, it assumes knowledge of some universal principles to aid the development of students regardless of culture, socioeconomics, family background, or personal readiness. Using standardized assessments, surveys, and aptitude tests to pronounce that student X is socially isolated, vocationally immature, and underachieving might sound like objective grounds for intervention. However, it is presumptuous to assume that student X perceives the situation in this light, and self-deceiving to believe that such a program can provide the proper path for student X's development. Systematic guidance programming is one from amongst many vocabularies that can describe and assist the career development of student X. It presents student X with the description of herself when there is a multiplicity of potential descriptors. It seems more appropriate for guidance counselling to foster the choosing of these alternative vocabularies of being.

The self is conceived as a cohering unity in the systematic approach to guidance counselling. Few textbooks on guidance fail to declare its focus on strategies, activities, and interventions aiding the development of the individual. Typically, career guidance programs concern themselves with the broad concept of identity and interventions that will assist the work identity of students. The theoretical bases for identity development generally conceive of the self as internally localized and knowable through objective means. Structured activities are devised that will lead to a changed, more "developed" self. The concept of the self constitutes a significant body of work in disparate fields of academic endeavour, with most contemporary conceptualizations being incommensurate with systematic career guidance.

Rorty (1979, 1989) proposes that a conscious departure from the established norm of systematic philosophy be undertaken. Departing from traditional views of self is accomplished through the creation of new metaphors of the self, adopting another language from the multitude of possible languages used to describe the world. Philosophers in Rorty's tradition do not propose to have found any objective truth, or to offer any accurate representations of how the world is. It is a tricky task since it involves having "to decry the very notion of having a view, while avoiding having a view about having a view" (Rorty, 1979, p. 371). This vision concerning what philosophy should attend to may be applied to the entire field of career guidance. As it is currently conceived, career guidance attempts to present a permanent framework for the development of the student, a framework that relies upon a world of myriad aptitude, achievement, and interest tests that presume to mirror the nature of the student and provide a point of departure for further career exploration. Further, it ignores the individual student as the organizer of personal meaning by providing both the path for stimulating career awareness and the information in a manner that is decontextualized and fosters passivity. To take a less critical view of systematic guidance would be to suggest that it

is merely the best approach, the most effective vocabulary that we have of aiding the developing career identity of students. Unfortunately, the pragmatics of the approach have taken on a life of their own and have become intertwined with notions of personal freedom. To engage in career guidance activities is seen as a liberating practice, as contributing to the optimal development of the self. But the self can more accurately be seen as a mirroring of language. The self is a "tissue of contingencies" (Rorty, 1989), and as such, cannot be objectively known through ennunciating a set of "facts" that may be gleaned at any particular moment in time. Yet, this is precisely what the vocabulary of the career guidance program proposes: to present the student with an objective portrayal of herself and prescribe the route to change via selected activities. This amounts to no more than a shot in dark.

Constructivist notions of career counselling advanced by Peavey (1993) attempt to advance another way of approaching career counselling, but even these speculations are offered by invoking the tone of a privileged set of descriptions. There is a sense that this discourse of systematic guidance has already acquired privileged status, and one must ask, have we learned anything, or are we still making the same mistakes? Peavey, unintentionally I believe, has engaged in a self-contradictory language game. To pose such a transformation of approaches is to invoke another theory of knowledge about the nature of reality, but there is nothing to validate this particular vocabulary. One might speculate on the course of this theory by simply referring to Bruner's (1996) observation that, "Eventually new genres become old banalities" (p. 139). However, Peavy should be commended for his attempt to continue the conversation, to break with traditional conceptualizations and dare to challenge the dominant discourse. As he suggests, "distinctions between different kinds of career counselling are becoming more artificial. Such distinctions are more a function of bureaucratic turf than of a realistic knowledge of client need and counselling process" (Peavey, 1993, p. 136). It is worthy to note that his views occupy a scant three columns in a 724-page textbook (Herr & Cramer, 1996) that is widely regarded as the standard in the field of career guidance counselling.

As indicated near the start of this paper, it is not the intention of the author to articulate an alternative view of systematic career guidance. Rather, its goal is to explore the world of possibility by examining the origins of contemporary career guidance in the traditional epistemological view, and urge a continuation of the dialogue that is occurring across disciplines concerning the nature of the self. The ensuing conversation should not be construed as a denigration of worthy efforts by career guidance counsellors. It is, however, an attempt to spark a questioning of the old paradigms. There should not be any danger in such questioning, for as Rorty contends, "Professions can survive the paradigms which gave them birth" (Rorty, 1979, p. 393). Without resorting to self-contradictory language games myself, I propose that Freud's suggestion (cited in Rorty, 1989), that we let chance be "worthy of determining our fate", is as rational an approach as any.

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JOKING IN THE CLASSROOM: STUDENT VIEWS IN ATLANTIC CANADA

Wilfred B.W. Martin
Ishmael J. Baksh
Faculty of Education
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In a survey of over twenty thousand high school students in Atlantic Canada, the final item invited respondents to outline aspects of their experience in school that were of concern to them. The students' observations in response to this open item covered a great diversity of topics, one of these being school humour (Martin and Baksh, 1995). Almost nine hundred students wrote about some aspect of school humour. The present paper deals with students' perceptions regarding a particular dimension of school humour - joking in the classroom.

Based on the formal organization of the classroom, there are two general types of joking relationship: one between teacher and student and the other among student themselves. Focusing on joking in teacher-student interaction, students have highlighted the extent to which the humour is reciprocal. Also, they have observed that they use humour to break the monotony that sometimes characterizes teacher-student interaction. The negative consequences of teacher-initiated humour are also of major concern to some students, as is the proliferation of boring jokes on the part of some teachers.

Reciprocity in Joking Relationships

There is a widely held view among high school students in each of the four Atlantic provinces that students should have more respect for their teachers than is often the case, and teachers should reciprocate with respect for their students. Earlier published comments on the helpful, co-operative and understanding nature of teacher-initiated relationships with their students in Newfoundland and Labrador schools illustrate the positive meanings which students give to such relationships (Martin, 1983). Similar observations were made by students in other Atlantic Canada schools (Martin and Baksh, 1995: 71-72).

Focusing more specifically on student references to reciprocity in the joking relationships in teacher-student interactions, a Grade 11 girl in Newfoundland and Labrador wrote: "I appreciate it when teachers can joke with students and take a joke as well." Similarly, a Grade 10 boy in another Newfoundland and Labrador school evaluated his teachers as "all right" because "you can joke around with them".

The positive orientation which a Grade 10 boy in New Brunswick has toward one of his teacher who "can take a joke" is contrasted with his view of another of his teachers:

> Most of the teachers I have can take a joke, my shop teachers and I get along real good, my carpenter teacher is like a friend to me, but my math teacher is another story.

A similar view was echoed by the Grade 9 Newfoundland boy who named one teacher who "don't mind a joke every now and then" while "all the other teachers would hang you" for attempting to joke with them.

Other students expressed their view that some teachers do not reciprocate student attempts to pursue humour related actions in student-teacher interactions:

> I feel the teachers are very good sometimes. Sometimes you can say something to be funny and get a laugh, the teachers take it seriously and you find yourself out in the hall.
>
> **(Grade 9 boy, Newfoundland and Labrador)**
>
> We have a rule in this school about being friendly which says: Mingle with the other students; talk to them; smile at other people.... Often, when I smile at a teacher he doesn't smile back. I don't think this rule is fair because very often the teachers don't do their part.
>
> **(Grade 10 girl, New Brunswick - translated from French)**
>
> Student perceived consequences of teachers not reciprocating their attempts to make humour a part of student-teacher interactions were noted by different students in the present research: I feel our school is an adequate institute for becoming educated. I feel all teachers do not like me because sometimes I make a joke in the class to break the monotony although my marks are in the eighties.
>
> **(Grade 11 boy, Nova Scotia)**
>
> Some of the teachers are too strict. Some never hardly smile and if you just say something funny, they get mad.
>
> **(Grade 10 girl, Newfoundland and Labrador)**

As noted by a Grade 11 girl in Newfoundland and Labrador, students should keep their "side of the bargain" if they want to "laugh and have a good time" on occasions in the school.

Very likely there are a number of issues relating to the reciprocity in the joking relationship among students themselves. One such issue is raised in the comments of a Grade 11 New Brunswick girl, who draws attention to the unfairness that might arise when students do not engage in reciprocity:

> Teachers should understand the student when they do something wrong. I put butter in someone's hair one and half months ago for her birthday and she went to the office. The Vice-principle made her tell who did it and I got into 'shit' because I did that. About a week before someone got me for my birthday and she got my pants, shirt, coat and hair and I didn't say a word to no one.

Benefits of Classroom Humour

An earlier analysis of comments of high school students in Atlantic Canada identified the monotony of teacher strategies to include "dullness", "passivity", "abundance of teacher talk", "spoonfeeding" and requirements regarding memorization (Baksh and Martin, 1986: 117-123). As a response to this monotony, it is not uncommon

to find students suggesting the need for variety in teaching strategies which would include new and challenging activities (Baksh and Martin, 1986: 123-130). Among the teaching strategies suggested by students is the need for teachers to inject humour into the teaching to break the monotony of classroom life.

The injection of humour into classroom interaction is thought likely to produce a variety of benefits. If teachers were "to get a little humour into the air", in the words of a Grade 9 New Brunswick boy, it would enable them "to put themselves down" to the students' level, thus facilitating an improved relationship with their students. On the whole, a teacher's inclination to introduce humour seems likely to generate a positive student attitude toward him/her. A Grade 9 boy in Prince Edward Island, for example, claims to "like a teacher who can have a good laugh once in a while with the class" and "does not always stick to work all the time", while a Grade 9 boy from that province admits to liking teachers who "joke around" a bit.

The use of humour by teachers is viewed as having other potential benefits. It might help to stimulate or maintain student interest in the lesson:

> Teachers should have better way of getting important things across to the students and perhaps by using humor or other techniques to get the class interested in what they are doing.
>
> **(Grade 11 boy, Newfoundland and Labrador)**
>
> I feel that the majority of teachers are just teaching the class for the sake of getting paid for it. However, some teachers do go out of their way to make class more interesting. Just by adding a humorous remark in the middle of class can make a class more interesting.
>
> **(Grade 10 girl, Nova Scotia)**
>
> The best teachers are able to communicate with a class and have a sense of humor about what they do and teach. In that way, they keep the classes attention and interest. If handled properly, all students are capable of working hard and being obedient.
>
> **(Grade 12 boy, New Brunswick)**
>
> It might help make learning seem like fun:
>
> Out teachers are easy going and give us the most important notes. Their classroom behaviour is usually relaxed, sometimes funny, and always fairly enjoyable. Some of our teachers mix comedy in with their teaching routine, making for a relaxed class, where you still learn but its not grind, grind, grind. Others make sure they're work is completed and then maybe a few laughs which I think is good.
>
> **(Grade 10 boy, Newfoundland and Labrador)**
>
> Teachers should have a good time during class. This makes it fun for everybody even the teachers will be more relaxed and feel better about his or her work.

(Grade 10 boy, Nova Scotia)

In the school the teachers should make the learning fun. Joke about some things.

(Grade 10 girl, New Brunswick)

It might enhance student-teacher relationships:

I really do like all the teachers here and get along with most of them well, there are a few exceptions such as not really knowing them and not really trying to either. I feel this should be the way between teachers and students so that you know if they really are concerned about you, that you always have somebody there to talk to, whether it be problems of some kind or just to share a joke with and have a good laugh.

(Grade 12 boy, New Brunswick)

As for the environment around (this school) it is very good, some teachers joke around and you feel like your at home, other teachers aren't so liked.

(Grade 11 boy, New Brunswick)

It might contribute to student enjoyment of what is being taught, perhaps even inducing a liking for the subject:

I find some teachers are interesting and make you like what you are learning. They do this by keeping you busy and by keeping a good sense of humour most of the time.

(Grade 11 boy, Newfoundland and Labrador)

I like math the most because I find that I understand all or most of the work we do. Another reason I like Math is because we have a teacher with a good sense of humour, which I think is a very important quality in teachers.

(Grade 10 boy, New Brunswick)

It might also make learning an easier task:

I like the teachers who can take a joke and who'll let us have fun but still teach us a lot. I think we learn a lot better and a lot more.

(Grade 9 girl, Prince Edward Island)

Most of the teachers make learning a lot easier by relieving the tension in the classroom. They tell a joke or do something comical.

(Grade 11 boy, Newfoundland and Labrador)

Negative Consequences of Humour

Students identified several negative consequences of different varieties of classroom humour, including students' "joking around", teachers' "making fun of students", students' "making fun of" each other, and teachers' "laughing at" students. The substantive issues noted in students' comments are (1) the waste of time associated with joking around and (2) student hesitancy to become more actively involved in classroom situations because they fear being the butt of teacher and student jokes.

A Waste of Time

According to a relatively small number of students, what should be valuable teaching-learning time is sometimes wasted by teachers who are "always telling stories" and "jokes". A larger number of students claimed that teaching-learning time was lost because of student antics. While the students who initiated such behaviours may have thought it to be "funny", others had a different meaning for it. In addition to interfering with their own learning such behaviours are often seen to be disruptive to the overall teaching and learning processes in the school.

Waste of Time by Teachers

While the claim of one Grade 11 girl in Newfoundland and Labrador that teachers "often stray" from the subject "to talk about trivial things" reflects the views of many students in other provinces, only a few students specifically complained that teachers wasted time by telling jokes and pursuing other humour related actions. One Grade 9 boy in Newfoundland claimed that "there are some teachers who... only come in class... to have a laugh and to tell jokes". Another Grade 9 boy in this province linked excessive teacher humour with "slackness" and a wastage of class time; he described as "slack" a "couple of teachers" in his school "which jokes around in class too much and never gives you any notes". A third Grade 9 Newfoundland boy expressed his liking for "teachers who talk openly and joke now and then" and his distaste for "a teacher who tells jokes and makes fun all the time". In a similar vein, a girl, in the same grade and school, expressed the view that while some teachers "are always joking" other teachers "say there is a time for joking and a time for" being serious with students. A Grade 9 girl in another Newfoundland and Labrador school expressed the view that even though "school is a place where people come to learn", some students "just come for a joke", thereby wasting their own time as well as that of others.

Comments from students in provinces other than Newfoundland and Labrador also suggest that time is sometimes wasted by teachers who tell stories and jokes.

> The teachers that we have all of us get along with them for helping us get a better education. Also some of the teachers here act real jerks. Their always laughing and telling sick jokes.
>
> **(Grade 9 girl, New Brunswick)**
>
> The teachers in this school are all nice, but sometimes they can be mean and most of the time they are all wasting time joking around with the students and teachers.

> **(Grade 10 boy, New Brunswick)**
>
> Sometimes they (teachers) just ramble on about things which don't even have anything to do with the subject being taught... They joke and laugh at the silliest things.
>
> **(Grade 10 girl, Nova Scotia)**
>
> As I see it the school is a sort of circus. When that bell rings people go wild in the halls. When we are in class the teachers are the clowns there to entertain us.
>
> **(Grade 12 boy, Nova Scotia)**

A Grade 10 Nova Scotia girl associates an excessive use of humour with immaturity and warns that "teachers should act mature and not joke around all the time".

Waste of Time by Students

A widespread complaint among high school students in each of the four Atlantic provinces is that there are students who disrupt the teaching-learning processes in the school. While some of their negatively oriented behaviours are not intended to be humorous, some of their actions are initiated in jest. After complaining that there is too much homework and not as many school buses as there "should be" and noting the need for more lockers in the school, a Grade 11 girl in Prince Edward Island wrote: "Another thing is when you are trying to do work in class and people are laughing at us."

It has been observed that some students "just come to school to have a good time" (Grade 9 girl, Newfoundland and Labrador), and consequently interfere with others who are more serious about getting an education. A Grade 12 girl in New Brunswick claimed that she failed Grade 9 because she "joked around and had a good time". In addition to interfering with the academic efforts of others, students who are always trying to be funny sometimes "get others in trouble". Several other students complained about their peers who became trouble makers with actions that involve one or another dimension of humour. While blaming students for the disciplinary problems that were related to actions with a humorous intent, a Grade 10 boy in New Brunswick reported that "some of the teachers can't handle" the class she is in and "classroom is like a jungle" where everyone is doing exactly what he/she wants to do. According to a number of students those who disrupt the class, "thinking they are funny", should be kicked out the school. Other students suggested that all the time in school should not be spent laughing.

The indications are that student gender may be a factor in situations where students' attempt at humour result in disruptive behaviour. For example, girls from one or more schools in each of the four provinces accused boys of creating discipline problems in the school. Without reference to disciplinary problems as such, a Grade 9 girl in Newfoundland and Labrador said that some of the boys "think they are real duds in school but they are so stupid it's not even funny".

As seen from the student perspective, problems with student clowning are not confined to the school environment. For example, after writing about the noise, the teasing, the action of "clowns" on the school bus, a Grade 10 girl in Nova Scotia

questioned why other students should "suffer because of a bunch of clowns who can't behave *properly*".

Student Hesitancy

Although not a widespread feeling among the high school students participating in the present research, comments were made to the effect that students have been hesitant in taking a more active role in certain classroom situations because they were afraid that the teacher would "make fun of them". Students' concerns about teachers' actions which have been known to result in student embarrassment have been illustrated in an earlier book on *Student Embarrassment* which is based on the schooling experiences of students in Newfoundland and Labrador (Martin, 1985). Focusing specifically on student hesitancy which is said to have been a result of teachers' laughing at them, it may be noted that this cause and effect situation was not identified by any of the males in the present study. While by no means conclusive evidence of a gender difference in perception, it is interesting that all the observations regarding this particular effect of teachers' making fun of students come from female students. For example, a Grade 9 girl echoed the view of at least two other girls in her Grade in one Newfoundland school when she claimed: "Some teachers laugh at me if I try to express my feelings or try to prove a point." To further elaborate on this point of view, here are comments from Grade 12 students in one Nova Scotia school:

> I feel that in order for a person to feel that he/she belongs or to have a fulfilling school life one must be encouraged to form and participate in other activities besides studying, etc. I feel that it is absolutely imperative that teachers encourage students for if they do not and in this there is one particular teacher who even goes so far as to discourage students from partaking in extra curricular events and organizations, the students will lose all interest. I feel that students should be able to express individuality in and out of the classroom and not to be mocked for expressing their individuality.
>
> **(Grade 12 girl)**
>
> I think that teachers should care more about the individual who needs help. Most of the study time in class is spent swapping ideas with the classroom `brain' and the student who does not understand something has to fend for himself. I realize that these students could ask the teacher to help, but are afraid that the teacher or other students will make fun of them. This happens a lot and a student ends up failing a course.
>
> **(Grade 12 girl)**

Another Grade 12 Nova Scotia girl expressed her view on the consequences of having teachers who "laugh at" students when she wrote:

> Some teachers seem to actually enjoy humiliating a student in front of other students which can have a terrible effect on younger students. This makes them lose their self-confidence in school and other areas. From my experience with teachers that laugh at you and try to

> embarrass or humiliate you, I hardly ever ask a question in class or even try and get to know most teachers.

Stupid Jokes

Students from a number of schools observed that teachers are not always successful in their "telling jokes" with the intention of adding humour to the classroom. On the contrary, their jokes are often perceived by the students to be "stupid" and tend not to get the teachers' desired effect. For example, a Grade 9 boy in one Newfoundland school wrote: "Some teachers tell the driest and the more boring jokes, so many times it makes you sick," while a Grade 11 girl in another Newfoundland and Labrador school complained that her "teachers tell boring jokes" which are "dry and uninteresting". A New Brunswick boy in Grade 10 blamed his teachers, who allegedly "act as if they are dried up" with their "teaching and jokes" for school, for being "boring sometimes". Here are the comments of three students from one Newfoundland and Labrador school: "...teaches us History and makes it very boring. He also tells the horrible dry jokes" (Grade 9 boy); "The History teacher is dumb. He gets in front of the class telling dry jokes and insulting students" (Grade 9 boy); "Most teachers are boring, they tell dry jokes and you can't understand the teacher at all" (Grade 10 girl).

A Grade 10 boy in New Brunswick argued that a teacher cannot make class "interesting" with "boring jokes". A Grade 10 girl in Nova Scotia wrote:

> Most teachers make their classes interesting and their classes are the classes that I like to go to. But some of my teachers make their classes boring with jokes and by the end of the class, I am ready to go to sleep.

The subject of the stupid jokes of one of his teachers was identified by one Newfoundland boy in Grade 9 as "religion". The student wrote that his teacher "is ignorant" and "tells religious jokes". A Grade 10 girl in New Brunswick was upset because "there are also teachers in" her "school who talk and joke more about what they did the night before than they do about the subject." Another Grade 10 girl in a second New Brunswick school noted that her "teachers are mostly boring because" she "cannot understand their stupid jokes". In the view of one Grade 10 boy in New Brunswick, one of his male teachers tells "dirty boring jokes" which are not appreciated by his classes.

The suggestion was made by one Prince Edward Island student that teachers who "try to be funny" by telling jokes are not usually successful in getting "laughs from many students". In contrast to this view, a Grade 9 girl in New Brunswick observed that all teachers do have, and need to have, a sense of humour. But, what really bothers her are those "teachers with no sense of humour... who think they're funny when really they are pathetic". Similarly, the pitfalls in teacher exploitation of humour as a classroom technique were suggested by a Grade 9 boy from New Brunswick who pointed to the futility of teachers' trying "to be funny" when they are unable to be truly amusing, a situation that usually results in their making "stupid jokes" and thus earning their students' contempt.

Conclusions

High school students in this survey noted their desire for reciprocity of humour in teacher-student interaction. Different students report that classroom humour could help stimulate and maintain student interest in a lesson. Such humour may help make learning fun and induce a liking for the subject at hand. In addition, classroom humour has been seen as an effective way to enhance student-teaching relationships. On the other hand, high school students note that inappropriate use of humour can be a waste of teachers' and students' time. Also, from the student perspective, teachers would be well advised to be sensitive to the student view before telling "stupid jokes".

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