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Factors Affecting the Evolution of Teaching Processes and Teacher Morale at a Quebec Community College

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ABSTRACT

Factors Affecting the Evolution of Teaching Processes and Teacher Morale at a Quebec Community College

Walter Johnson

This thesis is a case study of factors affecting the evolution of teaching processes and teacher morale at a Quebec community college.

Based on the responses of teachers to questions concerning important aspects of their institutional role, this study examines some of the issues, debates, conflicts and contradictions surrounding the evolution of teaching processes at John Abbott College in Ste. Anne de Bellevue, Quebec.

The focus of this exploratory study is on the evolution of pedagogical goals, teachers' motivation and job satisfaction, teaching and evaluation techniques, students' motivation and goals, and on the problems which arise from the conflicting interests and goals of the major actors both within the institutional context and beyond.

Teachers, teachers' unions, students, administrators, and government policy planners are viewed as contending groups which vie with one another to set and control the educational agenda.

The outcome of struggles which arise from disagreements and conflict among the contending groups is seen as shaping the actual nature, content and direction of education.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: APPROACHES TO THE ROLE AND CONSEQUENCES OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN SOCIETY

The following thesis focuses on a variety of conflicts and contradictions experienced by teachers as a result of an attempt by the provincial government of Quebec to reform and revamp the Quebec educational system at the post-secondary level. The consequences, in terms of teacher morale, teaching processes, relations with students, attitudes towards unionization and collective bargaining, are explored throughout the thesis. It is my view that the way in which certain conflicts and debates are resolved has an important effect on the evolution of the system and on the actual nature and content of education.

The proponents of one major theory in educational sociology argue that the nature, content and evolution of education are largely determined by the requirements of society and, or, the need for consensus building (Durkheim, 1961, Parsons, 1959, Parsons and Platt, 1973). The core postulate of one important variant of this perspective (Human Capital Theory) is that knowledge has replaced physical labour as the principal factor of production. The growth, maintenance, and continued prosperity of an advanced industrialized society is,

therefore, dependent on the cultivation of knowledge as a key strategic resource with the educational system as the primary incubator for new ideas and development of skilled manpower (Clark, 1962, Harbison and Myers, 1964, Schultz, 1964).

Proponents of another major theory regard the nature and evolution of education as being a response to the changing needs of capitalist elites (Bowles and Gintis, 1976). They argue that it is not the knowledge requirements of society which shape the social organization of the educational system but rather the requirements of the capitalist production process. The purpose of the educational system, in this view, is to reproduce the values and personality characteristics which are necessary for an adequate performance at different levels of the occupational structure within a capitalist society. Each level or stage of the educational system is designed to correspond with the level of the occupational structure to which the graduates are headed. Each educational level thus fosters a particular type of consciousness and an appropriate type of labour discipline that is functional, in the sense that it serves the particular needs of the capitalist production process and, by extension, the capitalist elite which controls it.

From this vantage point the expansion of post-secondary education after World War II might be viewed as

an accommodation to the labour force requirements of a new phase of state-expenditure based capitalism. Work in the proliferating tertiary sector of the post-secondary economy required an emphasis on certain interpersonal social skills that were presumably acquired through continued education. However, the same channeling process experienced at the lower levels of the educational system was continued through the advent of community colleges which were governed by a vocational orientation that directed most students into low-level or mid-level white collar jobs.

On the substantive issue of the importance of knowledge to the efficient functioning of an advanced industrial society the two major macro-sociological theories (functionalism and neo-Marxism) are in fundamental disagreement. However, both theories are also similar in that what actually happens in schools is related to, and largely determined by, the changing requirements of work as societies progress through the stages of industrialization and economic development. In both of these models the purposes of education are explained in purely instrumental terms. An alternative to the purely instrumental approach of the two major models has been offered by sociologist Randall Collins (1971).

Collins' main argument is that the nature, content and evolution of education is not determined by societal

needs but rather by the outcome of competition and conflict among certain groups for forms of status and prestige.

In this analysis Collins draws inspiration from the work of the German sociologist, Max Weber, who argued that a person's position in the social hierarchy depends as much upon status or prestige as it does on sheer economic power. Status was based on the acquisition of certain cultural attributes that differentiated the possessors from those who lacked them. Those who possessed the desirable attributes formed a status group which could gain influence and power if it was successful in convincing others of its social or cultural superiority. Success or failure was measured by the degree of deference paid to a particular group by other groups in the society. In Weber's view, status groups were as important, if not more important, than social or economic classes in understanding the stratification system of any society (Gerth and Mills, 1948).

Following Weber, Randall Collins sees the various levels of the educational system as performing the function of assigning status attributes that enable certain groups to claim special privileges from the larger society. The more advanced the level of education the greater the social distinction and accompanying material rewards.

As higher education is increasingly viewed as the vehicle for upward social mobility, disadvantaged groups will try to improve their lot by obtaining more education. If they cannot attain this goal themselves they will attempt to insure that their children do.

The acquisition of more education by disadvantaged groups acts as a prod to higher status groups to maintain their relative position in the social hierarchy by acquiring yet more education themselves. Educational expansion, particularly in the post World War II era, is thus seen as a defensive tactic on the part of upper status groups to maintain their relative social position while paying lip service to notions about equality of opportunity.

The result of this status competition is an artificial inflation of educational requirements beyond any functional necessity. Therefore, jobs which previously could be filled by high school drop-outs now require a university degree and professional jobs which formerly required a university degree now require a graduate degree. The creation of the community college system bridges the gap between low status and middle status groups by certifying students for lower middle class jobs that were once the preserve of high school graduates.

Collins argues that this inflation of educational credentials isn't necessary for effective job performance and, in fact, works to exclude large numbers of people from jobs they are quite capable of doing. Disadvantaged social groups, in particular, often cannot afford the additional time they must now spend in educational institutions chasing paper credentials (see also Ivar Berg, 1970).

In Collins' view, certain groups in society have a vested interest in perpetuating this unnecessary educational expansion. For example, the educational bureaucracy itself has become a major employer since the end of World War II and thus benefits from keeping a large proportion of the population in school. Students who invest the time and energy to acquire additional credentials in pursuit of higher status jobs are also unlikely to question the relevance of what they are doing. Even hard-nosed private sector employers can often gain prestige by claiming that the jobs they offer require staff with extensive educational qualifications to remain on the cutting edge of scientific and technological change.

Ironically, the content of courses and what one learns becomes less important as the educational system expands and the striving for credentials becomes an end in itself. Education is increasingly seen as a kind of

"cultural currency" (Collins, 1971) which can be earned and then used to purchase a career rather than some dead-end job.

Hard coin is increasingly defined as the quantity of education one receives rather than the quality. The resulting grade frenzy among students belies the idealistic notions about the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake.

Collins argues that this contest for educational credentials is particularly pronounced in the United States. Unlike Bowles and Gintis, however, Collins sees this as resulting from the weaknesses of the dominant elites rather than from their strength. Because the United States is an ethnically heterogeneous society, the ability of influential elites to influence the evolution of the educational system has not been as successful as was the case in European society or in Quebec before the Quiet Revolution. The inability of the dominant anglo-protestant status culture in the United States to impose and maintain a standardized curriculum resulted in a greater decentralization of education and a proliferation of courses that were tailored to meet the needs of a diverse student population. It was difficult to agree over what constituted appropriate standards, values or "useful knowledge". As a consequence, the quality and content of courses became less important than the number

of courses taken or the number of degrees earned.

Therefore, the lack of elite control, combined with the liberal rhetoric about equality of opportunity, intensified status competition. This resulted in faster educational expansion than that which occurred in Europe or in Quebec before the Quiet Revolution where elites could retain more control over the curriculum and dealt with a relatively homogeneous population.

The significance of Collins' status competition theory is his notion that the nature and evolution of education is not determined by societal needs, as the functionalists would have it, nor on the requirements of the capitalist production process, as the neo-Marxists would have it, but instead on the outcome of competition and conflict among groups in society to improve or maintain their relative position in the social pecking order. This perspective grants a considerable amount of autonomy to the educational system and thereby accounts for certain educational anomalies that neither functionalist nor neo-Marxists can explain such as the continued existence of many courses and programs that are so remote from the world of work.

The possibility that the content of formal schooling need not be directly relevant to the labour force requirements of advanced industrialized societies has been

argued by Bourdieu and Passerow (1977). They contend that the content of schooling in France stresses the importance of politics, literature, art, and a particular style of conversation and written communication. Students who come from family backgrounds that are already familiar with this style are possessors of what Bourdieu calls "cultural capital", which can be used to affect an air of superiority regardless of the student's real intellectual abilities. Intellectually capable students who do not display an interest in the arts, political discussion, or the appropriate verbal facility will be shunted to less desirable career paths or barred from entrance to elite schools where the possession of cultural capital is an unacknowledged prerequisite.

Therefore, the ability to gain school credentials or access to higher education and desirable careers depends to a great extent on the cultural capital possessed by the student's family. In this way the students tend to inherit the relative position of the parents in the status hierarchy.

Once again, the domination of a particular form of consciousness is re-inforced and perpetuated, in this case the cultural values of the French elite. This same process was evident in Quebec before the advent of the Quiet Revolution and the revamping of the provincial educational system, to which I will return.

The notion that education functions as a kind of cultural currency can also be viewed from a symbolic interactionist perspective.

One of the central insights of the interactionist perspective is that, as humans, we come to see ourselves as others see us. Through a process of interacting and exchanging with one another, certain patterns, rules, roles, and institutions emerge to which we attach symbolic importance. The educational system is one such institution which has received a charter from society to define and categorize people on the basis of their performance in ritualistic and commonly accepted testing procedures. As a result, people, in turn, come to see themselves according to the level of education they have attained, relative to others, and then learn to play a role appropriate to that level.

Formal schooling, therefore, has the effect of allocating statuses in society. Even though the actual differences in skills and cognitive ability between a high school graduate and a college graduate may not be significantly different, most people come to believe that there is a difference which entitles the college graduate to a higher status in the social hierarchy. This belief is re-inforced by the rhetoric and rituals surrounding such events as graduation day and the like.

In the words of the sociologist W.I. Thomas, "if men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences" (Merton, 1967, p. 19). The social definitions created by the formal school system have very real consequences in that university graduates learn to expect higher status occupations, and then adopt the attitudes and behaviour deemed appropriate to these occupations, while the high school graduate, defined by the educational system as fit only for lower status occupations, will adopt the roles appropriate to that status.

The effects of these social definitions have been explored by sociologist John Meyer (1977).

Meyer argues that the most important function of schooling is to confer statuses that are recognized and accepted by the society at large, and to socialize people to acquire the attitudes and values which will enable them to perform roles appropriate to particular statuses.

In this process the quality and content of what is taught is of very little importance. For example, once one has graduated from high school no one asks or much cares about the quality of education one has received there. The important thing is that one has graduated. The same applies for junior colleges and university. Regardless of the quality of the university one has

attended, the university graduate will resemble other university graduates more than people who do not have a university education.

Even more startling, according to Meyer, is the fact that people will adopt a role that is appropriate to a particular educational status upon admission or even acceptance to an institution that is chartered to grant that status.

Once a particular educational status has been achieved it tends to stick, regardless of the occupation of the status holder. Thus, an assembly-line worker with a university degree will be seen as "the Prof" by his or her fellow workers, and will tend to, in some way, live up to this perception.

There are similarities between Meyer's theory and Randall Collins's view that educational institutions allocate people into positions determined largely by the existing framework of social and occupational stratification.

Unlike Collins, however, Meyer argues that educational institutions also play a role that is independent of the existing stratification framework, and which partially accounts for the dramatic expansion of education in the contemporary era. According to Meyer, education helps create new classes of knowledge and

personnel which then come to be incorporated into society. Entirely new occupational categories such as sociologists, economists, etc., have been created and legitimized by universities. This has occurred because institutions such as universities are granted a certain autonomy in defining what constitutes new knowledge. They can create occupations based on these definitions and then determine both the occupational worth and the necessary requirements for those who are to fill the new positions.

Meyer could be viewed as attempting to salvage some of the arguments of functionalists concerning the necessity and importance of a "knowledge economy" and the role of educational institutions in promoting this development. However, the gist of his argument is that it is not so much the requirements of the knowledge-based economy that generates educational expansion but rather a belief held by large numbers of people that this is true. In other words, there is a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy at work which really accounts for the importance people attach to education and the dramatic institutional expansion which has occurred. In Meyer's view, therefore, the primary function of education is to legitimate differences between status groups and to create entirely new status categories.

It is my view that none of the major theories in isolation offers a complete or entirely satisfactory

perspective on education because many of the important shaping forces within educational institutions are largely ignored. Schools, colleges, and universities are complex social organizations with a unique set of problems that stem from the conflicting interests and goals of the major actors in the educational system, namely teachers, students, administrators, and policy makers.

It is my view that the outcome of the struggles which arise from these competing and conflicting interests, in combination with other organizational factors, help shape the actual nature, content and evolution of education.

One method of researching this possibility is by observing the actual processes associated with teaching. Through a case study of the issues, debates, conflicts, and contradictions surrounding the evolution of these processes at a Quebec community college, I will attempt to demonstrate that what happens within the institutional context is a key variable that helps determine the nature and content of education.

The creation of Quebec's community college system was part of a broad-based modernization strategy designed to bring the province into the mainstream of economic and political life of the North American continent. As such it derived much of it impetus from the major assumptions

of economic liberalism. The goals of economic growth and equality of opportunity were of paramount concern to the educational reformers who proposed the creation of the new system.

From a sociological standpoint the emergence of the Cegep system can best be understood within the framework of what Robert Merton called a "middle range theory". By this Merton meant a theoretical framework which "provides an image that gives rise to inferences" (Merton, 1957, p. 40).

The theoretical framework which provides an image most relevant to the following case study is one pioneered by the sociologist Ralph Turner (1961). Turner provides a typology which attempted to account for differences in educational systems, and in the evolution of educational systems. Turner's typology is based on the assumption that schools essentially function as social selection agencies and are therefore structured in a way which takes into account the prevailing notions as to how social mobility is to occur. Turner distinguishes two modes of upward social mobility; sponsored mobility and contest mobility. In an educational system based on sponsored mobility the goal is to identify and select students with elite potential as soon as possible. They will then follow a prescribed curriculum which will foster qualities or attributes valued by the established elite. For

example, the educational system which existed in Quebec prior to the Quiet Revolution was based on this notion of sponsored mobility. The Roman Catholic church had successfully established cultural control through the educational system so that the attributes it valued formed the basis for elite selection and upward mobility. Under this mode of mobility higher education was restricted to a carefully selected intellectual elite.

In contrast, an educational system based on contest mobility is organized to encourage students to remain in the education system as long as it takes to acquire skills or aptitudes which will enable them to experience upward mobility. A contest mobility system is characterized by easy accessibility, ease of transfer between types of program (academic and vocational) and institutions and a relative openness of the curriculum. Credentials are not the monopoly of any particular elite or status group and therefore there is less in the way of a prescribed curricula.

In Quebec, the diminishing influence of the Roman Catholic church after the Quiet Revolution led to the revamping of the entire educational system, which included the creation of a network of community colleges at the post-secondary level. This signaled a dramatic shift away from the traditional sponsored mobility system to the contest mobility system which was prevalent in the United

States, and which was associated with economic liberalism and the process of modernization.

From the outset, however, the new system was burdened with a plethora of unrealistic and often contradictory expectations that have affected the evolution of the colleges to the present time. Problems developed because the colleges attempted to reconcile a commitment to social reform with economic and social pressures from the larger society. Academic and institutional integrity was difficult to maintain in a system which attempted to serve the needs of students in academic, vocational, and professional programs, as well as adult learners in continuing education. Internal harmony became a major issue as conflict arose between teachers in academic programs and those in technical programs, between administrators and instructors, and between radical and conservative educational philosophies. The ambitious but often diverse goals of the educational reformers and policy makers resulted in an institutional identity crisis.

The inability of the colleges to establish a commonly accepted educational agenda at the local level did not deter the Provincial Ministry of Education from imposing a uniform set of regulations, structures, and procedures that were to apply to all of the colleges in the system. This centralized structure of overall control

and power became the source of much conflict between the provincial government and the unions representing teachers.

On a daily level, it was the teachers who were confronted with the tensions and contradictions of an educational experiment that was, in many ways, unstable and tentative. The rhetoric of educational reform proclaimed that teachers were at the heart of the educational system but the reality of the new community college system was a situation where teachers, either individually or collectively, were rarely trusted with either the responsibility or power that other professionals such as doctors or lawyers enjoy. The consequence was two decades of often bitter confrontation as teachers attempted to win economic, social and political influence through the collective bargaining process.

It is precisely the loss of elite control which has resulted in a wide variety of conflicts over educational philosophy and curriculum. Since no one group has been able to re-establish the type of monopoly on elite credentials once enjoyed by the Roman Catholic church, there is no legitimate criteria whereby certain subjects can be excluded from the curriculum. Therefore, the adoption of the contest mobility system has resulted in an intensification of competition and conflict among

contending groups to set the educational agenda of the Cegeps.

nder the contest mobility system Cegeps might be viewed as a "cultural market" (Collins, 1977, 1979) where contending groups compete over the type of education to be offered, the relative value of certain credentials and the very meaning of the educational process itself.

In contrast to the two major macrosociological perspectives on education, the cultural markets approach views the nature, content and evolution of education as being determined by the outcome of competition and conflict among contending groups within the educational system rather than being rationally determined from outside, either by societal needs or by the needs of the capitalist production process.

This case study will examine some of these issues and conflicts and their impact on teaching processes, teacher morale and the nature of education, from the standpoint of teachers who have worked in the junior college system since its creation.

The structure of the study will be that of an inquiry rather than an exercise in the testing of specific hypotheses. A sample of teachers from John Abbott College in Ste. Anne de Bellevue, Quebec, chosen in systematic fashion from the college seniority list, were asked a

variety of questions concerning important aspects of their institutional role. The questions asked attempted to elicit from teachers their opinions as to whether or not John Abbott had changed since its creation in terms of pedagogical goals, teacher motivation and job satisfaction, teaching and evaluation techniques, working conditions, and attitudes towards students, the local administration, the local union, and the larger union federations to which they belong. Teachers who felt that changes had occurred would be asked to elaborate on how and why such changes occurred.

Through an interplay among questions, the responses of teachers, and my interpretations, some understanding of the issues and conflicts surrounding the evolution of teaching processes and its effects on the nature and content of education will be gained.

The relevance of teachers responses to broader issues of sociological significance will also be examined with any references to existing literature on the subject incorporated into the text at appropriate points.

Certain common themes have emerged from this process of inquiry. I will attempt to provide some linkage and analysis of these themes, and their relationship to the cultural markets perspective, outlined above, in the summary and conclusion.

My interest in this subject stems from the fact that I have worked as a teacher in the Cegep system for six years. During this period I have been able to experience first-hand some of the conflicts and contradictions described by the teachers in the following study. Let me therefore caution the reader as to the possible biases and selective perceptions which might result from the fact that I share the "universe of discourse" of those I am studying.

Both the goal and method of my study has been influenced by the Weberian notion of verstehen, and by American sociography. I should also state at the outset that the modified Weberian perspective offered by Randall Collins, outlined earlier, comes closest to my own understanding of, and experience in, the Quebec community college system. However, the following study is not derivative and represents a somewhat unique approach to the problems at the post-secondary level of education. To my knowledge there is no other research which documents to the same extent the subjective perceptions of teachers at this level on a wide range of issues relating to their teaching practice. This thesis represents, therefore, a starting point for longitudinal research which will elaborate and clarify some of the issues raised.

Let me also make clear at the outset that the following study is primarily exploratory in nature, that

many of the findings are suggestive rather than conclusive in nature, and that they are open to differing interpretations. I have therefore allowed free rein to any hunches, intuitions, and speculations that are informed by my own extensive experience in the environment which I have undertaken to study.

Before proceeding to the presentation of the findings of my research a brief historical sketch is necessary to provide some context and perspective on certain comments made by the teachers.

CHAPTER 2

THE EVOLUTION OF THE CEGEP SYSTEM

The Cegeps are a product of Quebec's so-called Quiet Revolution, which was initiated by the provincial Liberal government of Jean Lesage in the early sixties. A revamped educational system was seen by the Lesage government as a catalyst for major economic, social and political changes which would enable Quebec to modernize and overcome the stagnation of the Duplessis era.

Up until the early sixties the Quebec provincial government had little control over the education system. Public sector education was divided along religious and linguistic lines. There was also a network of private schools financed and controlled by the Catholic church. Decision-making on matters related to organization, curriculum, evaluation, and teacher selection was determined in a decentralized fashion by the appropriate sector.

The unevenness of the quality and services provided by each sector was a major concern to educational reformers who saw this system as an example of backwardness and therefore an obstacle to the type of social and economic development they desired. The reformers shared most of the major assumptions of modernization theory (Chodak, 1973) concerning the

importance of education in promoting growth and equality of opportunity. They wanted greater industrialization, urbanization, and the development of modern bureaucracies based on legal-rational authority as opposed to the traditional authority of the Catholic church.

In response to these concerns the Lesage government appointed a Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education (The Parent Commission) to examine all aspects of the Quebec educational system and to prepare a report based on their findings. The Commission issued a five-volume report in 1964 which recommended sweeping changes to completely overhaul the provincial education system and bring it under government control.

One of the proposed changes was the creation of an entirely new level of education at the post-secondary level which would offer an equal chance to everyone, regardless of linguistic or religious background, who had completed secondary studies, and others (mature students) who had been out of school for some time.

Tuition would be free to help make equality of opportunity a real possibility. With its commitment to greater accessibility, the new system would be a bold attempt to compensate for the social inequalities which were seen by many as a byproduct of the previous elitist system of education.

The Parent Commission envisioned the new system as a link between education and work but also as a bridge between high school and university, and between the school and the larger community.

In June of 1967, the Quebec legislature passed Bill 21, which made possible the creation of the Cegeps (Colleges d'enseignement generale et professionnel).

The Cegeps offered a two year pre-university program as well as two to three year programs in technologies. Both pre-university and technology students were to receive their education in the same institution and certain core courses in English and Philosophy (Humanities could substitute for Philosophy in the English Cegeps) would be required for both categories of student. Students could also transfer into other programs if their interests and aptitudes changed. In this respect students would be encouraged to stay in the education system longer and "shop around" in an attempt to discover special skills or talents which might not be recognized or appreciated in more elite systems. The existence of a diversified curricula would therefore provide a second chance for students who had either incorrectly assessed their own abilities or aptitudes or who had yet to discover where their talents might best be applied.

Underlying the seemingly egalitarian spirit of the new system was a basic re-orientation of post-secondary education away from classical and general studies to the new priorities of science, commerce, and technology (Parent Report, Vol. 2, Ch. 6, p. 159-194).

The Cegep system had emerged as the vehicle to bring about the transformation of Quebec society. Within a matter of months 12 colleges were established and by the following year (1968) there were 23 French colleges with 38,000 students enrolled. By 1970, there were 40 such institutions throughout the province of Quebec. A period of rapid expansion and enrolment ensued. Between 1967 and 1983 college level enrolment, both public and private, increased 150% (Blackburn, 1984). There was a doubling of enrolment in pre-university programs and a tripling in technical programs in the public colleges. By 1983-84, there were 47 public colleges in Quebec, including 7 English ones as well as 30 private institutions with a total student enrolment of 157,000, 89% of whom were enrolled in public institutions (Morissette, 1984).

Table 1

Full-time Enrolment in Major College Programs, 1983-84

	Enrolment	%
Pre-university (Academic) Programs		
Health, pure and applied sciences	27,900	18
Social sciences and commerce	40,300	25
Arts	4,800	3
Language and literature	4,400	3
Other	1,200	1
Total	78,600	50
Career (Technical) Programs		
Biological technologies	13,600	9
Physical technologies	19,300	12
Social technologies	8,800	6
Administrative technologies	31,300	20
Applied Arts	4,800	3
Language and literature	100	--
Other	100	--
Total	78,000	50
Grand Total	156,600	100

Adapted from: Le Quebec Statistique, Edition 1985-1986, p. 440-443.

By 1984 enrolments were evenly divided between two year pre-university programs and three year career programs (see Table one). Since 1984 there has been a shift in enrolment away from career or technical programs to pre-university programs.

The general structure and operation of the Cegeps and their programs are coordinated by three bodies at the provincial level: a department of the Ministry of Higher Education, a Council of Colleges, and Federation of Colleges. Each public college is a legal corporation in terms of the Quebec Civil Code. Each college has a Board of Governors comprised of 20 members representing administrators, academic staff, students, and community interests. There is also an academic council made up mostly of teachers which advises the administration on matters related to curriculum, evaluation, personnel selection, and other appointments. The head of a college is known as the director general. This administrative leader is responsible for the overall functioning of the college and is assisted in specific ways by support staff such as academic deans, directors of student services, counsellors, and others.

Most teachers are members of a local union or teachers association, which, in turn, is affiliated with one of the three major labour federations in the province.

Ways of Seeing the Cegep System

The egalitarian spirit of the Parent Report raised expectations that the newly formed Cegeps would be fundamentally different from other levels of education.

These expectations, combined with the late sixties optimism concerning the possibility of restructuring and democratizing established institutions, surrounded the new colleges with an aura of experimentation and social idealism. This aura attracted a variety of educational reformers who were eager to put into practice some of the new pedagogical theories in vogue at the time. For example, at the outset there was a dedicated attempt by many teachers to fundamentally alter the traditional nature of an educational institution by eliminating standard grading practices, by allowing students input into decisions concerning materials used in courses, and by encouraging a process of consensus decision-making on certain issues. A wide variety of innovative pedagogical techniques such as team teaching, field trips, imaginative role playing, and simulation exercises were tried in an effort to break down communication barriers between teachers and students.

The attempt to provide an alternative educational approach came under attack almost immediately from some

administrators who either did not share this educational philosophy or, more pragmatically, were concerned that problems of authority, discipline and motivation might arise and eventually undermine public support for the system (Lipkin and Denis, 1972, p. 119-134).

Many problems stemmed from the rather idealistic notion that the junior colleges could bring together in one institution programs for advanced technical preparation, pre-university study, general education, adult education, and community service.

The conflicting goals and orientations of the different programs made internal harmony difficult and often pitted administrators against instructors in clashes over educational ideology. At the root of the problem was an institutional identity crisis as different factions vied with each other to set the future agenda for the colleges (Henchey, 1972, p. 108-109).

On a broader, more philosophical level, it was the ambiguity of the Parent Report and its attempt to be all things to all people which set the stage for much of the internal conflict which plagued the Cegep system from the outset. For example, the Parent Report's commitment to equality of opportunity and accessibility to a good general education was of paramount importance to teachers who had been influenced by the "human potential" or

"client-centered learning" movements of the late sixties. Others, including many provincial government planners, interpreted the Parent Report as committing the Cegeps to providing highly trained manpower to meet the requirements of rapid economic growth and development. For this group, Cegeps were seen as institutions on the cutting edge in such areas as information and communication technologies, computer applications and biotechnologies (Le virage technologique: batir le Quebec, Phase 2: Programme d'action economique 1982-1986, Quebec, 1982).

These conflicts over educational philosophy and goals remain to the present day. However, there have been some significant changes. The early experimentation with alternative pedagogical techniques has been largely abandoned. Many teachers have reverted to the traditional hierarchical authority structure and a reliance on the "chalk and talk" lecture format, regular exams, competitive grading, and the like. The teachers interviewed cite a number of factors which have contributed to this evolution such as a resurgence of more traditional social and cultural values, effects of increased student enrolments, the effects of aging on the faculty and a resulting loss of enthusiasm on the part of teachers for experimentation, and an increasing apathy on the part of students with regards to social and political issues.

Unionization of Cegep Teachers

Other changes in Quebec society also affected the evolution of the Cegep system. Cegep teachers became an important component of an emerging "state middle class", which contributed significantly both to the rise of Quebec nationalism and the growing strength of public sector unionism in the province (Milner, 1973).

Local teachers' unions or associations were usually affiliated with either the CSN (Confederation des syndicaux Nationales) or the CEQ (Centrale de L'Enseignement du Quebec). Neither the then newly formed Parti Quebecois nor the other traditional political parties could ignore the growing clout of this group. Partially as a result of this influence, the unions representing teachers made important salary and job security gains at the bargaining table in the mid-seventies.

It is important to note, however, that Cegep teachers have ambivalent feelings about their participation in trade union activity. Although they have engaged in a number of bitter confrontations with successive provincial governments, the argument (Milner, 1973, p. 209) that teachers constitute a "powerful left-wing element in the CSN" or that they "identify their

interests with the working classes" rather than with other professional groups, is, and always has been, grossly exaggerated. In this respect it is important to separate the rhetoric and manifestoes of union activists from the perceptions of the general membership (see the survey comments).

From the beginning of the Cegep system there has been a continuing debate as to whether teachers' "professionalism" is threatened by union militancy. The contradiction that lies at the heart of this debate is that while teachers may enjoy a certain amount of professional autonomy in the classroom, they are also salaried employees in large-scale organizations and are often unable, on an individual basis, to solve the problems that arise from this relationship.

The degree of union militancy, or even union loyalty, has been shaped, for the most part, by conflicts arising from external factors such as the process of educational centralization, which has concentrated most decision-making power over finances, curriculum, regulations, structural reform, and personnel policies in Quebec City (Quebec, MEQ, Regulation Respecting the Basis of College Education, Quebec, 1989). Ironically, this concentration of authority and decision-making power is another legacy of the Parent Report's reforming zeal and its commitment to structural and technical rationality.

Through unionization and collective bargaining Cegep teachers were able to win some economic, structural, and political power in the sixties and through much of the following decade. By the beginning of the eighties, however, a growing economic crisis, and attempts to remedy it through reductions in public sector spending, put the teachers and the government on a collision course. Cegep teachers and other public sector workers were expected to take drastic pay cuts to help reduce inflation and improve the climate for investment and renewed economic growth in the province.

A series of bitter confrontations ensued, with the Parti Quebecois government eventually passing legislation (Bill 101, 1983) which forced teachers back to work, imposed working conditions, cut salaries, and removed the right to strike for a period of time.

Many teachers felt betrayed by the actions of the provincial government during the strike, in particular a perceived attempt to foster a negative image of Cegep teachers as being a well-paid, underworked group of whiners who were partly to blame for causing the economic problems at that time.

Since then other factors have also contributed to what some see as a growing malaise among Cegep teachers.

Apart from the issues of decreased purchasing power, resulting from the government imposed wage rollback, and increased class size due to a revised workload formula, it is argued that teachers are now facing a generation of young people whose frame of reference has been shaped by the home computer, the video revolution, and other technologies that have emerged in the past decade. It has been argued that these changes, as well as the "neo-conservative" agenda of "privatization" and "excellence" are threatening to a generation of teachers imbued with the "humanistic" values of the sixties (INFO-FNEEQ, Vol. 4 - No. 3, February, 1986).

A number of documents have been produced by Cegep unions and other concerned parties that deal with such issues as teacher malaise, the negative public perception of teachers, the changing role of teachers, and the future of the Cegeps. A recurring theme in many of these documents is the belief that the provincial government of Quebec, whether Liberal or Parti Quebecois, increasingly views education as a commodity and should develop according to the laws of the marketplace and not according to any particular educational philosophy (INFO-FNEEQ, Volumes 1-5, 1980-87).

Cegep administrators are seen as placing more emphasis on the "productivity" of teachers and their "output" in comparison to private sector workers. Also,

the goals of democratization and accessibility to a general education, which were highly valued at the birth of the Cegep system are seen as being supplanted by a vision of junior colleges as an adjunct to private industry, increasingly geared to the transformation of information into an instrument that services technology and economic growth. One consequence of this development, it is argued, is that many teachers and their unions feel increasingly marginalized and excluded from any discussion about the kind of Cegep system they want to build and the nature of their labour (INFO-FNEEQ, Volumes 1-5, 1980-88).

There is also discontent among many teachers and local Cegep unions about the role of the union centrals (CSN, CEQ) during the strike in 1983 and in the recent round of negotiations (1987-88) with the Liberal government of Robert Bourassa. Dissatisfaction with what some see as the "corporatist turn of the CSN" and the limitations of centralized bargaining has prompted discussion in some local unions about possible disaffiliation from the CSN and a move to more decentralized forms of bargaining.

Some evidence of teacher dissatisfaction was provided in a study by Quebec's Conseil des Colleges which claimed that 60% of Quebec's 15,773 Cegep teachers "lacked motivation" and felt "isolated in their departments". The study concluded that disillusioned and unmotivated

teachers were obstructing students chances for a quality education. It was argued that this deterioration at the workplace would have profound economic and social consequences for the province in the future (Geregoin Inc., 1984).

In the research findings which follow I will attempt to gauge the nature and extent of teachers' dissatisfaction with the labour process of teaching and its effects on the larger organizational, social and economic environment.

CHAPTER 3

FACULTY DISCONTENT AT JOHN ABBOTT: FINDINGS FROM A SURVEY

There has been very little research done on factors affecting the evolution of teaching processes and teacher morale at the junior college level in Canada. Most existing research focuses on faculty morale at the elementary and high school level. However, the evolution of teaching processes and faculty morale at the university level was the subject of a bitter polemic produced by three Canadian academics in 1984 (The Great Brain Robbery, by David Bercuson, Robert Bothwell, and J.L. Granatstein).

The authors argued that the type of "democratization" and faculty unionization described in the previous chapter has had an adverse effect on institutions of higher learning in Canada.

The abandonment of the elitist model of education and the attempt to be all things to all people has turned our colleges and universities into educational supermarkets "grovelling for government grants, selling their soul in return for public approval and simultaneously selling the value of higher education for a song" (p. 8).

The authors contend that the consequences of this change in orientation have been the relaxation of student entrance requirements, grade inflation, poor quality scholarship, faculty malaise, and an overall deterioration in standards. In every way, the attempt to promote equality of opportunity through the opening up of the educational system has led instead to widespread mediocrity and pervasive disillusionment.

The notion that widespread faculty malaise exists in post-secondary institutions has found some resonance in American works such as Ernest Boyer's "College" (1987), Burton Clark's "The Academic Life: Small Worlds, Different Worlds" (1987), and Bowen and Schuster's "American Professors: A National Resource Imperiled" (1986). The authors of these works depict many faculty as disspirited and restless, burdened with a lowgrade frustration.

Further evidence of faculty discontent was provided in the National survey of 5000 academics from 300 post-secondary institutions, carried out by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching in the spring of 1984. Based on a mail questionnaire containing hundreds of questions, this survey followed up on an earlier survey conducted in 1975.

Forty-six percent of the respondents to the 1984 survey would consider taking a non-academic job if it were offered to them in comparison to 42% in the 1976 survey. Forty percent of the respondents to the 1984 survey felt that their job was a source of considerable personal strain to them in comparison to 36% in the 1976 survey.

Twenty percent of the respondents in 1984 wished they had entered another profession, 27% felt trapped in a profession with limited opportunities for advancement, and 22% said that if they had to do it all over again, they would not become college teachers. Teachers also expressed concern over increasing teaching loads and reduced departmental morale.

There were also indications of increasing tensions between teachers and administrators, both academic and institutional. For example, thirty-one percent of respondents to the 1984 survey felt that their departments were "somewhat" or "very" autocratic in comparison to 29% of respondents to the 1975 survey. Sixty-seven percent of respondents to the the 1984 survey felt that their institution was "somewhat" or "very" autocratic compared to 60% who felt that way in 1976. Fifty-nine percent of respondents to the 1984 survey felt they had ample opportunities to influence policies in their department compared to 64% of respondents to the 1976 survey. Twelve percent of respondents to the 1984 survey felt that they

had ample opportunities to influence policies of their institutions compared to 16% of respondents to the 1976 survey who felt this way. Finally, sixty-seven percent of respondents to the 1984 survey considered the administration of their institution "fair" or "poor" in comparison to 64% of respondents who felt this was in 1976.

There has also been a significant shift in faculty attitudes concerning student admissions and preparedness to undertake post-secondary studies. Sixty-four percent of respondents to the 1984 survey felt that present academic standards for undergraduate admission should be higher compared to 48% who felt this way in 1976. Fifty-four percent of respondents felt that the academic ability of the undergraduates at their institution was "fair" or "poor" compared to 46% of respondents who felt that way in 1976. Eighty-three percent of respondents to the 1984 survey felt that teaching would be a lot easier if students were better prepared before they were admitted. Dissatisfaction with student preparedness and performance is echoed in Boyer's research which found that too many students lack a solid foundation. As a result teachers lower their expectations. "The flood of complaints we heard about language deficiencies of students was reinforced by our national survey. Also, today's students worry about jobs. Narrow vocationalism with its emphasis

on skills training dominates the campus" (Boyer, 1987, p. 3).

The importance of faculty participation in the larger college "community" was also gauged by the 1984 survey. Only 26% of respondents felt that their college was "very important" to them. However, 40% felt that their department was "very important" to them and 76% felt that their academic discipline was "very important" to them. Over 85% of respondents participated in department faculty meetings but participation in committees outside their own department was dramatically lower (faculty senate meetings 18%, campus wide faculty meetings 25%, administrative advisory committee meetings 16%).

The increasing influx of part-time teachers has also affected the spirit of community at American post-secondary institutions. Twenty-five percent of all faculty in 4 year colleges and universities are employed part-time. Sixty percent of colleges surveyed reported an increase in part-time faculty in the past five years, according to Boyer. He argues that "part-time faculty operate under unfavourable conditions: no office, lack of time on campus, usually hired on short-term contracts. Because of a fragmented schedule, it is difficult for them to develop deep institutional commitments and their connections with other faculty and with students are tenuous at best. The spirit of community is weakened"

(Boyer, 1987, p. 137).

There has also been a shift in faculty attitudes towards unionism and collective bargaining in the 1980's. Thirty-nine percent of respondents to the 1984 Carnegie Survey felt that collective bargaining by faculty members had no place in a college or university compared to 30% who felt that way in 1975. Sixty-one percent of respondents to the 1984 survey felt that collective bargaining was likely to bring higher salaries and benefits compared to 76% in 1975. Fifty-one percent of respondents to the 1984 survey felt that there were circumstances in which a strike can be a legitimate means of collective action by faculty compared to 61% who felt that way in 1975.

Unionization is a recent phenomenon in American higher education. With only 11 campuses reported as unionized in 1966, the number climbed sharply during the next ten years to 160 in 1970 and 430 in 1975. The trend then slowed somewhat, with the number of unionized campuses increasing to 830 in 1985 (Boyer, 1987, p. 238).

The advent of unionization and collective bargaining has not provided a panacea for faculty discontent and may, indeed, have contributed to it, given the shift in attitudes over a ten year period.

Although there are indications of growing discontent among faculty at American colleges and universities it is important not to exaggerate the extent or depth of this "malaise". For example, 59% of respondents to the 1984 Carnegie Survey felt more enthusiastic about their work now than when they began their academic career. In his research Ernest Boyer found that "most faculty, in spite of frustrations and complaints, are still deeply committed to their profession".

"The condition of teaching is, in short, a pattern of contradictions. We found faculty committed to the enterprise, in spite of eroding incomes and quality of campus life. We found continuing commitment to the disciplines and little dissatisfaction with the curriculum. Faculty, while strongly identifying with a common culture, live within disciplines and work at institutions that have sharply contrasting values and traditions. There is a yearning for community, although each individual goes on in his or her individualistic, competitive way" (Boyer, 1987, p. 138).

Concern over faculty morale in the United States prompted the Council of Independent Colleges to appoint a Taskforce on the Future of the Academic Workplace in Liberal Arts Colleges and then launched a major study of faculty morale and the organizational conditions that affect it. To the surprise of many, a national survey of

over 4000 faculty in 140 colleges revealed that the morale and satisfaction of faculty in small liberal arts colleges had not deteriorated as much as expected (Rice and Austin, 1988, p. 51). Organizational factors (institutional policies, unionization, colleagueship) were key variables that affected the level of morale at the colleges studied in this survey.

Some of the themes raised here are reflected in the case study which follows. There is the same pattern of ambiguity and contradictions in the responses of teachers to both the survey questionnaire and the interviews.

Aside from union publications and a few studies commissioned by education ministries there has been a surprising dearth of research concerning the evolution of teaching processes and faculty morale at the post-secondary level in Canada. What follows is, therefore, a modest attempt to rectify this situation by providing a case study of the evolution of teaching processes and faculty morale at one Quebec community college.

The following findings were obtained from a Survey Questionnaire circulated in December of 1987, and followed by fifty-seven intensive interviews with teachers conducted between January 1988, and June 1989.

Summary of Survey Questionnaire Findings

Named after Sir John Abbott, Canada's third prime minister, John Abbott College primarily serves the West Island community of Montreal. Over 4800 students are enrolled in the day division (1988) and about 2000 in continuing education. As one of 47 Cegeps (College d'enseignement generale et professionnel) in Quebec, John Abbott offers two types of program: Two year pre-university programs and three year career or professional programs designed to lead directly to the labour market.

There are 375 teachers at the college. Before conducting intensive interviews I decided to circulate a questionnaire to gauge teachers' responses to certain issues that have been raised concerning their job satisfaction, their interaction with colleagues, their perceptions of student abilities, and their perceptions concerning union negotiating priorities and areas of conflict within the institutional environment. The survey questionnaire was distributed through the internal mail to seventy-five teachers at the college. This was a systematic sample, every fifth person on the current seniority list selected to receive the questionnaire (see appendix). I followed up with a telephone call one week after the questionnaire was distributed. There were forty-seven returned questionnaires for a response rate of 63%.

Table 2

Profile of Survey Respondents

Sex	Percent
Male	68.1%
Female	31.9
Total	100.00 n=47

Job status	Percent
Permanent (tenured)	93.6%
Non-permanent (untenured)	6.4
Total	100.00 n=47

Education level	Percent
Bachelors	6.4%
Masters	66.0
Doctorate	25.5
Technical certification or career experience without academic degree	2.1
Total	100.00 n=47

Table 2 continued - Profile of Survey Respondents

Age Category	Percent
24 and under	2.1%
25-34	8.5
35-44	55.3
45-54	27.7
55 or over	6.4
Total	100.00 n=47

Years at Cegep	Percent
0-5 yrs.	8.5%
6-10 yrs.	14.9
11-15 yrs.	46.8
15 or more yrs.	29.8
Total	100.00 n=47

Experience in teaching at other levels of the educational system	Percent (yes)	Percent (no)	Total
Elementary school	8.5%	91.5%	100.
High school	34.0	66.0	100.
University	61.7	38.3	100.
Private School	14.9	85.1	100.
Technical School	8.5	91.5	100.

Table 2 continued - Profile of Survey Respondents

Discipline Area	Percent
Business Sciences	4.5%
Dramatic Arts	4.5
English	11.4
Health Science	11.4
Humanities	11.4
Mathematics	9.1
Natural Science	11.4
Physical Science	4.5
Social Science	27.3
Technology	4.5
Total	100.00 n=47

The first question of the survey questionnaire attempted to gauge the relative importance of money, interesting work, job security, respect and recognition, as factors which teachers would consider if they were to take a job other than teaching. The question was designed as an indirect way of assessing the effects of salary cutbacks, deteriorating working conditions, reduced job security, and alleged negative public perceptions of Cegep teachers as might possibly be indicated by their response to this question.

Table 3

Factors in taking a job other than teaching

Factor	Percent
Higher pay and better benefits	38.3%
More interesting work	34.0
More security	4.3
More respect and recognition	17.0
Other	6.4
Total	100.0 n=47

Higher pay would be the most important factor in taking another job for 38.3% (Table 3) of the respondents to this question. However, a significant difference in response to this question emerged when responses were broken down by sex.

Table 4

Factors in taking job other than teaching by sex

Factor	% Male	% Female
Higher pay & benefits	46.9%	20.0%
More interesting work	25.0	53.3
More security	0.0	13.3
More respect & recognition	21.9	6.7
Other	6.3	6.7
Total	100.1*	100.0
	n=32	n=15

* due to rounding error

Table 4 shows that, proportionately, more females chose "more interesting work" if they were considering a job other than teaching whereas higher pay and better benefits would more likely be chosen by men. One might speculate as to the reasons for these differences. For men, the concern for higher salaries might reflect a situation where they are the primary source of income for the family whereas the salary for female teachers might represent a second income where there are two earners in the family.

However, females were more concerned over job security in any possible decision they would make whereas this is of no concern at all to male respondents.

More respect and recognition would be an important factor for males in such a decision but much less important for females. Again, one might speculate as to the greater emphasis on respect and recognition by males in considering a job other than teaching. In the interviews which follow one female respondent argues that "many male teachers (have become) unhappy and bored with their profession. (They) have become obsessed with measuring their worth and happiness by the amount of money they have, by their rank, by the 'pat on the back'. Unfortunately for these people, the Cegep does not offer these benefits adequately. Therefore these people are unable to measure their self-worth via socialization and become frustrated." This perceived lack of respect and recognition might account for the fact that many male teachers will abandon teaching for administration jobs if they have the chance. It may also account for the fact that many teachers have a strong avocational interest outside teaching or a second source of income. The importance of activities outside teaching will be demonstrated in the responses to the next question in the survey.

Table 5

Factors in taking a job other than teaching
by level of educational attainment

Factor	% BA	% MA	% PHD	% Other
Higher pay & benefits	33.3%	38.7%	41.7%	
More interesting work	66.7	38.7	16.7	
More security			8.3	100.00%
More respect & recognition		16.1	25.0	
Other		6.5	8.3	
	100.00 n=3	100.00 n=31	100.00 n=12	100.00 n=1

Table 5 indicates the response to the survey question by level of educational qualifications. In considering a job other than teaching, the desire for more interesting work is a relatively unimportant factor for teachers holding PhDs in comparison to those holding MAs or BAs. Again, one might speculate as to the reasons for this. Respondents holding doctorates can pursue their research interests at the Cegep level without the intense competition that one sometimes finds at the university level. Their research efforts may, indeed, complement their work as teachers whereas respondents with lower educational qualifications are engaged primarily in teaching without compensatory outlets for creativity. I

should stress that this is purely speculation on my part.

Not surprisingly, non-permanent (non-tenured) teachers chose more security as being the most important factor if they were to consider a job other than teaching. Two of 3 non-permanents chose this category. One chose more respect and recognition as the most important factor in taking a job other than teaching. Since the imposition of provincial government decrees in 1983, it has become more difficult for a Cegep teacher to get tenure. A union survey of 21 Cegeps revealed that:

Year	Number of teachers granted tenure (Permanence)
82/83	169
83/84	22
84/85	27

Source: INFO-FNEEQ, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1986.

The provincial government established tighter guidelines for the acquisition of tenure because of the high costs of this job security provision at a time when student enrolments were declining dramatically throughout the province. A tenured teacher who is laid off is entitled to 80% of his/her salary for as long as it takes to re-absorb them into the system. This represented a form of guaranteed income for laid-off teachers which might discourage them from seeking other types of

employment. With little likelihood of a dramatic increase in enrolments the government faced a continuing drain on the education budget from teachers the system no longer needed. Increasing costs also provided an incentive to rely on part-time teachers who do not enjoy the same range of benefits as those who have acquired tenure.

For example, non-tenured and part-time teachers often find it necessary to go from Cegep to Cegep to get courses and sometimes don't know what their workload will be until a few days before the term starts. Non-tenured teachers are very often assigned courses that no one else wants to teach and at awkward times. They have greater difficulty getting professional development leaves and are not eligible for deferred salary leaves. They are not guaranteed any part of their salary should they be laid-off. They must rely on unemployment insurance. The salary of non-tenured teachers depends on a complex calculation of their individual workload which sometimes results in a lower salary for them in comparison to a tenured teacher who has exactly the same workload. In some colleges, non-tenured teachers do not have an office and find it difficult to have access to services (xerox machine, etc.).

The trend toward a two-tiered system has caused friction among teachers, which manifests itself when the time comes to set union negotiating priorities. The

precarious job security of the non-tenured teachers has thus become an important issue in negotiations with the provincial government although many tenured teachers would prefer that the unions concentrate on salary issues (INFO-FNEEQ, Volume 7 - No. 3, February, 1986).

Other Findings

In response to the question concerning factors which would motivate teachers to take a job other than teaching, there were no significant differences by age category or length of service at John Abbott. Higher pay was more important to teachers who had previously taught at the high school level (50%) than for those who had never taught at the high school level (32.3%).

John Abbott teachers who had, at one time or another, also taught at the university level were less likely to choose more interesting work as a factor in taking another job (26.7%) than teachers who had never taught at the university level (44.4%). For John Abbott teachers who had some experience in teaching at the university level (61.7% of the entire sample) 24.1% chose more respect and recognition as important factors in taking another job whereas only 5.6% of teachers who had not taught at the university level (38.3% of the total sample) chose this response. This again suggests some feeling among teachers who have taught at the university level that their efforts do not provide adequate respect and recognition.

The difference in response to this question by discipline are not significant because of the small number of cases for each discipline (with the possible exception

of social sciences where 50% of respondents chose more pay as the most important factor in taking another job compared to 33.3% who chose more interesting work as the most important factor - social science respondents made up 27.3% of the total sample).

Summary

In response to this question concerning factors which would cause them to take a job other than teaching, respondents indicate that higher pay and more interesting work would be the most important factors in such a decision. However, important differences exist in the response to this question by sex, level of educational qualifications, and job status.

The second question attempted to gauge teacher job satisfaction and the priority they attach to teaching in comparison with other activities both inside the college and away from the college.

Table 6

Most satisfying activity

Activity	Percent
Teaching activity	48.9%
Non-teaching activities at college	10.6
Activities outside the college	40.4
Total	99.9* n=47

*due to rounding error

Less that half of the respondents chose their work as teachers as their most satisfying activity. Note that not a single teacher chose community or political involvements outside the college as their most satisfying activity. This might suggest a certain political apathy on the part of teachers or perhaps an unwillingness to be identified in any way with political activity. In the interviews which follow some teachers are unwilling to give opinions on political issues at the college.

There were no significant differences in the response to this question by sex.

Not surprisingly, 100% of non-permanent teachers in the sample chose their work as teachers as their most satisfying activity. Presumably, they would like to do more of it and under more secure circumstances.

There were some interesting differences which emerged in the responses to this question by level of educational qualification.

Table 7

Most satisfying activity by educational attainment

Activity	% BAs	% MAs	% PhDs	% Others
Teaching activity	66.7%	35.5%	75.0%	100%
Non-teaching activities at the college		12.9	8.3	
Activities outside the college	33.3	51.6	16.7	
Total	100.0 n=3	100.0 n=31	100.0 n=12	100.0 n=1

Table 7 indicates that teaching is the most satisfying activity for 75% of the teachers holding a doctorate whereas this is the case for only 35.5% of teachers holding a Masters degree. Over half of the teachers holding Masters degrees, chose their activities outside the college as being most satisfying while only 16.7% of teachers with a doctoral degree chose this category. This finding is interesting because it is often

assumed that teachers with a doctoral degree would be more interested in research than teaching. Teachers at John Abbott who hold a doctorate are entitled to an extra $3,314.00 per year in premium for this accomplishment. This might account for their greater satisfaction with teaching if money is a motivator in these matters.

There were some interesting differences which emerged in response to this question by length of service at John Abbott.

Table 8

Most satisfying activity by years of service

Activity	% 0-5 yrs.	% 6-10 yrs.	% 11-15 yrs.	% 15 +
Teaching activity	75.0%	28.6%	40.9%	61.5%
Non-teaching activity at the college		28.6	4.5	15.4
Activities outside the college	25.0	42.9	54.5	23.1
Total	100.0 n=4	100.1* n=7	99.9* n=22	100.0 n=13

*due to rounding error

Table 8 indicates that teachers at the mid-point of their teaching careers (11-15 years of service) find activities outside the college more satisfying than their teaching activity. This might be some indication of the phenomenon known as "burnout" which is alleged to affect many teachers at the mid-point of their careers. This group represents 46.8% of the total sample. There are a variety of possible explanations for the priority of outside activities for teachers with this length of

service, some of which are dealt with extensively in the interviews which follow. For example, one teacher complains that "there is very little recognition from the administration for good work. You do not get more money because you are doing a better job as a teacher. There is no promotional system. Every year teachers get an increase (in pay) but that increase is virtually the same whether you did a good job or a bad job. Under those conditions it is hard sometimes to remain motivated." The "unstaged" nature of a teachers' career, the fact that there may be little variation from year to year in course preparation and materials taught, the negative public perception of teachers, the effects of provincial government budget restraints, the effects of aging, and a feeling that the original goals of the Cegep have been compromised, were all cited as factors which account for declining teacher motivation and a greater interest in activities outside the college.

Table 8 indicates that for teachers with five years or less of service their work as teachers is their most satisfying activity as is the case with teachers with fifteen or more years of service. The fact that only 23.1% of teachers with 15 or more years of service chose activities outside of the college as their most satisfying activity suggests that they may have somehow come to terms with their role as teachers.

Other empirical research tends to support this conclusion (Coppard, Gill and Lowther, 1985). In addition to possible cohort effects, Coppard, Gill and Lowther cite other factors to explain this phenomenon such as "increasing financial rewards with age (not applicable in the case of Cegep teachers), improving work environments for older workers through the seniority system, and increasing opportunities for dissatisfied teachers to find other non-teaching work or to become school administrators" (p. 522).

Another possible explanation for the age relationship may be due to a decline in the standards and expectations of teachers who, with the passage of time, become satisfied with fewer rewards.

Other Findings

Cegep teachers who had taught at some other level in the educational system were somewhat more likely to choose their work as teachers as their most satisfying activity. Fifty-six percent of former high school teachers chose this category, 55.2% of teachers who had taught at university chose this category, 57.1% of those who had taught at private schools chose this category. However, only 25% of former technical school teachers chose their work as teachers as their most satisfying activity. One might speculate as to the reasons for the differences between Cegep teachers who had taught at some other level of the educational system and those who had taught only the Cegep level. Teaching in a Cegep might be viewed quite favourably when compared to experiences at other levels of the educational system. There is more autonomy and more control over the choice of materials used in the classroom. This would certainly be a positive factor for teachers who have had to work in the more restricted atmosphere of the elementary or high school classroom. For university teachers the Cegep might provide a refuge from the necessity of publishing scholarly articles ('publish or perish'). In the case of teachers who had formerly taught at technical schools, there is the possibility that they have craft interests outside of the college that satisfy them more than their work as teachers. Again, I should emphasize that this is simply

speculation on my part.

Although the number of cases by discipline was too small to make any definitive statement with regards to the response to this question, there is something of a pattern when the responses in related disciplines are combined. For example, teachers in mathematics (75%), business science (100%), technologies (100%), natural science (60%), physical science (50%), chose non-teaching activities at the college or activities outside the college as their most satisfying activity while teachers in dramatic arts (100%), english (80%), humanities (60%), social sciences (58.3%), chose their work as teachers as their most satisfying activity. This response may have something to do with the nature and methods of the courses taught. There is more latitude with regards to the content of courses and methods used in english, humanities, and social science courses than there is in mathematics, technologies, and science courses, which follow rather strict guidelines set down by the Ministry of Education in Quebec City. In subject areas where there is little room for variation or experimentation in content or method the ability to remain motivated and derive satisfaction from the activity of teaching is more problematic.

The third and fourth questions attempted to gauge the relative importance of interaction with peers at work. In the interviews, one of the teachers argues that

> "there is too much isolation at the college (now). Contact with fellow teachers is restricted. I remember such things as 'faculty friday' where teachers from the whole college met and conversed. This has stopped unfortunately and teachers have retreated into departmental solitude."

The notion that teachers are isolated in their offices without sufficient contact with their peers has been a continuing theme in union publications (INFO - FNEEQ, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1986). It is argued that this lack of contact contributes to declining motivation and "pedagogical individualism". The question was designed to discover whether contact with peers is, in fact, important to teachers, and to gauge just how important it actually is.

Table 9

Interaction with departmental colleagues

Importance	Percent
Very important	51.1%
Somewhat important	27.7
Not too important	21.3
Total	100.1
	n=47

Table 9 indicates that interaction with departmental colleagues is quite important to over 78% of the respondents. None of the respondents felt that contact with colleagues was not at all important. However, there was an interesting difference in response to this question by level of educational qualification.

Table 10

Interaction with departmental colleagues

Importance	% BAs	% MAs	% PhDs	% Others
Very important	66.7%	54.8%	33.3%	100.0%
Somewhat important	33.3	29.0	25.0	
Not too important	0.0	16.1	41.7	
Total	100.0 n=3	99.9* n=31	100.0 n=12	100.0 n=1

* due to rounding error

Table 10 indicates that teachers holding a doctorate don't consider interaction with departmental colleagues to be as important to them as it is to teachers holding a masters degree. This pattern was repeated in the responses to the next question which concerned the relative importance of interaction with persons at the college other than departmental colleagues.

Table 11

Importance of contact with other persons at the college

Importance	Percent
Very important	17.0
Somewhat important	48.9
Not too important	27.7
Not at all important	6.4
Total	100.0 n=47

Table 11 indicates that maintaining some form of interaction with persons other than immediate colleagues at the college is important to a significant number of teachers. Once again, however, there was an interesting difference in response to this question by level of education.

Table 12

Importance of contact with other persons at college

Importance	% BAs	% MAs	% PhDs	% Others
Very important	33.3%	16.1%	16.7%	
Somewhat important		61.3	25.0	100.0%
Not too important	66.7	22.6	33.3	
Not at all important			25.0	
Total	100.0 n=3	100.0 n=31	100.0 n=12	100.0 n=1

Table 12 indicates that while 77.4% of teachers with a Masters degree felt interaction with persons other than colleagues at the college was very important or somewhat important, only 41.7% of teachers with a doctorate felt that such interaction was very important or somewhat important. One might speculate as to the reasons for the differences in response to this question and the preceding one by educational level.

Some teachers with doctoral degrees may be reluctant to mix with colleagues who have not attained the same educational status. In the case of John Abbott, teachers holding a doctorate make up only 25% of the faculty.

Many Masters programs do not require a thesis or a prolonged independent research effort. There is less isolation in such programs and more interaction with

fellow students whereas the production of a PHD thesis often requires long hours of virtual solitude. This pattern may produce less need for interaction with colleagues.

As we have seen, teachers holding a PHD are more likely to be satisfied with their work as teachers than others at the college. One consequence may be that interaction with students is more important than interaction with colleagues in the same department or in the college at large.

Length of service may also be a factor here. New teachers tend to be more qualified than teachers hired when the Cegep system was first created. There simply has been less time for these newer people to make contact with others at the college.

Summary

With the exception of teachers holding a doctoral degree there appears to be widespread agreement among faculty as to the importance not only of interaction with departmental colleagues but also with persons in the college other than departmental colleagues. Further evidence of this was recently provided by an intense lobbying effort on the part of faculty organizations and committees for the building of a faculty lounge. It was

argued that the provision of such a lounge would go a long way in overcoming a perceived sense of malaise, and feelings of isolation and marginalization among teachers at the college. The lobbying effort was ultimately successful as the college administration has agreed to provide such a lounge in the near future. The perception that malaise, isolation, and marginalization are problems affecting many teachers at John Abbott will be pursued in the interviews which follow.

The fifth and sixth questions in the survey attempted to gauge teachers perceptions of the motivations and abilities of their student clientele. The lack of student preparedness to undertake Cegep level work and what is perceived as a declining motivation to learn have been cited as factors contributing to teacher malaise. There is a perception on the part of some teachers (see the interviews which follow) that many students are living through profound disturbances in their families, in male/female relationships and in their work. These factors are becoming very important and seem to have a negative effect on the student's motivation to learn. Of particular concern is a perception that part-time jobs are becoming the most important element in many students lives. One consequence is a decline in student preparedness and motivation to learn, which makes a teacher's job more difficult.

Table 13

Teachers' perceptions of student motivation to learn

Motivation	Percent
Highly motivated	6.4%
Somewhat motivated	74.5
Not very motivated	19.1
Total	100.0 n=47

Table 13 indicates that only 6.4% of the respondents to this survey find students to be highly motivated to learn. There were no significant differences in response to this question by categories of the independent variables. None of the respondents felt that students at the college were not at all motivated to learn. The findings suggest that the issue of student motivation to learn is very problematic to teachers. This finding is borne out in the interviews which follow, where teachers express a considerable amount of ambiguity when asked to elaborate on the question.

Table 14

Preparation of incoming students to undertake Cegep level work

Preparation	Percent
Well prepared	6.4%
Adequately prepared	44.7
Not well prepared	44.7
Not at all prepared	4.3
Total	100.0* n=47

* due to rounding error

Table 14 indicates that the respondents are about evenly divided in their opinions as to the preparedness of incoming students to undertake Cegep level work. There were interesting differences in response to this question by age category.

Table 15

Preparation of incoming students to undertake Cegep level work by age category

Preparation	%24 & under	%25-34	%35-44	%45-54
Well prepared			7.7%	
Adequately prepared	100.0%	75.0%	42.3	30.8%
Not well prepared		25.0	46.2	61.5
Not at all prepared			3.8	7.7
Total	100.0 n=1	100.0 n=4	100.0 n=26	100.0 n=13

Table 15 indicates that respondents in the 45-54 year old category were most likely to feel that incoming students were not well prepared to undertake Cegep level work. Teachers who had taught at the university level (58.6%) were also more likely to feel that incoming students were inadequately prepared to undertake Cegep level work compared to respondents (33.3%) who had never taught at the university level.

There were also some interesting differences in response to this question by discipline. Sixty-six point seven percent of teachers in the Social Sciences felt that incoming students are inadequately prepared (Social Science teachers make up 27.3% of the total sample) whereas 80% of the teachers in English and Humanities felt that incoming students are adequately prepared (English

and Humanities teachers combined make up 22.8% of the total sample). It is my opinion that the differences in response to this question by discipline relate to the nature of the student clientele that each group must deal with. English and Humanities courses are compulsory for all students at the Cegep. This means that teachers of these courses deal with students representing the complete range of motivation and ability. Social Science courses, on the other hand, are considered to be complementary and therefore draw on a narrower segment of the student body at the college. Internal documents at the school show that low achieving, low ability students tend to be disproportionately concentrated in the Social Science program. Students who are uncertain about their career choice also tend to gravitate towards the Social Science program. It is possible, therefore, that the nature of the student clientele accounts for the perception of Social Science teachers that incoming students are inadequately prepared to undertake Cegep level work.

Social Science teachers may also have higher expectations than English or Humanities teachers. However, it has been English teachers who have expressed the most concern in recent times about the writing deficiencies of incoming students.

Admission standards have become an important issue because of what many teachers perceive as a tendency, on

the part of local administration and the Provincial Ministry of Education, to blame them for the high rate of failures and drop-outs at the Cegep level. In the interviews which follow, teachers offer their own explanations for the high failure and drop-out rates, which include crowded classrooms, learning problems (arising from a linguistically and culturally heterogeneous student population), provincial government budget restraints, and the effects of students both holding a job and attending Cegep at the same time. A tighter student screening process is seen by some teachers as the solution to these problems. However, this solution is opposed by other teachers who argue that tougher admission standards would undermine the very raison d'etre of the Cegep system, which was a commitment to increase accessibility to the education system for people who were previously excluded. At the core of this debate is a conflict over the nature and purp of education. The organization of any educational system is determined largely by the prevailing ideas as to the way in which social mobility is to be achieved. The Parent reformers who proposed the creation of the Cegep system were determined to overcome what they saw as the social inequalities resulting from the previous elitist system of education. The Cegep would provide another opportunity for students, who might otherwise be marginalized, to stay in the educational system longer and perhaps discover

aptitudes and skills that would enable them to experience upward social mobility. The admission standards have, therefore, been relatively lax in keeping with the commitment to greater equality of opportunity. However, this decision has important consequences for teachers who must be much more flexible and be able to adapt to a diversified student clientele. The stresses associated with trying to live up to these demands contribute to the phenomenon known as "burn-out".

Table 16

Viewpoint admission standards

Viewpoint	Percent
Raise standards	34.0%
Same standards as now	29.8
Neither of the two	36.2
Total	100.0 n=47

Table 16 indicates that the respondents are quite divided in their opinions on the issue of admission standards. There were interesting differences which emerged in the responses to this question by level of educational qualification, by age category, and by length of service at the college.

For example, 58.3% of teachers with a doctorate felt that standards should be raised in comparison to only 22.6% of teachers with masters degrees who felt the same way.

Older teachers were also more inclined to raise standards. Fifty-four percent of teachers in the 45-54 age category as compared to 30.8% of those in the 35-44 age category and 25% in the 25-34 age category.

Teachers with longer years of service in the Cegep were also more inclined to raise standards. 53.9% of teachers with 15 or more years of service would raise standards in comparison to 27.3% with 11-15 years of service and 0 for teachers with 6-10 years of service.

It should be noted that in response to this question there were relatively large percentages of teachers who were unwilling to commit themselves one way or another on the issue (30-50% for most categories). This ambivalence over "standards" and evaluation in general is reflected in the intensive interviews which follow.

Summary (questions 5, 6, and 7)

Eighty percent of the respondents felt that students were motivated to learn. This suggests that any claim about widespread demoralization and loss of motivation on the part of students should be treated with caution. However, the teachers were much more divided in their response to the question of student preparedness to undertake Cegep level work. Slightly over half of the respondents felt that students are not well-prepared to face the demands of the Cegep environment. Interesting differences emerged in response to the question of student preparedness by age category, by previous teaching experience, and by discipline taught.

Teachers were also quite divided in their response to the question on admission standards with over a third of respondents unwilling to give a definitive opinion.

As will be shown in the intensive interviews which follow, the whole area of student motivation, student preparedness, admission standards, and evaluation procedures is a controversial topic among teachers which, in my opinion, reflects an underlying conflict over educational philosophy and methods, and the nature and purpose of education itself.

The purpose of question #8 was to gauge, indirectly, the effects of the provincial government decree (February, 1983), which abrogated teachers' right to strike until December 31, 1985, and which defined new working conditions that included a salary reduction of about 20%, an increase in the number of students per class (workload), and a reduction in salary protection for teachers who were made redundant due to declining enrolments. It also made the acquisition of tenure more difficult, as noted previously. In the interviews which follow, many teachers argue that the government's actions profoundly affected teacher morale resulting in a malaise which has continued to the present time.

There was a negotiated agreement in 1986 which provided a cost of living increase for teachers and some minor improvements on the decree. However, many teachers were dissatisfied with the result of the negotiations and accused the unions (CSN, CEQ) of selling out to the government and essentially ratifying the conditions set by the decree of 1983. One byproduct of this discontent was the emergence of a dissident movement among teachers which favoured disaffiliation from the larger union central (CSN) and the formation of an independent Cegep teachers' federation. Eventually, in May of 1988, 14 of the 42 local teachers' unions affiliated with the CSN did break away to form an independent federation known as FAC (Federation Autonome Collegial). The effects of this

process on teachers at John Abbott will be dealt with in the chapter which follows.

Question #8 is an attempt to determine the negotiating priorities of teachers as they try to make up for the losses experienced as a result of the provincial government actions of 1983. The response of teachers to this question might indicate which factor would be the most important in overcoming the malaise which is alleged to exist among the teachers at the college.

Table 17

Teachers' negotiating priorities

Priorities	Percent
Salary	40.4%
Job security	14.9
Working conditions	31.9
Other	12.8
Total	100.0 n=47

Table 17 indicates that salary should be the issue that is stressed the most in negotiations according to 40.4% of the respondents. 59.6% of the respondents chose non-salary related issues as the most important negotiating priorities. There were some interesting differences which emerged in response to this question by sex.

Table 16

Teachers negotiating priorities by sex

Priorities	% Male	% Female
Salary	46.9%	26.7%
Job security	9.4	26.7
Working conditions	34.4	26.7
Other	9.4	20.0
Total	100.1* n=32	100.1* n=15

*due to rounding error

Table 18 indicates that salary is a more important negotiating priority for male respondents than for female respondents. Over 80% of female respondents chose non-salary related issues as the most important negotiating priorities. The response to this question by sex is quite similar to the response to the first question of the survey concerning teachers' priorities should they consider a job other than teaching. Some of the same explanations offered to account for the differences in response to that question may also be at work here. Again, job security is an important issue for female respondents whereas it is not an issue of importance for males. Working conditions are an important negotiating priority for both sexes, which suggest that the effects of the government decree concerning increased workload (due

to larger class size norms) are being felt by teachers. This concern over working conditions, particularly increased class size, will be pursued further in the interviews which follow.

Other Findings

Not surprisingly, job security is the most important issue for non-tenured respondents, two out of three choosing the job security category.

Working conditions should be the most important negotiating priority according to 53.8% of respondents in the 45-54 year old age category compared to 26.9% of those in the 34-44 age category and 25% of those in the 25-35 age category.

Sixty-nine percent of teachers with 15 or more years of service at the college chose salary as the most important negotiating priority compared to 31.8% of teachers with 11-15 years of service and 42.9% of teachers with 6-10 years of service. Salary was not an important issue for any of the respondents with five years or less of service (8.5% of the total sample).

Salary may be an important issue for those with fifteen or more years of service because of the nature of the pay scale for teachers in Quebec. Up until fifteen years of service teachers are paid extra money for each additional year of service. This stops at fifteen years with teachers only able to increase their salary after that through cost of living adjustments, negotiated increases in pay, or through the acquisition of additional

scholarity if they have not completed their PHD. This ceiling was an attempt to reduce the disparity in incomes between the lowest and the highest paid teachers but for those at the top end of the scale it has become a source of frustration.

Working conditions are the most important issue which should be stressed in negotiations for teachers who have had some teaching experience at private schools. None of the teachers who had formerly taught at private schools (14.9% of the total sample) chose salary as the most important issue which should be stressed at negotiations.

The purpose of question #9 was to determine the most important sources of potential conflict within the institutional environment and the areas in which teachers would make changes. Many teachers were not satisfied simply circling a response to this question. They also provided written comments in the space provided, some of which are reprinted in the survey comments which follow.

Table 19

Area in which teachers would make changes

General area	Percent
Administration policy	55.3%
Union policy	2.1
Pedagogical policy	36.2
Department policy	6.4
Total	100.0 n=47

Table 19 indicates that 55.3% of respondents chose administration policy as the area in which they would make the most changes if they had the chance. In both the survey comments and the intensive interviews which follow, teachers express a concern that the local administration is increasingly out of touch with the needs of both students and teachers. For example, one respondent argued that "the bureaucracy has increased because of the higher

student enrollments. The administration seems to be trying to solve the problems by the creation of more rules. This is not the way to solve problems." The perception that relations with the administration had become strained because of the increase in student numbers and the consequent proliferation of bureaucratic rules and regulations is a recurring theme in the interviews which follow.

Seventy-five percent of teachers with doctorates singled out administration policy as the area in which they would make the most changes in comparison to 48.4% of teachers with Masters degrees who chose that category and 33.3% of teachers with bachelors degrees. Forty-two percent of teachers with masters degrees chose pedagogical policy as the area in which they would make the most changes as compared to 25% of teachers with PHDs who chose this category.

Seventy-five percent of 25-34 year old teachers were most interested in making changes in administration policy compared to 65.4% of 34-44 year olds and 46.2% of 45-54 year olds.

Pedagogical concerns seemed to be more important to teachers over 45 (46.2% of 45-54 year olds chose this category and 100% of teachers over 55 years of age) compared to those in the 35-44 age bracket (23.1% who

chose pedagogical policy) and 25-34 age bracket (25% of whom chose pedagogical policy).

Administration policy and pedagogical policy were the two general areas in which teachers of both sexes, all ages, all levels of scholarity and service, and from all departments would like to make changes if they had the chance. Department policy and union policy were not singled out by any category as important areas in which they would make changes. The fact that union policy was not chosen as an area in which teachers would make changes is something of an anomaly considering the importance of this issue in the intensive interviews which follow.

Summary (questions 8 and 9)

Salary and working conditions are the most important negotiating priority for teachers attempting to recover from the losses experienced during the 1983 strike. Salary is a much more important negotiating priority for males than for females. Salary, working conditions, and job security are of equal importance to females as negotiating priorities. Job security is the most important negotiating priority for non-tenured teachers. For teachers with 15 or more years of service salary is the most important negotiating priority probably because of the structure of the salary scale for Cegep teachers.

Administration policy appears to be the area in which teachers would make the most changes if they had the chance. Surprisingly, union policy would not be an area in which teachers would make changes even though the local union's affiliation with the CSN is a major source of conflict at the college. The teachers' concerns over both administration policy and pedagogical policy will be pursued in depth in the intereviews which follow.

Conclusion

The purpose of the survey questionnaire was to gauge teachers' attitudes in a number of areas which are of importance to this study. Through the responses I wanted to be able to assess the relative importance to teachers of such issues as salary, interesting work, respect and recognition, job security, interpersonal relations, relations with students, negotiating priorities, and areas of potential conflict within the institutional context. This would provide me with a reference point and help in interpreting the significance and relative importance of opinions expressed at the interview stage of the research process. For example, the fact that over 80% of the respondents to the questionnaire believe that contact with their departmental colleagues is somewhat important or very important to them suggests that the reduction or elimination of such interaction would be an important issue to them. This is borne out by the responses of teachers in the interviews who bemoan the loss of "community spirit" resulting from the enlargement of faculty to meet the demands of increased student enrolment. Presumably, this would not be an issue if contact with departmental colleagues and others at the college was of no importance to teachers.

In the same vein, the response of teachers to the

question about student motivation is useful in assessing the opinions expressed in the interviews on the same issue. Only 6.4% of the respondents feel that students at John Abbott are very motivated to learn. In the interviews which follow, the teachers give a much more nuanced response when asked to elaborate on a similar question.

The satisfaction that respondents derive from their teaching activity is another important reference point for interpreting the interviews which follow. Less than half of the respondents to the survey questionnaire chose their work as teachers as their most satisfying activity, preferring instead non-teaching related activities at the college or activities outside of the college. This might be viewed as evidence of the malaise that is presumed to be widespread among teachers. However, at the end of the interviews which follow, the teachers were asked to choose among four categories ('very satisfied', 'somewhat satisfied', 'not too satisfied', 'not at all satisfied') which best described how they felt about their teaching job. Over 80% of the interviewees chose the very satisfied or somewhat satisfied categories. The point is that a certain amount of caution is required in interpreting these findings (see page 197 for a discussion of the limitations of survey questionnaires based on fixed alternative job satisfaction categories).

The findings on admission standards provide a reference point for the opinions expressed in the interviews on a wide range of issues related to pedagogical techniques and evaluation methods. On this matter there is a certain consistency in the findings. Teachers have strongly divergent views which reflect some of the conflicts over educational philosophy that have existed since the creation of the Cegep system (see chapter 1). Some of these concerns are also reflected in their choice of administration policy and pedagogical policy as areas in which they would make the most changes if they had the chance.

It is my view that the teachers' choices concerning union negotiating priorities and the relative importance they attach to salary, working conditions, job security, and respect and recognition, are also consistent with their comments in the interviews which follow. However, the seeming lack of concern over union policy as an area in which teachers would make changes if they had the chance is sharply at odds with the opinions expressed in the intensive interviews.

CHAPTER 4

PERCEPTIONS OF THE JOHN ABBOTT FACULTY: INTERVIEW FINDINGS

The second stage of the research process was devoted to a series of extended interviews with 56 teachers at the college which were conducted over a six month period. Unlike the survey questionnaire, which was an attempt to gain a broad snapshot of teachers' attitudes at the college, the intensive interviews focused on a narrower segment of the John Abbott teaching community, namely teachers with 12 or more years of service at the college. The purpose here was to gain some insight as to the possible evolution of attitudes on issues of concern. Therefore, the questions asked in the interviews attempted to elicit from the teachers their opinions as to the changes, or lack of changes, at John Abbott since they started in terms of pedagogical goals, teachers motivation, teaching techniques, evaluation, working conditions, attitudes towards the local union, and attitudes towards the larger union federations to which they belong. The purpose of this method of inquiry was to determine whether or not changes had occurred at John Abbott, and if so, how, and to elicit teachers' perceptions of the reasons for any changes that had occurred.

A number of internal studies carried out by the central union FNEEQ (Federation Nationale des Enseignants du Quebec) suggest that teacher motivation has declined dramatically in recent years. The conclusion of one study (INFO-FNEEQ, Vol. 4 - No. 3, February, 1986) was that "there is a climate of apathy and morosity. On a personal level, teachers express a feeling of fatigue, tension, frustration, powerlessless, and a lack of motivation." However, the methodology employed in this survey was questionable. A question guide was provided to local Cegep unions and was then distributed globally without any attempt at systematic sampling. The respondents were essentially a self-selected sample.

Another survey done by the Conseil des Colleges in 1984 also presented findings which suggested that teacher motivation had declined. The study claimed that 60% of Quebec's 15,773 Cegep teachers "lack motivation and feel isolated in their departments". Yvon Morin, president of the conseil, told a press conference that "teachers can't inspire quality work when they aren't motivated themselves. These problems are serious obstacles to quality education." (Montreal Gazette, March 26, 1987). Once again, this study was methodologically flawed. For its study, the conseil met with 201 teachers from 19 Cegeps and then held five round-table discussions with 50 students, teachers, professionals and administrators.

From what I can gather the 60% unmotivated figure is based on the responses of 201 teachers rather than any systematic sampling of the "15,773 Cegep teachers" in the system.

Other studies that have been conducted also lack methodological rigour for the same reasons outlined above (La Condition Enseignante, Superior Council of education, 1984, FNEEQ, Le Burn Out, April 28, 1985).

Two hundred and ten of the 375 teachers at John Abbott have 12 or more years of service with the college. The names of the 210 teachers with 12 or more years of service were arranged in alphabetical order. Every third person on this list was sent a brief written request for an interview and a follow-up phone call. Fifty-six of the 70 teachers approached agreed to be interviewed for a response rate of 80%. The interviews were usually conducted in the privacy of the teacher's office. I assured them that any comments they made would remain confidential. In most cases I was allowed to tape record their responses on the condition that I would erase the tape after I had transcribed their comments. In a few cases a tape recorder was not permitted and I had to rely on notes. I relied on a number of questions which were systematically applied to each respondent for the purpose of simple percentage comparisons. However, I often encouraged the respondents to develop or elaborate upon

their answers and sometimes added new questions in an attempt to get respondents to recall past experiences. Some interesting and freewheeling discussions often resulted from this method. I do not wish to make exaggerated claims about the opinions expressed by the teachers. However, they do provide certain insights which, I think, would be unobtainable using any other method of inquiry.

I began by asking teachers if there had been changes at John Abbott, and if so, what did they see as the reasons for those changes. Eighty-nine percent of the respondents said that changes had occurred, 11% said that no changes of any significance had occurred. Among those who said that changes had occurred, there were three recurring themes, the most important being a perception that increased student enrolments had had a dramatic effect on all aspects of life at the college. There was a perception that interpersonal relations among faculty, students and administrators had become more impersonal.

One respondent noted that

> When I first came here, I knew virtually all of the teachers. They were all located in their hall. There was a lot of socializing, fraternizing with the faculty. We are in different areas now and we really have very little opportunity to come into contact with one another.

In the same vein, another respondent said

> I think we have lost something because of the size and numbers of students here. Our class sizes have risen, our space has diminished and the interaction between staff and students has diminished.

Some teachers argued that the increase in class size had a deleterious effect on job performance.

One respondent felt that

> The classrooms are now overcrowded making it impossible to get the material across to students as effectively (as before).

Another respondent felt that

> The workload has greatly increased and it has a negative effect, in that people sometimes feel as if they are in a kind of factory environment. With 165 students, there is no way you can remember all of your students by their names.

Relations with the administration had become strained because of the increase in size according to some respondents.

One respondent argued that

> The bureaucracy has increased because of the higher enrolments. The administration seems to be trying to solve problems by the creation of more rules.

This is not the way to solve problems.

A second common theme which emerged was a perception that social and cultural changes had dramatically affected the evolution of the college.

One respondent felt that

> The structure (at the beginning) was very different and informal, each teacher being free to experiment with whatever methods of teaching they saw fit. There was a great deal of student teacher interaction. Committees were formed where both teachers and students were active members with an equal voice. The colleges reflected the times, coming off of the 'flower power' era. The students were eager and the teachers filled with enthusiasm. The Cegep system represented the freedom that they had searched for. These teachers entered their job a little too enthusiastically, though. They had to re-adjust their expectations. Many male teachers became unhappy and bored with their profession. Many teachers have become obsessed with measuring their worth and happiness by the amount of money they have, by their rank, by the 'pat on the back'. Unfortunately for these people, the Cegep does not offer these benefits adequately. Therefore these people are unable to measure their self-worth via socialization and become frustrated.

This theme was echoed in one form or another by many of the respondents but not always in quite the same way.

One respondent felt that

> The college is now more structured and regimented whereas before it was more avant-garde and freestyle. The change has been for the best.

In the same vein another respondent felt that

> There has been a shift in climate, in that students are more serious today than they were in the beginning days of John Abbott. In addition, the teaching staff is much more organized and more experienced.

Some teachers expressed a certain nostalgia for the early days:

One respondent recalled that

> We must remember that (in the beginning) we had an influx of students with the sixties way of thinking. Students had as much say in their education as had the teachers. They were also very much involved in meetings with the teachers and presented many demands and also had many complaints regarding different issues that concerned them. They had what we might call a revolutionary spirit. Over the past few years, I've noticed that this spirit is no longer prevalent. Today, kids want to get on with

their education and with their lives. They've actually decided to join the establishment rather than blow it up. The older students loved it when I showed them the movie 'The Graduate', whereas today's kids seem to get quite impatient. Students now want to be part of the action.

Some teachers speculated that the social and cultural climate at the beginning required a different type of teacher.

One respondent recalled that

> When I was hired here in 1972, there was a very strong student reality and all the meetings were open. This was the case for departmental meetings, college meetings and the like where students came to them. There was a student committee on all subjects. Now, specifically in hiring, the faculty would then come in and sit in on the interviews, but the students still hired. This meant that a very different kind of teacher was seen as appropriate.

A third recurring theme among those who felt that changes had occurred concerned the effects of an aging faculty on the college community.

One respondent asserted that

> The teachers, as a group, are getting older because the majority came in when the school first opened.

> They came because of lack of jobs elsewhere and stayed because it is a comfortable position. Due to this there is a lot of teacher burn-out and therefore less extra-curricular involvement by the teachers.

Another teacher speculated on generational differences that have emerged.

He argued that

> Teachers have grown older, students are far more conservative than they used to be. They are less interested in the community spirit, and political issues. They're more interested in themselves and their careers. The students are closer to the administration than they used to be.

The feeling that there was less "community spirit" was echoed by other teachers.

One respondent felt that

> John Abbott is less of a family compared to what it was at the start.

Another suggested

> There is too much isolation at the college (now). Contact with fellow teachers is restricted. I remember such things as "faculty friday" where

teachers from the whole college met and conversed. This has stopped unfortunately and teachers have retreated into departmental solitude.

A sense that "something has been lost" pervaded the responses of many teachers.

One teacher commented that

> I have been here since the day it opened. People where confused. they didn't even know how and where to buy chalk. At that time, it looked like everything was possible, everything was full of hope. Time has passed and very little is possible. The atmosphere of hope that teachers once had at John Abbott is gone and I miss it a lot. The atmosphere at present is very frustrating. We could make the school a better place, there is always room for improvement.

Another commented that

> John Abbott has increased in size from less than two thousand to five thousand students or more. Since it has increased now, not only in the number of students, but also in the number of teachers, it has become very impersonal. It's not fun anymore. These increases in population have caused alienation within the college.

Of the fifty teachers who said that changes had occurred at John Abbott in the previous fifteen years, 90% made comments suggesting that increased enrolment was the major factor accounting for the changes which had occurred. Sixty percent also made some reference to social and cultural changes that have affected the school environment. The effects of aging were also cited by 35% as a contributing factor to changes that have occurred. After each teacher had answered the question they were asked if the changes that had occurred had been for the better or for the worse. Of the fifty teachers who felt that significant change had occurred, 35% felt that the change had been for the better, 34% felt that the change had been for the worse, and 30% couldn't say one way or the other.

Changes in Teacher Motivation

The next question concerned the issue of teacher motivation. I asked the respondents if teacher motivation had changed over the past twelve years, and if so, how? Thirteen percent of respondents felt that teacher motivation had improved, 46% felt that teachers were now less motivated, and 41% of respondents felt that teacher motivation had remained much the same since the beginning.

Of twenty-six teachers who felt that motivation had declined the following comments represent the range of reasons given for this change.

One teacher commented that

> When I first started teaching I never heard the term "burn-out" but now I hear it continuously. The government has greatly reduced our purchasing power and this has affected some of the teachers. However, I do see a lot of professional teachers who are highly motivated simply because they love their job. I like to call this 'the magic of John Abbott'. The first individuals hired by John Abbott established some very important traditions that we have not lost sight of.

The notion that the government imposed working conditions and salary rollbacks of 1983 had resulted in lower teacher morale and motivation was echoed in one form

or another by 15 of the teachers.

One teacher commented

> I think the morale is down, and it is hard for teachers to get motivated when they are powerless. Going back to 1982-83, where teachers were "beat-up" by the government, 20% of our salary was taken away from us and we had 20% added to our workload. The lack of motivation stems from this.

In the same vein another remarked that

> Teacher motivation has been eroded. Things are less exciting because of the three year contract and the fact that the government puts down the teachers saying that they are overpaid and underworked.

The dramatic increase in enrolments over the years was seen as dampening motivation to five teachers.

One teacher was frustrated contending with students.

> When a teacher has to face a class of forty students who are no way motivated to learn and furthermore let the teacher know it by doodling, yawning, or just plain sleeping on their desks, it is quite hard to be motivated to teach them. That, however, is the extreme; there is always at least one student who makes it worthwhile for the teacher to be there.

Another teacher saw too many teachers as the problem

commenting that

> Teacher motivation has definitely changed for the worse over the years. In the earlier years of my teaching there were only nine teachers in my department. These teachers mingled amongst themselves and helped each other out with various class needs. Now there are thirty-two teachers and there are more laggards. The teachers do not help each other out the way they used to and now would much rather take care of their own thing.

The effects of aging were also seen as reducing the early enthusiasm for teaching.

One teacher argued that

> Teachers are getting bored; they're getting older, they're underpaid, they've got the lowest pay rate after P.E.I. Teaching has become too easy because the students have become so conservative. The good thing for teachers seems to be that most of them at the Cegep level have outside interests. Either other jobs in the real world or they're poets or they are interested in doing something as well as their teaching. That is the only thing that keeps them interested and motivated.

Another teacher concurred saying that

> Oh God. There has definitely been a change. Before

> teachers would want to experiment with many new things. Now they do what they have to do and they go home after. They are extremely conservative. If one thing worked well in 1984, therefore we must do it this way in 1988. They are less willing to change. I guess we are growing older together.

The lack of recognition and "unstaged" nature of a Cegep teacher's career were also cited as factors which contribute to a loss of teacher motivation.

One teacher felt that

> Most people on the outside do not realize how difficult teaching really is. They look at the teachers, at the salary, at the time off they have and they end up saying, 'what are you complaining about?' They don't realize that it can be a thankless job. Even if a teacher is doing a good job, you rarely see a student go up to the teacher and say 'I really think I am learning something.' There is very little recognition from the administration for good work. You do not get more money because you are doing a better job as a teacher. There is no way of classifying a teacher. There is no promotional system. Every year, teachers get an increase, but that increase is virtually the same for everyone. It does not matter

whether you did a good job or a bad job. Under those conditions it is hard sometimes to remain motivated. Motivation has to come from within yourself.

The effects of the "unstaged" nature of a teacher's career have been studied by Lortie (1975). Lortie argues that "the main opportunity for making status gains rests in leaving classroom work for full-time administration. The primary benefits earned by persistence in teaching (annual increases in pay) are the outcome of seniority and course taking; the incentive system is not organized to respond to variations in effort and talent among classroom teachers (Lortie, 1975, p. 99). In his study Lortie found that most male teachers over the age of forty had a strong avocational interest outside of teaching or a second source of income. He saw this as an attempt to compensate for career dissatisfaction.

Some teachers interviewed expressed contempt for their colleagues who complained of the loss of motivation. One teacher fulminated that

> Some teachers talk about "burn-out". Now how can you possibly talk about burn-out at John Abbott, it is not clear to me. You only have two fifteen week semesters. I do not know how you could possibly

burn out in such a short period of time.

Another teacher took a philosophical approach commenting that

> It is idealism that motivates people to this type of career. I will continue to teach until I lose a certain kind of integrity in a classroom, then I will have to quit.

On a personal level one teacher commented that

> I get the impression that some of my colleagues are more tired of teaching than I am. I do agree that the edge of excitement is gone. I like to teach. I'm a real ham and I like to perform in front of a class. I'm still very motivated.

Another teacher expressed a feeling of resignation commenting that

> At first I considered my job interesting but now it is nothing but work.

Only 13% of the respondents felt that teacher motivation had improved over the preceding twelve years. Eighty-seven percent of the respondents felt that teacher motivation had either declined or remained much the same since the beginning. The effects of the provincial government decree, the aging of the faculty, the dramatic increase in class size, and the unstaged nature of a teacher's career were cited as the main reasons for loss

of motivation by teachers who felt that such loss of motivation had occurred.

Changes in Student Clientele and Motivation

The next question concerned teachers' perceptions of student motivation and any changes they had observed over the preceding twelve years. Twenty-seven percent of the respondents felt that there had been an improvement in student motivation over the years, 55% felt that there had been no change, 18% felt that student motivation was a cyclical phenomenon depending upon such external factors as the state of the economy, and the social and cultural climate of the time.

The notion that social and cultural climate affect student motivation was expressed by one teacher who commented that

> Most of the students in the early years were pretty hippy and most of the teachers were also. Some were flower types and peace people. Teachers used to bitch then of apathy. Incredible, since students used to sit on teachers' committees and participate in the hiring of teachers. Of fifty people who would show up at meetings 13 would be faculty. Now students try to get involved as little as possible. Students work habits haven't changed much but the students ability to read and write have been deteriorating year after year and willingness to do homework has gone down. We should not blame this on the high schools since they have not changed since

the early seventies. Maybe a combination of television and slacker high school work habits.

Another teacher felt that

> Students are a little more rude now than before. I blame this on T.V.

The notion that cultural changes had affected student motivation one way or the other was echoed by many of the teachers. There was also an undercurrent of generational conflict that was evident in the responses of some teachers.

For example, one teacher commented that

> The student clientele and motivation hasn't really changed. There is a cultural or sub-cultural change where the people are far more conservative, less involved, and far more apathetic. They are aware that they will not find a job. The students themselves are narrow-minded and only think of clothing and material things. Not too much idealism is left.

Another teacher felt that

> A high degree of motivation is directed towards concentration courses while much less for English and Humanities. The media may be responsible for this change. Fifteen years ago what with the

> women's movement, the Vietnam War, and the FLQ situation, the media emphasized involvement and people got involved. Today, the media emphasis is on success and you must have a BMW and a condo in Hawaii. Students are more motivated to achieve this success by concentrating their efforts on the courses which are directly related to their career choice.

One teacher who was a political activist in the sixties argued that

> The students don't seem to know what is happening now. They are ignorant of politics.

The underlying conflict among teachers over such issues as educational goals and priorities and the value of different programs and courses was evident in the responses of many of the teachers.

One teacher commented that

> Most of the students who come into my courses feel that their science or commerce courses are the most important things they have to do at college. They don't realize that perhaps it's only in things like English literature that you deal with human beings as whole entities, whereas the other subjects are just bits and pieces of humans and human life. It

seems that they (the students) are well-motivated once they see that there is a need for some subject. Students are often motivated but they are motivated towards the wrong things. They think that Cegep is going to prepare them for a job instead of educating them for life. I think that is partly the government's fault. God help any student who comes here thinking he's going to train for a job, because he's just not going to get one.

Another teacher commented that

The very earliest students that we used to get came because they wanted to get involved in our program (fine arts). Most of them at that time realized that this pre-university program at Cegep level was not going to lead them to a job, but to university or art school. Back then we didn't have any fights with their mothers and fathers. But nowadays, it seems that the mothers and fathers think this is supposed to lead to a job. Well, fine arts is not something you study if you want to become rich. It is a self-development kind of thing. We realized that we were being misinterpreted frequently by people in the administration here and by parents of the students, even by students in the program who think that they will become artists and make a lot

of money or something, and that isn't the name of the game.

The notion that students have developed a more instrumental approach to education, and that this has affected student motivation, depending upon the type of course, was echoed by 50% of the teachers interviewed.

One teacher argued that

> Back in 1975, students were not enthusiastic. They were more interested in learning by themselves. Today, students are motivated, they are more organized, they care more about achieving good grades, and they are more interested in the content of the courses. Why is this so? The job market is the causal factor. Students want to attain the best marks, to be able to get a well-paying job. These students coming in now are from a different generation. Their parents have different expectations so it might not be just the job market but also a generational difference. In other words there has been a shift in attitude.

Another teacher commented that

> The students are more motivated than they used to be. They realize the importance of getting good

grades in order to be successful in the business world.

Many teachers also saw problems arising because of the effects of increasing student employment during the school year.

One teacher commented that

> Students think that a job is very important while they are still in school but it turns out to be very detrimental to their performance. It's very hard for them to take a full science load and hold a job but there seems to be a social pressure there that you've got to have this job, you need the cash. And this never seemed to be there in the past. They used to come to school and then they would work in the summers. This is the biggest change. Now, more and more of my students are working and some are working at nights. If a student is trying to get into professional school or engineering it is almost impossible unless they are exceptionally gifted to do that. If some really have to work they must admit to themselves that they still will have to take less courses per semester.

The perception that academic work is adversely affected by student employment is not supported by the

empirical studies on this topic. Researchers have found repeatedly that working up to 20 hours a week, particularly in on-campus jobs, is positively correlated with grade point average and student persistence. At the very least researchers can find little evidence that part-time employment - on or off campus - has a negative effect on student performance. A recent study conducted for the Washington Higher Education Coordinating Board raised the possibility that students who work 15 to 20 hours per week tend to perform better academically than students who work under 10 hours, more than 20 hours, or who do not work at all. Several studies conclude that students who work have a higher course-completion rate than non-workers (McCartan, 1988).

McCartan speculates that the positive effects of working while going to college may be related to the fact that students "with multiple demands on their time are forced to become better organized, that working students are often more highly motivated in general than non-working students, and that gains in self-confidence and sense of purpose have salutary spillover effects on students' academic work". (p. 16)

For example, one teacher commented that

> There have been radical changes over the years concerning student interest and motivation. These

days students seem to want to get on with university as quickly as possible; they just want the piece of paper regardless of what they get out of Cegep. Earlier students were more interested in the course material, they would participate more in class discussions. One aspect of 'student motivation' is that most students don't even pick up term papers or exams after they have been graded - the only interest is 'did I pass'? A lot of complaints have been received concerning the workload. Students have been complaining that it is unbearable in recent years. This is probably because most students now have part-time jobs. Students are taking on too much at once and instead of cutting back on work, they try to get the workload reduced.

In the same vein another teacher commented that

> Students today are caught up in a mark frenzy and have a tendency to overlook the material that they are studying. They consider the material unimportant if it is not on the test. This is the main difference between today's students and earlier ones.

Another said that

> Student motivation in general has gone up. More

and more students are planning to go to university.

The perception of some teachers that grades and diplomas have become the most important motivator for students may also be related to the fact that Cegeps are now well established and recognized by employers in the private sector as being able to provide certain specialized types of manpower. This was not the case at the outset when the relative value of a Cegep diploma was not immediately apparent.

One teacher interviewed recalled that

> When I started at the college, there was a lack of students and as a result of this the college would bend over backwards in order to recruit students. This resulted in a lowering of standards. The college would admit high school students who were a few credits short of obtaining their high school diploma. They would allow these students to make up these missing credits in the college system. The big joke going around the college concerned the lack of students, and the fact that the college would go to the local bar in order to recruit students.

This is no longer the case. Entrance requirements have stiffened and student recruitment strategies have become more sophisticated as the value of a Cegep education has increased. One byproduct of this change has

been a growing emphasis on standardized forms of student evaluation such as exams.

Changes in Pedagogical Techniques (teaching style, evaluation)

The next question concerned pedagogical practices at John Abbott. Seventy percent of the teachers interviewed said that some aspect of their pedagogical practice had changed since they started to work at John Abbott. Of the 39 teachers who said their practices had changed 15 felt that they had no choice but to change given the increasing number of students.

One teacher argued that

> When I first started at the college the classes were relatively small, which enabled me to experiment with new teaching methods. I was able to use games and group interaction techniques. But as a result of increases in class size I have been forced to return to more traditional teaching methods, lectures and tests.

Another stated that

> I used to do a field trip every semester. I have not done that for a long time because I now have a large family and my major concerns are for them. I don't do field trips anymore because I find it much harder to organize a field trip with groups of 43 students instead of 30.

Five teachers said their practices had changed as a result of technological innovations.

One teacher said that

> I am slowly integrating computers into my teaching practice as well as the preparation for my classes. It is only financial problems that are preventing me from using the computer more.

Another said that

> I feel that I use the overhead projector more because it is already in the classroom. We didn't always have this equipment.

Other teachers seemed to take a perverse kind of pride in resisting the new teaching aids.

One said that

> I still use the same basic techniques. I am not an audio-visual type. Some people use it very successfully but I simply never learned to do it that way. The less gear I have to haul around the better.

Another said that

> I only lecture now. I don't show slides or films anymore. Maybe the students don't appreciate that, but it's much more work for me. It's much harder

than ever before. To have to talk to students without boring them is very important to me.

Many teachers interviewed expressed a strong preference for a particular teaching style and tended to downplay or denigrate alternative methods quite vigourously.

One teacher commented that

> The straight forward lecture method of writing on the board, which has not changed over the years seems to me ill-advised and worthless.

Diametrically opposed to this position was another teacher who argued that

> I continue to teach through lectures and don't really believe in dividing the class into groups and having them discuss things amongst themselves.

Another said that

> Personally, I don't like to teach in a 'rap session' format. Students can shoot the breeze anywhere, but not in here (the classroom). Now, I'm confident talking at them and not expecting a great deal of feedback. I go with an idea of the material I want to talk about, and if a discussion develops, great, but if not I'd just as soon barrel through. When you assign books, there are always a few that

actually read them, a few that skim over them, and those that don't read them at all. I'll sometimes use A.V. (audio-visual) materials that don't take up too much time so I can move on to something else. I try to be entertaining and make use of material that is a worthwhile use of time.

Seven of the teachers interviewed felt that their pedagogical practices had changed because of their experiences in the classroom. Other methods had not worked or their own perception of what a teacher should or should not do had changed.

For example one teacher remarked that

> I probably feel more comfortable with my material now. At the beginning I wanted to control the class more. I was more concerned with getting through a prescribed course of study. I had a course outline with specific material I wanted to get through. Now, I say to myself, if I do not get through it all, I don't. What is important is that the student enjoy whatever we do. Students have the opportunity to participate in the class and that is really important. I feel that if a student wants to talk about something and it is related to the course material, then I will just let it happen. Consequently, you pay for that at the end where you

simply may not have enough time to teach all the material you wanted to teach.

One teacher argued that increases in class size prevented him from making changes that might help improve student performance.

He remarked that

> I would like to try more innovative techniques because the techniques I am using now aren't succeeding, but because of the class size it is almost impossible. These days in most of the math courses that I run across it is a good year if you can get lower than a 60% failure rate.

Twelve teachers felt that their pedagogical practices had changed because of age, loss of enthusiasm, and the more conservative social climate.

One teacher commented that

> There was a willingness to experiment at first. Now, no one wants to experiment. Human contact is the best way to teach people. The system is very traditional. People are in the same places as they were years ago, except that today's teachers use first names and don't wear fancy clothes.

One teacher speculated on the consequences of having

too many teachers who were in the same age bracket.

She argued that

> The ideal for school, in terms of the teaching staff, is that it is really a good idea to have some new people coming in who have a lot of energy, but not much experience. There should also be people somewhere in the middle, with some energy and some experience, and finally some people with a lot of experience. This is a good balance for both the teaching staff and the students. So from that point of view it is not good now because most of the teachers are in the same age bracket (between 38 and 45). They all have the same experience, which the students can benefit from, but there might be a lack of motivation.

In a follow-up to the teachers responses to the general question about changes in pedagogical practices they were asked to state their preferred teaching method. Seventy-three percent said that the standard lecture format was their preferred method. Twenty-seven percent preferred some other format such as audio-visual presentations, class projects, student presentations, or discussion based on assigned readings.

The next question concerned changes in methods of

evaluation. Forty-six percent of the teachers said that evaluation methods had changed, 43% claimed that their evaluation methods had not changed in any significant way, and 11% couldn't say one way or the other. Most teachers used more than one form of evaluation. 52% said they sometimes used written assignments or papers, 63% used tests, 18% sometimes used group projects, and presentations to evaluate students, 3% said they based their entire evaluation on student participation in class discussion.

Of the 27 teachers who said that evaluation methods had changed 10 cited cultural factors including what some perceived as a shift away from "humanistic" values to "technocratic" values.

For example, one teacher commented that

> There was a liberal humanism which was included in our education. There was less authority and more group evaluation. There was more student evaluation then. Student evaluation comprised of two parts: the student would tell the class what he or she deserved, the class would then tell the student what he or she deserved. Now, there is almost no group or individual evaluation. It is just teacher evaluation. Legally, a more conservative reality is that teachers have no choice but to evaluate. No

one can interfere with a teacher's evaluation. There is less communication going on about grading. Inflation of marks is also a general kind of anxiety due to the degree of competition to get into university. For example, a student with a 70% average in high school, whose marks should really drop in college, maintains the same average here.

In the same vein another teacher commented

> I think in the early days it was more important to have the student achieve the assignment, and so on, that was relevant. There was much more effort on convincing them that this book would be useful, it would be helpful, and that they would enjoy reading it. It was less authoritarian and much more sales oriented, much more motivational. There was much more emphasis on the motivation to read the book. There was also less emphasis on 'this is the course, this is what you have to do if you want to pass.'

One teacher was willing to single out the year when the alleged changes occurred.

He explained that

> Up until about 1973 teachers maintained the same style, that of testing for communication skills and knowledge. Teachers tested on what was taught and

what the students knew. Now, there are too many exams on computers, using multiple choice and fill in the blanks. Using this system means that communication skills can't be taught. The reason teachers are doing this is because they want an easier job.

In the same vein another teacher commented that

> Evaluation changes constantly, the trying of new methods. Teachers today are more aware of the difficulty of evaluating students. They are more careful and thoughtful in doing it. In 1971-72, a lot of evaluation was based on student participation but that method has largely disappeared.

The notion that Cegep evaluation has become tougher in response to changing values in the larger society found resonance in some of the comments made by the teachers.

For example, one teacher remarked that

> Teachers are getting much tougher. There are fewer sixties, which used to be a pass mark given because the student had done all the work. Nowadays, teachers are giving fewer sixties. They realize that it's not doing the student any favour to pass them if they can't really handle the work.

However, in contradistinction to this view another teacher felt that his standards had dropped over the years.

He commented that

> I have a copy of every exam I give. A little while back I looked at some early examinations that I gave when I first came here and clearly noted that they were more difficult than they are today. I think that my standards have cut down a little bit. They are consistent with what other academics have experienced. If a person got 80% with me in 1971, it is worth more than 80% today.

A Humanities teacher remarked that

> I've become very strict and not as flexible. I give fewer assignments but more involved questions. I want the students to ponder their responses before answering.

Another teacher commented that

> The notion of self-evaluation had to go, the giving of the grade on the first day of classes and then earning it through the course of the semester. The problem was that the students would get the grade, regardless of the work done.

Increased student enrolment was cited as another important factor accounting for changes in evaluation methods.

One teacher commented that

> Over the years, because of the increase in student population, many teachers have switched to short answer, multiple choice, and true-false tests instead of essay questions.

In the same vein another teacher remarked

> In the past, most teachers would rely more on essays and written work. This has changed because of the overload of students in classes. Teachers do not have the time to correct 40-45 papers per class.

The effects of larger class sizes were felt even by teachers who denied that there had been any significant changes in evaluation methods.

One teacher remarked that

> In my opinion the evaluation system has not changed, it's pretty much the same as when I first arrived here. The only change is that there are more students and therefore we can't afford as much time for each one. We can't really speak one on one to see if the student understands.

The teachers had many interesting comments with regards to the type of evaluation they used.

One teacher commented that

> I hate exams because I feel the students cram all the information the day before the exam and regurgitate it all back and forget everything the moment the exam is over. I prefer to give many small assignments or essays where research is involved. I have been using this method ever since I started at John Abbott. I find that by using this method the student learns something from the course, develops research abilities, etc. I try to remain as unbiased as possible.

Another teacher remarked that

> I haven't changed much, only that I use more multiple choice. The text books I use come with a computer test bank. I had learned how to use the computer a few years ago, so it is easier for me. I guess the other teachers don't use the computer system because they don't know how.

Not everyone viewed the advent of the computer and the increasing use of multiple choice tests with such equanimity.

One teacher remarked that

> I prefer to give students a take home question to research rather than in-class answers. I don't approve of multiple choice but I give some with essay questions because of student popularity. But this type of evaluation takes time to mark with no added incentive to do so. Therefore many teachers who are burning out have opted for easy to correct multiple choice exams.

The effect of any type of evaluation on teacher-student interaction was noted by several teachers.

For example, one teacher remarked that

> In my opinion teachers never cease to feel frustrated by the fact that students have such an antagonistic attitude towards their marks.

Another commented that

> People can pad a paper with irrelevant stuff whereas a test is answered on the basis of right or wrong.

Another said that

> Marking is very biased. I believe strongly in participation marks. I don't mean that the student must always be talking but it is easy for a teacher to see when a student is actively involved.

One teacher remarked that

> In my classes we write a test and then swap papers to get the answers right after having finished it. This way the students do not direct any hostility they have about their poor performance to me.

Of the 27 teachers who felt that evaluation methods had changed, 10 felt the changes had been for the better and 17 felt the changes had been for the worse. Of those who felt the changes had been for the better the following comment was typical.

> The teachers are getting better because they have more experience. As a result, the quality of education as well as the evaluation methods have improved.

Twenty-nine of the teachers interviewed felt that either no significant change in evaluation methods had occurred or that it was impossible to generalize one way or the other. Evaluation methods had changed the least for teachers from the Natural and Physical Sciences. The following comment was typical of teachers who felt that little had changed.

One teacher commented that

> I think evaluation has been more or less consistent over the years.

Changes in Working Conditions (class size, class discipline, workload)

The next question concerned teachers' perceptions about working conditions at the college and any changes which had occurred over the preceding twelve years. Ninety-six percent of the teachers interviewed felt that there had been significant changes in working conditions since they had started at John Abbott. The biggest change, according to 80% of those who felt that changes had occurred, concerned class size.

Without exception the teachers felt that the increase in class size had resulted in a deterioration of working conditions for both students and teachers. The following remark is typical of many of the comments made by teachers.

> There are too many students. There are 5000 students where the capacity should be 3000. I feel that a student cannot learn in a classroom where there are more than 40 students.

Teacher unhappiness over increased class size was directed primarily at the provincial government which was viewed by many teachers as being insensitive to the problems of the educational system.

One teacher commented that

> The government doesn't seem to care about dealing with the problems of mass education. You get discouraged because of this attitude.

Another teacher remarked sarcastically that

> There are too many students and too little space to put them in. Government tends to regulate the animal space more than student class space. Pigs have a controlled ratio by government as to how many pigs are permitted in a certain area.

Although all the teachers agreed that the increase in class size had resulted in a deterioration of working conditions for both teachers and students, a few were willing to rationalize the changes.

For example, one teacher remarked that

> I still work only 30 to 40 hours a week and enjoy long vacations so even if the amount of work has increased, it is still a good job.

Another said that

> There may be more students but working hours are still great because it isn't a 9 to 5 job and that suits my style.

Only 7% of teachers reported problems related to

class discipline. However, there appeared to be some defensiveness among teachers when it came to discussing this issue.

For example, one teacher remarked that

> I don't have any problems with student discipline at all. I don't know of any teachers that do. If the student doesn't want to learn, doesn't want to take part, then they don't bother to come to class. I encourage them not to come.

In my opinion, teachers felt threatened by any discussion which might call into question their ability to control a class. As a result their response to this question often seemed vague, although many were willing to acknowledge that other teachers experienced problems in this area.

One teacher remarked that

> Very few ever cause excessive problems; the most frequent problems occur when a student is 'borderline' and wants a few extra marks they didn't earn to pass the course.

The increasing concern over grades was seen by one teacher as contributing to discipline problems.

He remarked

> Where there is an increase in discipline problems is in the area of cheating and plagiarism. The reason for this is that students want to get ahead and, therefore, will do anything to achieve their goal.

Other complaints about working conditions centered around budget constraints imposed at the same time as student enrolments were increasing.

One teacher remarked that

> This department (the English Department) cannot supply students with materials such as paper anymore. There is not as much access to films now. The library is another area which has been affected. It has reduced the number of textbooks available and magazine subscriptions.

Another commented that

> We have not been able to keep up in the purchasing of many excellent videos. Teachers have lost a lot because of that.

The deterioration in facilities was seen by a few teachers as contributing to poorer working conditions for both teachers and students.

One remarked that

> It has been overcrowded for four years. It was much better before. Students used to have lounges, a bar to take a drink with their friends, a place to be themselves. Hallways are now crowded as well.

Another commented that

> The classrooms are too small for the increasing number of students. They are poorly ventilated, and the lighting isn't that great, so it leads to displeasure as far as teaching is concerned.

In the same vein another commented that

> Ventilation is bad, there is a lack of windows, parking is terrible, and it is often too noisy in the hallways. The secretarial services are insane.

One teacher deadpanned that

> I don't think we are getting enough oxygen and the lack of it causes students to fall asleep in class. Teachers and students are doing an impossible task.

Given the litany of complaints over class size, budget constraints, and deteriorating facilities the response to my next question might come as a surprise. I asked the teachers about their present level of job satisfaction. I gave them four categories (very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not too satisfied, and not

at all satisfied) and asked them to select the category which best described their own level of job satisfaction at the present time. Fifty-five percent of the teachers said they were very satisfied, 29% said they were somewhat satisfied, 11% said they were not too satisfied, and only 5% were not at all satisfied. I then asked them to explain their choice.

Of those who were very satisfied or somewhat satisfied with their job the following comments were typical.

One teacher remarked that

> I love my job. I wouldn't trade it for the world. I am teaching in an area that I really enjoy. I'm working with people, I get a tremendous amount of feedback from the people every day.

In the same vein another teacher commented that

> I love it. I love teaching. It's very easy work and the vacation is long. The work is fun. In many ways we are our own boss. I love it.

Although many teachers chose the categories of very satisfied or somewhat satisfied when asked about their job satisfaction, they were somewhat more ambivalent in their responses when asked to elaborate.

For example, one teacher remarked that

> I love my job. The only drawback is that there is no reward for self-improvement, except perhaps a personal reward. But I love the campus and the people, and the students make the job rewarding.

Another commented that

> I'm less satisfied with my job now but I still love it. I believe you get grouchier with age so I attribute any dissatisfaction to my age. I've grown to despise the marking of papers.

The effects of provincial government budget restraints were also seen by some teachers as affecting job satisfaction.

One teacher commented that

> They cut the budget (the provincial government) more and more. They expect us to take pay cuts and work harder - longer hours, more students, and a much heavier case load. They drag us into the mud and make us out to be nothing and pay us less but then who is it that teaches the children of tomorrow. Who will replace us when we go.

Another teacher remarked that

> I'm satisfied, the working conditions are very good here compared to what they are like at other places.

However, at the moment the salaries are quite poor compared to what they are in some places. I blame the government for that.

Among teachers who chose the not too satisfied or not at all satisfied categories the same ambivalence was evident when they were asked to elaborate on their response.

For example one teacher remarked that

> I'm not really satisfied but an ideal job is very hard to find. I enjoy teaching but I'd like to see a challenge in the job, and better benefits and salary.

Another said that

> I'm totally unsatisfied. I do not want to teach anymore but I love teaching because I can talk about ideas with people and meet strangers and learn something about them. But I hate the idea of teaching being a job. This has become a job for me where I am told what to do. A teacher should decide on what to teach in class.

In the same vein another teacher lamented that

> At first I loved my job but now I only see it as a job. I'm caught in the wheel of pension and security. I'm counting my days until my retirment.

In some cases it appeared that the category teachers chose only reflected a temporary state that was determined by factors such as the time of the year (some of the interviews were conducted a few weeks before the Christmas break) and pressures related to that.

For example, one teacher remarked that

> Right now, I'm not very satisfied with my job, especially since there is a lot of marking to do, and decisions to be made such as deciding whether or not a student should pass or fail the course. I feel it's very stressful. I don't have much time for a personal life.

In the same vein another commented that

> I feel completely satisfied with my job but I'm sick of it now because I've been here now for 17 years. Teaching is fun as long as you don't get too much of it and right now I'm up to here (pointing to his neck) with it.

Many teachers who said they were satisfied with their job seemed convinced that many of their colleagues were dissatisfied.

One said that

> I'm very satisfied. Many teachers complain about money and class size, but these things don't bother

me. I can organize my time to travel, and compared with some other jobs teaching is a good one. My only dissatisfaction is that I wish I would have experienced more of the outside world before I started to teach. I began teaching at 20 years of age.

Another commented that

> Some teachers can't wait till the weekend comes along or until their next vacation. I, on the other hand, love to come in. I very much enjoy the contacts that I have with my students and most of my colleagues. I don't like marking papers much, I never have, but that comes with the job. Mind you, I wish I got paid more. I know teachers who make twice as much as I do, but I'm content with what I make in terms of the satisfaction I get with teaching.

It should be noted that the responses of the teachers to the fixed alternative job satisfaction categories are consistent with the results of most job satisfaction surveys among all occupational categories over the forty years that surveys of this kind have been carried out (Hamilton, 1986, p. 65-94). However, some caution in interpreting these findings is in order.

Twenty-five percent of teachers interviewed did express some ambivalence about their job satisfaction when asked to elaborate on their initial responses.

The limitations of the standard job satisfaction questionnaire have been explored by Kahn (1972, p. 175). Kahn argues that there are "two inherent deficiencies in the concept of job satisfaction" as measured by the traditional questionnaires. The first is that job satisfaction is "not unitary", and the second is that satisfaction, by any definition, is an interactive product of the person and his environment"

There is also the possibility that job satisfaction questions cause people to overstate their degree of satisfaction because "to demean one's job is to question one's very competence as a person" (Blauner, 1960, p. 355). The point is that honest testimony may not be forthcoming because of the presumed social undesirability of saying openly that one is unhappy or dissatisfied in any way. To express any dissatisfaction would be an admission of personal failure and a form of self-condemnation.

Another objection to the standard job satisfaction questionnaire has been raised by Rinehart, (1975, p. 18) who argues that "we are particularly suspicious of social

scientists' efforts to measure alienation via fixed-alternative questions which ask people to state how satisfied they are with their jobs on a scale ranging from 'very satisfied' to 'very dissatisfied'. It is quite likely that 'satisfied' responses simply mean that individuals are satisfied relative to the job opportunities open to them. Given the realistic range of jobs open to a worker, his present job may be the best of a bad lot". In this case Rinehart is referring to the responses of workers in "blue collar occupations". However, the same argument may have some merit when applied to teachers who also have a rather circumscribed range of job opportunities in fields other than teaching. Another important consideration is the fact that demographic changes and government budget constraints have reduced the number of job opportunities in the field of teaching itself.

If we are to take the responses of teachers to the job satisfaction question at face value, without any concern for the possible "demand characteristics" of the interview situation, it would appear that the degree of malaise among Cegep teachers, as reported in several studies, may be over stated or exaggerated.

Teachers' attitudes with regards to unionism and collective bargaining

The final question attempted to gauge teachers' perceptions concerning their membership in both a local union and a larger union central. Many teachers have highly ambivalent feelings with regards to their participation in trade union activity. There has been a continuing debate going back to the founding of the Cegep system as to the merits of teachers' unions. One recurring theme has been the notion that union militancy somewhat undermines the image many teachers have of themselves as being "professionals". Although many teachers are willing to admit that they need some form of collective representation, they are profoundly disturbed by the rhetoric and tactics of traditional unions.

For example, one teacher commented that

> I understand that a union must exist but the type of union we have is counter-productive. I am against strikes and walkouts because it reduces our status to that of a bus driver or postal worker. We're coming down to their level and we should be above that.

The notion that teachers should somehow be "above" using the tactics of blue collar workers was echoed by

several teachers and was usually coupled with a gratuitous remark about some issue that was of particular concern to them.

For example one teacher remarked that

> I don't like the idea of striking. I don't believe among intelligent adults that it is necessary to fight. Both the union and the government have an attitude that can be described as 'don't rock the boat'. They never want to fire a teacher but sometimes that particular teacher should be fired. If you are not doing your job, you should be an ex-teacher. We should get rid of the losers but the government and the union does nothing about it.

Although several teachers expressed their personal distaste for unions they were willing to rationalize the existence of the local union at John Abbott.

For example, one teacher remarked that

> I voted against the creation of a union here at John Abbott at the outset. I never cared for unions. The atmosphere of the college has gotten worse because the union wants everything done by the book - by rules and objective standards. Consequently, there is a lot of legalism and an administration scared to say anything for fear of offending

somebody or something. In terms of people dealing with each other it has become too lawyerish. However, the unions have protected teachers from the administration.

Another teacher commented that

> I am not a union person. I am a member and I go along with what they say. I will look at the reason why I vote. I do read the material that they send me. When there is a hot issue I will ge involved in terms of support. But most of the time I am too busy to get involved.

In the same vein another teacher commented that

> I have never been a big fan of the union. The union has done good things for us but it has also made a lot of mistakes which have ended up in failure. Many teachers are not ready to admit that.

Seventeen of the teachers interviewed were unabashedly pro-union. Some had been instrumental in bringing the local union into existence in 1973. The following comments represent the range of opinion expressed.

One teacher remarked that

> I feel very strongly that JACFA (John Abbott College Teachers' Association) has done a lot of good for

us. Without them we would not have as much. They would try to make us teach as if it was in the 1800's. The union sticks up for our rights.

Another commented that

> I think that the union is very necessary and I don't see a time where we won't need a union. With a union you have a collective agreement and with that you can obtain your goals easier.

In the same vein another remarked that

> I liked the idea of a union at the beginning and I like the idea of a union at any time. You never know when some S.O.B. is going to grab control and you won't have any power. A union at least gives you some voice. I feel pretty strongly that the teachers' union here is a good thing.

One teacher, who was not at all uncomfortable with the linkage between unions and blue collar work, remarked that

> I believe strongly in unions. It's the only thing that protects the ordinary worker from management. I, like everyone else, want a decent livelihood and must take what I desire because no one is going to give it to me freely.

Two teachers were willing to confront the issue of

unionism versus professionalism directly.

One remarked that

> Many people say that teaching is a profession, therefore teachers shouldn't be unionized. Teaching isn't a profession because teachers have no professional standards. This is the reason unions are important.

Another teacher saw no conflict between the two. He remarked that

> I find the teachers' union very positive. I'm an active member and I feel they've done an excellent job in representing the teachers <u>not just as workers but also as professionals</u>.

While most teachers interviewed would not be so bold as to claim the type of status that doctors or lawyers enjoy, they do, nevertheless, wish to distinguish themselves from the traditional blue collar vision of unionism.

One teacher commented that

> It would be better if we had a professional union of Cegep teachers. It should be away from a large union and should be a professional thing.

25% of the respondents were openly anti-union. The

following comments represent the range of opinions expressed.

One teacher remarked that

> I didn't want to be part of a union, never have been a member of a union, and never wanted to be but I had no choice.

Another respondent commented that

> I am very disappointed with the union and don't participate in any of the meetings. It is only preoccupied with the members at large. If I had my choice I wouldn't belong to it.

Another remarked that

> I prefer a hands-off approach when it comes to the teachers' union. I don't concern myself when it comes to strikes. I usually stay home. I haven't been to many union meetings. I find them boring. There will always be some person who is not happy with the system and problems will always arise. I am content with my job and never concerned myself with the union.

Another commented that

> I'm not part of the union. I don't want to get involved. Forget it.

Twenty percent of the respondents were unwilling to express any opinions on the local union or the subject of unionism in general. The following comments were typical of this group.

One respondent remarked that

> I have no comments. I'm not political.

In the same vein another commented that

> I really don't want to express my feelings about the teachers' union.

My own impression of the respondents who would not express any opinion is that they were not particularly enthusiastic about unions, in general, or the local John Abbott union, in particular, but were unwilling to express their opinion for fear of possible political consequences. This in spite of the fact that I assured them that their comments would remain confidential. I should stress that this is purely speculation on my part.

Twenty-five percent of the respondents were supportive of the local union but without much commitment or enthusiasm. The following remarks are typical of this group.

One respondent remarked that

> The union has done a very good job for the teachers

but I do not have the time to get involved.

Another teacher commented that

> It's nice to know that someone out there is doing that. I don't know what they're doing but I'm glad someone is taking care of that kind of business. I only attended a union meeting once. I found it bizarre and left. I steer very clear of union meetings.

In the same vein another teacher remarked that

> I really have not participated in meetings but I hear they have a good reputation.

To summarize, 30% of the respondents could be categorized as pro-union, 25% as lukewarm supporters, 25% as openly anti-union, and 20% unwilling to express an opinion.

Effects of government actions on teachers' perceptions of the local union

Teachers' attitudes towards unionism, in general, and their local and national union, in particular, have been affected by a strike which took place in 1983. The actions of the provincial Parti Quebecois government during this strike have had a profound effect on all aspects of institutional life at John Abbott college and other colleges in the Cegep system. Although teachers have ambivalent feelings about their participation in trade union activity, the unions representing teachers were relatively successful up until 1982 in reaching several agreements with the provincial government that benefitted all teachers in terms of improved salaries, fringe benefits, and job security.

During the school year 1982-83, the government and the unions representing Cegep teachers (CSN, CEQ) were unable to reach an agreement, especially on issues of job security and salary. Part of the problem stemmed from the increasing financial difficulties that the government faced with the onset of recession and their proposal to ease the alleged fiscal crisis by reducing teachers' salaries. Teachers went on strike throughout the province and the government responded quickly by passing harsh legislation (Bill 111, in February 1983) which ordered

teachers back to work, removed the right to strike until December 31, 1985, threatened to dismiss without further procedure any teacher who did not return to work, made the teachers responsible for proving their own innocence, and made unions responsible for making sure their members complied with the law. This Bill also specified penalties and fines for teachers who did not obey the law, and suspended the application of the Quebec Charter of Rights as it might have applied to the issue.

Following the teachers return to work and attempts at further negotiation and conciliation, a set of decrees defined new working conditions that included a salary reduction of about 20%, an increase in the number of hours per week that teachers were to work, and a reduction in salary protection for teachers who were made redundant due to declining enrolments.

The consequences of these actions by the provincial government changed many teachers' attitudes with regards to unionism.

For example, one teacher interviewed remarked that

> I am not particularly involved in the teachers' union. I think, as a whole, the union has benefitted us. We gained. But I guess from the previous contract, it really turned me off. That

was the time our salary was rolled back, despite the fact that we were on strike. We lost money because of the strike, there was a lot of picketting, a lot of involvement on the part of people who up until that time had never been involved in any kind of union activity. Quite honestly, I do not go to union meetings anymore. I do not show enough interest. I guess I am really turned off.

The fact that the provincial government of Quebec was able to impose draconian measures brought into question the effectiveness of unions in defending teachers' rights.

For example, one teacher remarked that

> The only power any labour group has where there is a boss is through a union. However, it is very clear that we do not have any power at all. I was involved in the last contract negotiations where the government broke our contract, took away our civil rights, and 20% of our salary. After that, what was the point of belonging to a union?

In the same vein, another teacher commented that

> I admire the local union because they work hard and mean well but I, like others, have lost interest. Meeting attendance has dwindled from three hundred

to twenty persons over the years. The government policy of making their own laws to suit their purposes may have something to do with this. It is immoral and should also be illegal.

Some of the actions of the union centrals (CSN, CEQ) during the strike in 1983 also prompted renewed debate among teachers about their participation in trade union activity. For example, some teachers were unhappy with the CEQ (Centrale de l'Enseignement du Quebec), the largest public sector union central in the province, because it appeared to be willing to subordinate the interests of teachers to those of othe. public sector workers during the strike. It agreed to return to work when one of it's most important affiliations, representing the hospital workers, folded after being out on strike for only one day, thus undermining a Common Front strategy among the three largest union centrals in Quebec which had been in place since 1972. Other teachers were unhappy with the CSN (Confederation des Syndicaux Nationales), the other union central representing Cegep teachers, because of a perception that the leadership was giving only lukewarm support to striking teachers and appeared to partially sympathize with a public relations campaign by the provincial government that implied that teachers were privileged, public sector, fat cats, who would make gains

only at the expense of private sector workers.

In the view of many of the respondents neither the provincial government nor the union centrals appeared to be willing to deal with the specific concerns of teachers.

For example, one teacher remarked that

> Well, I guess I feel like so many other people feel, very disillusioned, especially after our experience of when we went on strike. We lost mainly because the union people at the top (leaders of CSN, CEQ) gave up. We had already been off the job for a week and a half and we were willing to keep on going. So there is a feeling now that we have to revamp our association. The other feeling is that a lot of teachers do not believe that a union is the appropriate thing for teachers to have. In a way it's putting pressure on your boss, denying your services to this so-called boss, that's unionism, you know. The students are the ones being hurt really. This is nothing like a workers' union but a professional association.

Another teacher remarked that

> We often get pushed aside on what we believe is important for negotiations and even the strategies. This happened during the last strike when our needs

came second to the hospital workers, the garbage collectors, and just about everybody else. Because of our last strike the morale has gone down. There are very few people at union meetings. At our last contract decisions were made by the union centrals and it was very demoralizing. People were not satisfied. Financially we have not gotten back our salaries from 1982.

In the same vein another teacher commented that

Our local union is well-intentioned. They do some things well, but I'm pretty disillusioned at the moment. I'm just disillusioned with our affiliation to the wider union bodies in Quebec such as the CSN (John Abbott's local union is affiliated to the CSN).

Fifty-four percent of the teachers interviewed expressed dissatisfaction with the local union's affiliation with the CSN, 27% were unwilling to express an opinion, 5% had mixed feelings, and 14% were satisfied with this affiliation.

One teacher who was satisfied with the CSN affiliation offered the following rationale.

He commented that

To begin with, we didn't have a union, and then,

quite frankly, in certain cases, we were really screwed. Then we certified a local union, and then we joined CSN. I think that in the current context in Quebec or North America you have to be affiliated with a larger body of people. However, it's going to be the larger body that determines contract issues. I don't think it's really fair to blame the union for what has happened to teachers at the moment. The fact is that the government doesn't have any money. Secondly, there are a lot of unemployed or semi-employed graduates out there. Thirdly, the French teachers, in particular, are kind of trapped in Quebec. Many of them can't go for a job in Ontario, even if they wanted to, whereas I could. So the Quebec government doesn't have to pay them as much money because the great majority of teachers are trapped here and the government is not going to offer more money to anglophones than to francophones.

In the same vein another teacher commented that

The CSN doesn't bother me. A lot of teachers are vey much against the CSN because of the events of 1982-83. It did not make sense to ask for more money when the whole country was going through a recession.

A recurring theme among those teachers dissatisfied with the affiliation to the CSN was the notion that the union central was too remote and cut off from the concerns that affect teachers on a day to day level.

One teacher remarked that

> The CSN has not been responsive to issues which have been raised locally at John Abbott.

Another commented that

> The positive aspect of the CSN is that there exists a common front when the teachers go on strike. The negative aspect is that issues that are important to the teachers and the teaching process get lost in a large federation that represents a variety of workers. The CSN has shown a lack of sensitivity to the needs of teachers.

In the same vein another teacher remarked that

> The CSN neglects the teachers in order to take care of the interests of other groups it represents.

Some teachers were willing to acknowledge that there are benefits in belonging to a larger bargaining unit but felt the priorities of the CSN were misplaced.

For example, one teacher remarked that

> If you don't belong to a larger group, who is going

to do the bargaining. However, the CSN is all screwed up at the moment and they are paying an enormous amount of attention to the 300 workers laid off at a hotel (the respondent is referring to a protracted labour dispute at the Manoir Richelieu Hotel in Murray Bay Quebec in which the workers are represented by the CSN) where as 1000 to 2000 teachers have lost their jobs over the past six years. Having said that, I don't really think that it is viable for our local union to go by itself. If everything goes smoothly and there aren't any hassles with the administration it would be O.K. But if things got tough I think you would need the resources of a larger bargaining unit to back you up.

One teacher felt that the CSN had changed in orientation and, in the process, had lost the support of many teachers.

He argued that

> Support for the CSN in the past was strong. People believed they were part of an active social forum. They were also seen as improving conditions for the working class. Today, union members and syndicates have lost their mission and are no longer a courageous group. Workers support smaller unions

because there is less feeling of alienation.

This feeling of alienation from the larger union body was echoed by another teacher who remarked that

> I think it's time to set up a new structure. The feeling is that the decisions are made somewhere else, the CSN calling the shots while our needs and concerns are overridden by their more global concerns.

The failure of the union central to achieve its negotiating objectives has resulted in divisions among union activists at the local union level over strategies and union allegiances. This had a dampening effect on the enthusiasm of some teachers for union participation.

For example, one teacher remarked that

> I still, occasionally, go to meetings whereas many of my colleagues don't. They have trouble getting a quorum these days. Many points raised seem to deal with money, class size, workload, etc. Some are disgusted with the big union (CSN) and happy with JACFA (John Abbott College Teachers' Association), while others feel vice versa. Still, I don't know enough about it to formulate a decision either way, but it does divert teachers' attitudes away from what is important - teaching.

Another commented that

> The local teachers' union is one of the best around. However, the union is in a period of conflict right now. The union morale is quite low.

One local union activist attempted to provide and explanation for the dissatisfaction with the union central.

She argued that

> The CSN is now taking a fairly right-wing and corporatist line. They want to centralize negotiations in the same way that the provincial government has centralized decision-making with regards to educational policy. I see the CSN heading into a tripartite arrangement with the government. The CSN appears to have bought this whole government package about the private sector being where it is because we, in the public sector, are taking all the goodies away from them and, in fact, exploiting the private sector. The government has been encouraging this destructive antagonism between the public and private sector. I think they encourage this because the public sector workers tend to be the most militant and have the most developed kind of political syndicalism. The CSN doesn't like the militance of the public sector and

that's why they didn't provide wholehearted support for us during the strike in 1983. They are just as happy to undermine the public sector as much as possible because the questions and the resistance to corporatism will come from the public sector, not from the private sector.

Another union activist argued that

I think the strategy we had in the 1983 strike in the local union and on the picket line was worthwhile and came directly out of our felt needs. That's not the case with the actions of the union central. I think that the union leaders sold us out. They manipulated us. They wanted to back away from confrontation. They wanted to play backroom politics. And we were the victims that paid for that. And I think that people are very angry and very despondent, and to some degree depressed because we weren't fighting one enemy, we were unfortunately fighting an enemy within our own camp. This has caused people to reassess their understanding of unionism. John Abbott college was one of the most militant in the public sector. Now we have trouble getting quorum at our general assemblies. As a result, I think we would have a long, hard battle to get the type of response we did

get from the membership in 1983, ever again. I believe that people were turned off, and realistically so, given the type of feelings that were aroused and the actions of the union centrals during the strike.

The dissatisfaction among teachers over the actions of the CSN during the strike in 1983 and during renewed negotiations in 1985-86 prompted a heated debate both within the local union at John Abbott, and within other local teachers' unions, concerning the usefulness of continued affiliation with the CSN. The debate centered around several of the issues raised by the teachers interviewed here: a widespread feeling that the union central was out of touch with the day to day concerns of teachers, a belief that the CSN was more concerned with the problems of workers in the private sector, a belief among some teachers that association with a "militant" blue collar style of trade union organization compromised their professionalism, and a perception on the part of some union activists that the CSN was becoming too "corporatist" in orientation.

As a result of this debate disaffiliation votes were eventually taken at 16 of the 42 local teachers' unions that make up the federation affiliation with the CSN in the spring of 1986. Fourteen of the 16 locals that took

disaffiliation votes decided to leave the CSN and form an independent teachers' federation (FAC - Federation Autonome du Collegial). Surprisingly, John Abbott college was one of the two local teachers' unions that voted to continue its affiliation with the CSN, although the vote was close (89 teachers voted to get out, 109 voted to remain in. Forty-seven percent of the teaching staff did not vote).

The results of this vote at John Abbott might seem surprising since only 14% of teachers interviewed for this study expressed satisfaction with the local union's affiliation with the CSN. Part of the explanation for this anomaly is that the local union executive was split on the question of disaffiliation. The arguments put forward by those opposed to disaffiliation did not endorse the CSN but instead questioned the ability of a new independent teachers' federation to be any more effective or successful in achieving negotiating objectives. Given the internal divisions at the executive level, the decision of the members who attended the general assembly was to stick with the status quo. One rationale offered was "better the devil you know than the devil you don't know". However, the closeness of the vote, and the fact that the disaffiliation position was represented by the more "activist" wing of the local union executive, resulted in a good deal of residual bitterness. One

consequence has been an even greater decline in attendance at union meetings and the election of what is essentially a "caretaker" union.

Summary

The purpose of conducting the interviews was to elicit from teachers their opinions on a number of issues which are of relevance to this study. In the process some understanding might be gained as to the type of changes which have occurred at John Abbott since its creation in the early seventies, and the effects of these changes on teachers, students and, on a broader level, on the evolution of the nature and content of the educational experience itself.

Most teachers agreed that there had been dramatic changes at the college over the years that had affected pedagogical goals, teaching processes, working conditions, interpersonal relations, and relations among interest groups both within the institutional context and in the larger society beyond.

Increased student enrolment was cited by many teachers as the single most important factor in bringing about a variety of changes at the college such as the growth of a large, impersonal bureaucracy, less interpersonal contact among faculty and students, less opportunity for pedagogical innovation and experimentation, greater reliance on standardized teaching and evaluation methods, and a deterioration of motivation

and morale among teachers.

There was also a perception shared by many teachers that social and cultural changes had affected the interpersonal relations among students and teachers, the nature and content of courses, the methods of evaluation and the importance of evaluation, and the purpose of the educational process itself.

The Cegeps came into existence at a time when traditional pedagogical practices and techniques were under attack for regimenting and controlling students in an essentially authoritarian manner, which had the effect of stifling intellectual and emotional growth (see Charles Silberman's Crisis in the Classroom, New York, Random House, 1969, for an example of this type of critique. See also Lawrence Kohlberg and Rochelle Mayer's article in the Harvard Educational Review -42, p. 449-496, "Development as the Aim of Education", 1972).

In response to this institutional critique many newly hired teachers brought with them or soon adopted an educational philosophy which stressed the importance of equality of opportunity, relevance of subject matter, personal growth and development, and a belief in the positive benefits of student participation in institutional decision-making processes. The goal was a

form of participatory democracy which might, it was hoped, extend to the larger society outside the educational institution. The rather idealistic tone of the Parent Report appeared to provide some support for this type of educational experimentation. A relatively short period (about three years) ensued when teachers experimented with teaching and evaluation techniques, and consensus decision-making on such things as curriculum content and even faculty hiring policies.

Teachers interviewed cite a number of reasons why this brief period of innovation and experimentation was ended, the most important being a resurgence of traditional social and cultural values in the mid-seventies, which manifested itself in a growing concern over standards, student discipline and motivation, and increasing competition in the labour market. Other factors cited included the effects of increased student enrolments, a loss of enthusiasm on the part of teachers for experimentation and a recognition by some that the innovative techniques simply did not work, and increasing apathy on the part of students with regards to social and political issues.

The effects of aging were also cited by many teachers as contributing to a change in pedagogical goals, teaching and evaluation methods, interpersonal relations

with both peers and students, and teacher motivation and job satisfaction.

The teachers interviewed were about evenly divided in their opinions as to whether the changes which had occurred at John Abbott were for the better or for the worse.

Almost half of the teachers interviewed felt that there had been a decline in teacher motivation at the college. The effects of the provincial government decree of 1983, the aging of the faculty, the dramatic increase in class size (itself one of the effects of the decree), and the unstaged nature of a teacher's career were cited as the main reasons for loss of motivation by teachers who felt such loss of motivation had occurred.

Over half of the teachers interviewed felt that changes in student motivation were largely a cyclical phenomenon depending on such factors as the state of the labour market, and the social and cultural climate of the time. However, the term motivation itself appeared to have a different meaning for teachers, depending upon their particular educational philosophy. Teachers who continue to be influenced by the human potential philosophies of the late sixties tend to define motivation in terms of the student's desire for self-awareness, self-

development, participation in class discussion, and interest in social and political issues. Other teachers tend to define motivation in terms of the student's desire to master the content of the course, to obtain good grades, and to be job-oriented. However, there is general agreement among teachers from both camps that students now seem to be more instrumental in their approach to education. There is more concern among students over grades and the importance of good grades in getting into university or gaining some advantage in the labour market. There is a perception that this concern over grades and jobs is a reflection of a tighter, more competitive labour market, particularly in the area of high status occupations.

Over two-thirds of the teachers interviewed said that some aspect of their pedagogical practice had changed since they started to work at the college, mostly in the area of teaching style and evaluation methods. Increasing class size made changes a matter of necessity for teachers who had previously relied on group interaction and other small-scale teaching strategies. With larger classes there was a tendency to revert to the more traditional "chalk and talk" lecture format and standardized forms of tests and evaluations. The availability of new "teaching aids" such as the computer and video machines was cited as

a reason for changes by a few teachers but others claimed that they stubbornly resisted such "pedagogical gimmicks". Almost three quarters of the teachers interviewed chose the standard lecture format as their preferred teaching technique. Exams and written assignments were also the preferred evaluation methods for most of the teachers.

The effects of aging, loss of enthusiasm, a more conservative social climate, and classroom experience were also cited as factors which accounted for changes in pedagogical practices. Many of the teachers were hired right out of graduate school (a significant number from the United States) because of the dearth of experienced, well qualified teachers in Canada in the early seventies. This group has aged together (over 80% of the teachers at the college are between 35-55 years old) and there has been no significant infusion of "new blood". Therefore, the teachers have become very experienced but increasingly more set in their methods as the effects of life cycle changes and a widening generation gap between them and their students begins to take its toll.

There was almost unanimous agreement among teachers interviewed that general working conditions at the college had deteriorated over the years, mainly because of the increase in student enrolment and the larger class size norms. The blame for this deterioration is directed

towards successive provincial governments who are viewed as being insensitive to the needs and concerns of teachers and the educational system, which manifests itself in budgetary cutbacks and restraints. The heavy-handedness of the local administration in implementing provincial government directives is also viewed as contributing to this problem.

The same provincial government budget restraints were also viewed by some teachers as adversely affecting morale and job satisfaction at the college. However, 84% of the teachers interviewed said they were very satisfied or somewhat satisfied when asked to categorize their own level of job satisfaction.

Over half of the teachers interviewed had either a generally favourable attitude or, at least, were not hostile towards unionism and collective bargaining, either for idealistic reasons or, more commonly, for self-interested instrumental reasons. However, many teachers expressed a certain ambivalence about their own participation in trade union activity. The main factors cited which account for this ambivalence were the identification of unions with "blue collar workers", the militant rhetoric and tactics of traditional unions, and a perception that teacher "professionalism" is compromised by involvement with unions and collective bargaining.

The notion that teachers are "professionals" and should belong to some kind of professional association rather than a union derives, in part, from a mistaken view that teachers have a particular body of knowledge and professional expertise that is comparable to that of doctors or lawyers. The fact is that among teachers there are no set of agreed upon or objectively valid criteria to uphold the claim of professional status. There is no body of research evidence which demonstrates conclusively that one particular set of pedagogical techniques and practices is always more worthwhile than another.

The very nature of human learning is a subject of continuing controversy so the notion that some group has a monopoly on the transfer of ideas, information and concepts from one mind to another is absurd. Teaching is still more of an art than a science. As the survey comments demonstrate, there is considerable controversy and disagreement among teachers over what constitutes effective teaching and evaluation methods, and the nature and purpose of the educational process itself. Educational sociologist, Christopher Hurn, argues that "disputes about the effectiveness of different teaching methods are disagreements about the worth of different educational goals as well as the best way to achieve particular ends. Those who advocate traditional highly

structured pedagogical techniques, for example, are likely to value similarly traditional learning outcomes: mastery of a particular subject matter and quite specific useful skills. Those who disagree frequently have rather different objectives in mind as the primary goal of their pedagogical techniques; understanding rather than specific factual material and general cognitive and emotional development rather than simple literacy or numeracy. It is only a slight exaggeration, therefore, to describe teaching as an activity that employs techniques of unknown and uncertain efficacy to achieve goals that are frequently vague and almost always controversial" (Hurn, 1985, p. 249). Under these circumstances the notion that teachers possess a body of expertise and professional competence that would entitle them to a status equivalent to doctors appears rather dubious. I should note that an alternative view of "professionalism" is that it is precisely the uncertainty of the practice coupled with powers of exclusion that enables groups to mime this status (Parkin, Marxism and Class Theory, 1979).

The teachers interviewed are increasingly divided in their opinions as to the effectiveness of unions and collective bargaining in the wake of a major strike defeat in 1983. As a result, union tactics, strategies, and alliances have become subjects of heated discussion and

debate among teachers. Over half of the teachers interviewed expressed dissatisfaction with their local union's affiliation with the CSN (tne union central) which, along with successive provincial governments and the provincial Ministry of Education, is held responsible for a variety of problems which confront teachers. At the heart of this debate is a larger issue concerning the relative merits of union centralization versus decentralization as a means of achieving goals which are of particular concern to teachers. This debate is also a reflection of two opposing trends within Quebec education as a whole: one towards greater centralization and integration (a legacy of the Parent reforms - see chapter one), the other towards greater decentralization and differentiation (but somehow avoiding the problems which existed before the Parent reforms). The trend towards decentralization is a reaction to the cumbersome and conplicated funding mechanisms, operating procedures, curriculum gui. .nes, and collective agreements that were unintended consequences of the Parent reforms.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The preceding chapters have attempted to provide some understanding of the issues, conflicts, and contradictions which have surrounded the evolution of teaching processes at John Abbott College since its creation in the early seventies.

It is my view that the way in which some of these issues and conflicts are dealt with or resolved are important in shaping the actual nature, content, and direction of education not only at John Abbott but throughout the entire provincial college system, which is affected by many of the same concerns.

Furthermore, I would identify teachers, students, and administrators (broadly defined to include provincial government planners and even union officials) as key contending groups in determining the outcome of this process. Each of these groups have different interests and objectives which are never entirely reconcilable.

For example, some of the comments of the teachers interviewed suggest that students are increasingly becoming a material interest group in that their main objective is to obtain good grades or credentials to gain advantage in the labour market. This is not the goal of

many teachers who see the purpose of education as the acquisition of knowledge or critical thinking skills. Under these circumstances some conflict is inevitable because the objectives and interests of each group are not necessarily coterminous. Teachers of this kind represent more of a status group in that their jobs are not necessarily based on knowledge of occupationally relevant skills but instead on the possession of rather abstract and esoteric cultural attributes that have prestige value but little functional utility (apart from basic literacy and numeracy). This is especially true in the case of English, Humanities, and Social Science teachers. It is not surprising that conflict also arises between teachers in vocationally oriented programs and those in Liberal Arts programs over the necessity of English and Humanities as core courses (compulsory for all students regardless of programs).

Differences in educational goals and philosophies among contending groups are also evident in debates over teaching and evaluation techniques and, as the interviews demonstrate, in defining the very nature of student motivation (or lack of it).

Administrators are often called upon to help mediate or resolve some of these conflicts and disputes over curriculum content, educational philosophy, and human

relations. As a power group, however, administrators have their own objective, which is the maintenance and enhancement of a stable bureaucratic framework both to insure institutional survival and to enable them to exercise some control over teachers and students.

This controlling aspect makes administrators, of all kinds, a lightning rod for every grievance, real or imagined, that arises from the interaction of other contending groups.

In the ensuing conflict over the educational agenda, the contending groups attempt to muster whatever resources that are available to them to ensure that their own interests and objectives are met.

For example, some of the teachers interviewed see the provincial Ministry of Education (a power group) using control over operating procedures and budgets to shape the content of the curriculum in favour of specialized technical training (le virage technologique). However, teachers in the "humanistic" tradition have been able to counter this thrust by actively lobbying for courses and programs (Liberal Arts, Canada/Quebec studies, Labour studies, Peace studies, Women's studies, Model United Nations, etc.) which attract publicity for the college based on their prestige value (i.e., linkage with

university curriculum and entrance requirements for professional studies, etc.). Their relative success in promoting these prestige claims might account for the recent shift in student enrolments away from Science and Vocational programs to Liberal Arts and Social Science programs. However, it might be the presumed value of the credential and not the specific content of the courses which is attracting students, leading to a preoccupation with grades and an attempt to manipulate the dynamics of the classroom experiences in ways which frustrate the best intentions of the teacher. The result might be an increasing disillusionment on the part of some teachers who feel that they are being cynically manipulated by the students.

The point is that each of the contending groups has attempted to promote arrangements that will further their own interests and objectives. No one group has as yet been able to establish a monopoly over the educational agenda.

This outcome is a direct legacy of the Parent Report with its commitment to a diversified curricula as a way of maximizing mobility opportunities in a society undergoing modernization. The goal was to overcome the economic stagnation and related social inequalities that were viewed as a byproduct of the previous elitist system of

education (see chapter one).

However, the loss of elite control, combined with the liberal rhetoric about equality of opportunity, resulted in an intensification of conflict among contending groups over the nature, content, and very purpose of education.

The attempt by the provincial Ministry of Education to fill the vacuum and impose its own educational agenda resulted in additional conflict as teachers organized into unions to defend their interests through collective bargaining.

The conflict among the contending groups has recently taken a new direction with a renewed interest in educational decentralization. This coincides with the rise of neo-liberal ideologies favouring privatization and reductions in public sector employment, and a declining belief in the efficacy of the state as the motor of the Quebec economy.

The evolution of the Cegep system has been, and will continue to be, shaped by the outcome of these conflicts over the educational agenda. Under these circumstances, it is rather simplistic to view the evolution of the Cegep system as being rationally determined by either societal needs or the changing needs of capitalist elites.

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APPENDIX

Teacher Survey

You are one of about seventy-five teachers chosen at random from the seniority list to receive this questionnaire. I will be contacting you by phone some time within the next two weeks to discuss it with you. My name is Walter Johnson and I teach in the Humanities department.

Please answer each question by circling the number of the answer which best describes your personal views. Do not write your name or in any other way identify yourself unless you choose to do so. Any additional comments or suggestions about the reasons for the survey or the questions asked are welcome. Cynicism, sarcasm, wit, yes, even humour, are appreciated by the researcher.

Thank you for your cooperation.

* Please return the completed questionnaire to Walter Johnson, Humanities Department via the internal mail.

1. If you were going to take a job other than teaching, which of the following would be the most important factor in your consideration?
   1) higher pay and better benefits
   2) more interesting work
   3) more security
   4) more respect and recognition
   5) Other: _____

2. Which of the following activities provides you with the most satisfaction? One answer only please.
   1) your work as a teacher
   2) non-teaching related activities at the college
   3) community or political involvements outside the college
   4) hobbies, sideline jobs, exercise (other than sex), reading, courses, travel, or other such activities outside the college

3. How important is it to you to have regular contact, exchange of views, or other forms of interaction with your departmental colleagues?
   1) very important
   2) somewhat important
   3) not too important
   4) not at all important

4. How important is it to you to have regular contact, exchange of views, or other forms of interaction with persons in the college other than your departmental colleagues?
   1) very important
   2) somewhat important
   3) not too important
   4) not at all important

5. From your own experience, how would you characterize the motivation to learn of John Abbott students?
   1) highly motivated
   2) somewhat motivated
   3) not very motivated
   4) not at all motivated

6. In your opinion, how well prepared are in-coming John Abbott students to undertake CEGEP level work?
   1) well prepared
   2) adequately prepared
   3) not well prepared
   4) not all prepared

7. Which of the following statements is closest to your own views on the issue?
   1) I would like to see admission standards raised at John Abbott

2) I think that the present admission standards at John Abbott are satisfactory

3) Neither of the above statements on admission standards represents my own view

Comment: _____

8. Which of the following issues should be stressed the most when teachers negotiate a new collective agreement or contract?

1) salary and benefits (pension, insurance, sick leave, etc.)

2) job security (tenure, lay-off provisions, recall provisions, etc.)

3) working conditions (workload, class size, health and safety, etc.)

4) Other: _____

9. If you had it in your power to change any aspect of life at John Abbott, in which general area would you make the most changes? Choose one only.

1) administration policy

2) union policy

3) pedagogical policy

4) department policy

Comment: _____

_____

10. Are you

    1) male

    2) female

11. Are you currently

    1) permanent (tenured)

    2) non-permanent (non-tenured)

12. What is your level of educational attainment? Last completed degree.

    1) Bachelors

    2) Masters

    3) Doctorate

    4) Technical certification/ and or career experience without academic degree

13. In which of the following age categories do you belong?

    1) 24 and under

    2) 25 - 34

    3) 35 - 44

    4) 45 - 54

    5) 55 or over

14. How long have you been teaching at the CEGEP level?

    1) 0 - 5 years

    2) 6 - 10 years

    3) 11 - 15 years

    4) 15 or more years

15. Have you ever taught at any other educational level other than CEGEP? You may circle more than one answer to this question if necessary.

    1) elementary
    2) high school
    3) university
    4) private school
    5) technical school

16. In which general area does your own discipline lie?

    1) Business science (including secretarial, computer science)
    2) Dramatic and creative arts (fine arts, theatre, music, etc.)
    3) English
    4) Health science (dental, nursing, nutrition, etc.)
    5) Humanities (philosophy, religion)
    6) Mathematics
    7) Natural or physical sciences
    8) Other languages (other than English)
    9) Physical science
    10) Social science
    11) Technology (police and correctional)
    12) Technology (Energy, aircraft maintenance, surveying and drafting, Documentation, etc.)

Comments or suggestions:

Survey Comments

In response to some of the questions in the survey questionnaire many of the teachers were not simply content to circle the response which best described their own personal view. They wrote in comments in an attempt to elaborate on certain issues. What follows is a brief review of some of the comments made by the teachers in response to certain of the issues raised.

On the usefulness of the questionnaire

"I find questionnaires to be rather reductive. How can you quantify states of mind, emotion, anxiety, intellectual skills, etc."

On being a teacher

"Teachers must learn how to teach."

"A massive review of course content and teachers' skills and qualifications is required. Too many 'joke classes' and ill-taught, limited teachers, not to mention the glorified office boy administrators. Also, the union is off in a world of its own."

"For the most part I have no quarrel with this job at all. I can't think of any I would trade it for."

"More challenge needed."

"More respect and recognition is needed especially from the media, the administration, the government, and society."

"As human beings we need self-awareness, self-esteem, communication. We need workshops and intensives for teachers, administration, students. We need funds and resources for nurturing spirits and aligning groups, then train, teach, and deliver the skills."

"We need support for education, upping the priority of quality education."

"We need monetary recognition for excellence."

"I feel I'm paid generously now, but, of course, I could always use more money. Otherwise, this job is great. All of the other factors are excellent."

On admission standards

"Primary and secondary levels are failing to teach students fundamental skills and concepts (writing, mathematics, logical thinking), so more and more preliminary/introductory, preparatory work is being done at the junior college level. Raising standards is irrelevant if high schools fail to educate."

"Students' preparation to undertake Cegep level work depends upon their language background."

"I don't know anything about admission standards."

"We take the top 700 students into the sciences - we don't have any admission standards."

"Admission standards have nothing to do with it. Make teaching an important function in society and standards will rise and we will not be turning out educational cripples at any level of the educational process."

"I think that the present admission standards at John Abbott are adequate given the prevailing social and cultural standards."

"The Science standard is too low. Social Science too. The rest is o.k."

"There are inadequate facilities for helping weak ESL (English as second language) students."

"I would like to see admission by program and some advanced programs for those students who can accept the challenge with appropriate recognition of the fact that they took these advanced programs."

"I would like to see educational standards raised in the elementary and high schools."

"I would like to see public education standards raised so that students coming in to us can read, add, subtract, and even understand more complex problems such as fractions."

"Weak math! Poor English skills!"

"It's a psycotherapy problem. Most have the ability. It's that they are resigned, passive, lifeless ..... hence unmotivated. The spirits of the young people should be somehow better nourished, before they can learn truly effectively."

"Students need more support for adjustment to necessary acquisition of study skills to meet new academic demands."

"I think we probably have too many students for the physical facility here, so raising standards might cut fat back, but really a change in standards is what I'd like to see, admissions based on goals, desire to take the programs here, and a course contract rather than marks or intelligence aptitude or whatever."

"Admission standards are not the problem. The lack of support staff is the problem. We need remedial specialists, second language specialists, etc., etc."

On student motivation

"I believe students should be able to add courses as well as drop courses. Students should be able to take a lighter load as well. In other words more flexibility for the student. Some of the opinions on students being ill-prepared may be due to the heavy load they are taking. I think the advice - register for a full load then drop is cynical and does not help the average student take responsibility for his or her decisions."

"Students are highly motivated considering the shopping center approach to education that has developed over the years."

"I don't think John Abbott students are any more or less motivated than I was at their age."

On respect and recognition for teachers

"Individual teachers who are not creative and productive should be evaluated and let go if there is no improvement."

"I am sure that we have a number of unhappy instructors at John Abbott."

"I don't expect to get this from teaching in this society, particularly in my subject." (teacher - dramatic and creative arts)

On contact with departmental colleagues

"We need a faculty lounge."

"Important to have contacts because of internal politics."

"We said it before, we'll say it again. We get nowhere."

"It's very important, but it seldom happens."

"It would be nice to see people around other than when they are in a class behind closed doors."

"It's not so important but I'm always pleased when it happens."

On the Collective agreement

"Do we really need 65 different pay scales? Three will do nicely. Do we need 19 priority candidates for a poste? (permanent job) Then a charge? (replacement position) Is there anyone who understands the parental leave provisions? The workload formula?"

"The complexity of the contract rivals that of the income tax act - no wonder individuals feel alienated."

"Simplification - any new collective agreement should be a maximum of ten pages in length and in clear English."

"Money is the only thing worth worrying about."

"I don't think the private sector could afford much better benefits. Only our government can afford that."

"We should have some mechanism to evaluate the quality of work performed by all the groups - teachers, administration, support staff."

On the union

"Teachers should belong to a professional association and stay out of the labour movement which has lost much of its credibility with the public."

"Expletive deleted the union."

On administration policy

"Administration policy appears to have self-aggrandizement as its first priority, relegating the needs of teachers and students to mere afterthoughts."

"The biblical flood is around the corner - we are about to drown in a tidal wave of policy. We should build an ark and populate it with a pair of the world's largest paper

shredders."

"Personally, I don't spend any time thinking about political issues."

"Redefine the mission of the institution. Create incentives for adult-ed development."

"Make contact with the departments."

"The administration should concern itself with the design of classrooms and the resources for use in the classroom."

"The administration should recognize education as our first and only priority."

"Firing incompetents should be easy. As it is, the administration and the union agree never to fire anyone."

"Scrap human resources department. Clean out swamps of leeches such as name and expletive deleted and name and expletive deleted. Send name and expletive deleted to Siberia to count snowflakes."

"Expletive deleted those expletive deleted."

Miscellaneous-comments

"How curious you should make an exception of this (exercise other than sex). Sex is the only means by

which the powerless and stifled either experience power (depending upon the nature of the sex) or a sense of release from anxiety. Sex is a form of panacea, an opiate of the masses. In a sexually obsessed society like ours, there's little possibility that government need change. Give them sex (or porn) and thereby sabotage the revolution."

"There are only two flaws in what I consider to be the best teaching position in this country:

1. We don't have our students long enough to develop the pastoral side of teaching.
2. The built-in adversarial nature of a system where the administration does not come from the teaching ranks and rotate back into it."

"Students aren't prepared to undertake Cegep level work but standards in teaching have become pathetic."

"Students are somewhat more motivated in the Technology programs."

"Philosophy students are more motivated than Humanities students."

"We need more liberal arts courses."

"Are you 1. male, 2. female. This question is out of place in our sexless society!"