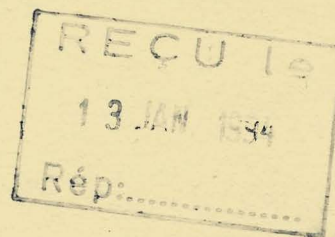


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TOWARDS A GENDER-FAIR EDUCATION IN THE CEGEPS

BY

FRAN DAVIS

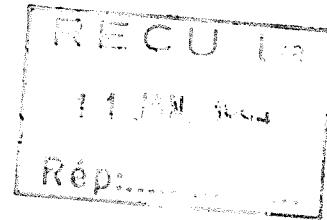
GRETA HOFMANN NEMIROFF

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Greta Hofmann Nemiroff

June, 1993

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Fran Davis

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this research has been to develop a Model for Gender-Fair Education in the compulsory courses in English, Francais, Humanities and Philosophie, and to test its effectiveness in the Cegep classroom. Initial work included a survey of how gender issues are viewed and dealt with by core teachers at the Cegep, followed by a second survey of possible participants in the experiment and of the students in their classes. A Teaching Model was then constructed, in English and in French, designed to answer the needs of this student and teaching population. Teachers were trained in gender-fair course design and pedagogical methods. A student attitudinal test was created to assess the effectiveness of the implementation.

Fourteen experimental sections of these compulsory courses were taught in the fall of 1992. Students wrote pre- and post-semester attitudinal tests in these and in five control sections. Significant positive changes in attitudes to female stereotypes, sexual orientation, and independent learning style were observed in experimental classes. Biases regarding male stereotypes and racial issues were also significantly more frankly reported by male students. The researchers have concluded that the Model has an important contribution to make toward broadening students' awareness of gender-related issues. It is clear, however, that one semester only serves to initiate the process. Further professional development for teachers, especially males, is necessary to impress upon them their vital role in this process.

SPECIAL NOTE REGARDING APPENDICES

Readers will note on page viii that only three of the proposed appendices have been included in this volume. Included are statistics from the second phase of the study which we consider important for full appreciation of the information which we have collected. Not included are such items as questionnaires, interview schedules, and the various components of the Model for Gender-Fair Education which we have created. These items (approximately 150 pages of text) are available in the form of a second volume, and can be obtained by sending \$10 to

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PART ONE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

CHAPTER I: AN OVERVIEW OF GENDER FAIRNESS IN THE CLASSROOM:

THEORY AND PRAXIS

The theory and praxis of Gender-Fair Education is grounded in the research developed over the past thirty years in two key areas: Women's Studies and libratory education. Both these important fields of knowledge have been produced in response to demands for democratization in education, and they have, in many instances, become interconnected. Valuable as this extension of knowledge has been, it is our contention that no fully gender-fair educational model has yet been elaborated. Although there is some literature outlining efforts to develop gender-fair epistemology and pedagogy, in general such undertakings reflect individual courses rather than broader-based efforts to effect systemic change.

It is therefore necessary to re-examine the various strands of relevant research and its effect upon educational practice in order to construct a comprehensive gender-fair paradigm. With the overall objective of defining an educational enterprise dedicated to the critical, egalitarian and participatory production of gender-fair knowledge, we will in this chapter assess some of the developments in these research areas, extract those elements of theory and praxis that best contribute to our design, and formulate criteria for the theory and pedagogy of Gender-Fair

Education.

Women's Studies has been taught in Canadian colleges and universities for over twenty years. Initially, it was introduced as a result of politically inspired critiques of higher education which was described as biased in favour of the white euro-male ruling class. In two decades, Women's Studies has developed in both breadth and depth, raising epistemological questions regarding the assumptions and framework of most of the established disciplines. There has been a burgeoning of research in Women's Studies itself, and a body of theoretical and applied research has been developed regarding feminist pedagogy and praxis (Nemiroff, 1989).

Many early Women's Studies classes were taught by and focused on the experience and writing of white euro-middle-class heterosexual women. However, since many women teaching in Women's Studies programmes were also politically active feminists, there has been a dialectical development of ideology between the feminist movement itself and academic feminists involved in Women's Studies. For example, in time, numerous identifiable groups of women questioned the focus of a primarily white middle class women's movement, claiming that it rendered them and their concerns invisible, and insisting that their issues and priorities were often totally different. Women of colour, aboriginal women, lesbians of all races, immigrant women, refugee women, the employed and unemployed poor, disabled women... all formed their own organizations and demanded their say in the

directions feminist activism would take. In the same way, many Women's Studies programmes have come to the realization that they must address the issues and experience of and give voice to the many groups of women who had originally been marginalized within feminist groups as well as the rest of society. While many early Women's Studies teachers corrected their biases, the work of current second generation faculty not only consolidates, elaborates upon, and critiques the theoretical premises on which many Women's Studies programmes were founded, but also addresses the experiences of many women previously rendered invisible in the Women's Studies curriculum.

As more women take appointments shared by Women's Studies programmes and traditional disciplines, the question which frequently arises is whether or not Women's Studies should become "mainstreamed" or become a discipline in itself. The concerns underlying this discussion are that while Women's Studies has grown enormously as a meta-discipline over twenty years, it has had negligible effect on the entrenched disciplines (Nemiroff, 1992; Spender, 1981; Tomm, 1989).

The proponents of "mainstreaming" suggest that it is simply not sufficient for women's experiences, concerns and works to be "ghettoized" in Women's Studies courses, because women remain invisible in the discourse of the regular disciplines. Malestream professors send curious students off to Women's Studies programmes, continuing with business as usual in their own disciplines. On the other hand, some Women's Studies teachers

argue that there is so much to be investigated about women qua women that the focus of such study is likely to become blurred when women are simply added to the regular curriculum. Such critics claim the "add women and stir" approach often leads to tokenism and no real epistemological change. The premises remain the same, the old biases prevail, and convenient examples regarding women are simply added to the canon.

It is our contention that both mainstreaming and the continuation of Women's Studies are not only essential, but mutually informing. While there is no doubt that Women's Studies reaches many people, it must also be said that most of them are self-selected and that the subject matter on Women's Studies courses often arouses defensiveness and resistance in even the most committed students. References to gender would be less provocative if gender were taken into account in all disciplines. Furthermore, the application of Women's Studies contents and pedagogy to mainstream education would transform it into a more balanced offering.

In fact, the response of numerous students in the last decade demonstrates with great clarity that such a transformation is required. Teachers of Women's Studies report increasing unwillingness among their young women students to identify themselves with feminist issues. Early in the decade, researchers such as Barbara Hillyer Davis (1981) and Renate Duelli-Klein (1981) documented the reluctance of "traditional" women students to question their life commitment to live in subordination. More

recently, Susanne Bohmer (1989) has dealt with various forms of resistance by privileged young people who find it uncomfortable and even painful to recognize oppression. Kathleen Turkel (1986) has identified the problem which young women experience in seeing themselves as part of a collectivity, and she attributes some of their opposition to Women's Studies material as part of this totally individualistic interpretation of their destiny.

Young women are often resistant to systemic accounts of oppression because they feel disempowered by them. Frequently they will counter general examples by referring to their own experience or that of friends. In our current ethos, which supports and rewards individualism, young people often feel that they can "win" only through individual initiative and competitiveness. When presented with statistical evidence of the low representation of women in science, engineering and most post-graduate studies, or of the concentration of women in non-unionized, low-paying and part-time jobs, they either ignore the issues or rationalize them as matters of choice. Even when they are presented with information such as the fact that women earned 66% of what men earned in 1987, up from 60% in 1971 (Canada, 1990), these young women are not always influenced to make a systemic analysis of their situation qua women. It is more acceptable to them to believe the "merit dream" that if they do well, they will advance in the labour force. They do not welcome accounts of the "glass ceiling" offered by women who have entered that mysterious sector of political and/or financial power.

Indeed, we must recognize that the institutions of our society have shown remarkable resistance to the excellent and burgeoning research in the area of Women's Studies. Despite extensive study, for instance, of the speech patterns of men and women and their effects on the politics of the classroom (Spender, 1980; Hall and Sandler, 1982), classroom dynamics appear to remain unchanged, with men still claiming two thirds of the talk time, initiating topics for discussion, and interrupting when women are speaking (Williams, 1990). Teacher education and professional development programmes continue to reflect the patriarchal preoccupation with competition, hierarchy and individualism, and make no space for the input of feminist research (Robertson, 1989). In terms of curriculum, one of the fastest developing programme areas in North American education in the last decade is not Women's Studies, but Liberal Arts, with 385 identifiable variations across the United States. Though it is true that some of these programmes are more multicultural and flexible than others (Farkas, 1991), the focus of most Liberal Arts Programmes continues to be the uncritical study of the malestream tradition. Women's issues are given little, if any, consideration (Davis, 1991).

Such is the resistance to feminist material in the mainstream classroom that students protest the feminist teacher's "bias," while accepting without question proclamations of masculinist research (Turkel, 1986). The violent reactions of males to matters such as women's roles, homosexuality and visible

minorities of all kinds dominate the classroom, redirect the curriculum, and silence the gentler more accepting voices of women (Berge et al., 1990; Bleich, 1990). When challenged for their attitudes, these males argue their right to free speech and opinion (Bleich, 1990). All of these issues of equality which Women's Studies has championed in the last twenty years - issues not only of gender but of race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, social class and ableness- are brought to violent closure in this oppressive atmosphere. Female teachers report experiencing real fear of some of their male students (Davis, Nemiroff, Poisson, 1991). Female students report increasing incidents of sexual harassment, intimidation and assault by their male peers and sexual partners (Davis, Nemiroff, Poisson, 1990). Consistently, these male students avoid Women's Studies courses wherever they can, and Men's Studies courses are not available to them.

Given these lacunae, do such men ever consider the effect of gender on their lives? The silence about gender and its negative effect is well exemplified by the academic history of Marc Lepine, the young murderer of fourteen women at Montreal's Ecole Polytechnique in 1989. This young man passed through two colleges (Cegeps), and his friends remember his numerous misogynistic remarks which they interpreted as jokes. It is not only possible, but probable, that a large majority of male and female post-secondary students can complete their education without ever having to address issues pertaining to gender.

The transformational educational paradigm which we propose

for the current situation in the malestream academy is one which we call Gender-Fair Education. The overall objective of Gender-Fair Education is to broaden all students' awareness of gender-related issues in their own lives and in the world around them. The specific objectives of such an education are, first, to enable students to develop a critical perspective towards all knowledge and the ideologies which inform its construction. They must interrogate what has been defined as knowledge to ensure that it has taken not only gender differentiation into account, but differences of race, social class, ethnicity and sexual orientation. A second specific objective is to empower all students to become equal and active participants in this critical educational process, using it as a model for their active and equal participation in the society at large. Gender-Fair Education has, therefore, objectives which relate both to the content and the pedagogy of any given course.

An essential part of the process of considering the reworking of one's discipline on the basis of gender fairness is the reconsideration of its epistemological assumptions. What is essential to the discipline and why? This process of reconsideration involves examining those skills necessary for the teacher's own "licensing" or validation by the patriarchal academy. It also involves a re-examination of those works and the organization of knowledge which comprise the "canon" of the discipline. Some questions to be addressed are the following: Why have these concepts and works become the sine qua non of the

discipline? In whose interests and by which criteria has agreement been reached on the essence or basis of a particular discipline? Whose aesthetic sensibility defines this discipline? Do the concepts and content of this discipline reflect the experience and values of both sexes?

When this process has been scrupulously followed, teachers can proceed to posit for themselves and their students a gender-fair approach to a discipline. They will consider which tools and skills are necessary for this approach, which concepts are useful, where new conceptualization must proceed, and what choices of subject and text are most appropriate to the gender-fair construction of their disciplines.

Since the selection of appropriate course material is most important for gender-fair courses, the criteria on which selection is made is the key to this process. Teachers must ensure that the readings and/or other media chosen for a course are explicit in their references to gender, or that if they are not... for example in cases where universality is argued for gender-based assumptions... the teachers themselves must draw the students' attention to implicit gender-based assumptions either of a sexist or sex-blind nature.

While the gender of an author does not always guarantee one point of view or another, it is important for gender-fair teachers to include authors of both sexes (preferably indicating a variety of views related to differing experiences of class, ethnicity, race and sexual orientation) on the reading list.

Although it could be argued that a feminist man is a better guide than a non-feminist woman, there is a growing literature by females on females, females on males, males on males, and males on females and both on the relations between the sexes. The gender of the writer is important, however, in providing as wide a range of role models and viewpoints as possible for an increasingly heterogeneous student population. Teachers should make every effort to have an equal number of works by women and men on their courses.

Subject matter is extremely important, and it is essential to find subjects and readings within them which are applicable to both sexes. Before choosing readings, teachers should examine the texts to see who is included, who is excluded, and who is invisible. In works containing statistical analyses, teachers should be certain that the statistics take gender into account. If they do not and there are other indispensable aspects to these works, teachers should draw the students' attention to the limitations of the statistical analyses (Armstrong, 1987; Eichler, 1987).

Many teachers will argue that they must transfer to their students ideas and readings which are sexist in nature because they are indeed part of that discipline. They argue that they would indeed be remiss if they did not expose students to texts, ideas and skills traditionally used within the discipline. One solution to this problem is to teach the students this material in a critical manner, facilitating their understanding of the

limitations and problems inherent in an epistemology which argues its validity on the basis of "universal application," but which is in fact gender-based, gender-blind, and/or overtly misogynistic.

With respect to pedagogy, it must be recognized that traditional instructional paradigms are open to the same kind of critique as the knowledge which they impart. Traditionally, educators have been expected to rank students hierarchically within a framework which emphasizes competition and performance, not collaboration and process (Sapon-Shevin and Schniedewind, 1991). Furthermore, the structure of the classroom rewards with greater encouragement and opportunities for learning those students aggressive enough to participate in large mixed group interactions mediated by the teacher (Spender, 1980). Moreover, there has been an emphasis on rational approaches to learning, often with the exclusion of personal and intuitive modes of thought. In all of these ways, the prevailing educational ideology drives the selection of pedagogical practice, enforces the reproduction of those social and educational behaviours congruent with it, and disadvantages the individual development of all students (Weiler, 1988).

A further feature of this narrow set of educational practices is that it hampers learning in four important ways. First, it excludes from the production of knowledge a large number of students, marginalized due to race, class, ethnicity, gender and sexual orientation. Such exclusion not only reproduces

in the classroom the marginalizing determinants of our society, but ensures that the only acceptable knowledge is that which, in the name of universality, has served to maintain the intellectual monopoly of a small and privileged group of people (Weiler, 1988). It is thus an anti-intellectual pedagogy, in the broadest sense of the term.

A second way in which this pedagogy hampers learning is its specific discrimination against women. First of all, the psychological (Chodorow, 1978; Dinnerstein, 1976), moral (Gilligan, 1982) and cognitive (Belenky et al, 1986) development of young women in our society tends to foster traits quite different from those fostered in the males for which this education appears to have been designed. Women's early socialization has in fact left them ill-equipped to fulfil these behavioural objectives of competitiveness, aggressiveness, and abstract rational thought. Indeed, the validation of these behaviours has been not only operational in excluding women, but in maintaining a narrow and exclusive concept of knowledge (Keller, 1985). As well, the political reality of the relation between the sexes and the way in which both male and female teachers respond to and nurture male speech patterns in mixed groups often leave the females to sink into silence (Rich, 1989).

A third way in which traditional pedagogy hampers learning is the way in which it misleads male students into believing they are equal participants in and beneficiaries of the production of mainstream knowledge when, in fact, their race, class, ethnicity

or sexual orientation may exclude them from equal participation in our society (Kaufman, 1987). In this sense, these males may be as victimized as women by an apparently inclusionary pedagogy. They are thus ill-prepared for the issues they have to face in their school and working lives.

Fourthly and finally, the narrow set of human characteristics called into play by these educational practices maintains the traditional separation of males from the full range of their affective and relational lives (Kaufman, 1987).

In developing gender-fair pedagogy, it is important to consider various pedagogical models which have been developed to date. All pedagogy is based on assumptions regarding the learner, the teacher and the production of knowledge. Learner, teacher and knowledge may be separately defined in numerous ways, and their interaction is usually determined by these epistemological questions: Does the educator "pass on" a static form of knowledge to the student who will reproduce it in a process of accreditation, or is the teaching-learning process a dynamically shared experience of producing knowledge?

In order to address these questions, we have schematized five different models for the process of teaching, learning and producing knowledge in Figures I.1-5. All five models are schematized in four concentric circles, in the centre of which rests the learner's (and sometimes the teacher's) "self" with its personal and biological history and familial relationships within an environment which influences the person's growth in specific

conscious and unconscious ways. The second circle comprises various factors which influence the way a particular society and culture situate learners as to class, race, ethnicity and ableness, and the social construction of sexuality and gender. The individual, with his or her own specific history and personal mediation of the world, often at the mercy of conscious and unconscious and unexamined but powerful feelings, comes into contact with numerous socio-economic and cultural definitions of his/her situation. These definitions always situate the individual within the existent power structure and are maintained by a system of rewards, punishments and/or forces which mediate both the production and quality of knowledge. Beyond specific definitions and social values accorded to various factors in people's lives are the ideological rationales for those definitions. These form the third circle and are usually implicitly rather than explicitly acknowledged in the articulation of knowledge in academic texts or in the classroom.

Learners work within a complicated structure comprising their basic needs, the checks on those needs imposed by their situation-in-the world, mediated by powerful and often invisible ideologies. The teachers' situations are almost identical except that in this situation teachers are institutionally invested with considerable power over learners.

Traditional malestream pedagogy, indicated here on Figure I.1 as "talking head" pedagogy, ignores the "selves" of both learners and teachers, their social situations and the prevailing

Five Learning Models:

Dark areas are invisible to others sharing the process and are ignored in the production or reproduction of knowledge.

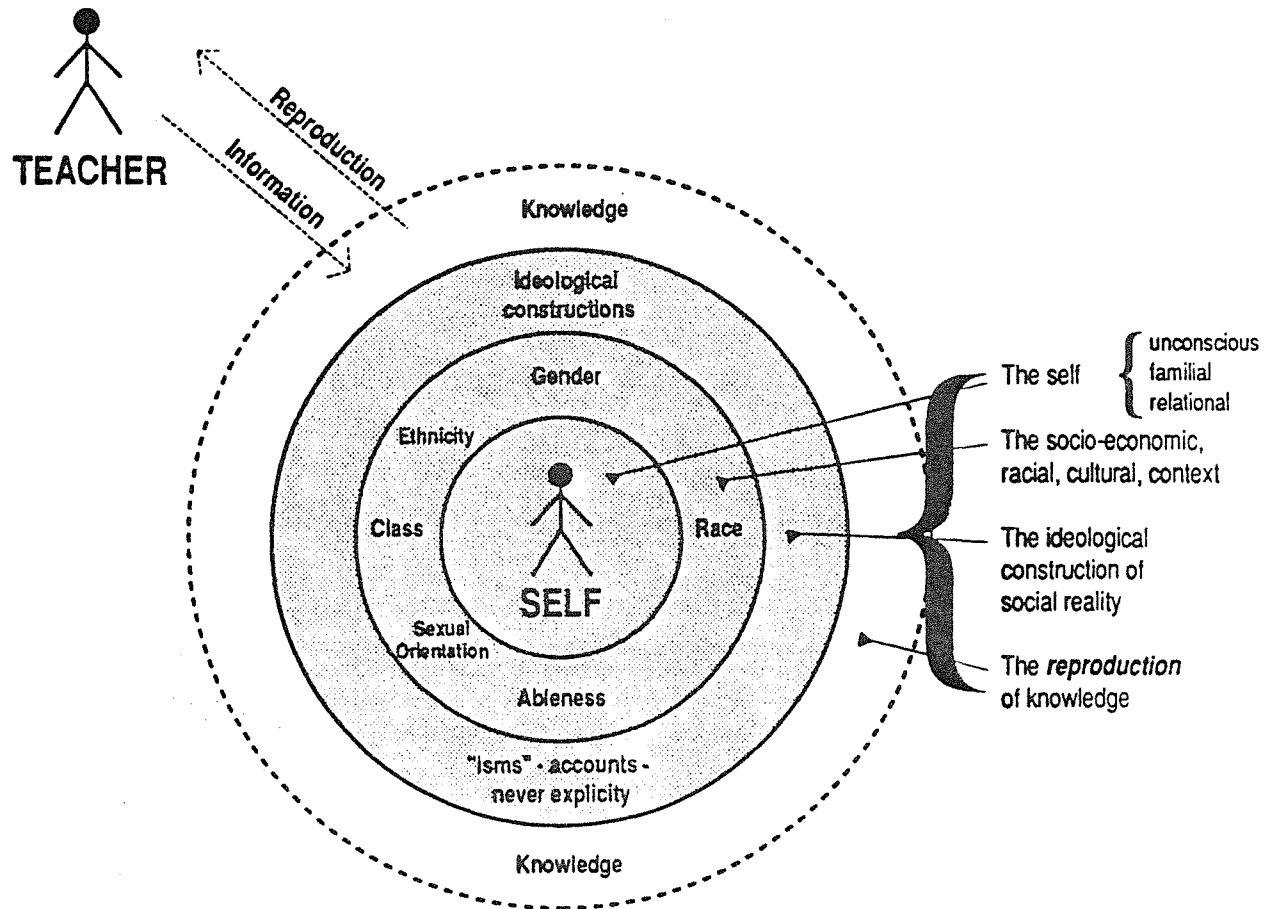


Figure 1 Learning Model - "Talking Heads Pedagogy"

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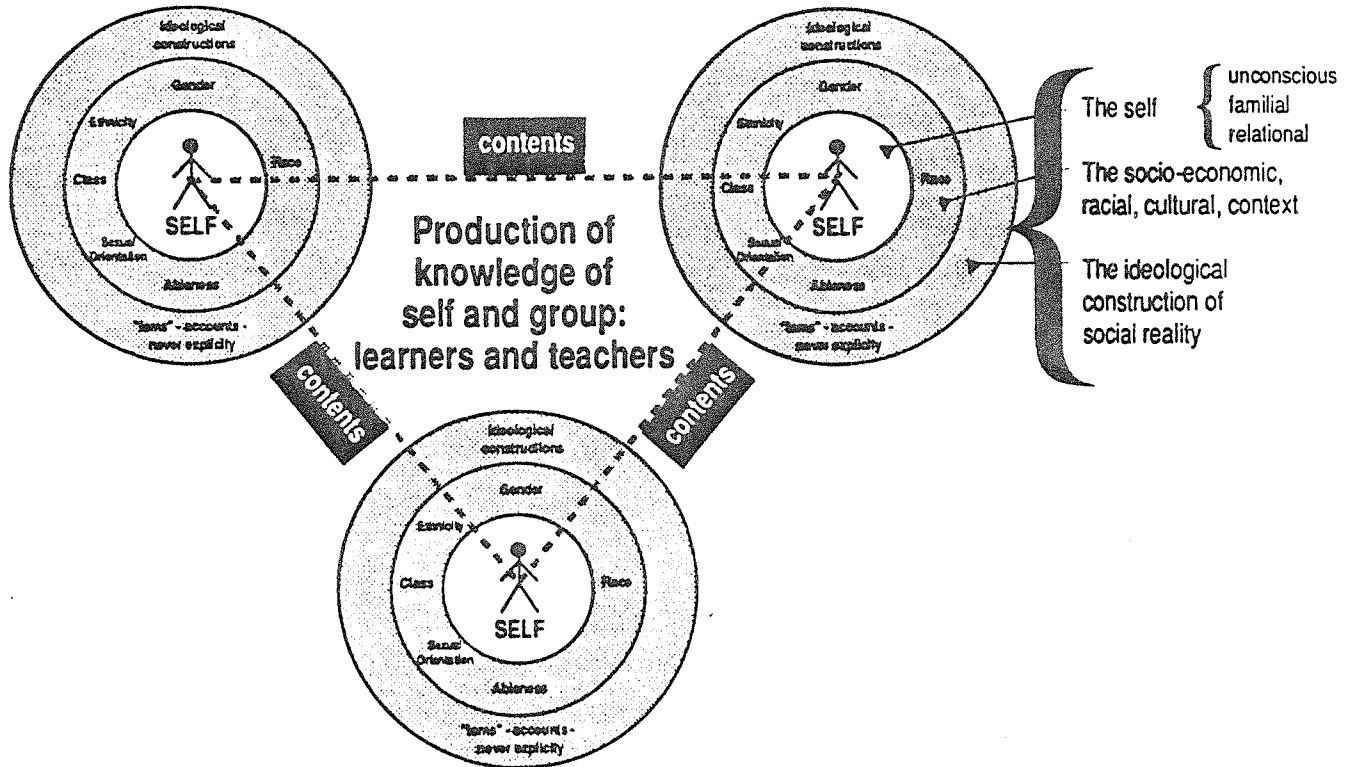


Figure 1.2 Learning Model - Humanistic Education

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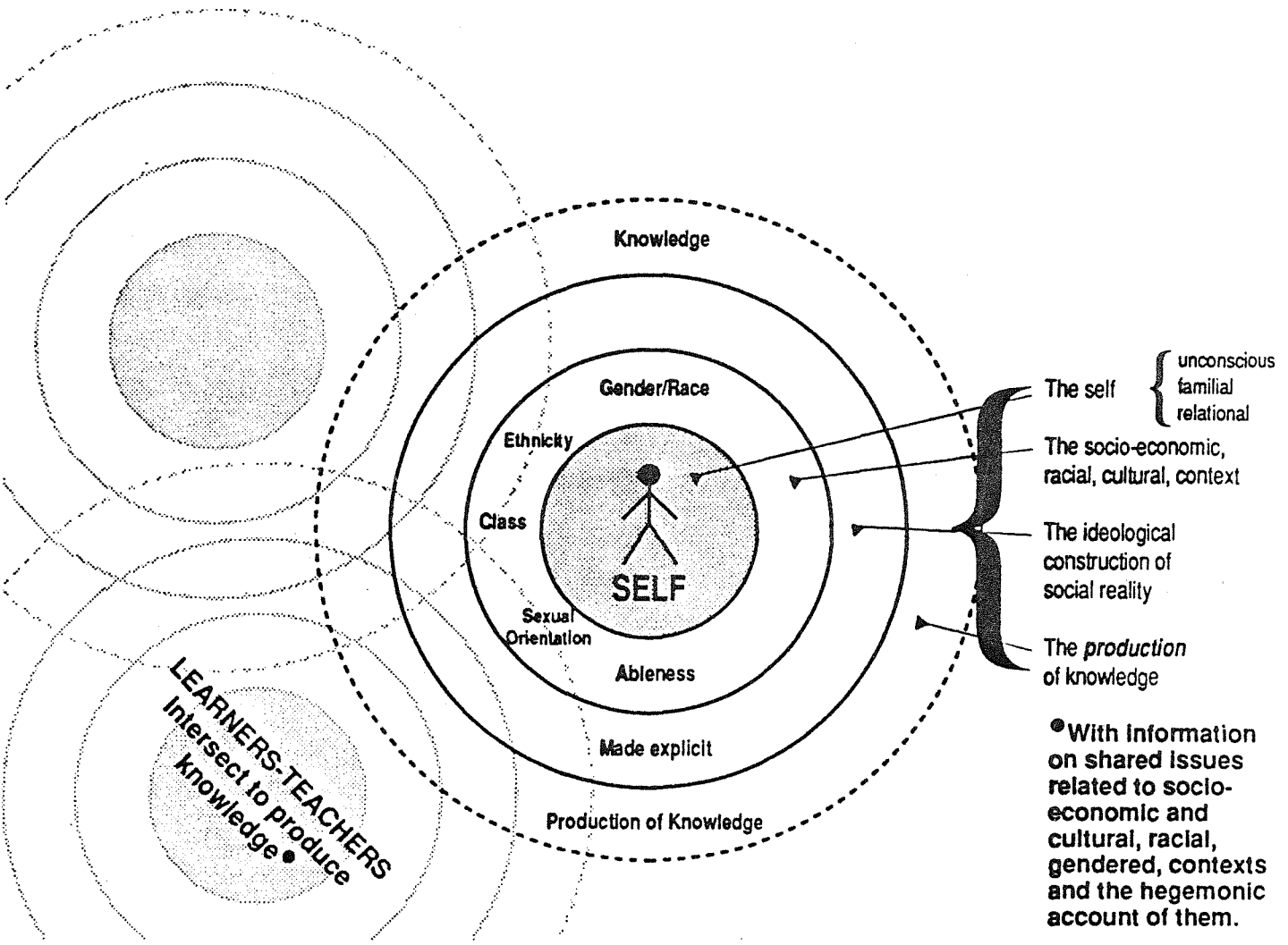


Figure 13 Learning Model - Critical Pedagogy
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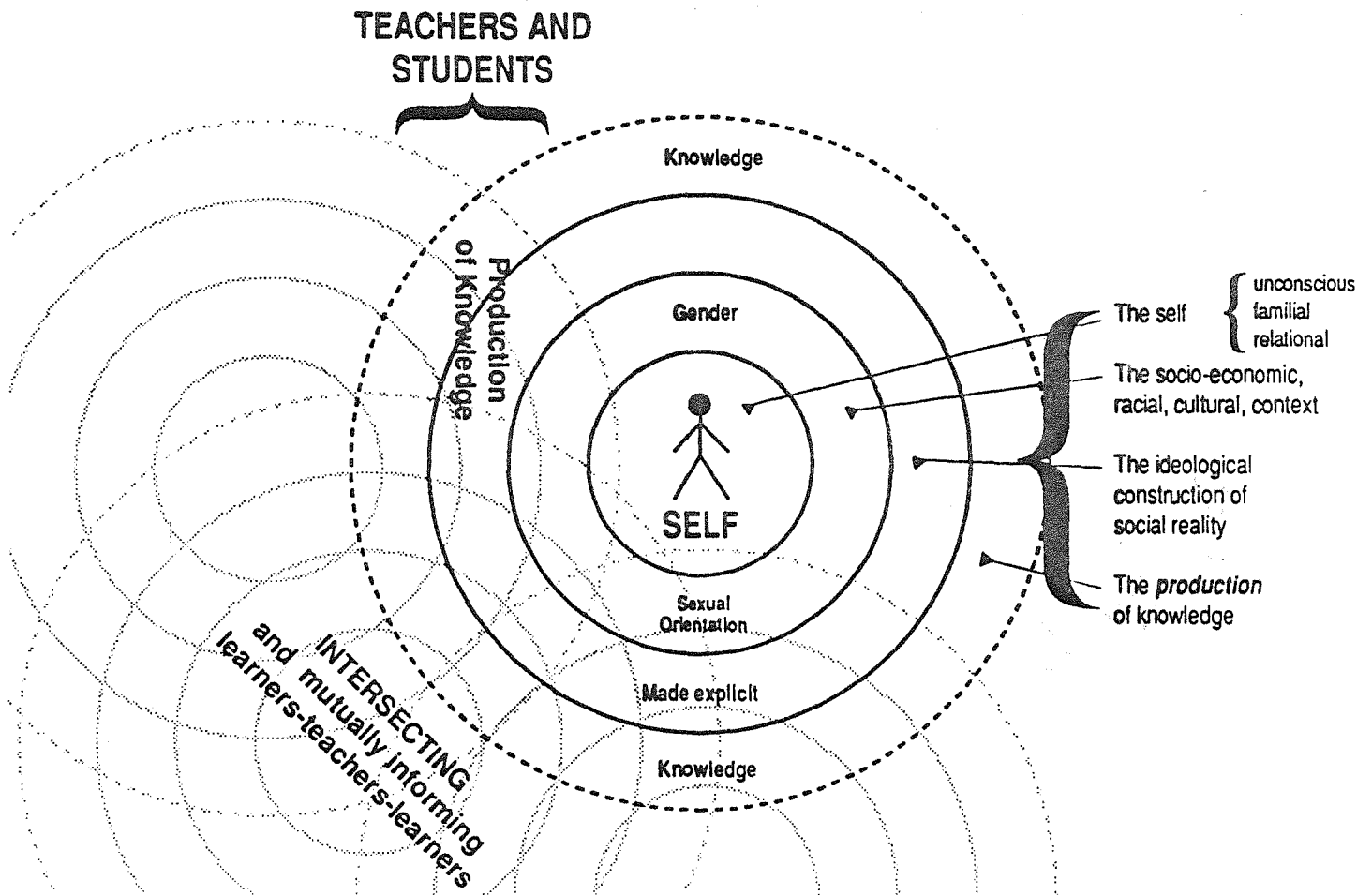


Figure 14 Learning Model - Early Feminist Pedagogy

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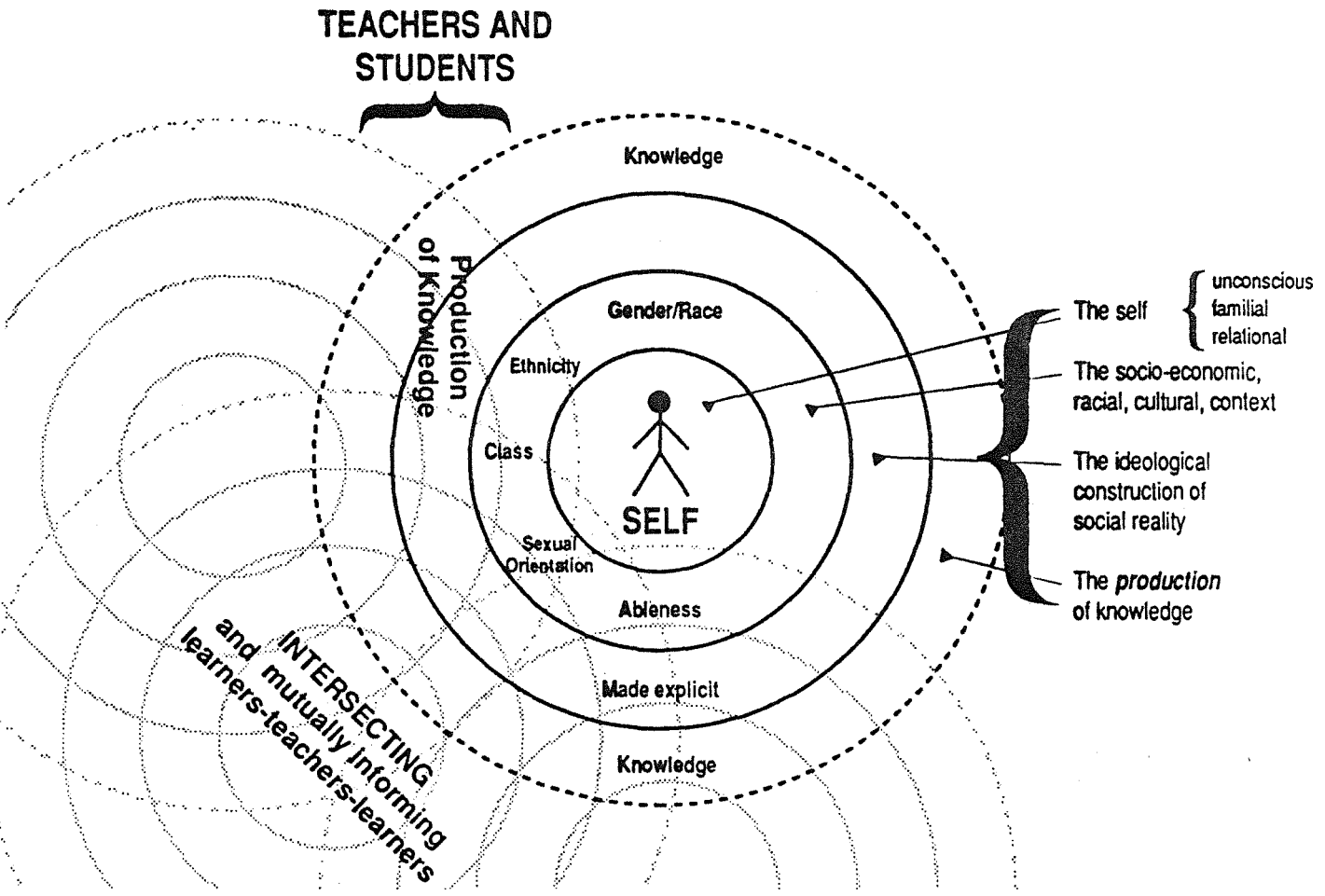


Figure 1.5 Learning Model - The Pedagogy of Critical Humanism

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ideological construction informing the learning environment. The purpose of their interaction is to reproduce the common wisdom of the established knowledge embedded within the discipline. "Universal" truths are supposed to transcend the realities of learners' and teachers' experiences of class, gender, ethnicity, race and sexual orientation. Since knowledge is supposed to be value free, learners and teachers are involved in a reproductive loop, where information is given by the teachers to be processed and returned as accurately as possible by the learners.

Humanistic Education (Figure I.2) has contributed to our consideration, because it emphasizes the centrality of the feelings of teachers and learners in the educational process (Maslow, 1966, 1968; Rogers, 1969, 1983; Moustakas, 1968, 1972). Here learners and teachers are expected to intersect and overlap freely self-to-self with one another. Through pooling their feelings and working through regular disciplines on a self-to-subject basis, humanistic learners should produce a collective knowledge based on this process. However, the limitation of humanistic education is that it decontextualizes the participants by ignoring the power of externally applied values and cultural practices and various socio-economic determinants in the formation of the "self" of each learner. Gender, ethnicity, race, class and sexual orientation cannot be ignored in the production of knowledge.

Critical Pedagogy (Figure I.3) focuses on all levels of the learners' and teachers' experience other than their specific

feelings and the personal context in which emotions and values are developed. Although theoreticians of Critical Pedagogy advocate that learners and teachers join to produce knowledge through a collective examination of their socio-economic situations, they do not address the idiosyncratic range of human feelings which connect learners to subject matter (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985; Freire, 1985; Giroux, 1983). Ironically, this pedagogy of empowerment does not help people to free themselves from emotional factors which impede their progress towards individual and collective empowerment.

Early Feminist Pedagogy (Figure I.4) addressed the self and emphasized the collective production of knowledge. However, as mentioned before, it focused basically on gender and sexism as "universals" and only later began to include considerations of class, ethnicity and race into its deliberations. It is evident, too, that masculinity was not sufficiently problematized to captivate a large number of male learners and to bring about transformative educational experiences for them. Nevertheless, the theoretical model is not only instructive, but shows a distinct development over Humanist Pedagogy. In Feminist Pedagogy, the multiple levels of learners' issues are addressed and shared, according to their articulated needs. Teachers and students intersect as individual "selves," as participants in certain social situations, as critics of the ideological assumptions which determine the hegemonic construction of reality, and as producers of knowledge. Through a dialectical and

dialogical process in which no one is accorded total authority, all participants are learners, collaboratively working to produce knowledge. Processes consistent with this model should create an ever-widening and subtly shaded production of individual and collective knowledge. Through this process, the isolation of oppression is broken down and learners experience the benefits of collective inquiry in a concrete manner which can then encourage them to move from a disempowering individualistic account of the world to a more viable and empowering one which has been collectively formulated.

Later Feminist Pedagogy has benefitted from earlier versions of itself and from the praxis of Humanist and Critical Pedagogies. It is almost indiscernible from Critical Humanism except that it focuses on women and how they are affected by various factors in their lives. Accordingly, the paradigm of Critical Humanism (Figure 1.5) is the final model to which we refer, inasmuch as it combines the thinking of Humanists, Critical Pedagogues, and Feminist educators (Nemiroff, 1991). Our concept of Gender-Fair Education can be applied to any learning situation. It is based on close study of what transpires in classrooms and on the transformations possible within the constraints of large mainstream institutions as well as smaller alternative ones or adult education programmes.

We see teachers in all kinds of educational situations being able to create strategies that lead students to engage personally and directly with course material. This engagement must take

place in ways which ensure that all students are both discovering and liberating their own potential as well as thinking critically about their society. Our schematization (Figure I.5) traces the dialectical process of creating knowledge through the collective examination of the participants' personal experiences, the socio-economic and cultural determinants of their particular and shared situations, and the dominant ideologies which attempt to define them. In this dialogical process, teachers and students share in the production of knowledge, as the circles of their individual exploration intersect and overlap.

The process by which this shared endeavour can be realized has been most fully elaborated by researchers in Feminist Pedagogy. Convinced that women must become active participants in the creation of entire new fields of knowledge, these researchers have developed strategies which validate individuals and stimulate the cross referential process of critical awareness described above.

Though the strategies of this Feminist Pedagogy were explored first in the context of Women's Studies classrooms, recent research in the field has shown them to be applicable to a wide range of learning situations (Davis, Steiger, Tennenhouse, 1990), including both male and female students.

One of the primary steps of the feminist pedagogue has been described as establishing "an atmosphere of mutual respect, trust, and community in the classroom" (Bunch and Pollack, 1983, p.262). Feminist Pedagogy explicitly acknowledges the dialectical

relationship between the self and the material, between the reader and the text, between the learner and the learned. This acknowledgement has legitimized personal experience for intellectual inquiry and has opened the way for women to begin to develop their own hitherto largely undeveloped relationships to traditional subject areas (Culley and Portugues, 1985). This acknowledgment also calls in question some of the hierarchical presuppositions of the traditional classroom and encourages teachers to reveal their own personal connections to both the content and the process of the course. Finally, this acknowledgement encourages students to form mutual support systems for problem solving and study, both inside and outside the classroom.

Clearly, then, Feminist Pedagogy calls for a fluid and continually renegotiated classroom structure in which teachers and learners participate equally, though often with differing roles and changing degrees of expertise. In its insistence upon the centrality of affect, Feminist Pedagogy resembles Humanistic Pedagogy; in its confrontation with and challenge to the reproduction of traditional knowledge, it resembles Critical Pedagogy. The uniqueness of Feminist Pedagogy lies in the space which it insists upon for the voicing of difference with respect to epistemological and ideological concerns.

Insisting upon the creation of this space for women's voices has led feminist teachers to explore classroom strategies in a way which privileges for the first time some of women's ways of

knowing. Recognizing the politics of the classroom and the way in which voices of difference are often so effectively silenced within it (Rich, 1979), the Feminist Pedagogy which begins to interest us the most is that which has called upon the research into the relationship between language and learning for learners of all ages (Britton, 1972) even in disciplines like mathematics (Baruk, 1985). These educators point out how those who do not participate in Burke's "conversation of mankind" (1973, p.110) are very much disadvantaged, and suggest ways in which written language can be used to give all students access to the knowledge building of the classroom (Fulwiler, 1980; Shor, 1987). The use of writing in the learning process thus becomes a central strategy for the feminist classroom, and can act as the starting point for the exploration of new and unfamiliar forms of knowledge (Davis, Steiger and Tennenhouse, 1990). The act of articulation in language also enables students to integrate learned material into their own thought processes, a process unique to every individual but of particular difficulty for women encountering mainstream thought in complex cognitive areas; if they can be helped to see affective connections, or at least to express their discomfiture in journal responses, for instance, they are better able to learn.

This Feminist Pedagogy is basically learner-centred and learner-active. Habits of inferiority and passivity, of looking to the teacher for the answer are deliberately challenged and broken. Insofar as the subject matter allows, the application of

Feminist Pedagogy democratizes the classroom and builds a real sense of a learning community. Following a writing-to-learn activity, for instance, collaborative partnerships or triads can be set up in which students work together toward a common goal which can then be shared with the larger group. These dyads or triads allow students to function in a non-competitive environment and in an environment in which self-assertiveness is not a sine qua non. Such learning units legitimize the collaborative and constructive qualities which characterize female learners and allow them to profit from these characteristics rather than experience them as disadvantages (Bunch and Pollack, 1983).

Clearly, then, we look to Feminist Pedagogy here insofar as it emphasizes those aspects of psychological, moral and cognitive development which masculinist ideology has defined as non-male, appropriate not to the public but the private sphere, and therefore inappropriate for education. We argue that a Gender-Fair Education must re-introduce these aspects of development not only to allow females access to the educational process, but to allow males access to the development of full personhood, through the development of their relational and affective lives, since their inability to do so within the traditional paradigm continues to reproduce the stereotypes which reinforce oppression. Since it is also clear that a large part of the male population has been marginalized and excluded from active participation in the educational process because of race, class,

ethnicity and sexual orientation, Gender-Fair Education is a model of inclusiveness which allows all students equal opportunity for educational development.

The first researcher, then, in the classroom is the teacher who investigates his or her students. This is one basic task of the liberatory classroom, but by itself it is only preparatory because the research process must animate students to study themselves, the course texts, and their own language and reality. I think this kind of classroom can produce unsupervised or unofficial knowledge.
(p.9-10)

What Freire (1987) here identifies as unsupervised or unofficial knowledge is the core content of the Gender-Fair Education which we have been describing. The interactive and cross referential process by which this knowledge is created is the key pedagogy for Gender-Fair Education. This knowledge and praxis is both powerful and empowering. Freire reminds us that our task as educators is "to provoke recognition of the world, not as a 'given' world, but as a world dynamically 'in the making'" (1985, p.19). Gender-Fair Education is dedicated to engaging all students as active participants in an on-going critical review of existing knowledge and a dynamic production of

new and liberatory knowledge, using this engagement as a model for their active and equal participation in the society at large.

Note: This chapter has also been published (1993) under the title Gender fairness in the classroom: Theory and praxis. In Debra Martens (Ed.), Weaving alliances: Selected papers presented for the Canadian Women's Studies Association at the 1991 and 1992 Learned Societies Conferences. Ottawa: Canadian Women's Studies Association.

PART TWO: PRELIMINARY STUDIES

CHAPTER II

ANALYSIS OF THE EXISTING SITUATION, AUTUMN 1990

The first stage of the action research undertaken within the project involved a study of teachers' attitudes and practices with respect to gender as they are currently described by teachers of core Cegep disciplines. This information was felt to be important for establishing a baseline for future work, as well as for opening a dialogue with interested participants.

A. RESPONSE TO THE INITIAL QUESTIONNAIRE

A questionnaire (see Appendices 1 and 2) was prepared in English and in French and sent to the Academic Deans or Directors of Research at the following Cegeps in the Montreal region: Ahuntsic, André-Laurendeau, Bois-de-Boulogne, Edouard-Montpetit, Lionel-Groulx, Maisonneuve, Montmorency, Rosemont, St-Jérôme, Vieux-Montreal, St-Laurent, Champlain-St.Lambert, Dawson, John Abbott and Vanier Colleges. The Dean and Directors were asked to distribute the questionnaires to Philosophy and French Departments in the French Cegeps and the Humanities and English Departments in the English Cegeps. We asked these contact persons to return a form indicating how many copies of the questionnaire they distributed.

Unfortunately, only eight out of the fifteen persons, that is, 53% of our contacts, returned our forms. For this reason, we are only able to give an account of the response rate (see Figure II.1) from the number of questionnaires we originally sent out, rather than the number of teachers who may actually have received them.

FIGURE II.1. TOTAL RESPONSE RATE, INITIAL QUESTIONNAIRE.

Sector	Rate of Response
French Cegeps	11.2 %
English Cegeps	12%

Given the confusion in the responding process, described above, we are uncertain whether to consider the rate of response as an indication of low interest on the part of the teaching faculty (11.2% from the French Cegeps and 12% from the English), or some difficulty on the part of some of our contacts in responding to outside requests for on-site research. This difficulty in getting cooperation and consistent response from our target colleges was to be a major problem throughout this research project.

The number of respondents willing to participate in a future study on gender-fair education, however, was more heartening (see Figure II.2). Even at this stage, however, one notices greater willingness among teachers from English Cegeps, a feature of our

research process which has struck us throughout, despite the fact that we had a francophone member of our team for two thirds of the project. The gender breakdown of those who either agreed to participate or expressed a possible interest may be found in Figure II.3. It is difficult to draw any conclusions from such widely divergent percentages, with women English teachers far more willing to participate than their male counterparts, but male French teachers 100% more willing than their women colleagues. It is of some interest to us that our response rate from male teachers was greater than that from female teachers (see Figure II.4), though not by a great deal.

FIGURE II.2. WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN STUDY.

Sector	Yes	Possibly
French Cegeps	22.6%	16.9%
English Cegeps	29.7%	54.1%

FIGURE II.3. WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE: POSITIVE RESPONSES BY GENDER AND BY DISCIPLINE.

Discipline	Yes		Possibly	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
English	85.7%	14.2%	38.5%	61.5%
Humanities	40%	60%	50%	50%
French	0%	100%	40%	60%
Philo	50%	50%	42.9%	57.1%

FIGURE II.4. DEMOGRAPHIC STATISTICS OF RESPONDENTS.

Gender	Eng.	Hum.	Fr.	Phil.	Total
Female: n	13	9	15	8	45
Female: %	54.2%	50%	48.4%	33.3%	43.3%
Male: n	11	9	16	16	59
Male: %	45.8%	50%	51.6%	66.6%	56.7%
TOTAL: n	24	18	31	24	104

Further information about the respondents is provided in Figures II.5, II.6, and II.7. It is noteworthy, perhaps, that the mean age of respondents from the English sector is greater than that on the French side, as is the number of years of teaching

experience. Degrees completed vary widely from discipline to discipline, as may be observed in Figure II.5, though teachers in the English colleges seem to have slightly higher scholarship. None of this information appears to bear particularly upon individual answers in later parts of the questionnaire; however, we note overall that these questionnaires have thus put us in contact with a well educated and mature selection of teachers whose answers to our questions are apparently based upon much teaching experience.

FIGURE II.5. AGE OF RESPONDENTS TO QUESTIONNAIRE.

Age	Eng.	Hum.	Fr.	Phil.	% Total
% 25-30	0	5.5	6.5	0	3
% 31-40	12.5	5.5	32.5	25	20
% 41-50	54.2	55.5	48.8	54.1	51
% 51-60	25.1	33.1	9.6	20.7	23
% 60 +	8.3	0	3.2	0	3

FIGURE II.6. SCHOLARITY OF RESPONDENTS TO QUESTIONNAIRE.

Degree	Eng.	Hum.	Fr.	Phil.	Total %
Under-grad	4%	0%	16.1%	12.5%	8%
Masters	66.6%	66.6%	64.5%	45.8%	61%
Ph.D.	29.2%	33.3%	19.3%	37.5%	30%
Other	0%	0%	0%	4%	1%

FIGURE II.7. YEARS OF EXPERIENCE, RESPONDENTS.

Years	Eng.	Hum.	Fr.	Phil.	% Total
0-5yrs	0%	0%	12.9%	0%	1%
6-10yrs	4.1%	12.5%	9.6%	12.5%	9%
11-15yrs	12.5%	37.5%	19.3%	12.5%	18%
16-20yrs	54.2%	37.5%	32.2%	29.1%	40%
20+yrs	29.1%	12.5%	25.8%	45.8%	31%

B. TEACHER RESPONSES ON GENDER DIFFERENCES AMONG STUDENTS

Figures II.8, II.9, II.10 and II.11 present the teachers'

answers to observation questions about gender differences among their students. In general, women teachers perceive greater gender difference than do male teachers. It is interesting to speculate to what extent women are more sensitive to such differences and to what extent students in fact are more expressive of their differences in women teachers' classes. In any case, women teachers report that male and female students respond differently to them, that male and female students have very different patterns of achievement, and that male students present far more disciplinary problems for them. Male teachers, however, agree only that male students are more likely to turn in a minimal performance and to create greater discipline problems.

FIGURE II.8. GENDER DIFFERENCE IN STUDENT RESPONSE TO TEACHERS.

Question: Generally, have you the impression that male and female students respond to or have responded to your courses in different ways?

Discipline	Very differently		Somewhat differently		No differently	
	M.Tch	F.Tch	M.Tch	F.Tch.	M.Tch.	F.Tch.
English	7.7%	0%	64.3%	70%	28.6%	30%
Humanities	30.1%	14.2%	60.0%	14.2%	10%	71.4%
French	17.5%	12.5%	53%	75%	29.4%	12.5%
Philo.	12%	18%	75%	37%	12%	43.1%

M.= Male teacher F.= Female teacher

FIGURE II.9. STUDENT GENDER DIFFERENCE, HIGH ACHIEVEMENT.

Question: In your experience, do you have the impression that female and male students behave differently in terms of
 a) rate of exceptionally high achievement?

% of tchrs.	Eng.	Hum.	Fr.	Phl.
M. & F. yes	21.7	0	60.1	58
F. yes	80	0	88	100
M. yes	20	0	12	0

M.= male teacher F.= female teacher

All respondents saying "yes" said female students have higher achievement rates than males.

FIGURE II.10. STUDENT GENDER DIFFERENCE: MINIMAL PERFORMANCE.

Question: In your experience, do you have the general impression that female and male students behave differently in terms of
 (b) rate of minimal performance to pass course?

% of tchrs.	Eng.	Hum.	Fr.	Phl.
M. & F. yes	30.4	2	42.9	53.3
M. & F. boys do min.	100	75	91	100
F. boys do min.	50	50	55	33.3
M. boys do min.	50	50	45	66.6

M.= Male teacher F.= Female teacher

FIGURE II.11. RATE OF DISCIPLINARY PROBLEMS.

Questions: Do you have disciplinary problems with your students?
 Do you have disciplinary problems with female students?
 Do you have disciplinary problems with male students?

Disc.	%Yes	%F.Yes	%M.Yes	%Yes girls	%F.Yes girls	%M.Yes girls	%Yes boys	%F.Yes boys	%M.Yes boys
Eng.	56.5	69.1	31.1	53.8	28.5	71.5	84.6	88.8	75
Hum.	50	66.6	33.3	25	50	0	75.1	100	100
Fr.	56	41.1	58.9	5.8	0	10	100	100	100
Phl.	41.6	50	50	10	0	20	100	100	80

F = Female teacher M.= Male teacher
 girls = Female students boys = Male students

20% of all teachers said: Female students whisper and chatter to each other during classes.

80% of all teachers said: Male students sit in the back of the class, make noise, disrupt classes and challenge the authority of the teachers.

If we scrutinize these responses more closely by looking at individual teacher commentary, we note that most of the teachers who notice differences between the performance of male and female students indicate that females do better than males. In order to support such opinions, they attribute numerous qualities to the female students. According to their accounts, women students are more motivated and more concerned with course objectives and with their results. They conform more to course requirements than males, working harder, applying themselves more conscientiously

and studiously, making greater sustained effort, and working at a greater depth. Though some teachers report that female students do not like to speak up or defend their opinions in public, they are active participants in group projects and other collaborative work.

Male students, on the other hand, are often described as satisfied with a mere pass. Teachers also comment that males attribute much less importance to the goals of the course; they are much more indifferent to courses and to failures than female students; they are reluctant to admit difficulty with course content, especially with reading and writing. Males are also described as dropping out more frequently than female students. The teachers explain this trend in the following ways: male students work more in the paid labour force; male students are reluctant to face their own weakness and therefore simply disappear, whereas female students seem to have a greater need to justify dropping out.

Teachers remark that often students of both sexes in career programmes drop out of core courses more easily than those in pre-university programmes. That is, they accord less importance to core courses than to the courses specific to their programmes.

The majority of teachers of both genders in all disciplines claim to have disciplinary problems with male students who sit at the back of the class, make noise, disrupt classes and challenge the authority of the teachers. Those few teachers who have disciplinary problems with female students attribute these

problems to their whispering and talking to one another during classes. Some women teachers claim that male students behave seductively with them, but one male teacher claims that female students are more likely than male students to behave seductively.

Numerous teachers of French and Philosophy claim that if students of both genders are presented with equal expectations and treatment by their teachers, they will automatically react to courses in the same way, regardless of gender. They claim that since it is an egalitarian environment, the Cegep milieu does not lend itself to sexism. We note that these comments arise much more frequently in the French sector. Whatever the origin of this attitude difference between French and English Cegep teachers, these comments certainly were indicators of the indifference with which our future efforts to involve these teachers in our project were to be met.

Given the high degree of agreement, however, on the minimal level of performance of male students and their likelihood to cause discipline problems, it seems important to focus for a moment on this issue. These teacher perceptions of the student population in core programmes begins to identify a certain kind of male student only minimally engaged by his core disciplines and much more likely to act disruptively in these classes. It is perhaps unfortunate that our data does not identify how great a proportion of the total male population is here being described. Even if it is a very small percentage, however, it seems to have

drawn considerable attention to itself and, as experienced teachers know, even a small group can be extremely damaging to learning dynamics. The very high percentage of teachers to identify males as disruptive in Figure II.11 tends to rejoin research on the attention-demanding behaviour of males in large groups (Spender, 1980 ; Concordia University, 1990). Teacher explanation tends to target gender difference in general attitude to learning, but we might also speculate that core disciplines may not be seen by these particular males as worthy of their focused attention, inasmuch as these courses are compulsory, perhaps, or because they are seen as less complementary to a masculinist ideology of concrete, objective, scientific or technological truth (Hacker, 1987).

These teacher perceptions of male performance might well lead us to identify these males as students at risk. However, we should also question whether, for the sake of their fellow students, perhaps particularly the young women whom they may be silencing, such attitudes should continue unchallenged. Indeed, it seems to us that open discussion of such gendered behaviour is called for. These teachers have here identified a critical area to address in any formulation of Gender-Fair Education.

C. TEACHER ACCOUNTS OF HOW THEY DEAL WITH GENDER ISSUES

Teacher agreement on some of these gender differences made us read with particular interest what our respondents had to say

about the ways in which they took gender into account in the planning of courses (Figure II.12), bibliography (Figure II.13), pedagogy (Figure II.14) and other materials (Figure II.15).

FIGURE II.12. GENDER INFLUENCES ON COURSE CONTENTS.

Question: In planning your courses, do considerations regarding the gender of your students influence your course design in terms of

(a) course content?

	%	English		%	Human.		%	French		%	Philo	
		F.	M.		F.	M.		F.	M.		F.	M.
A good deal	4.2	50	50	22.2	75	25	13	66.1	34	12.5	66	34
Some-what	66.6	64.2	35.7	27.7	80	20	20	50	50	21	60	40
None	29.2	40	60	50	22.5	77	34.7	50	50	66.5	69	31

F.= Female teacher M.= Male teacher

FIGURE II.13. GENDER INFLUENCE ON BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Question: In planning your courses, do considerations regarding the gender of your students influence your course design in terms of
 of
 (b) bibliography?

	%	English		%	Human.		%	French		%	Philo	
		F.	M.		F.	M.		F.	M.		F.	M.
A good deal	12	66.6	33.3	23.5	100	0	9.7	34	66	8.7	100	0
Some-what	52	77	23	53	50	50	38.7	50	50	26	50	50
None	36	33	66.6	23.5	34	66	51.6	50	50	65.2	25	75

F.= Female teacher M.= Male teacher

FIGURE II.14. GENDER INFLUENCE ON PEDAGOGY.

Question: In planning your courses, do considerations regarding the gender of your students influence your course design in terms of
 of
 (c) pedagogy?

	%	English		%	Human.		%	French		%	Philo	
		F.	M.		F.	M.		F.	M.		F.	M.
A good deal	11.5	66.6	33.3	17.6	66	33	6.5	0	100	4.1	0	100
Some-what	46.2	58.3	41.6	47.1	75	25	22.5	58	42	30.4	43	57
None	42.3	41.6	58.3	35.3	16.5	83.5	71	50	50	65.2	34	66

F.= Female teacher M.= Male teacher

FIGURE II.15. GENDER INFLUENCE ON CHOICE OF MATERIALS.

Question: In planning your courses, do considerations regarding the gender of your students influence your course design in terms of (d) materials?

	%	English		%	Human.		%	French		%	Philo	
		F.	M.		F.	M.		F.	M.		F.	M.
A good deal	16.6	100	0	18.8	100	0	7	50	50	8.7	50	50
Somewhat	38.9	57.2	42.8	37.5	50	50	20	17	83	26.1	50	50
None	44.4	37.5	62.5	43.7	46	54	72	58	42	65	27	73

F.= Female teacher M.= Male teacher

It was somewhat a shock to us to discover, therefore, that a range of between 24% to 72% of these teachers do not take gender into account at all in planning or teaching their courses. Some of the teacher commentary explains these behaviours by saying that there is no need to address gender since students all share intelligence, the human condition, and the situation of being students, regardless of gender. Some Philosophy and Humanities teachers claim that their shared condition obviates a need to dwell on gender difference.

We were particularly struck by the lack of attention to gender in determining pedagogical methods (Figure II.14). Given that a high percentage of these teachers had expressed such sensitivity to achievement and discipline problems, we had

expected greater flexibility of teaching methods. We note that, consistently, women make greater accommodation than men, but are nevertheless struck by the global figures of those who make no accommodation at all.

A number of explanations spring to mind here, among them the fact that, given the age of most of these respondents (Figure II.5), their own educational formation most likely involved an extremely inflexible teaching style, and perhaps an uncompromising attitude to students who do not respond to such procedures. Researchers such as ourselves would do well to understand the difficulty for teachers to rethink a formation which has provided a privileged academic lifestyle, even when they are aware that certain students deal very marginally with what they are offering in the classroom.

D. POSITIVE SUGGESTIONS FOR DEALING WITH GENDER

Teacher commentary on this section of the questionnaire tends, however, to be very positive, and to offer valuable suggestions. Many teachers in all four disciplines express the wish to offer an equal number of readings by men and women. Some French teachers, however, claim that this is not always possible; for example, they state that there were few women poets writing before the twentieth century. Philosophy teachers advance the same type of argument, commenting that there are few women philosophers. Some respondents emphasized the possibility of

introducing feminist and non-sexist materials. Feminist critiques of Freud are mentioned; as well, some respondents mention refusing to teach sexist philosophers such as Nietzsche.

In French, English and Humanities, gender equality is promoted through the introduction of themes appropriate to this subject. Some of these themes are sex-role stereotyping, social conditioning of gender roles, sexism, and feminism. In Philosophy, some teachers offer classes on themes related to women, or they offer classes on themes such as rape for women only. Some male English and Humanities teachers also offer readings and course work which provide a less stereotyped notion of masculinity and encourage male students to discuss and express their emotions.

Numerous English and Humanities teachers express sensitivity to the impact of visual materials and stress the importance of examining films and illustrated works for a fair portrayal of women. In cases where the use of sexist material is unavoidable, a critique of the sexism is suggested.

In terms of pedagogy, respondents emphasized the importance of avoiding using sexist examples as well as ensuring that examples are used which present the situation of women as well as that of men. French and Philosophy teachers emphasize the need for the feminization of language, especially in course outlines and all other directions given to the students. Numerous Humanities and English teachers describe pedagogical methods which encourage collaboration and counter competition. They

favour a decentralized pedagogy which is usually identified as feminist in nature and which actively counters sexist behaviour in the classroom.

In terms of student tasks, teachers describe various methods of ensuring that the roles students assume in class activities are not always gender-based. For example, it is not necessary for female students to assume the secretarial role in group work. English and Humanities teachers emphasize a need to develop subjects and tasks of interest to female as well as male students. Numerous English and Humanities teachers favour the use of personal journals because this kind of personal expression validates the interests of female students and provides a viable form of self-expression for male students.

E. CONCLUSIONS

The very heterogeneity of these responses, even among the small percentage of teachers who had sufficient interest to send back their questionnaires, tells a story of its own. Gender awareness and the willingness to deal with gender issues are not common currency among the Cegep faculty. Some highly sensitive, well-informed and imaginative teachers are currently making valuable individual contributions to gender fairness in the core classroom. Some teachers are responsive to gender differences but do not seem to have made any observable adjustment to these realities. Other teachers who do not see gender differences do

not, of course, feel called upon to adjust their teaching.

Since our principal objective was to identify teachers' perceptions and behaviour, we cannot but feel regretful that we heard from so few. It is possible that we have here tapped an important characteristic found within the Cegep teaching population, a characteristic which we might describe variously as low motivation, low morale, or lack of interest in issues pertaining to their daily work. We might also have tapped into the form of resistance to or even backlash against feminism, recently documented by Susan Faludi (1991). There seems to be a widespread reluctance to contribute to and or become involved in the research of colleagues in the Cegep system. These responses assured us, however, that there is a real need for the development of a Gender-Fair Model for core education, and that there is a small group of teachers prepared to participate in this type of research.

CHAPTER III

SURVEY OF POSSIBLE PARTICIPANTS AND THEIR CLASSES, WINTER 1991

A. THE PURPOSE AND THE PROCESS

In this second stage of the study, the researchers first made contact with all those teachers who had indicated on the initial questionnaire (Appendices 1 and 2) that they were either willing or possibly willing to take part in the project. They were asked to confirm their interest in participating in a staged survey of student responses to their courses during the winter semester. The student response questionnaire is included in Appendices 3 and 4. At the end of this staged survey, these teachers were told, they would be asked to fill out a teacher observation questionnaire which would enable us to compare their view of the students' reactions and performance with the students' own. Teacher observation questionnaires may be found in Appendices 5 and 6. Teachers were also asked to submit the outline for the course to be surveyed and to provide us with a personal interview sometime during the process. This initial interview schedule is found in Appendices 7 and 8.

The purpose of this second stage was to continue our survey of the existing situation, focusing particularly on those teachers who were already striving for gender fairness in their core courses. This material was to help us arrive at the final

Model for Gender Fair Education, to be tested in the autumn semester of 1992. We naturally hoped that the participants in this H91 phase would continue with us in A92, but were pleased to have with us even those teachers who could not yet offer us this kind of commitment. Figure III.1 indicates the numbers of teachers who participated at any time during this stage, those who did all that we requested, and those that stayed with us for the final project in A92. It will be seen once again that participation from the French sector continued to be problematical throughout the process.

FIGURE III.1. TEACHER PARTICIPATION NUMBERS, H91 AND A92.

Participation	Eng.		Hum		Fr.		Phil.	
	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.
Some/all, H91	7	3	7	1	0	1	2	1
All, H91	6	2	6	0	0	0	2	0
Project, A92	3	4	2	1	1	0	3	0

F.= Female teacher M. Male teacher

Teachers involved in the H91 stage of the research were called together early in the semester. At the meeting, we discussed some of the theoretical and practical considerations that lay behind the project (see Chapter I). We also provided a short annotated bibliography of items (which later became part of the annotated bibliography in the Model) as well as copies of

particularly useful articles. Another important item on this first agenda was a discussion of our proposed student response questionnaire which we were to ask these teachers to use. This discussion enabled us to perfect the instrument as well as to draw our participants into closer collaboration with us.

Shortly after this get-together, teachers received their sets of student response questionnaires and teacher observation sheets. Their course descriptions were also collected.

B. SOME GENERAL REMARKS ON THE ANALYSIS OF THE H91 SURVEY

The following sections of this Chapter cover the results of a many-tiered survey of existing teacher and student attitudes regarding gender-related issues in the compulsory courses of English, Humanities, Philosophie and Français. Although an attempt was made to draw the same type of information from each of the interested teachers, this was not always possible. For instance, it will be noted below that more teachers were interviewed than participated in the collection of data and that some course descriptions were not made available to us, and so on. Had we been engaged in precise measurement of a designated group, we would have reduced our sample to those teachers for whom we had the full set of data. However, since our quest was for as much information as we could gather, we have preserved all of it and made global correlations where appropriate.

We have also made a decision to integrate some of the

information gathered from those teachers who agreed to act as controls. Although these teachers were not presented with any of our gender-fair information, nor were they included in our pre-survey workshop, the data which they submitted to us differs in no discernable way from the data of the other participants. Even the question "Has the process of working with this project altered anything in the course or in your attitude to it?" presents the same range of answers from these control teachers as from the original participants.

Two conclusions can be drawn from the lack of differences between these two groups: first, the very act of being asked to observe a class can have some effect on teacher awareness and behaviour, and second, the active participants for the experimentation need very specific guidance if significant differences are to be expected.

C. COURSE DESCRIPTIONS

A total of twenty-six course descriptions were submitted to us. The breakdown across the disciplines and by gender is provided in Figure III.2. It is clear that the purpose of all these course descriptions is to outline basic requirements to students, particularly in the area of teacher expectations, evaluation procedures and texts to purchase. Objectives are outlined in general terms to give some idea of the conceptual framework of the course and the skill development expected.

Perhaps because of their necessary brevity, these course descriptions tend to appear very prescriptive, though a few teachers do indicate certain areas of student choice, an area which can provide an opening for gender issues. Since many of the descriptions are too general to deal with this matter of student choice at all, it is impossible to draw conclusions.

FIGURE III.2. COURSE DESCRIPTION COUNT, H91 (TOTAL 26).

	Eng.		Hum.		Fr.		Phil.	
	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.
Total Number of Descriptions	11	4	9	0	0	0	2	0

As will be seen from Figure III.3., 57.7% of them contain no mention whatever of gender in their objectives or methodology. Since fourteen out of the twenty-five courses were cross-listed as Women's Studies credits at particular Cegeps, it appears that gender issues are likely to be dealt with only in Women's Studies courses. In four notable instances, however, teachers who emphasize their gender awareness in interviews with the researchers show none of this concern in the language of the course description: on the basis of written materials handed to them by the teacher, students would not be able to identify all these courses as gender related.

Male and female authorship of texts is also dealt with in Figure III.3. Again, given the preponderance of Women's Studies

courses in the sample, it is surprising to find such a low incidence of female authorship. Women's Studies scholarship over the past twenty-five years has unearthed over a thousand years of women's writing, art and musical composition. There are also numerous contemporary women writing philosophy. Yet in two of these Women's Studies Humanities courses, the basic text is written by a male, and one Women's Studies English course uses three male authors and only one female.

Thus more than half of these course descriptions do not communicate high levels of gender consciousness. This phenomenon might be explained by lack of awareness on the part of the teachers, or their unwillingness to identify their courses with feminist perspectives, or perhaps lack knowledge of female-authored texts. None of these explanations quite fit with the impressions given by the teachers in their interviews with us, and we are forced to conclude that what they wish or intend to communicate to students about the gender orientation of their courses is not always clear, especially in their course descriptions.

FIGURE III.3. GENDER ISSUES IN COURSE DESCRIPTIONS, H91.

Gender Issues:	n Eng.		n Hum		n Fr.		n Phil.		Tot.%
	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	
Dealt with in Objectives/ Methodology	3	1	5	-	-	-	2	-	42.3%
Gender balance in readings	2	0	1	-	-	-	0	-	11.5%
More male authors	4	1	0	-	-	-	0	-	19.2%
More female authors	0	0	0	-	-	-	2	-	7.6%
All male authors	2	3	4	-	-	-	0	-	34.6%
All female authors	1	0	2	-	-	-	0	-	11.5%
Authors not specified	1	0	2	-	-	-	0	-	11.5%

M.= Male teacher F. Female teacher

D. INTERVIEWS WITH TEACHERS

Figure III.4 gives the gender and discipline breakdown of the twenty-three teachers interviewed at this point in the project. Teachers were asked how they selected course topics.

course materials, assignments and evaluation schema. They were also asked how they viewed the overall goals of their discipline and how they felt students reacted to many aspects of their courses. Much interesting information was collected. We present here, however, only that material which is directly related to gender issues in these subject areas.

FIGURE III.4. TEACHER INTERVIEW COUNT, H91.

	Eng.		Hum.		Fr.		Phil.	
	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.
Teacher numbers	6	2	6	1	3	1	1	0

F.= Female teacher M.= Male teacher

1. Subject Matter

When selecting subject matter for their courses, only Women's Studies teachers in English, Humanities and Philosophie reported that gender considerations were central to their choice. In the latter case, most of the teachers expressed concern with issues about women, but one had devised a course in which the social construction of both masculinity and femininity were the central focus. One male Humanities teacher who does courses in Black Studies said that he had discovered that female students tend to respond well, to "perk up" when he introduces areas that concern women, such as aspects of slave history, and he now tries

to include them. Other non-Women's Studies teachers said they were likely to consider the students' or their own current interests, or student needs, but these needs and interests did not seem to focus around gender.

2. Course Readings

With respect to course readings, there were various levels of concern for gender. The English course designed to deal directly with gender showed a very conscious balance of writings by males and females on masculinity and women's issues, as well as some materials on gay men and women and on homophobia, these latter materials again written by both men and women. As might be expected, most Women's Studies teachers reported using primarily materials written by women. One English teacher reported explaining her reading list to students who asked why it was all women as follows: "90% of what you read in English courses is books by men, and this course tries to balance that." One Humanities teacher said that recently she had begun to include works by men, particularly works by men critiquing male culture and social attitudes. She said:

I think it's very important for men to start to talk about themselves in Women's Studies classes as opposed to just speaking about women, because they have a real tendency to just say 'the women I know aren't like that',

and I think that is really a kind of an oppressor mentality. Because they say that all the time, even when the women in class will say 'yes we are!'

A teacher of an historically oriented novel course said that she did consciously balance her course, with two novels by women and two novels by men. Why? Because she wants to show that the structure of the novel is constant, up until the post-modern era, and that both men and women use the form in many of the same ways. When asked if her choice of novels per se as reading material for her courses had anything to do with her gender, she said: "As a woman, I have always read a lot of novels, and this remains true. The women students come to my course more prepared, though they are often apologizing for having read so many novels!" A female teacher of Français said she tried to balance her course as to male and female authors. The male Humanities teacher who does Black Studies said that he now includes writing by Elliot Norton who is "a very new kind of role model for females".

Other English teachers showed much more concern with issues and character focus than with actual authorship. One teacher began by saying that her course was a 50/50 balance, but she later qualified this by saying that only one book is by a woman, but two are about women, written by men. Another woman who teaches Chaucer said that she used to just ask students "Do you

think this writing is sexist?" Now she is more inclined to think it through, and not use anything she finds very sexist. A teacher of literature and music said that his course had a feminist focus, since he said he introduced a critique of the recurrent theme (in opera) of women being punished for trying to be free. However, none of the operas studied are by women. In a course on World War I Literature, the teacher reported that of course the subject matter itself precluded writing by women, though he has one story and a secondary reading of female autobiography. Similar statements were made by the teacher of West Indian literature, who said that he always tried to include the women poets, since that is principally what they have been involved in writing. In Introductory, Survey and Period courses, both male and female teachers reported trying to find some material that explores female realities, as in the plays "Antigone" or "A Doll's House", as well as trying to include some contemporary women's short fiction. A female teacher of Français said that she looked for material by women authors on relevant issues such as mother-daughter relationships.

A Humanities teacher of a course on Housing said that she uses a basic text written by a man, but she supplies the class with other articles written by women. Other Humanities teachers seemed to be using male-authored texts. In one case the teacher said she had to consider too many other issues to let gender be a concern, issues such as up-to-dateness, Canadian focus, reading accessibility, etc. A teacher of a Technology and Civilization

course said that she had once used a reading by a feminist (Ursula Franklin) and found the students so negative about the reading, for a number of reasons including its feminist orientation, that she dropped it. She said that she critiqued bias in the readings, but did not balance the bias by selection. All the teachers of Philosophie commented that one of their problems with gender balance is the lack of female and feminist philosophers.

3. Audio-Visual Material

Most teachers said that the subject matter and quality of audio-visual material were more important than who had authored them. One Women's Studies Humanities teacher said that she uses almost entirely Studio D materials, however. The teacher of the gender-focused course uses a lot of film material and is very careful that it not be sexist, as the students see sexist films all the time. The teacher of Woman and Film chooses films about women produced by women and by men and is very conscious of gender issues in this area.

4. Pedagogical Methods and Student Tasks

a. Teacher Choices

With respect to pedagogical methods and student tasks, there were very different views on how these might relate to gender. Two teachers, one English and one Humanities, talked extensively about female confidence and the way in which they chose their

pedagogy to enhance it. The English teacher said:

The women find many of the old methods more uncomfortable, upsetting, intimidating. Everything I do to make them more comfortable is going to help a lot of the men, too, because there's obviously shyness, fear, lack of confidence among men as well.

This teacher places lack of confidence as the number one problem of her students, and says that increasing confidence helps student literacy as well. Her major method of dealing with confidence is dyadic work in the first part of the course and group work in the second. She said that she has tried to let the matter of student comfort change previous pedagogic and academic concerns. She described her own difficulty in letting go of control as very much related to the inhibitions instilled in her while growing up female in the 50s. "The best things happen in class when I feel it's okay to let go control of a whole bunch of things I thought I had to hang on to. If I let go, fascinating things happen. I don't have to know about them all."

The Humanities teacher said "I use this amazing hodge-podge....I sort of play with a lot of different things that I think about as ways of kind of allowing students to speak. I work very consciously on being relaxed in the classroom." Her major methods are as follows: getting to know all the student names and

using them orally and in response to their writing; assigning journals, which she says allow her to get to know all her students really well and to personalize her connections with them; and dyadic work, which she says helps students help each other. The dyads are used mainly to help students pre-process material for assignments they write individually. They also all get to talk about the material.

Another English teacher said she thought her own gender rather determined her choice of pedagogy. "Women tend to be more democratic, not quite so used to playing the power role. I try to undercut the power role in my teaching." She uses methods such as the following: a question/answer box, which allows all students to ask whatever they want to know without exposing their ignorance; dyads for problem solving; and a method she calls "20 Questions," whereby each student must be prepared to lead the class in the discussion of one area of the material.

Two teachers, one English and the other Humanities, talked about using group work in a very different way. The English teacher said she never used partners because the students are too comfortable that way and don't get anything done. She said: "The tension of having to deal with more than one person that you are comfortable with stimulates students to think about the material." The contrast with the earlier attitudes to student comfort is notable here. The other teacher said she always tries to split up friends who come in together, though she says she sees it really makes them suffer. But she feels they can't work

together. In group work, she tries to make sure groups are mixed as to gender because, she said:

I'm always hoping in my Humanities class to encourage a dialogue between male and female students on gender issues. It's extremely difficult. And I figure it's easier if they're in a group where they can do that. But it so much has to do with something independent of the class, whether the individual is used to speaking, and some of the most spontaneous speakers can be very opposed to what's going on in the class and they will speak about it. And sometimes the ones who are the most interested in what we're talking about ... are the ones who have the most trouble.

She said she felt that there was always a power structure in each group, and that was a problem that can't be dealt with. Groups, in her Humanities Women's Studies class, are very important.

This same teacher felt, however, that she could not use groups as much in teaching English, since the reading level is such that she must guide them through the text. She spoke almost bitterly about the "discipline of English" that put "the text as

the centre of the universe." She said she felt the concepts and practices of this discipline were very gender linked, that the academy is still very male dominated. "The student is beneath. And I'm in there too. I'm the old male English professor....There is a way in which we disempower students, with the competitiveness, the emphasis on grades, the power of the canon." She said she would like to teach English with a "we're all writers here approach - what kinds of choices has this writer made - but you can't do that because of their level."

A female Humanities teacher, talking about teaching a non-Women's Studies course, said that being part of Women's Studies had made her much more sensitive to the shyness of women, and that using groups in class was prompted by discussions of feminist pedagogy. "They do seem to learn from each other." She admitted she was more likely to lecture, and she critiqued what often happened. "I'm a bit too controlling. I drift into having a staged argument with one or two students in the class. I seem not to be good at getting honest discussion. When I see myself doing this (the staged argument), I see my father. It can degenerate into smart alecky kids taking over the class." Another Humanities teacher also critiqued her pedagogy, but her comments were that she simply discouraged discussion because she did not like the kinds of negative exchanges about women's issues that came up. She said that she basically lectured with slides, but for the final section of the course, students presented their own projects, and that went well and got them all involved.

Another female Humanities teacher talked about using a lot of hands-on work with easily managed computers in her Publishing course. Her reasons did have very much to do with gender: the women students tend to be less familiar with computers, more intimidated by them. She tried to get them accustomed to using the computers gradually. The same teacher said she did not like to use journals, because they irritated students, and she saw no need for free writing or group work. She described her pedagogy as a kind of provocative lecture-discussion method, in which she tries to pull each student into the discussion. She questions people, "picks on people", beginning with someone who likes to be in a controversial position, "such as a male in a Woman's Studies class", and then gradually drawing the others in.

None of the other teachers felt that their choice of pedagogy was related at any way to their gender or to that of their students.

b. Student Reactions to Pedagogy

All the teachers had much to say on the matter of student reaction to pedagogy, tasks and evaluation. Here we have categorized the areas for consideration into class discussion, small group discussion, oral presentations and writing.

i. Class discussion

In terms of student talk, there was disagreement about the patterns of behaviour. Two teachers, one male and one female,

felt that the women students talked more, but they phrased it differently. One, a male, said that "the girls are more forthcoming in answering the questions in the bigger class discussions....In my classes it's the girls who are the big forthcomers ... and one or two very good boys but a larger number will be girls who are coming up with the answers." The other, who teaches the gender-focused class, said:

With the exception of a couple that were quite outspoken and liked the material and were happy to talk and so on, the rest of the boys were very quiet. They did what they had to do ... but I sense that it's more difficult for young men at that age to deal with these issues. It's always my feeling that it makes them more uncomfortable than it does the girls. This whole course is about relationships, it's about gender roles, about sexuality, about all those things that girls at that age are sort of naturally or socialized to be more interested in.

Some of this is echoed in the comments of a male Philosophie teacher who said he had noticed that female students will risk talking about their feelings in class, while males will not, but he did not say females talked more.

Two female teachers were convinced that males talked more in the general class discussion. One spoke at some length about aggressive monopoly of class time and the demand males make in a Women's Studies class for attention, recognition and the chance to say "It's not my fault." This teacher agreed they needed to say that, but tries to get them to work that area through in the journal, because their talk can stop any progress through the material. The other teacher, also of Humanities, but teaching both Women's Studies and other areas of Humanities, said: "Men are much more willing to talk - even in a Women's Studies class - even when there are only two of them." She noted that women are much more willing to talk, and willing to be assertive in class discussion, when men are not there. This teacher uses the class discussion method almost exclusively, "picking on people" for argument and rebuttal, and she said that she knew her pedagogy appealed more to males.

ii. Small group discussion

In terms of group work, one teacher said that she always mixes the sexes because there is real gender difference when it comes to application to task. She said that too many women are too perfectionistic and want too much to do what the teacher wants, and too many men are just "not into it if it's an English task." If she puts them together, the girls keep the groups on task and the boys keep it from being too serious. Another teacher said he had noted that the males take equal part in the

discussion of small groups, but are often reluctant to be the recorder or reporter. He said he often has to step in and tell one of the males to do these tasks.

iii. Oral reports

Not many teachers referred to oral reports, but those who did talked about shy students rather than one sex or the other. Two male teachers said they thought female students did better oral presentations. Two female teachers said they had noted a strong initial reluctance on the part of females, but that with reassurance they can do very well. One said she had begun to call these presentations "information sharing sessions" and that this had helped a lot. One male teacher has always offered the option for students to come to his office for compulsory orals because he himself remembers his own shyness in class. A teacher who uses what she calls "Round Tables," where about six students take charge of a section of the course, each read all the material but prepare a specific selection, and conduct a panel about the different works, said that shyness can be just as serious in males as in females. Another teacher said she felt shyness in males was more humiliating, because it was not part of the male mystique to be shy.

iv. Writing

In terms of writing, one teacher said that the women students got "more into" the reading log, cataloguing feelings

and reactions more freely than males did. Another teacher who does not use journals said he was thinking of beginning to use them as "something the girls might like to do." A teacher who said that one of the flaws in student writing was the tendency to be "rhapsodic rather than analytical" said that women were more likely to fall into this error than males. He recognized the positive aspect of the emotional reaction, but in his courses this kind of writing is not required.

One teacher who makes use of a great number of feminist pedagogical strategies, such as journals and dyads and self-disclosure, drew the following conclusion:

I don't know what I'd do if I had more male students, if you want to know the truth. I know that the men kind of blunder through these methods and sometimes they do very nicely. It isn't fair to say they don't work on men. If they don't work they don't work in the same sense that I've had male students who write wonderful journals and who are just great work-partners and who participate really well in all the things, but the thing about all of those systems is that they call upon students to participate in class, they don't allow for passivity, and if there are male students who feel defensive about the

material and therefore don't want to participate, there's no way out for them. And so if they ever don't work it's usually with the men.

5. Evaluation

With respect to evaluation, most of the teachers agreed that males are more likely to express their dissatisfaction about marks as they are simply more likely to express dissatisfaction about anything. But several indicated that women students often are more mark conscious and can argue with women teachers quite fiercely over grades. One teacher said she thought that women students were "not as good at losing as men students. Men hang in - women must be winners. They've made an adaptation to a man's world and they can't let go. Men know more about losing, they don't like it but they can do it."

6. Reaction to Teacher's Gender

With respect to reaction to the teacher's gender, these teachers had various things to say. The teacher of the gender-focused English course said she thought that men were always afraid she was a "raving feminist" and that they wouldn't be able to express their thoughts. Her way of dealing with this fear is not to use the word feminist till the tenth week of the course. Another Women's studies teacher said the males were very flirtatious with her, and that she wondered what this was really

all about, considering her age. A male teacher said that he "really had no idea" why his classes had a preponderance of female students. Another teacher said she thought students would take criticism a lot better from her if she were a male. Another teacher said she was aware of stereotyped expectations of what her interests and knowledge would be, and that she enjoyed disabusing students of these notions. Two female teachers, one of Philosophie and one of Humanities and English, were aware of being role models for the women students. The latter said she felt that sometimes this was a problem, as they found her a little overwhelming, hard to imagine living up to, and certainly "impossible to intimidate though they had expected to manipulate me because I was a woman teacher."

Three teachers spoke specifically of a "mission" with respect to gender.

I teach literature because it is the part of me that is irrational. It is through literature that I understand the human being. I don't give a damn about the canon....This is gender-linked, I think. Because I am a woman I teach literature like that, rather than concentrating on the form, on structure, but rather the hidden agenda is what we are learning about ourselves. (Female teacher of English)

I would like to see my students leaving knowing they will read another book, having a well-rounded education of which English is an integral part, so that there is not quite as much gazing at navels as there was when they entered college, but a gaze directed at the world around them, seeing themselves connected to the world, recognizing themselves and others in fiction. Students should be able to express feelings in an intelligent way, to have the vocabulary, the enlarged capacity to think. Women students need this kind of education in order to make a life, not just a career, to be empowered to make their own choices, to be people, not just females. (Female English teacher)

I see my mission as trying to educate these young men with respect to sexual politics. I do this as subtly as possible. I understand the jocks in my class, I've seen them before, I've been there, they're my brothers. I'm completely determined by my place in the family, youngest in a family of males from a working class background. I'm the first one

this has ever happened to in thousands of years... and I'm an immigrant, male, youngest. So it's not entirely gender, but defining gender differently than it has ever been for people of my background. (Male English teacher)

D. STAGED SURVEY OF STUDENT RESPONSES, H91

1. The Sample

In the tables and analysis that follow, we have worked with a total of 2170 student response units, that is, 2170 completed student questionnaires (Figure III.5). Though we were surveying only twenty-eight different core courses (Figure III.6), many of the teachers of these courses had several groups of students enrolled in the same course, and asked all the students to participate. Additionally, it was our intention to survey each course on at least two occasions during the semester, so that we might ascertain whether different materials might produce significantly different responses. Though some teachers were unable to get more than one set of responses from their students, others did comply with our wishes, as will be seen in Figure III.6.

Both Figure III.5. and Figure III.6. indicate how small a percentage of the total is from the French sector, particularly

in Franais. This fact ought to be kept in mind not only as it indicates a continuing problem in the research, but as it may lead to certain questions as to the validity of the statistics for these French sector courses, especially Franais.

FIGURE III.5. STUDENT RESPONSE UNITS, STAGED SURVEY, H91.

Gender	Eng.	Hum.	Fr.	Phil	Total
Females	608 58.9%	558 63.9%	13 39.4%	140 60.1%	1319 60.8%
Males	423 41.1%	315 36.1%	20 60.6%	93 39.9%	851 39.2%
Total n	1031	873	33	233	2170
Total n	47.5%	40.2%	1.5%	10.7%	

FIGURE III.6. STUDENT RESPONSE GROUPS, STAGED SURVEY, H91.

	Eng.		Hum.		Fr.		Phil.		Total
	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	
Courses n	11	3	10	0	0	1	2	1	28
Groups n	15	5	13	0	0	1	3	3	40
Sets n	30	5	27	0	0	1	4	3	70

F.= Female teacher M.= Male teacher
 Course= Core course specifically designed by the teacher
 Group= Section, class or group of students time-tabled together
 Set= Full class response to questionnaire at one point in term

2. General Attitudes

The extent to which core courses are perceived as interesting, related to life, difficult, challenging and generally comfortable or uncomfortable seems to us to be significant enough to present all the data in Figures III.7 to 12 (Appendix 9). While student interest appears to be high, the relevance of these courses is not always perceived by the students. The low level of difficulty with which they also view their experience of core education might also make us question whether the very serious objectives of these teachers, as described in their interviews with us, are grasped by the students.

It is not easy to draw comparative conclusions from this data. Subject areas differ a good deal in the interest they spark in students, but they differ even more greatly in the extent to which students perceive their relation to life. Female teachers do seem to be more likely to create this sense of connection for their students. There is some slight tendency for males to respond better to males, and females to females, occasionally in the area of relation to life, but more especially in the lack of difficulty which students experience with these subjects. Male students who are challenged by males, however, sometimes become very uncomfortable. Female teachers seem able to create marginally higher levels of comfort in the classroom, with female students experiencing greater comfort than males.

3. Response to Pedagogy

Question 7 of the student response questionnaire reads as follows: "Of the following list of teaching methods/student tasks, please check off how you felt about each." The list includes class discussion, lectures, group projects, exams/tests, research papers, small group discussions, free writing, journals, oral presentations. Students were asked to rate each on a scale from "very positive" through "very negative" or "not applicable."

Figures III.13 through 21 provide a detailed percentage breakdown of the responses in these areas (Appendix 10). Overall, there appears to be less gender difference among students than among teachers, as the "Not applicable" column bears witness to student perceptions of male teachers concentrating their pedagogy on a much smaller range of options than female teachers. Student responses tend to vary much more widely according to subject and teacher gender than according to student gender.

Both lectures and class discussion are perceived to be widely used by teachers, and both are rated quite highly, though there are marginally more negative ratings for the lecture method. Male teachers are rated slightly more favourably for their use of class discussion. Female students are more favourably disposed toward lectures than are males.

Group projects, small groups discussions, free writing and journals are favourably rated by both male and female students. However, it is difficult to feel comfortable about these statistics, since so many teachers, especially males, do not use

them. If students enter a response in the "Not applicable" column, it is impossible to know what they feel about the strategy. Exams/tests, research papers and oral presentations also seem to be somewhat sparingly used, but here we do see some gender difference in response, with females slightly more favourable about both than are males. This gender difference suggests some greater willingness among female students to engage in serious performance tasks in core courses and to feel more positively about them. This trend echoes some of the gender differences outlined in Chapter II.

There is a distinct gender difference in the way in which students make use of the "Not applicable" column, with females much more likely to indicate that a teacher has not made use of the strategy. Given the teacher descriptions of female students as more attentive to course objectives and more exigent with themselves in the fulfilment of tasks (see Chapter II), we are inclined to trust the female students here.

4. Response to Specific Courses

Matching student responses to specific courses has allowed us to study responses to specific readings, particular genres, different historical periods. Often, however, even where teachers asked their classes to fill out the questionnaires for different parts of the course, we were unable to interpret changing patterns of response because of lack of precise information about readings.

Careful study of this material has led us to categorize the courses into seven different groups about which we have been able to establish certain common features, and within which notable differences have been instructive. These groups are as follows:

- a. Literature (English and Français) taught by men
- b. Literature (English) taught by women
- c. Women's Studies literature taught by women
- d. English skill courses taught by women (for remedial or as service to remedial students)
- e. Humanities taught by women
- f. Women's Studies Humanities taught by women.
- g. Philosophie taught by women and men

a. Literature (English and Français) Taught by Men

In this category, we have placed five courses: a course in Utopian literature, one in West Indian literature, one in literature and music, one in World War I literature, and a course in poésie. In none of these courses were we able to compare student responses to specific works within a course, and we therefore comment on student reaction to the type of subject matter taught by these male teachers.

Notable throughout this category is the high level of interest felt by all students. In the World War I course, the reading was rated as interesting as the subject; this equally high level of interest was also true in literature and music and

in the West Indian literature course. In the course on Utopian literature, readings were less interesting to students than the subject itself, and in poésie, female students were more interested in the readings than in the subject, while the male students were more interested in the subject than the readings.

Relation to life was not very highly rated for any of these courses. Female students in the Utopian literature course saw subject matter as three times more highly related to life than did the males. The literature and music course was not seen as much related to life by either males or females, but here too female ratings were higher. World War I literature seems even more remote from life, but males saw a greater relation to life than did females. Poésie was viewed as more highly related to life than all the other courses in this group: we would have liked to know what poems were taught, and how these students were made to feel their study was relevant to their lives. The West Indian literature course, on the other hand, might have been predicted to create a greater sense of connection to life, particularly at a Cegep where West Indian students might elect to study this material. The figures here were not outstandingly low, but were not as high as one might have predicted. Here it might have been interesting to know the ethnic and racial identity of answering students, and to what extent this became a factor.

In all but the literature and music course, the views of male students were more highly challenged by these courses than the females'. Of those challenged, males were more uncomfortable

in literature and music and utopian literature. Females were more uncomfortable in *poésie*. In the other two courses, an equal number of male and female students reported being uncomfortable with the challenge to their views.

b. Literature (English) Taught by Women

In this category of English literature courses taught by females, we have placed a course in Canadian literature, a course in satire, a course on the theme of success in the American novel and a course in the history of the novel.

Female students were generally more interested than males in both the subject matter and the readings in Canadian literature and in the American novel. This interest differential was more marked in the American course, and also changed more in it: at the end of the course, male interest in readings recovered significantly. Here we would have wished to be more certain what was being read, but the novelists whom we tentatively pinpointed as being studied in the two survey periods were Edith Wharton (when male interest was lower) and Tom Wolfe (when male interest was higher). Interest levels were very high in all six sets of responses from the satire course: male interest levels were much higher than the norm in courses taught by female teachers, and were occasionally higher than those of the female students. In the novel history course, we were able to compare student responses to Great Expectations by Charles Dickens on the one hand and The Colour Purple by Alice Walker on the other. Student

interest in the latter female-authored, female-centred work was high, slightly higher for female students. Interest levels declared by both males and females on both subject matter and readings were low with respect to Great Expectations, much lower than global norms, no doubt due to its nineteenth century focus. However, interest in the Dickens novel was higher for males than females, perhaps due to male authorship and young male hero.

Both the Canadian and American literature courses appeared to have a rather low relation to life for all students, throughout the duration of the course, lower than the global norm. In the Canadian literature course, however, males tended to see more relation to life in the reading matter than did the females. The final submission from the American course showed a slight increase in relation to life for all students. As with the interest of male students noted above, this change might be connected to more contemporary reading material. In the satire course as well, more contemporary material was seen as more related to life, as students rated James Thurber as more relevant to them than Swift or Hogarth. Great Expectations was seen as very little related to life, and students expressed great difficulty in coping with it; The Colour Purple was seen as much more relevant, especially by the female students: the variation from group to group, however, makes us curious about the ethnic and racial composition of the students reporting.

Levels of challenge vary considerably, with discomfort levels frequently but not always rising in relation to the

increase in challenge. Males appeared to be more challenged by and more uncomfortable reading works by female authors such as Edith Wharton and Alice Walker, though the connection between the challenge and the discomfort was not always clear. Though Hogarth was not universally seen as challenging, studying these engravings appeared to create very high levels of discomfort.

c. Women's Studies Literature Taught by Women

Here we can compare a course in Women in the Theatre, a course in Canadian fiction by women, and a course called History/Herstory which studies gender directly through the writings of men and women. Since these courses are all identified as Women's Studies credits, it seemed appropriate to look at them together.

In the theatre course, the two readings the students responded to were "As You Like It" by William Shakespeare and "A Doll's House" by Henrik Ibsen. Interest levels in both these plays was high. The Canadian fiction course provided us with two reportings, but without clear identification as to what was being read at each reporting. It is likely, however, that chronology would be followed, in which case the second report would concern more contemporary material. This change in material, whatever it was, translated itself into slight decrease in interest among the females and increase among the males. History/Herstory allows us a glimpse at a course that deals directly with gender and makes a conscious attempt to balance the focus evenly between the study

of women and the study of men. Though it is designated as a Women's Studies course and therefore attracts few males, the reactions of males to it are important to note. This course rates as 100% interesting to both sexes, whatever the focus of the reading.

Neither of the plays in the theatre course ranked very highly as being related to life, considering global norms, but neither was ranked as very low. Relation to life was lower for females for Shakespeare, higher for males, whereas the opposite was true with Ibsen: once again we note the tendency for male students to find relevance in male-centred texts, females to find relevance in female-centred texts. Students found the more contemporary material toward the end of the Canadian literature course as more related to life. The level of relation to life in History/Herstory is high, but slightly higher where the readings are focused on the gender of the students reporting.

Levels of challenge were higher in the study of Shakespeare for students of both sexes, but there were remarkably high levels of comfort in this class throughout the semester. Levels of challenge in Canadian literature went up for females and down for males, with discomfort levels for males decreasing with decreased challenge. Women's levels of challenge are high throughout the History/Herstory course, while males, though highly challenged by the whole course, are much more highly challenged by the material on masculinity. Males are slightly more uncomfortable with women's material, and women are slightly more uncomfortable with

men's, but female students are much more comfortable with the challenges of this course than are the males: male discomfort levels are not higher than the global norm, but they are higher than females'.

d. English Skill Courses Taught by Women

These courses include a Prep Arts course, a reading course and a writing course, all for remedial students, plus a tutoring course in which the students are trained to help other students in many different subjects. They therefore focus less upon literature than the courses previously dealt with, and include more transactional reading material and more focus upon skill development.

The Prep Arts class showed a startling difference between the two submissions, one in March including a report on the study of poetry, and one in May designated as "not including poetry." Interest levels are much higher in the first submission, especially for females. The reading course also shows a marked drop in interest in reading material, as both female and male interest levels drop. The first reading, which seemed to spark more interest, was Somebody Else's Kids, a true account of a teacher's experience working with very challenging and troubled special education children. The second, which seemed to spark less, was The Princess Bride, a satirical novel which plays with reader expectations, especially expectations for a happy ending. The Writing Across the Curriculum course provided us with two

reportings which were very different, but without more precise information we cannot make a meaningful interpretation. We would like to note, however, that in this course, the level of interest rose, rather than dropping: we think this significant, in that it might be easy to assume that remedial courses simply lose students because of the kind of students who are in the class. The Tutoring course showed a high level of interest in subject matter for the first submission early in March and then dropped by the end of the month. The interest in reading material was never outstandingly high.

Relation to life drops in the Prep Arts course, the reading course and the Writing Across the Curriculum course, though the latter showed much higher relation to life figures than did the first two courses. Female students saw the Tutoring course as 100% related to their lives for both response periods, and male reports on relation to life rose from a third of that of the females to half that of the females.

Levels of challenge rise only marginally in the Prep Arts course, though the students appeared to be having difficulty with term papers in the second reporting, where male students were more uncomfortable than females. The reading course showed a remarkably low level of challenge for males but rose for females, and discomfort levels hovered at the global norm. In the Writing Across the Curriculum course, the level of challenge rose with the interest of readings, and discomfort levels decreased slightly. The level of challenge dropped remarkably in the

tutoring course, a fact we cannot account for in any way; the level of comfort was very high throughout for all students.

e. Humanities Taught by Women

Humanities courses taught by females which were not related to Women's Studies included a course on Technology and Civilization, one on Housing, one on Printing and Publishing, and one on the Mass Media. It is the interest and involvement of male students that is most notable in all these courses.

Technology and Civilization is a course of particular interest to male students: their interest was higher than that of the females at most points. This is quite different from the global norm. In the Housing course, students reported higher levels of interest in the subject than the readings, with males reporting much higher levels than females. The Mass Media course, like the Technology and Civilization course, is of higher interest to males than to females. Interest in readings was low, but again, men were more interested. Though interest in the subject matter of Printing and Publishing began high, it slipped significantly during the semester. Interest in the readings varied greatly over the semester: it would have been useful to know what students were reading at precise points.

Males tended to see all these courses as more related to life than did the females. Male students reported increasing levels of challenge in both the Technology and Housing course. Female students were more uncomfortable in the Technology course

than were the males. Discomfort level in the Housing course was low for all. Both challenge and discomfort levels were about average for both sexes in the Mass media course. Challenge was low in the Printing and Publishing course, while discomfort levels rose for all students.

f. Women' Studies Humanities Taught by Women

The Women's Studies Humanities courses were remarkably similar to one another in objectives and design, and particular readings were not matched with report periods for any of them. Since it was so difficult to distinguish among them, analyzing them as a group appeared to be most effective. Though there was not, as will be seen, much gender difference in the overall attitude to these courses, it must be noted that in most instances, males constituted a very small proportion of the population.

All but one of these courses proved to be remarkably interesting to both males and females, in terms of both subject matter and course readings. In one of the courses, however, Women - Past, Present, and Future, reading material was less interesting to students than in the other courses. Students in this course also reported a very erratic sense of these readings' relation to their lives: something about these readings obviously bears further scrutiny: one was a novel (The Handmaid's Tale); we suspect this selection to have been more captivating than the course text Changing Patterns, but these reports do not make it

clear. Readings in the Women and Culture course also provoked low response in terms of relation to life, particularly from males. Both women and men students reported being challenged by these courses, however; the percentage level for both sexes was higher than the global norm, and men in several instances reported 100% challenge. In individual classes, males might report higher challenge than females at one point, only to have the ratio change at a later point. Comfort levels were quite high, with slightly more discomfort at challenge reported for males.

g. Philosophie Taught by Men and Women

Though these three Philosophie courses were all entitled L'Être Humain, the two taught by women very much resembled, in terms of both objectives and reading matter, the Women's Studies courses reported upon above. Since we did not get the course description for the course taught by the male teacher, and since the course reports all came from the conclusion of the semester without identification as to reading matter, the exact nature of this course is not known to us. It seemed interesting, however, especially at the conclusion of this section on specific courses, to compare student responses to these three courses.

In one of the female teacher's classes, interest was high for both males and females in both subject matter and readings, though the interest in readings was not as high as for the subject, and dropped slightly for males. In the other course taught by the female teacher, only half the males showed any

interest, though female interest was high. In two out of three of the sections taught by the male Philosophie teacher, males were marginally more interested in both subject and readings than were females. General interest levels were not quite as high as in the other Philosophie courses, nor in the Humanities courses described above.

In the first female-taught course described above, students' sense of the relation of material to their lives increased for both males and females; in the second, this sense of relevance decreased. In both instances, it was greater for females than for males. Relation to life was seen as quite low by females in the male-taught class; male interest was about average. Levels of challenge tended to rise in all these courses, with females more challenged than males. Males were more uncomfortable with the female teachers, whereas female students were more uncomfortable with the male.

8. Concluding Remarks

A few overall conclusions can be drawn from this analysis.

- It appears that the selection of texts is very important for creating interest among students, and for creating courses which appear connected to their lives.
- It also appears that students tend to be more interested in readings that are more contemporary; they certainly view more contemporary literature as more related to their lives.
- Books about males are more likely to interest males and books

about females are more likely to interest females, but a challenging text of a contemporary nature can interest either sex.

- Impersonal subjects such as technology, mass media and publishing are more likely to interest male students than female students.

- Though there is some evidence that students would rather read literature than transactional writing, any writings which bring up gender issues tend to spark interest in both males and females.

-It is difficult for males to see the connection between women's studies and their lives, but females see the connection between men's studies and their lives.

- Challenge to student views seems to be highest in gender-related courses, yet these are the courses where, on the whole, there is the least discomfort.

E. TEACHER'S OBSERVATION QUESTIONNAIRES

1. General Remarks

The teachers who participated in this phase of the project were asked to fill out an observation questionnaire each time they collected a set of student responses in any given class. These questionnaires were to be used for two purposes: the first, to see if teacher attitudes differed by gender and with regard to the gender of their students; the second, to see if teachers and

students were in accord about the experiences in these classes, particularly with respect to pedagogy and student tasks. As will be seen in Figure III. 22, most of the twenty teachers who submitted their questionnaires to us provided us with two reportings on these classes, and this is the data that appears in Figures III.24 to 32 (Appendix 11).

FIGURE III.22. TEACHER OBSERVATION QUESTIONNAIRES, H91.
20 TEACHERS REPORTING ON 39 CLASSES

	English		Humanities		French		Philo.	
	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.
Number of Teachers Reporting	7	2	7	-	-	1	2	1
Number of Classes Reported	14	3	15	-	-	1	3	3

F.= Female teacher M.= Male teacher

2. Discipline

Given the startling data on discipline problems which we uncovered in the initial questionnaire (see Chapter II), we wished to determine if these particular teachers had experienced difficulty in this regard. Table III.23 shows the specific breakdown of answers to the question: "Did you experience disciplinary problems with males and/or females?" Though the answer format was somewhat different than in the initial questionnaire, we can nevertheless observe that these teachers

experience fewer difficulties than the larger group whose responses are recorded in Figure II.11. There is only a marginal difference here between the incidence of discipline problems experienced with male students and those experienced with female students; here, too, male students do give teachers more problems, but not nearly to the extent that we uncovered in A90 in our more general survey. We note also that it is the female teachers who state most frequently that they never have discipline problems: none of the male teachers tell us this.

In another question, answered by so few teachers that tables seem inappropriate, five women and no men did tell us that they found male student discipline problems more difficult to deal with than those with female students, while six respondents told us that male and female discipline problems presented equal difficulty.

Clearly, then, it is not so much the frequency of male discipline problems that these women teachers have difficulty with, but the nature of these problems, perhaps the gender dynamics between them and these male students. This does rejoin the material in Chapter II. Some of the other data here does, however, incline us to think that this smaller sample of teachers, sufficiently interested in the issues of gender fairness in the classroom to conduct rather time-consuming surveys for us, have less difficulty with their students than a larger more general group of core teachers.

FIGURE III.23. TEACHER EXPERIENCE OF DISCIPLINE PROBLEMS, H91.

Question: Did you experience disciplinary problems [in this class] with males and/or females?

Incidence	English		Humanities		French		Philo	
	F	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.
Often Boys	7.7%							
Girls								
Sometimes Boys	15.4%	100%	7.2%			33.3%		
Girls	23.1%	100%						
Rarely Boys	7.7%		57.1%			66.7%	66.7%	
Girls	7.7%		69.3%			100%	33.3%	
Never Boys	69.2%		35.7%				33.3%	
Girls	69.2%		30.7%				66.7%	

F.= Female teacher M.= Male teacher
Boys= Male students Girls= Female students

In their anecdotal responses, two respondents, one male and one female, indicate as in Chapter II that women can become disruptive when they persist in chatting together during class. It is more difficult to get a disruptive group of women to be quiet than to quiet the men, indicates the male respondent, but then he wonders if this may be because he is more blunt in his responses to males. A Humanities teacher in a "women's course" reported that the men were quite resistant to the course material and sullen in class.

3. Teacher Estimation of Student Response to Pedagogy and Student Tasks

Question 5 of the Teacher's Observation Questionnaire asked the teachers to indicate whether they used specific strategies in their teaching and, if so, how they perceived student response by gender. Figures III.24 to 32 provide specific details as to whether these teachers made use of class discussions, lectures, group projects, exams/tests, research papers, small group discussions, free writing, journals and oral presentations; these figures also give teachers' estimations of student response percentages, from very positive to very negative (Appendix 11).

On the whole, women teachers found class discussion very positive or positive for both male and female students but slightly more positive for females. Men teachers found class discussion worked more for women in the very positive and positive categories than for men. Neither male nor female teachers found lectures very positive for either gender. However, there was a great difference in how teachers perceived the students' responses. It would seem that men are simply more comfortable with the lecture style than women are, and they perceive positive responses from their students, while women teachers seem not to be convinced that they can elicit positive responses to lectures from either gender.

Group projects, free writing and journals were reported as not being widely used. Women teachers report group projects as equally very positive for male and female students; men teachers

regard group projects as much more positive for women than for men. Free writing, on the other hand, is seen by the men as equally positive for male and female students, whereas the women teachers perceive female students as more likely to find free writing positive and very positive. Journals tended to elicit the same response, with male teachers perceiving equal responses on the part of the students, and female teachers seeing men students as marginally more negative.

With respect to exams/tests and research papers, neither men nor women teachers saw their students as very positive about these tasks. However, there is a definite agreement here that male students are less likely to be positive, more likely to be neutral. Women teachers felt that oral presentations tended to elicit positive or very positive responses from both genders, whereas male teachers felt that only the female students were positive about oral reports.

4. Teacher Attitudes and Comments

When asked whether the process of participating in this phase of the research had altered anything in the course or their attitudes to it, very few (4% of the women) said that the experience had any great effect. However, half of the women and two thirds of the men said that their attitudes had been altered by their participation. The comments which follow eloquently illustrate some of the changes which the teachers began to feel.

a. English Teachers:

(i) Course: West Indian

Literature: I have never used group projects, free writing or journals in my courses, but probably because I kept seeing them on the sheet, I have started talking to a few teachers about their use of these approaches and what they see as the benefits and disadvantages, if any....I think my recent curiosity about group projects, free writing and journals relates to my involvement in the project. Part of my curiosity relates to the question of whether or not any of the three provides more of an outlet for one group of the other.... I find, too, that the emphasis of the questionnaire on male/female distinctions has forced me to a more conscious recognition of the need to take those realities into consideration in shaping and teaching courses.

(ii) Course: Writing Across

the Curriculum. I learned male students in remedial writing courses do cause more discipline problems than females. I am convinced that gender differences show up more in remedial courses than in ordinary

literature courses.

(iii) Course: The Novel. I am not aware of any gender differences in attitudes or grades in this course. ...I'm surprised to see how little difference there seems to be in marks and failures/dropouts.

(iv) Course: Dreams, Illusions and Reality (Canadian Literature by Women). I am rethinking group projects which in the past have not been entirely successful.

(v) Course: Satire in Literature and Art. I've been looking for more opportunities to introduce group work: bonuses for working in twos to improve papers, larger groups for informal discussions and for the generation of topics for essays and for exams.

(vi) Course: World Literature (Preparatory Arts). It's made me more aware of my own biases. I've been influenced to accept male-oriented attitudes and they are not always easy to uncover or to shed once they are discovered. The awareness will continue to affect my teaching indefinitely. The process (on me; in me?) is developmental and creative. Also a good deterrent to burn-

out!

(vii) Course: Canadian Literature. I became more conscious of the whole issue of gender - fair education, especially after our meeting at Dawson and I addressed the topic directly in one or two classes during my discussions of novels.

(viii) Course: Women and Theatre. It made me aware, by reading the students' responses, that many were not clear what we were doing. This is disturbing. I will make the range of assignments clearer next term.

(i x) C o u r s e :
History/Herstory: 9 males and 28 females enrolled. Because the males are always so outnumbered in this class, they tend to be less vocal as a rule, with one or two exceptions. Females tend to be more interested in the subject matter. Males find some of it threatening. On the whole, I think both sexes respond favourably to the course, but females more so.

b. Humanities Teachers

(i) Course: Women and Film: I

am careful what I say, how I say it, trying to articulate ideas as fully as possible, trying to be as illustrative as possible given the nature of the course and the actual films under study.

(ii) Course: Women and Culture: More conscious of gender-specific attitudes, differences, (needs?).

(iii) Course: Women - Past, Present & Future. I try to be aware of attitudes as much as possible already. (This person reported that she had "not been influenced at all" by participation in the project.)

(iv) Course: Technology and Civilization. It has made me conscious that there may be differences in approach that work with one group or another. I became aware that there were tremendous differences within each gender group... I am curious to know why proportionately fewer girls enrol in Technology and Civilization, but I can guess why. The ones who do seem to be better than average students.

(v) Course: About Women. I think it has pushed me further in the

direction of attempting to honour individual differences in the classroom while focusing on gender differences. Hence, I am introducing readings which speak to ethnic differences. I also find myself looking more at introducing some space for the male feminist voice in my readings.... I want to stress that men are not well represented in this class, and that my comments on gender differences have to be read within this context. Specifically there were four men in the class, one of whom was very uninvolved in the material as far as I could tell.

(vi) Course: Housing. More conscious of trying to define whether there's a difference in gender response. I really find it's hard to say that there is, in this particular course.

(vii) Course: Women Through Men's Eyes. Although I only participated towards the end of the semester, it made me more aware of how the class was reacting to its different activities.

c. Philosophie

Conceptions de l'être

humain: [le 29 avril 1991] Je devrais peut-être être plus attentif à cela mais pour le moment je ne vois pas de différence marqué entre les filles et les gars dans leurs attitudes ou leurs résultats.

[le 30 avril 1991] Je 'commence' à remarquer certaines différences générales: la plupart des gars sont assis en arrière.

[le 3 mai 1991] Je commence à être attentif à cette différence dans leur attitude à mon égard, dans la façon d'entrer en rapport.

F. COMPARISON OF TEACHER AND STUDENT DATA ON RESPONSE TO PEDAGOGY

Comparing Figures III.13 -21 (Appendix 10) with Figures III.24 - 32 (Appendix 11) allows us to examine some of the similarities and differences between the ways which teachers and students viewed the learning experience of these particular courses. Some teachers are clearly much more sensitive to student response and make much closer estimations of student attitude than others, but nowhere do we find very exact correlations between these tables. The pattern, in general, seems to be that teachers tend to miss the full range of attitudes that exist in a class at any given time, sometimes underestimating the positive

reaction they may be eliciting, with lectures, for instance, but more often underestimating the number of neutral and negative students in the class, as in the case of group projects. There is also a tendency for all teachers to estimate greater gender difference in attitude than there actually appears to be: this kind of error shows up most clearly as teachers estimate much more negative male reaction to research papers, a trend unsubstantiated by the student figures.

Within this general pattern, we may also note some gender differences in the ways in which teachers either capture or fail to capture student responses. Female English teachers tend to underestimate very positive responses, whereas male English teachers overestimate positive response. Male French teachers frequently also overestimate positive and very positive response. Oddly enough, the opposite is true in Philosophie, where the female teachers very much overestimate very positive response, whereas the male teachers rarely use this very positive category, especially for male students who, in fact, constitute a higher percent of very positive students when this subject is taught by a male.

The greatest overall teacher error appears to be in interpreting student response to exams/tests on the one hand and small group discussions on the other. Most teachers assume much greater negativity regarding exams/tests than there actually is, and much more positive reaction to group discussions than the students report.

In general, teachers are not entirely aware of how students feel about either the classroom pedagogy or the tasks they are assigned. Teachers make certain erroneous assumptions about male and female difference, perhaps based upon differences in deportment rather than in genuine response. Teachers also seem genuinely to misread the signals in some cases and perhaps therefore fail to scrutinize their practices as they ought to do.

One obvious conclusion is that better communication flow between students and teachers would be desirable. The fact that a large percentage of the teaching population surveyed do not make much use of expressive, individualized and student-centred forms of communication such as free writing and journals might suggest that the remedy lies quite close to hand.

G. BRIEF COMPARISON OF TEACHER COMMENTARY WITH STUDENT RESPONSE TO SPECIFIC COURSES

When we consider the teacher commentary in E.4.a - c. in light of the discussion of specific courses in D.4.a - h., we observe teachers grappling with gender differences which they do not always see as clearly as they might.

Though the teacher of Writing Across the Curriculum speaks of the striking way in which gender differences in behaviour exhibit themselves in remedial courses, both males and females find her course interesting and relevant to their lives. The teacher of History/Herstory speaks of females as more interested

and responding more favourably, yet the student data shows this not to be true. The Philosophie teacher begins to see gender differences and focuses on males sitting in the back rows, yet the male students in this class report greater interest and sense of relevance than the females. In all these cases, we see teachers drawing certain conclusions on the basis of a negative male deportment that seems to be at least somewhat contradicted by the male students themselves. The continuing theme of difficulty with male students in core courses is obviously complicated by communication factors which require serious consideration.

Some teachers are clearly missing important signals about their courses. The teacher of The Novel course seems unaware of the extent of the gender difference in attitude to modern and contemporary novels by male and female authors. The teacher of Women - Past, Present & Future expresses confidence in her awareness of student attitudes, yet the erratic pattern of student response reported suggests difficulties which might bear serious scrutiny.

Other teachers have obviously learned a great deal from the survey. The teacher of West Indian literature has become conscious of how much pedagogical variety he has left out of his teaching. The teacher of Technology and Civilization has a very sharp awareness of the reported gender differences in attitude to her course. The teacher of Women and Theatre has actually examined the questionnaire responses for levels of difficulty and

is thinking through ways to make her range of tasks clearer.

H. CONCLUSIONS

Since we have included concluding commentary to each of the major entries of this chapter, we restrict ourselves to those issues which have bearing for the final phase of the project.

Both the student response and teacher concerns about core courses which we have documented in this study have underlined for us the importance of gender issues in creating relevance, challenge, comfort and communication. Wherever gender is foregrounded in core courses, relevance to life rises, especially for women; where masculinity is given attention equal to women's issues, the course becomes exceptionally relevant for males. Finding the appropriate readings and pedagogy is obviously very important in creating these situations of relevance and connection. Challenge also goes hand in hand with gender issues, and high levels of comfort are not impossible in classes where these matters are dealt with by teachers who are sensitized to gender dynamics in the classroom.

All teachers need to open further channels of communication with their students. The pedagogical means of doing so seem to be available for them, but they do not often put these methods to work. Looked at in some ways, the data tells a story of teachers and students cut off from one another by various forms of gender politics and confusion, as women teachers struggle to reach males

who are not, perhaps, as unreachable as they seem, and male teachers, in general, tend to ignore the difficulties altogether. The complications are many, but the route seems clear: if gender becomes a central issue in the classroom, core courses will gain in stature and relevance, and the barriers to student-teacher communication can become a meaningful part of the curriculum.

Besides helping us develop our Model for teachers in these ways, studying the student responses and teacher commentary has helped us isolate some of the student attitudes we wish to focus upon in our questionnaire. The many discrepancies between what teachers interpret from their students' behaviour and what the students report of themselves makes it imperative to hear from these students about their general attitudes to education, and whether these attitudes are subject to change. The range of student response to tasks such as group projects and small group discussions highlights the need to discover how students feel about one another in terms of gender, race, class and sexual orientation, and whether these views too can be altered in a gender-fair classroom. The different ways in which these particular teachers experience male discipline problems underlines for us the need to find out from the students themselves how differently they feel about male and female teachers, and whether these attitudes can be changed by a semester discussing gender attitudes.

How the students see themselves is the untold story in this particular survey. Since the gender-fair course will call upon

the self and its social situation as the starting point (see Chapter I). some self-reflective process will need to be recorded. Our data here suggests that teachers can be highly sensitive to what is going on in general, but miss important aspects of the situation which are either not communicated to them, or communicated in such a way that they can easily be misinterpreted. The questionnaire to be used in the final part of the project must be designed in such a way as to pick up such self-reflection and to measure change.

CHAPTER 1V

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN FOR THE EXPERIMENT

The overall hypothesis of this research is that the formulation of a model for gender-fair education in English, Français, Humanities and Philosophie will assist teachers in offering courses congruent with the goals of sexual equality, and that the application of this model will broaden students' awareness of gender-related issues. Two sets of inter-related activities are involved in the testing of such a hypothesis.

The first set of activities involves the Model. The Model must be created, explained to teachers committed to offering gender-fair courses in these core disciplines, and utilized by these teachers in the design of their particular offerings. These specific course descriptions must be collected and screened for congruence with the Model. Since the overall objective is to perfect the Model for future use within the Cegep, the experience of these teachers in the gender-fair project must be carefully observed and monitored. Discussions with teachers during the experimental semester and in formal interviews after the semester must be part of the research process.

The second set of activities involves the measurement of student attitudes. An attitudinal test must be created and validated; control and experimental groups must be selected for the experimental semester; teachers must administer pre- and

post-semester tests to these groups; test results must be examined for significant differences between experimental and control sections, controlling for student gender, teacher gender, and language. Secondary variables such as student age, ethnicity, and socio-economic level should also be available for analysis.

A. CREATING AND IMPLEMENTING THE MODEL

The Model for Gender-Fair Education for use in the experiment was designed to accommodate and reflect the research described in Chapters I to III. The final version of this Model is to be found in Appendices 12-15, but it must be noted that these include final revisions of the original, tested in A92. By March, 1992, the Model, which we called at that time "The Teachers' Kit," included an introduction to the project, an outline of teacher responsibilities, a step-by-step guide for designing the content and pedagogy of gender-fair courses, three teacher exercises to assist in this process, an overview of theory and praxis entitled Gender Fairness in the Classroom by Fran Davis and Greta Hofmann Nemiroff, a summary of the results of the survey of student attitudes H91, a selected annotated bibliography, and a description of feminist pedagogical strategies reprinted from A Practical Assessment of Feminist Pedagogy by Fran Davis, Arlene Steiger and Karen Tennenhouse. Both an English and French language version of this Teachers' Kit

were prepared.

Teachers of English and Humanities interested in participating in this final phase of the project were invited to attend a workshop on March 23, 1992 at Dawson College. Teachers unable to attend at this time were invited to attend a similar workshop at Vanier College April 13, 1992. At these meetings, the researchers presented an overview of teacher responsibilities and invited discussion about teacher objectives and concerns. Each teacher was presented with a Kit and asked to submit a detailed gender-fair course outline by June 1. A final orientation took place June 8 and teachers were able to exchange course descriptions and phone numbers, as well as to discuss further concerns. Course proposals were all designed to conform as closely as possible to the Model.

A meeting with the teachers of Français and Philosophie was organized for April 20, 1992, at Dawson College. Further meetings with these teachers from the French sector were arranged individually at the convenience of those interested. It must be noted again, however, that these arrangements were beset with difficulty, and several teachers agreed to participate and then did not follow up with agreement to meet with us or to submit course proposals. In some cases changes in course readings were made after acceptance into the project, so that not all these course proposals were completely congruent with the Model.

Figure IV.1 shows the exact Project A92 breakdown of experimental and control teacher participants by gender and

discipline. It will be noted that some teachers who participated in the initial stages (see first column) later withdrew from the project. Total numbers of participants (third column) includes those who began to work with us as well as those who provided us with full involvement. Those who involved themselves from start to finish are enumerated in the central column. Notable is how much more representative is the selection of participants from the English sector, both with respect to subject area and gender. Though great efforts were made, as described at various other points in this report, to involve participants from the French sector, we began the experiment with a low representation of male participants and concluded with none at all. This became a highly complicating factor in the analysis of attitudinal data, as will be seen in Chapter V. It should also be remembered that only one section of Français was ultimately included in the experiment, and that there was no control for this section (see below, B.2).

FIGURE 1V.1 TEACHER PARTICIPANTS IN A92 GENDER-FAIR EXPERIMENT

Subject and Gender	Participation		
	Partial	Full	Total
Eng.Exp.Female	1	3	4
Male	0	3	3
Hum.Exp.Female	1	2	3
Male	2	1	3
Fr.Exp.Female	1	1	2
Male	0	0	0
Phil.Exp.Female	0	3	3
Male	1	0	1

FIGURE IV.2. GENDER ISSUES IN COURSE DESCRIPTIONS, A92.

Gender Issues:	# Eng.		# Hum		# Fr.		# Phil.		Tot.%
	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	
Dealt with in Objectives/ Methodology	3	4	2	1	1	-	2	-	86 %
Gender balance in readings	2	1	1	0	0	-	0	-	29 %
More but not all male authors	0	3	0	0	0	-	0	-	21 %
More but not all female authors	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	-	0 %
All male authors	1	0	0	1	0	-	3	-	50 %
All female authors	0	0	1	0	1	-	0	-	14 %
Authors not specified	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	-	0 %

M.= Male teacher F. Female teacher

Figure IV.2. presents an analysis of the course descriptions according to the same criteria as used in the Survey of Possible Participants of H92 (See Figure III.3.) It will be noted that gender issues are specified in all but two (86%) of the course descriptions, compared with 42.3% in the H92 Survey. Only the two

course descriptions which were submitted late did not specify gender awareness as one of the course objectives. Gender balance in readings is also more than doubled, from 11.5% to 29%. "More but not all male authors" stands at a very similar level: 19.2% in H92 and 21% in A92. "More but not all female authors" appeared in 7.6% of the courses in H92, but stand in A92 at 0%. Unfortunately, the incidence of all male authorship is actually higher here than in H92: 50% in A92 compared to 34.6% in H92. Again, the late submitted course descriptions took us by surprise in this regard. All female authors were used in H92 by 11.5%, whereas 14% of these teachers list them here. This matter of gender balance among the authors of selected readings is discussed in greater detail in Chapter VI, where we describe how teachers tried to deal with their listed choices in gender-fair ways, by bringing in extra readings, critiquing male-only perspectives and making use of male and female student-authored texts.

B. TESTING THE MODEL

1. Creating and Validating the Test

Extensive study of standardized student attitude tests failed to uncover an instrument for measuring the range of student attitudes which are pertinent to gender awareness in a heterogeneous post-secondary educational situation. Recognizing that we would have to create our own test, we narrowed our

attention to seven existing tests (see Appendix 16) to study as models for our own instrument. Each test appeared to cover some of the attitudes which concern us, but none provided a comprehensive set of questions.

After much deliberation among ourselves and some consultation with Philippe Ricard of Collège de Rosemont and the Bureau d'études socio-graphiques inc., we constructed an English language test of our own which included some adaptation of the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (short form). This English language test was pre-tested in April, 1992 on three core English classes at Vanier College, two taught by males who intended to participate in the project and one taught by a female who did not. The total sample of students was 100 (47.3% female, 52.7% male).

This sample was then submitted to the Bureau d'études socio-graphiques for a three part analysis: bivariant, multivariant and factorial analysis of questions 1 to 29 (statements of attitude); bivariant, multivariant and factorial analysis of questions 30-59 (sex-role self-descriptions); and verbatim reportage of answers to questions 60 to 75 (further self-descriptions regarding program and course choice, ethnic background, socio-economic group and difficulties/preferences regarding test questions). We wished to establish whether a sufficient range of responses would be available to us from this set of questions. In particular, we were looking for gender differences in response patterns: these differences would indicate to us that we were indeed tapping attitudes shaped by

the differing socialization processes of males and females in a multicultural society.

In the first part of the analysis, using ordinal measure Kendall Tau C, ten questions were found to illustrate significant differences between male and female responses. These differences were checked by nominal measure Chi square (in which five questions showed significant gender differences) and by interval measurement Test T (in which six questions showed significant gender differences). Factorial analysis also showed six questions revealing significant differences by gender.

In the second part of the analysis, ordinal measure Kendall Tau C revealed thirteen questions as showing significant differences by gender. Nominal measure Chi square revealed three such questions, and by interval measurement Test T, nine questions were seen to illustrate significant gender differences in response.

These results constituted a satisfactory profile of gender discrimination among the questions proposed for the test. This confirmation of test sensitivity led us to adopt questions 1-59 as given on the pilot questionnaire.

The third part of the analysis allowed us to see where our directions might have been confusing, particularly with respect to identification of ethnic identity and socio-economic level. A number of items from 60 -75 were therefore reworded in accordance with the verbatim responses of students. Thus revised, the English language questionnaire was adopted for use in the project

and appears in its final form in Appendix 17.

The English language questionnaire was then translated into French by a professional English-French translator, and then translated back into English by a different, French-English translator. Cross-checking this work allowed us to confirm that the French language version of the questionnaire was ready for validation.

In early June, one section of Philosophie students at College Lionel-Groulx (thirty-one students, 26% male, 64% female) completed the French language version of the questionnaire. The purpose of this particular phase of the validation was to determine whether the questionnaire was well understood by the students, and whether this comprehension was the same as the comprehension by the anglophone students.

Differences between the response profiles of the two groups were thus submitted to further study by the Bureau d'études socio-graphiques inc. to determine whether these differences could be attributed to a different interpretation of the questions or legitimate differences of opinion due to differences between the responding populations. Differences between the two testing groups were identified in areas of ethnic and national origin, gender balance, and age: the francophone group was more homogeneous as to origin, was constituted of 64% rather than 47% females, and was made up principally of mature students.

Though twenty-one of the fifty-nine questions were answered significantly differently by the francophone group, four answer

differences could be attributed to differences in both gender and age, ten could be attributed to differences in gender, and six could be attributed to differences in age.

We can therefore conclude that there is little likelihood that the differences observed were due to poor comprehension of questions by the francophone group. The French language questionnaire was therefore adopted as tested, and appears in Appendix 18.

2. Identification of Control Groups

FIGURE IV.3 CONTROL TEACHERS IN THE A92 PROJECT.

Subject and Gender	Participation		
	Partial	Full	Total
Eng.Cont.Female	0	1	1
Male	0	1	1
Hum.Cont.Female	0	1	1
Male	0	1	1
Fr.Cont.Female	1	0	1
Male	0	0	0
Phil.Cont.Female	0	1	1
Male	0	0	0

On the advice of our statistical consultant, Philippe Ricard, we completed our research design by adopting a small group of representative control sections. Pre- and post-testing student attitudes in these control sections would allow us to compare normal maturation factors in an assortment of core courses with those changes that might take place in gender-fair

courses. Originally, we hoped to have one male-taught and one female-taught control section for each discipline in the project. As it turned out, we were able to do this only in the English sector. Only one of the control teachers in the French sector submitted both pre- and post-semester questionnaires for analysis. Figure IV.3 shows the way in which the five control sections were selected and matched with experimental sections (compare Figure IV.1). Teachers of these control sections were asked only to administer the questionnaire in the same way as the participants in the project; they were not given access to any of the materials or discussion sessions of the experimentation.

PART THREE: THE EXPERIMENT

CHAPTER V: THE RESULTS OF THE SURVEY

A. THE SAMPLE

Though 1044 experimental and 305 control questionnaires (total = 1349) were collected from the designated groups, only 419 could be used in the project. One of the major difficulties, briefly referred to in Chapter IV, arose from the fact that some groups were only given pre-tests and we therefore did not have complete sets (825 pre-tests, 524 post-tests). Another great difficulty seemed to centre around student identification.

In order to match pre- and post-tests, we asked students to give us their permanent student code numbers on both tests. However, some students did not give their numbers at all, or gave their numbers on post-tests and not pre-tests, or used some other identification such as a social insurance number on one test and student number on the other. Did this confusion arise from an unwillingness on the part of the students to identify themselves to us? We would find this a little surprising, since we furnished each student with an envelope in which to seal the completed questionnaire. However, teachers did tell us that some students found the questions "very personal," and perhaps guarantees of anonymity from researchers whom students have never met are not enough. On the other hand, we might here have simply

been encountering student error in following directions and/or teacher failure to explain the importance of the identification. In any case, it is notable that only one third of the actual questionnaires completed were finally usable in the study. 314 (74.9%) were from experimental groups, 105 (25.1%) from controls.

Among the total sample of students (419), 76.6% were from anglophone Cegeps and 23.4% from francophone Cegeps; 50.4% of respondents were female and 49.6% male. In the anglophone Cegeps, 51.4% of the respondents were female and 48.6% male. In the francophone Cegeps, 46.9% were female and 53.1% were male. 74.9% of the respondents were in their first or third terms of Cegep education.

More precise identification has been made of the students from the experimental classes. 92.0% of these student respondents were between the ages of 16 to 23 years, with the greatest concentration in the 17-19 year-old group (78.4%). In identifying their ethnicity, 32.8% said they were French Canadian, 17.8% that they were English Canadian, 19.1% that they were European, 7.6% that they were Asiatic, and 11.1% that they were "Other."

Also among the students in the experimental classes, there was a wide distribution of mothers' employment, with 16.2% of the mothers identified as office workers, 9.2% as professionals and 25.2% as home makers. 20.7% of the mothers were identified as "other." Fathers were also widely distributed across the employment roles listed, with 11.8% as office workers, 12.4% as professionals, 8.3% as managers and 24.5% designated as "other."

Approximately 8% of both mothers and fathers were identified as factory workers. While only 1.9% of the mothers were designated as "retired," 6.1% of the fathers were so identified.

B. ANALYSIS OF DATA

The analysis of questionnaire data was structured principally around a comparison of pre-tests from the experimental classes with post-tests from the same students. When significant differences were detected, pre-tests from control classes were compared with post-tests from these controls to determine whether the differences might be due to factors outside the experiment. These measures were then taken with respect to the sample as a whole. However, since certain results were difficult to interpret, further variables, such as the college sector (French/English), sex of student and sex of teacher, were considered, and calculations were made in each of the six subscales. Table V.1 offers an overview of the experimental design while also illustrating the significant results obtained.

Several statistical tests were applied to this material: Anova, T-Test, Man-Whitney, Sign, Wilcoxon and McNemar. After testing for and finding no normality of range (Kolmogorov-Smirnov), it was determined that rank ordering was most appropriate, using Wilcoxon. Thus subjecting the results to these various tests, we have not only found the most appropriate instrument, but provided an additional validation of the results.

TABLE V.1 SIGNIFICANT RESULTS, STUDENT ATTITUDINAL TEST A92

DIFFÉRENCES DE MOYENNES DANS LES GROUPES EXPÉRIMENTAUX

VARIABLE	GROUPE COMPLET		SOUS-GROUPE HOMMES		SOUS-GROUPE FEMMES		SOUS-GROUPE ANGLOPHONES		SOUS-GROUPE FRANCOPHONES		SOUS-GROUPE PROFESSEURE		SOUS-GROUPE PROFESSEUR	
	AVANT	APRÈS	AVANT	APRÈS	AVANT	APRÈS	AVANT	APRÈS	AVANT	APRÈS	AVANT	APRÈS	AVANT	APRÈS
V3	4.16	<-->3.90	4.08	<^>3.83	.....		4.09	<-->3.91	4.32	<-->3.88	.....		4.19	<-->3.78
V4	4.87	<-->4.68	.....		.....		4.78	<-->4.52	.....		.....		4.58	<-->4.28
V5	.....		.....		.....		.....		3.11	<-->2.77	3.11	<-->2.87	.....
V6	.....		.....		5.11	<^>4.80	.....		.....		.....		.....
V7	2.77	<-->2.96	.....		.....		2.74	<-->2.96	.....		.....		.....
V8	4.10	<-->3.92	4.11	<-->3.82	.....		.....		.....		.....		.....
V9	.....		.....		.....		.....		3.24	<-->3.61	.....		.....
V15	4.71	<-->4.48	4.76	<-->4.39	.....		4.61	<-->4.36	.....		.....		4.61	<-->4.27
V16	3.50	<-->3.23	.....		.....		3.42	<-->3.23	3.69	<-->3.25	3.52	<-->3.18	.....
V22	.....		5.15	<-->4.88	.....		5.53	<-->5.29	.....		.....		5.58	<-->5.30
V24	4.08	<-->4.29	4.05	<-->4.29	.....		.....		3.54	<-->4.00	3.92	<-->4.25	.....
V25	.....		.....		.....		.....		.....		3.72	<-->3.95	.....
V27	3.70	<-->3.43	.....		.....		.....		4.07	<-->3.60	.....		3.60	<-->3.22
V35	2.86	<-->3.00	.....		3.01	<^>3.09	3.14	<-->3.31	.....		.....		.....
V36	3.35	<-->3.50	.....		.....		.....		3.26	<-->3.52	3.34	<-->3.55	.....
V38	.....		4.32	<-->4.14	.....		.....		.....		4.42	<-->4.28	.....
V41	.....		.....		.....		2.77	<-->2.95	.....		.....		.....
V43	.....		.....		.....		.....		3.96	<-->3.71	3.99	<-->3.82	.....
V45	.....		.....		3.04	<^>3.25	.....		.....		.....		.....
V46	.....		.....		.....		.....		.....		.....		4.08	<-->3.89
V48	.....		.....		.....		3.58	<-->3.71	.....		.....		.....
V50	.....		.....		.....		.....		.....		.....		3.98	<-->4.22
V58	.....		.....		.....		.....		.....		4.24	<-->4.09	.....

DIFFÉRENCES DE MOYENNES SIGNIFICATIVES DANS LES GROUPES CONTRÔLES

VARIABLE	GROUPE COMPLET		SOUS-GROUPE HOMMES		SOUS-GROUPE FEMMES	
	AVANT	APRÈS	AVANT	APRÈS	AVANT	APRÈS
V3			3.73	3.30		
V6					5.18	4.76
V35					3.24	3.94
V45			3.71	4.07		

Table VI.1 (see p.121) uses the "means" as the figure in each column (for example, question 3, pre-post = 4.16...3.90) in order to communicate some sense of the variation between pre- and post-test results. However, since this means is not part of the Wilcoxon test, we cannot rely on these figures for the exact degree of difference between pre-test and post-test. However, it should be noted that only items for which significant differences emerged are considered, and we have observed a degree of certainty equal to or greater than 95% ($p = .05 - .000$). Please refer to Appendix 19, for full details on these and the following statistical matters.

C. RESULTS OF ATTITUDINAL QUESTIONS 1 - 29

1. Gender and Learning

Four of the questions directly related to respondents' attitudes to gender and learning showed significant differences in attitude prior to and following the gender-fair courses: questions 4, 6, 15 and 25. While the results of question 4, 6 and 15 seem to indicate a rather negative attitude to women's intellectual capacities, the results of question 25 seem to overturn the stereotype.

Question 4 states: "I would rather have a male teacher than a female teacher." In the experimental group, there was an overall increase of agreement with this statement from the pre-

test to the post-test. However, further refinement of analysis demonstrated that this increase was due to the effect of male teachers in the anglophone colleges: though p values overall in anglophone colleges showed significant differences ($p=.0121$), further breakdown showed that this significance was observable only among students taught by males ($p=.0370$), not among those taught by females ($p=.1492$). It must be noted that there were no male francophone teachers participating in the project. There is also a demographic element indicating that this change was especially notable in students of both sexes whose mothers were professionals.

Question 6 states: "I am more likely to turn to men students for explanations of course-related work than to women students." Results of the survey showed that all women students, in both control and experimental classes, tended to increase their agreement with this statement during the semester. This was especially true of students whose fathers were administrators/managers, but less true of students whose fathers had a lower occupational status, such as office worker.

Question 15 states: "I would much rather have a discussion about serious issues with a man than a woman." Overall, the level of agreement with this statement rose during the term. Further analysis revealed that the agreement rose in particular among male students, primarily among those taught by male teachers ($p=.0068$) rather than those males taught by female teachers ($p=.0623$). (The p values for female students were $p=.3384$ for

those taught by males and $p=.5020$ for those taught by females.) This increase in agreement was also confined to the anglophone sector where male teachers were participating in the project. The salient demographic data indicate that a large percentage of all students, whose level of agreement with this statement rose, were of francophone or European background, with mothers who were office workers.

Question 25 states: "I think most women tend to respond to situations emotionally, while men respond by thinking." Here we see no change in the overall population. There is, however, a significant decrease in agreement among students of both sexes in classes taught by women teachers. A large proportion of these students whose disagreement is thus noted identified their fathers as office workers.

2. Ethnic and Racial Issues

Another group of questions, indicating attitudinal change over the term, is related primarily to the students' attitudes to ethnic and/or racial differences. This group comprises questions 3, 8 and 22. While there is a disturbing element of increased xenophobia indicated by students, this change is more marked among male students than among female students, and generally in classes taught by men.

Question 3 states: "I feel most comfortable with people who are from my kind of background." The level of agreement with this

statement increased significantly overall in experimental classes. In these experimental classes, we see significant differences among both male and female students in both college sectors primarily in courses taught by male teachers. However, we must note that the control group also reflected significant increase in agreement, though only among male students. Demographic information indicated that students whose agreement increased were more likely to have mothers who were home makers and fathers in sales and service or retired, and to be of French Canadian background.

Question 8 states: "It's best to marry someone with your background and from your social group." The level of agreement with this statement increased significantly over the term for the overall population and especially among male students.

Question 22 states: "I deal with students who are different from me (for example, of another race or who speak a different language) by being polite and staying away from them as much as possible." The overall population showed no significant change with respect to this question, but male students increased their agreement significantly as did the sub-group from the anglophone colleges and those students taught by men teachers. Careful analysis of variables indicated that at no point were p values significant for women students in any sector taught by either women or men. Male teachers in the anglophone colleges did tend to have students with increased agreement scores ($p=.0329$); male students also showed significant increased agreement overall

($p=.0333$). Analysis of male student scores in the anglophone sector also showed significant increases of agreement ($p=.0148$). This increase in agreement was especially true of students from European background.

3. Individual Self-Expression

The next set of questions for which significant differences emerged concerns two questions relating to individual self-expression, numbers 5 and 24. The parallels between the findings on these two items are striking: in both instances, students in francophone colleges and taught by women teachers said they had increased their self-expression during the semester.

Question 5 states: "I take advantage of opportunities to enter into class discussion." Here we find no significant differences for the total population, but among students in francophone colleges taught by female teachers, we observe a significant increase in agreement. Looking into the demography of those most in agreement, we see that the largest group is from French-Canadian ethnic background and has mothers who are involved in sales and service.

Question 24 states: "I seldom express my opinions in groups if I think they will be controversial or different from what others believe." We find a significant decrease in agreement in the overall population, among students who are male, in the francophone colleges, and in classes taught by female teachers.

Close analysis of these findings shows that only the male students are represented in the decreased agreement group, and only when taught by female teachers. However, when the students of male and female teachers are compared overall, and not merely in the francophone sector, male student agreement still decreases ($p=.0361$). It is true that this decrease is more evident in the French-Canadian group of students, however ($p=.0315$).

4. Sexual Orientation

Another sub-set of related questions involves two questions, 16 and 27, on attitudes concerning sexual orientation. We are pleased to report that the gender-fair experience brought about significant increases in comfort with and tolerance of both homosexuals and lesbians.

Question 16 reads: "I'm comfortable associating with lesbians." Significant increase in agreement is observable in the overall population, in the anglophone sector, in the francophone sector, and in classes taught by female teachers. The only demographic trend we note here is that agreement is most likely to increase among students whose fathers are in trades.

Question 27 states: "I'm comfortable associating with homosexuals." Here we have observed significant increase in agreement in the overall population, in the francophone sector, and in classes taught by males. Since there are no male-taught classes in the francophone sector, we have studied this item very

closely: we observe that, in the anglophone sector, there is a highly significant increase in agreement in classes taught by males ($p=.0063$). We also see, however, a significant increase in agreement in the francophone sector in classes taught by females ($p= .0213$). There is no significant difference in agreement in anglophone colleges in classes taught by females.

5. Independence and Risk-Taking

A final sub-set of the attitudinal questions, 7 and 9, concerns independence and willingness to take risks. The significant results on both of these items suggests that the experiment encouraged students to feel less tied to their teachers, more willing to test things out alone or with one another.

Question 7 reads: "If I have difficulty with a course, I try to get help directly from the teacher." Here we see a significant decrease in agreement overall and in the anglophone sector. That is, in the anglophone sector, students in gender-fair courses tended to rely less upon the teacher toward the end of the course. Two additional demographic details are observable among those whose agreement decreased on this item: such students were least likely to be English Canadians and students whose fathers are factory workers.

Question 9 reads: "I need to feel sure of the outcome before attempting something new or different." There is a significant

decrease in the agreement on this item by students in the francophone sector only, and especially among students of French-Canadian origin, and whose fathers are retired.

D. DISCUSSION OF ATTITUDINAL CHANGES

1. Gender and Learning

The significant findings in this area underline the power, influence and prestige of the male, whether as teacher, father or classmate. The fact that virtually all students taught by male teachers increased their preference for having a male teacher can certainly be construed as complimentary to the male teachers in the project. However, the fact that the students indicating this preference were also those most likely to have mothers who were professionals is disturbing. This increased preference for a male teacher, simultaneous with the presence of positive and authoritative female figures in the lives of these students, is a startling revelation of the ways in which the stereotype of male as superior permeates the society of the schools. The male teacher's influence appears to be particularly strong among male students, as the male student preference for discussing serious issues with males reminds us. Here, however, we see less prestigious mother figures in the background. The fact that all female students, in both control and experimental classes, showed increased preference to work with males, suggests an increase in

the power of the stereotype as an irresistible part of female maturation, especially where the father was of an influential social standing.

Gender stereotypes were challenged only in the classes of women teachers, and only insofar as opinions about character and behaviour are concerned. This is also a more theoretical issue than the questions of preference discussed above. Interestingly, the students whose attitudes changed with respect to the emotional/rational gender dichotomy were those with low status, less influential fathers.

The gender-fair courses were designed to promote fundamental challenges to stereotypes, and profound re-thinking of the issues and power and prestige with respect to males and females in our society. It is disturbing to see how little effect male teachers in the experiment appeared to have in this regard: indeed, their presence seems sometimes to have intensified stereotyped deference to males. We can only speculate on the results of a question such as "I prefer to have a female teacher rather than a male:" given all the other inter-related evidences of the importance of males here, however, we do not hypothesize great increases in agreement. Women teachers did, it appears, effect some process of reflection with respect to these issues. Male and female teacher difference with regard to gender focus is further discussed in the next item.

2. Ethnic and Racial Issues

In this sub-set of questions we note again the influence of male teachers, particularly on their male students. A more important point of discussion here, however, is the fact that, though the gender-fair model was designed to challenge racial and ethnic prejudices, xenophobia increased in these experimental classes.

Clearly, opening the subject of racial and ethnic difference is tantamount to opening Pandora's box, and discussion of prejudice gives students permission to express their true feelings. Perhaps issues related to ethnicity, race and class have to be addressed developmentally. In this case, the students' interrogation and addressing of their own prejudices is clearly the first step toward remediation. Our interview data suggests that teachers who addressed these issues directly are optimistic that their students will draw on the experience of these courses and develop more positive attitudes to "others" over time.

Why this matter of prejudice should be more evident among the men than among the women relates to the gender issues discussed above in D.1. Gender and Learning. Maleness, to the students in this study, clearly denotes power. This being the case, there would be a strong motivation in men to consolidate their power, and such consolidation calls for very clear demarcations between groups of males vying for control. By no means does this imply that women do not want to consolidate such privileges as they have. However, our results show a less open

attitude toward "others" among men than among women.

Our interview data also suggests that the male teachers in this study, both experimental and control, were more likely to address issues of race and ethnicity than were the female teachers. Overall, the women teachers tended to address gender more fully than these other issues. Interview material suggests that the women teachers themselves felt so invested in gender issues that these concerns strongly informed the emphasis of their courses. The fact that these women teachers effected greater changes in the students' attitudes to gender stereotypes than did the men teachers has already been shown. While the liberal ideology has long supported racial, class and ethnic equality, gender equality is a relative newcomer to male discourse. Perhaps male teachers feel more comfortable dealing with race, class and ethnicity than with issues of gender.

3. Individual Self-Expression

What we have observed in this sub-set of questions is the tendency for women teachers of gender-fair courses to encourage students to express themselves more openly. Since this kind of openness and empowerment was certainly one of our initial goals, we can thus conclude that the teaching Model tends to work in this way. The fact that it is the males who tend to increase their willingness to express disagreement is perhaps to be expected, given gendered speech patterns, but somewhat

disappointing in that it is the women students who most need such encouragement. Both males and females, however, registered increased class participation in the women teachers' classes. That women teachers should be more successful in encouraging this freedom of expression is in line with other trends in this study (see discussion of questions 25, 36, 38, 43 and 58).

Why the francophone sector should be more responsive in this area is difficult to interpret. Is it possible that the gender-fair courses represent a greater change from the norm in that sector? It is also possible that the material taught is so much more controversial to these students that it forces reaction from them. There may, on the other hand, be a greater readiness for this kind of development among the francophone students, related perhaps to various sub-currents of nationalistic and linguistic empowerment in the province. The fact that the mothers of many of these students are employed in sales and service suggests that these families might have imparted rather traditional values to their children, values and behaviours which gender-fair awareness may have shaken up in some way.

4. Sexual Orientation

Significant increases in acceptance of and comfort with lesbians and homosexuals is possibly one of the more outstanding successes of the gender-fair experiment. The challenge to gender stereotypes has, in this respect at least, been significant. It

is not surprising that male teachers were most effective on the issue of homosexuality and women most effective regarding lesbianism, though ideally teachers of either gender might be able to facilitate these changes in attitude. This appears to be born out by the fact that women teachers in the francophone sector were also effectual regarding the issue of homosexuality. The demographic data suggests that greater awareness and tolerance is revealed among students from lower socio-economic backgrounds. Possibly such students come to their education with little awareness of the complexities of sexual orientation and therefore experience greater change in attitude than other groups of students. In any case, here, as in other sub-sets of questions, the influential role of father in determining attitude base should be noted.

We are struck by the fact that these changes in attitude took place during a Cegep semester in which the legal rights and obligations of lesbians and gays were much in the news. That such a coincidence is not in itself sufficient for general consciousness-raising is proven by the fact that no such attitudinal change took place in control classes. It is clear that gender-based discussion in classrooms enabled students to take a more enlightened view of these important current issues.

5. Independence and Risk-Taking

Since the gender-fair courses were structured around a

number of strategies designed to encourage both self-reliance and peer collaboration, the significant outcome on these items suggests that such strategies may be having the desired effect. It is possible to construe the ethnic issue as a sign that, on the one hand, certain immigrant populations whose traditions involve absolute respect for teacher authority are most influenced by the democratic processes in the gender-fair class. French Canadian students, however, were also highly represented here. We might speculate, as we have in discussing questions 5 and 24 in D.3. Individual Self-Expression, above, that the francophone students come to the gender-fair experience either with rather traditional expectations or bearing a readiness for attitudinal maturation that is somehow greater than students in the other sector. In any case, we begin to see a pattern of much increased expressiveness and independence among students in gender-fair classes, particularly in the francophone colleges (see also discussion of questions 36, 38, 43 and 58).

E. RESULTS OF PERSONALITY SURVEY, QUESTIONS 30 - 59

Significant results are observable for only ten of the twenty-nine items in this section, compared to thirteen out of twenty-nine on the attitude question. The findings on this second section of the questionnaire are not as clear or as meaningful, to us, at least, as they are on the first set of statements.

The descriptor "moody", for instance, in question 35 prompted significantly increased agreement in the overall population among women students, in the anglophone sector colleges, and particularly among students whose fathers were office workers. However, female students in the control groups also showed significant increase in agreement with this as an accurate self-descriptor. Hence we must assume that female students saw themselves as moodier at the conclusion of the semester than at its outset. Looked at in this way, this is not a surprising discovery, though it might be a little surprising that the average male did not see himself in the same way. Why gender-fair courses should produce moodier students in anglophone colleges, or why such students should have office worker fathers is not readily interpretable, nor does it tell us a great deal about the gender-fair experience. Perhaps the fact that males in the gender-fair courses admitted to moodiness at the end of a term of Cegep might be attributable to a greater openness to their own affect, or a greater willingness to speak out as we see in other items of the survey (see discussion of question 24).

The results of question 36 show us that there was a significant increase in agreement that "assertive" is an accurate self-descriptor. This was true in the overall population, in the francophone colleges, and in classes taught by women teachers. Close analysis of these results reveal that it was, indeed, only among the classes taught by women in the French sector that this increase existed: though classes taught by women had a lower p

value than those taught by men (female teachers: $p=.1051$; male teachers: $p=.8024$), only in the francophone colleges, where there were no groups taught by males, was the p value significant (francophone female teachers: $p=.0333$). The results on this item were somewhat comparable to those on question 5, where francophone women teachers were shown to effect greater class participation in their gender-fair classes. The demographic group most fully represented in this group of students showing increased assertiveness was French Canadian, again underlining the fact that for some reason the francophone sector was particularly responsive to changes of this kind. Additional demographic information suggests upper middle class families, since fathers were cited most often as professionals and mothers as home makers. This particular socio-economic group did not figure in our statistics as often as more working class families do, probably because of the general make-up of the public Cegep population. We speculate that the major group of students responding positively to assertiveness is related to a climate of expectation created by the success of Québec Inc. over the past twenty years. Francophone media and educational institutions have very strongly encouraged entrepreneurial qualities in that population in the interest of becoming maîtres chez nous. Since the discourse of gender-fair education addresses self-determination on the individual/general level, this objective might have found fertile soil among young francophones.

The descriptor "reliable" in question 38 was seen to be

significantly less true among male students but only when they were taught by female teachers. Close analysis of this item establishes with absolute certainty that in no other group (women taught by men or women, men taught by men) was there a significant change, while for this group the change was significant ($p=.0142$). This is puzzling: was it an increased willingness to admit weakness but only to women teachers? Or was it something more factual, an actual decrease in reliability among males in female-taught classrooms? In any case, though not central to our gender-fair goals, this finding is reminiscent of the issues of discipline problems investigated in the first year of the project, in which some males were seen to be unreliable, unruly and uninterested in their core subject learning. At that time, though male teachers spoke also of the phenomenon, women teachers reported more difficulty in controlling their male students. It would be interesting if the gender-fair courses were bringing this phenomenon to the consciousness of the male students themselves. As we have already seen, male students ascribe more power and credibility to males than to females. Could this illuminate their lack of reliability to people who seem to be of less importance?

With respect to question 41, all students in the anglophone sector indicated a significant increase in "jealousy." The demographic material suggests that this was most true of students of Asiatic background and of those whose mothers were factory workers and fathers were either office workers or professionals.

Since jealousy in itself has little importance in our study, we view this finding as another instance where affect might be both brought to the surface and made more legitimate for acknowledgement. We can assume that jealousy might be most often connected with sexual relationships: perhaps discussion about relations between males and females in these courses might bring feelings such as jealousy into focus. The demographic information is interesting in that it obviously included many different groups, perhaps all of whom could find in the gender-fair course some way to face and acknowledge highly charged personal issues. Since some of the demographic information indicated a distance from the locus of power, "jealousy" may also refer to envious attitudes to more privileged members of the society.

Overall, students' responses to "compassion," question 43, show very little change from pre- to post-semester testing. However, students in francophone colleges, all taught by women teachers, showed a significant decline in "compassion" over the term ($p=.0375$). Perhaps, since all courses taught in the francophone colleges within the experimental group were taught by women and contained an element of feminism, some emphasis might have been placed on underplaying characteristics stereotypically assigned to women in our society, characteristics such as "compassion." This response pattern shows interesting parallels with that of question 25, which also showed a decline in the stereotyping of females in classes taught by women teachers.

While there were no overall differences in responses to

"have leadership qualities" (question 45), all women students' assessment of their leadership qualities, in both experimental and control groups, improved significantly over the term. We cannot therefore attribute this change to the gender-fair experiment; we must assume some natural maturation factor at work here for these young women. Such changes must be applauded, by whatever means they are achieved; it might have been hoped, however, that women students, who especially benefit from gender-fair education, might develop greater leadership potential through more active participation in classes which are planned around inter-active models. For some reason, this seemed not to be the case. The increase in self-assessment of leadership qualities was especially noteworthy among French Canadian students whose fathers were employed in sales or office work. It may be true that in the present climate of entrepreneurism, young francophone women are especially interested in taking leadership in the affairs of Quebec. Fathers involved in sales and office politics might be positive role models for these leadership qualities.

With respect to item 46, "eagerness to soothe hurt feelings," there were no significant changes in the overall population. However, students taught by male teachers showed a significant diminution of this eagerness over the term, especially those whose fathers work in offices or are retired. Like compassion, tension management is not a quality generally associated with men in our culture. It is women who are supposed

to be more sensitive to feelings and to regulate the emotional climate of their surroundings. Perhaps young women and men under the supervision of male teachers do not have adult role models in the classroom for this kind of tension management. We might even speculate that in some of the discussions of gender in these classes, the women's hurt feelings may have become a great difficulty for everyone, teacher and students alike. Thus 'permitted' to develop defences against others' emotions, the students might have felt more comfortable in refusing to undertake the task of emotional management.

Students in anglophone colleges became significantly more "willing to take risks" (item 48) during the term, though there was no change in the overall population. Since a larger portion of new Canadian students still attend the anglophone Cegeps rather than the francophone colleges used in this study, it is possible that risk-taking is a fact of life with people who have left home for a new country. It may also be possible that risk-taking is considered a good survival tactic among those anglophones who have remained in Quebec. However, we are struck by the parallel between these responses and those to question 9, where francophone students in gender-fair courses appeared to increase in their willingness to venture into uncharted territory as a result of their experience. Hence we must conclude that though these questions may appear similar to us, they strike differing chords with differing student populations. More important to us, however, is the fact that the gender-fair Model

appears to encourage this kind of adventurous, self-trusting behaviour, an objective which we are pleased to see acknowledged in differing ways in both college populations.

With respect to item 50, "adaptable," the overall population showed no significant change. However, students taught by male teachers (per force students in the anglophone colleges) perceived themselves as more adaptable at the end of the term than at the beginning. Perceiving oneself as adaptable therefore appears to relate in some way to a gender-fair experience. Since these courses demanded considerable student involvement, which may have been unfamiliar to some of the population, an increase in adaptability suggests that students experienced an increased ability to vary their styles of learning and classroom decorum. That male teachers were more successful in bringing this about than were their female counterparts might also relate to their greater forcefulness and less conciliatory classroom performance, thus requiring more adaptability on the part of the students.

The only significant locus of change over the term in student attitude to "gentleness" (item 58) occurred in classes taught by women. Here, both male and female students' agreement that they are "gentle" decreased over the term. As in the case of "compassion" and responding "emotionally," the assertiveness of women teachers in the experimental classes as well as their feminist instructional content may have influenced students to feel less inclined to assume stereotypical female roles and more inclined towards behaviours not generally associated with women.

F. RESULTS OF QUESTIONS REGARDING LEARNING EXPERIENCE, 60-61

1. How Students Felt About the Courses

Question 60 is an open question which asks: "How do you feel about this particular course? Please explain." In the pre-course responses, many students exhibited a reticence to comment on their expectations, favouring a "wait and see" approach. One of the most commonly used words is "interesting;" students will comment that a course appears interesting or boring. These two words appear with the greatest frequency in response to this open-ended question. Some students (fewer than 10%) may indicate that they had no choice of course, but they too seem ready to give it a chance. Students in Humanities and Philosophie sometimes express resentment that they are obliged to take courses which they consider unrelated to their respective programmes. Liking the teacher is an important element in anticipating a good course. Some teachers come highly recommended by past students; numerous students choose on the basis of an active student grape-vine. Workload is an important element; in some courses, students either express concern that they won't be able to keep up with the workload, or satisfaction that the workload appears to be light. Pedagogy is also a concern of students. On the whole, they express approval of courses in which they will be expected to participate in class or small group

discussions.

Students in English courses are less likely to question the fact that these courses are required. In courses organized around ethnicity, some students expressed identification with the subject. For example, in a Scottish literature course, a student expressed curiosity about "...Scotland, because I have some Scottish blood in me." Several students in a course on West Indian literature were very positive about taking this course because they are second generation West Indian Canadians, or because it would enable them to understand their heritage better. Several students in a Canadian literature course expressed interest in discovering their Canadian heritage. About 20% of students enrolled in English courses on Science Fiction or Utopia expressed prior interest in the topics before taking the course.

At the outset of the course, some students in a gender-fair Humanities course on Prejudice expressed great interest in the topic, especially in learning how other ethnic groups experience society. However, in many cases the enthusiasm was also based on the fact that the teacher is fairly non-judgemental and encourages group discussions. Students in a control group studying the situation in the third world also expressed interest in expanding their knowledge of how other people lived. In their post-semester questionnaires, about 40% of these respondents said that they ended up finding the subject "depressing" and "discouraging" but, on the whole, "interesting."

The post-semester questionnaire elicited interesting

results. Generally, students are very satisfied if they overcome something during a course. For example, in the Prejudice course mentioned above, many students expressed a sense of well-being because they had learned more about racism and prejudice. They were very grateful for the opportunity to communicate with one another. Some students were strengthened by their increased openness. "It made me a stronger person and taught me that I can take a stand." All the students in the French public speaking course expressed increased confidence in themselves and their leadership capacities.

In numerous courses, a salient quality of responses to post-semester questionnaires was that if the students generally liked the teacher, they were more likely to consider the course to have been "fun." The word "fun" rarely appears in the pre-course questionnaires. Perhaps students do not expect fun in required English, Humanities, Français or Philosophie courses. However, when they like the teacher and/or feel that the teacher is concerned with their progress and their individuality, they are quite likely to say that the course was "fun."

The issue of gender is hardly discussed in this open-ended question, either within the experimental or the control groups. Some students in the course on Scottish literature seemed to appreciate the opportunity to think about how "... gender roles have changed over the years" and to think about "...male and female issues." On the whole, students in both English and French gender-fair courses seemed more appreciative of their experiences

than students in the control groups. For example, in one of the Humanities control groups and one of the English control groups, some students felt bored, attributing this feeling to their dislike of the teacher, the pedagogy, or the subject matter itself. This kind of response was noticeably absent among students in experimental classes.

These rather inconclusive results do tell us about how students anticipate courses and how they judge them. It is important to speculate on why the experimental groups seemed to be more enthusiastic than the control groups. One reason might be that since the teachers had undertaken to follow a new pedagogical model, they themselves might have been anxious to see the class "work," and thus transmit more enthusiasm to the students. Perhaps the fact that the Model encourages teachers to be in tune with the "personal" aspect of the students' lives also facilitates communication and nourishes student enthusiasm. There is no doubt, however, that the subject of gender is central to the lives of young people from 17 to 19 years of age, whose culture is built around gender and sexuality. The positive responses of students must certainly be attributed at least in part to the focus on gender which these courses all contained.

2. How Students Perceived Their Success in the Courses

Another question which furnishes relevant information about how students view their experiences is question 61: "How do you

feel you'll do in this course?"

Students in the sample seemed to attribute their potential and/or achieved success to three major factors: their abilities, their efforts and their interests. These three factors appear to be equally important overall; there is no difference between experimental and control classes in this respect, and there is no overall pattern with respect to gender. Students are often convinced they are either "good at English" or "I have great difficulty to speak and write English." These ability assessments are most common in English, where reading, writing and speaking skills are often referred to as assets. The same skills are occasionally referred to in Humanities. Skills are less often spoken of in Français or Philosophie: a more common ability attribution in this area concerns comprehension, as in the following: "C'est dur de faire entrer qqchose dans ma tête," or "Ça bien ete, il y a un philosophe caché en moi." It is a little unfortunate that the course in Français was a speech course chosen for interest (see below) rather than one which centred on reading and writing as the English courses did: it would have been interesting to see whether the francophone students would also make basic skills assessments such as those in the English colleges did. There is no observable trend of students changing their minds about their abilities between pre-test and post-test. However, some students who do not refer to ability at all in the pre-test refer to lack of ability in the post-test, when they are explaining why they feel they will not do well. There is some

slightly greater tendency for women students to make these post-test remarks, but no statistical count has been made of incidence.

Effort is much referred to, both pre- and post-test. "I'll do okay if I work hard," wrote a student prior to the course. "I'm not going to do so great, I didn't put in the effort due to personal problems," concluded the same student. This tends to be the area where we observe life-stories impinge upon learning. Students see their efforts as central to their success, but such efforts are often deflected by events quite separate from the course.

Interest is also a key element to these students as they predict and assess their achievement. "I know I'll do well because I always do well when I like something" is a typical remark from this type of student. Related to this matter of interest are choices of specific courses in national literatures in which the students of those particular ethnic backgrounds feel a particular investment. We note a slight difference here with respect to gender, as women students are more enthusiastic in their language: "I just love reading," wrote one young woman, while a male classmate wrote "Books interest me." It is hard to tell to what degree this is speech style and to what degree speech style reveals extent of interest. Post-tests do not make as much reference to interest as do pre-tests. One has the sense that interest is not always sustained throughout the course, or that it does not, in the end, remain the key determining factor

of how "you feel you'll do." However, there are still a great many references to interest - interest maintained, interest lost, interest increased, and all of this contributing to the final achievement in the course.

One of the interesting shifts between pre- and post-tests among respondents in the gender-fair courses is the changed sense of what it takes to do well in a course. One student who predicted at the outset that she would do "good, because if you are attentive then you will succeed" concluded with a reference that suggests she has become much more active and responsive: she said that she was doing "well because of the good atmosphere." Another who began "I know what the teacher wants," implying that this is what success involves, concluded that he would do "well, I'm assertive." Still another student sounds to us rather concerned about how he will cope with the teacher, and the fact that he made this remark in answer to this question on how he will do in the course suggests that he thought her orientation was a determining factor. In his pre-test he wrote: "Plus ou moins, j'ai entendu dire que ma professeure est très féministe." His post-test sounds as if he had long forgotten such a concern: "Oui, aucun problème." These shifts in attitude suggest that, at least for some students, the gender-fair courses became experiences of real learning rather than just teacher-pleasing. We cannot find examples of these shifts in the responses from control classes.

Another difference between control and experimental

responses is the extent to which students in experimental classes see from the outset that class participation will be an important feature of the experience. Many students are very happy to find themselves in such a course: "I enjoy expressing my opinions, I do it often." Other students are more hesitant: "I hope I'll do well, but I'm not much of a talker." Post-tests tend to express satisfaction with this aspect of the learning: "I did well, I participated eagerly." A few students said that they expect to do "okay, though I am a shy person," suggesting that it might have been difficult to take part, but there is little sense that the class involvement component has been a disadvantage. What is striking overall is the fact that there are very few comments about class discussion in control classes. We know for a fact that the control teachers chosen for the project encourage and allow for class discussion. The difference, we suggest, is the way in which the gender-fair teachers communicated to their students the vital importance of class interaction and individual voice.

Over and over again, the post-test gender-fair responses suggest that the courses were personally empowering, and that the students were aware that teachers had made particular efforts in this regard. One student concluded: "I enjoyed being thought of as an individual and that counts for some marks." Another wrote: "I think I'll do hopefully above average because in this course we had choices...." And another thought he might do well "parce que les opinions différentes sont très bien acceptées." Students

wrote about the teachers being helpful, clear, concerned. One student said at the end of the course "I am an opened person."

Oddly enough, there is no mention at all about gender issues in these responses. One student concluded that he would do "well, I have a pretty good grasp upon world affairs and sociological issues and can connect them." This is a very generalized reference: it probably does relate to gender, but one cannot be sure. Racial issues were referred to more often, especially with respect to the courses in national literature and a course in prejudice. However, it was difficult to distinguish between responses from these courses and from one of the control courses which dealt with the third world. All students appear to be hesitant about dealing with ethnic issues that are unfamiliar to them. They feel very much more connected to ethnic material with which they feel identified in some way. Most of these courses appear to have some interest for students, but the responses to this question do not tell us anything particular about the gender-fair experiment in this regard.

G. A FEW GENERAL CONCLUSIONS ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE DATA

The significant changes which can thus be observed in the experimental classes suggest that the gender-fair course design and pedagogy alters both the attitudes and the learning behaviours of the students. Interesting and sometimes disturbing patterns of gender difference are also observable, regarding both

the influence of men and women teachers and the responses of men and women students.

We are struck by how successfully the women teachers in the experiment appear to have encouraged their women students to question gender stereotypes, particularly stereotypes of women. The women students show a significant decrease in agreement that men are intellectual and women emotional, a significant increased willingness to call themselves assertive, and a significant decrease in their willingness to ascribe to themselves the feminine characteristics of gentleness or compassion.

These women teachers, however, do not appear to have much influence upon the attitudes of their male students. Here it is the male teachers who exercise such a powerful effect, and the effect is not, at first glance, without disturbing features.

In general, the importance and pre-eminence of masculinity appears to have been consolidated for male students in the classes taught by male teachers. Men students in gender-fair classes show a significantly greater preference for having male teachers and for discussing serious issues with males than do men students in control classes. These male students also describe themselves as significantly less eager to soothe hurt feelings at the end of their experience in the gender-fair course with a male teacher. They say they become more adaptable, too, in these classes, while they describe themselves as less reliable in the experimental classes taught by women teachers. As mentioned in the discussion of individual items, there is a positive current

of admiration and respect for the male teachers here which we cannot deny nor do we wish to fault. However, this cluster of changes suggests to us a highly problematical reinforcement of the masculine stereotype rather than growth of gender awareness.

Another aspect of attitudinal change for males concerns their increased xenophobia in experimental classes taught by male teachers. They are significantly more likely to limit their discussions with people of different backgrounds and more determined to marry someone from their own racial, ethnic and social class group. There is no way to avoid concluding that the discussion of race and ethnicity in these classes created these effects.

As mentioned in our discussion of individual test items, we are inclined to interpret these increased signs of xenophobia as the first step in a complex process of demystifying "otherness," a process which appears to begin with admission of bias. We have been encouraged to take this view not only by our study of the data but in our discussions with these teachers, several of whom have much experience in dealing with marginality of various kinds.

We would like, therefore, to put forward the rather tentative suggestion that this same process might be what we are observing with respect to masculinity. Is it not possible that these courses have, for the first time, forced many of these young men to recognize their own gender biases, just as they appear to have admitted their biases based on race and ethnicity?

We support this suggestion by pointing toward an increased willingness to admit to affect among these young men, as well: they describe themselves as both more moody and more jealous at the conclusion of the gender-fair experience.

We are suggesting that the male students in these classes, especially with men teachers whom they like and trust, may have become more honest, therefore, about all their attitudes and attributes. We connect with this an undercurrent of concern, expressed in teacher interviews with male teachers only, that male students have, in their past experience though not so much in the project, often paid lip service to women's rights while exhibiting sexist behaviour. We acknowledge therefore how important the student's recognition of bias may be in the process of bringing about real attitudinal changes.

The implications, however, are enormous. Increased honesty about biases can only be positive if it is followed by intense self-examination. Without the support of peers and teachers, this process is rendered extremely difficult for most, perhaps impossible for some. Furthermore, without the assurance that their grapplings with the subject will be understood, assurance which these men students seem to find only with their men teachers, progress may be halted, and the subject of gender may once more slip underground.

The urgent need for further gender-fair courses for this male student population is underlined, for us, by this particular set of data. Men teachers need to be made aware of how great

their impact is and how much they can assist the growth of male awareness of these issues. Our difficulties in persuading men to join with us in the research also suggests that the male teachers themselves need workshops and professional development in this area.

As we mention in our discussion of individual items, the changed attitudes to sexual orientation are among the greatest successes of the project, as all students increase their comfort and acceptance of homosexuals and lesbians. These attitude changes convince us that, indeed, the Model can effect positive changes for both women and men. Acceptance of homosexuality in others is, we would argue, a significant step toward the demystification of masculinity, and the male teachers in the project were particularly successful in bringing this about. Comfort with lesbians underlines the trend, remarked upon above, for women to move away from stereotypical thinking in these classes. That these significant shifts took place during a time period in which sexual orientation was much in the news shows to what extent the classroom can illuminate important and current issues in society.

With respect to changes in learning behaviours, there is again a marked difference between the women and men teachers. In fact, none of the items which we would classify as student learning strategies show specific male teacher effect. The women teachers appear to have increased both male and female students' willingness to enter class discussion. The women teachers also

appear to have encouraged male students to express controversial opinions. Insofar as greater willingness to call oneself assertive is not only an attitudinal change but suggestive of behavioural difference, again it is in the women's teachers' classes where we see this change.

Different changes in learning behaviours appear, at first glance, to be the distinguishing features between the anglophone and francophone student groups. In the francophone sector, there are significant increases in willingness to enter class discussion, to express controversial opinions, to take action without being certain of the outcome and to view oneself as assertive. In the anglophone sector, there is significant increase in willingness to take risks and significant decrease in direct reliance on the teacher. The process of listing such changes demands that we recognize how similar some of the items are, and suggests that there is a trend here, in gender-fair classes in both sectors, for students to become more self-reliant, self-assured and self-assertive learners. That the francophone sector shows a greater number of changes here suggests that this community of students, as we have suggested in our discussion of individual items, is particularly ready to seize opportunities for self-development of this kind. It is therefore particularly disturbing to have found the francophone teachers so reluctant to undertake the experiment with us. We should also note once more, however, that the experimental teachers in the francophone sector were all female, and the trend

suggesting that women teachers are more likely to encourage these changes may also be at work here.

The data very much suggests, therefore, that students of both genders are responsive to gender-fair courses, but that much work needs to be done in the area of professional development for male teachers, in the encouragement of ventures similar to ours in the francophone sector, and in the developmental process of educating young men of Cegep age in gender awareness. We will review these points in the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER VI

FINAL INTERVIEWS WITH THE TEACHERS

At the conclusion of the experimental semester, we conducted open-ended, in-depth interviews with participating teachers. We asked them to comment on their experiences with the Model, focusing particularly on course content, pedagogy, student tasks and evaluation, and classroom climate. We also asked them to evaluate their experience and to offer any suggestions for improvement of either the Model or the way in which the implementation was guided by the researchers. The interview schedule is to be found in Appendix 20.

In our study of these interview transcriptions, six major themes have emerged. These themes concern the following: Choosing and Using Gender-Fair Course Content, Writing in the Gender-Fair Course, Student Groups and Gender-Fair Education, Student Choice in the Gender-Fair Course, Student Gender Difference in the Gender-Fair Classroom, and Race and Ethnicity in Gender-Fair Education. Many of these themes intersect and overlap with one another, particularly the last two. However, as much as possible, we have organized our discussion to capture those highlights of each thematic concern which we felt would be of interest to researchers and teachers in the field.

A. CHOOSING AND USING GENDER-FAIR COURSE CONTENTS

As we have noted in Table IV.1, the extent to which these teachers were able to accommodate the Model with respect to course content varied a great deal. It was therefore both interesting and valuable to hear from them how they had come to their decisions and how they used these selected materials in the gender-fair course.

In the eight courses in which male-authored texts predominated in the selection of reading materials, it was clear that the constraints of the subject were seen to have imposed these restrictions. The teachers of Philosophie all chose selections of readings edited by males because they were available and thought to be of a suitable reading level for the students. A feminist perspective was then brought to bear upon these materials, upon the issues arising from them, and upon the perspectives taken by the authors as well as by the teachers and students in the classes. This was not, however, so easily accomplished.

Philosophie, on the whole, does not allow the same openings for gender-fair content as does the Humanities curriculum. Said one teacher, "C'est une bataille constante, avec mes collègues, avec la coordination...." Having described an argument with a colleague who challenged her use of text by a French woman sociologist, she continued as follows:

Écoutez, quand Aristote, dans un texte que

j'ai déjà donné [aux étudiants et étudiantes], dit que les familles, les hommes, doivent se soumettre à l'autorité politique, comme les enfants et les femmes doivent se soumettre au père dans la famille, quand Aristote dit ça, il fait de la philo; quand moi, je donne un texte où on dit l'inverse, où on remet en cause cette autorité-là, on ne fait plus de philo.... Qu'est-ce que c'est que cette histoire?

She also expressed concern that the situation may be worsening rather than improving, with a swing toward an even more conservative curriculum and the gender models it provides:

... non seulement le marxisme est passé de mode, parce que le marxisme a pu amener des gens à être sensibles à ces questions... mais, quand on retourne directement à la philosophie classique, il y a des réactions qui sont typiques, des réactions de gars je crois....

One of the Humanities teachers also required the students to purchase and read a male-edited text, simply because he felt at the time it was the most successful text for showing the

connections between racism and sexism. A second, optional text was also male-authored. This teacher described how he had tried to build his own collection of essays, which included important feminist writers, but had run into copyright problems. Collections by feminists had been rejected as either too difficult for Cegep students or not sufficiently interrelating the sexist-racist question. Clearly, however, he used his texts as a springboard into a fully gender-fair discussion in the classroom and, in fact, as the course went on, made more and more use of student-authored texts for discussion.

Four teachers of English were also unable to provide authorship balance due to the specific literary focus of their courses. The Chaucer course focused only upon that author and therefore offered no latitude in terms of texts. The teacher did, however, ensure that her selections from The Canterbury Tales included stories in which both sexism and racism are highlighted, stories she has avoided teaching in the past; she made particular efforts to confront these issues through these particular texts. Furthermore, out of the opening day exercise which this teacher implemented from the Model, there arose so many student concerns "which had nothing to do with Chaucer and the Middle Ages but with life at ...[the Cegep] in 1992 for new students particularly," this teacher had the students construct a student guide to the college. This multiple-authored gender-fair text is now available for new students at that Cegep.

Teachers of both Scottish and West Indian literature

continued to deal with important male-authored texts of these traditions, altering the reading list only to include between 15% to 25% women writers. Both teachers, however, said they found new ways to focus on issues of gender in the male-authored texts. The teacher of the Utopian course also wished to teach the "classics," and therefore included only one female author. This teacher commented that he found it difficult, sometimes, to ensure that issues of gender were being dealt with in any of the texts. Though most of the other teachers in the project did not share this problem, we feel this teacher speaks for many teachers, particularly men for whom issues of gender are relatively new concerns, when he describes his difficulty. His solution is also of interest, and might be very useful to other teachers of literature, both English and French:

What I discovered, and I guess other people have discovered too, is that if you suddenly yank it out of a hat, as a topic, that doesn't really work that well, and I remember particularly on one occasion.... I tried to draw people out, just sort of said, "One of the things I want to address at this point would be the issue of gender in connection with this work." And I got nowhere, I simply got nowhere. Whereas if it comes, and this is probably banal, but if it comes out of a

direct piece of dialogue, if it comes with a specific incident, if it comes out of a certain particular scene, then it's easy to work with and from that you can generalize and do more things.

Two of the teachers made use of one female-authored text as required reading in their courses. Both were women teachers, who found the texts dealt with the subject matter in ways which cut across male perspectives on the subject matter (photography and public speaking) without excluding males from the discourse. The photography course also provided a rich array of photographic work by both women and men. In the public speaking course, the student voices, both male and female, provided a second set of texts.

One Humanities course and three English courses provided an absolute balance of male- and female-authored reading matter. These teachers, three women and one man, talked about how carefully and deliberately they searched for and chose their materials in order to achieve this balance. The Humanities teacher also ensured that the female-authored text should not only include the woman's perspective, but deal with issues of social class as well. The teacher of Canadian literature searched for and found a new text by a male in order to incorporate some male consciousness of masculinity. A teacher of Science Fiction said that text selection was no problem whatever, but refocusing

the discussion to ensure that gender became the central concern of the course took a particular and sustained effort. He said "I saw it would mean I would have to concentrate... slightly more on content than I might normally have done because I'm very interested in the structure of literature." One of the English teachers chose a collection that included a good array of black authors, both male and female. She also ensured a balance between traditional male-authored poetry and modern female-authored poetry, "one answering to the other." This teacher found no contradiction whatever between the focus on gender and the teaching of reading and writing about literature. She described the kind of approach that seemed to work best for her:

I gave an overall goal [in a poetry class] and I said "We always talk about the way that men treat women as objects. Do we really know what that means? I believe we can find out something about this by reading some poetry, these selections in particular." And then I gave them a series of poems which compared women to tents, compared women to statues, ... and it was like little light bulbs going on in all their heads. And so, as I said, the prejudice against poetry disappeared because they had reason to read it and because it was clarifying something for them... And I had

done metaphor first, so they were working, to some extent...within some kind of informal structure that... gave us a common lexicon of terms....

B. WRITING IN THE GENDER-FAIR COURSE

Journals and free writing were much used in these courses and much discussed by the teachers. Though all of them had used informal writing before, there was a much more conscious use of it here, and a real sense of its purpose as a strategy of learning and empowerment. Formal writing assignments still took a prominent place in evaluation, but in most instances it was prepared for by informal activities which helped students integrate formal learning with their own thought processes.

The four teachers who made use of journals spoke particularly strongly about the ways in which journal writing helped them deal with issues of gender. Even the teacher quoted above who found it difficult to focus in class upon gender issues reported that he felt comfortable directing the journal assignments toward various aspects of gender in the readings. This teacher of Utopian literature includes as part of the journal component an exercise in creating a Utopian Cegep: though he did not feel that students were able to consider very profound or structural changes, many did include women's equality as one

of the improvements. These journals were worth 15% of the total grade. The Humanities teacher who focused her course through photography was able to track student reactions to the class exhibits through their journals. When some particular visual experience appeared to silence part of the class, she was able to penetrate the silence through the journal writing. These journals were worth 20% of the final grade.

Two of these teachers, a male and a female English teacher, experimented for the first time with a 30% journal writing component. Both reported this to be an enormous and exhausting undertaking, but one that neither regretted having risked. The female teacher talked about the hundreds of hours of journal reading time she devoted to these students, and how difficult it was to get the journal writing back to students promptly enough to be useful for class discussion. Students in these classes were asked to read and respond to the literature in the journal before it was taught; the teacher designed discussions around issues raised by students in their journals. Though she wondered if this very strictly followed format might have cut down a little on class spontaneity and discovery, she felt that it moved the course forward in directions that were set by the students and corresponded to their particular interests and demands. She also used the journals for the writing process of formal papers in the course, and this she felt to be extremely effective especially for students who were weak in writing. The journal also allowed her glimpses of student attitude that she would not otherwise

have understood; she described how one female student finally used the journal to describe how angry she had been all term with the teacher, a situation which the student had kept to herself until near the end of the course. This particular journal revelation allowed the teacher to make an intervention which helped the student to deal with the last assignment a little more constructively.

The other teacher who used the journal so extensively did so to capture various kinds of processes and reactions which he did not always direct. At one point, he asked the students to record their impressions half way through the viewing of a very violent film which involves a rape scene. He had noted that one young woman left the film part way through the first of the three viewing classes. Upon reading her journal, he discovered that she had found the rape scene very painful due to her own personal experience as a rape victim. This discovery enabled him to make a suitable and informed intervention which would protect both her feelings and her course credit. This teacher found using the journal very valuable overall, though he felt he never arrived at a fully satisfactory approach to evaluating the journal writing. He tried to distinguish between basic passing credit for having done the exercise and additional credit for fuller exploration and insight; he was concerned, however, that such an approach might be discouraging for some students.

Two of the teachers, both women teachers of English, used what they called free writing or informal writing rather

than journals. They did not expect students to accumulate a portfolio of such work, but to produce it on demand, often in class, and to receive credit for task completion. Both teachers had classes of first semester students for whom such small informal assignments provided bridges toward longer more complex writing tasks, as well as opportunities to communicate with the teacher. One of these teachers explained that though she uses journals with most of her classes, she has had bad experiences with this kind of assignment with incoming students who either say "Oh I've done journals" as if this high school experience invalidated the exercise, or cannot seem to organize themselves around such a long term task and therefore forget their work or lose it.

It was interesting to note how many of the teachers ensured that formal writing assignments had time to grow during the semester. Two Humanities teachers required oral presentations that were subsequently formalized as term papers. In both instances, students were encouraged to plan the oral with the teacher before presentation, and then use the in-class teacher and student input for improving the work before it was handed in for final grading.

C. STUDENT GROUPS AND GENDER-FAIR EDUCATION

All the teachers made some use of student groups and all gave favourable reports of how such classroom organization

provided space for all students to participate in the discourse. Many commented that group work was especially empowering for shy women students who would almost never speak up in the class as a whole. Even the teacher who made least use of this strategy because, as he said, "I just didn't plan things well enough," reported that an exercise of free writing followed by discussion in partners absolutely transformed the atmosphere of the classroom. Another teacher who had, in the past, distrusted small groups because she feared that negative students might dominate these discussions, used this strategy with very specific instructions and very satisfactory results. Still another teacher who had never tried the small group strategy implemented it for the project and was delighted with the results. Teachers who had always used the small group strategy increased their reliance upon it, cutting back on lectures and finding, on the whole, that a time-limited group discussion followed by reports provides a livelier and more interesting classroom climate.

Teachers experimented with both guided and non-guided group work. Some felt that all forms of group work were equally valuable. One teacher felt that the variation in the type of group assignment was the key, and that there might even be an optimum number of times one could use the strategy before it became routine for students. Another teacher always insisted upon an animator and a recorder, and insisted, as well, that these roles rotate from one session to the next. One teacher felt that unless she provided a structure that required each person in the

group to speak, the males in the group dominated the discussion as they did in the classroom as a whole. Most of the teachers circulated in the classroom to observe how the groups were functioning and to ensure that all students were participating. Some did observe that participation was unequal and that they could do little to remedy this situation in groups of five or more students. Some teachers gave specific credit for group assignments and some did not.

Only one teacher experimented with the use of permanent peer support partnerships for mutual aid inside and outside the classroom. We had suggested this type of student "group work" as a way of ensuring that quiet, shy or passive students do not "disappear" inside a group as such students tend to disappear in the larger classroom unit. This teacher noted an initial reluctance on the part of these students to form the partnerships, as if they were wary of these seemingly more intimate or intense connections. Once they were made, however, they worked particularly well. She described several instances where the partnerships were instrumental in "holding" students who might otherwise have left the class, discouraged and frustrated: these students were very much helped by their partners. On the whole, partnerships tended to be gender specific, and worked as well for males as for females. They also became seed units for larger group work, as two sets of partners joined together for some aspects of the work.

D. STUDENT CHOICE IN THE GENDER-FAIR COURSE

One of the ways the Model suggests that students be involved in the knowledge production of the gender-fair classroom is that they be given some of the responsibility for generating topics for study, discussion and individual assignments. Though all of the teachers tried to honour this principle, we were struck in particular by the empowering strategies of six of the participating teachers.

Three of these teachers set up quite lengthy processes of choice with respect to oral presentations. Oral presentations were a major component in these particular courses, a component which allowed students to teach each other and to author a broad array of relevant texts for classroom learning. These oral presentations were compulsory, yet each teacher allowed for the very reluctant student either to work with others, to present a pre-recorded audio-visual version of the presentation, or, where appropriate, to request a smaller less threatening audience outside the classroom. Students were guided but not controlled. There seems to have been a good balance of freedom and direction, and student interest in the oral presentations was, apparently, very high.

Each of the teachers handled the oral differently. One English teacher presented a long list of readings not covered in the course and asked students to choose one and to introduce it to the class in whatever way they saw fit. A Humanities teacher

asked students to choose their own topics relevant to the course, but as the deadline for topic submission approached, he made a few suggestions for the one third of the class who still had not decided. Another Humanities teacher asked the students to present their own particular experience of the course topic (Housing), an assignment which typically involved an exploration of ethnicity as students interviewed their family members and documented customs, trends and adaptations to North American culture. Since the topic was very open, however, it allowed students brought up in group homes or having survived jail terms to deal with the nature and structure of such institutions.

Another three teachers took the opportunity to open wide the doors of choice, and to allow students to select their assignments from a vast array of options which guaranteed certain basic minimum requirements of reading and writing while allowing students to maximize their opportunities to select preferred types of tasks. One English teacher allowed students to write their essays on any of the many stories covered in the class, and offered running sets of topics throughout the course, the only stipulation being that essays be completed within certain time periods in the course so that he could give appropriate feedback. Another teacher followed our first day opening exercise (see "Teachers' Kit," Appendices 12 and 13) out of that material she designed a very flexible course:

[T]he emphasis [was] on flexibility which I

decided should be the main thrust of the pedagogical design. So students did self-directed mini-assignments, dyad work for their papers, group work for the presentation of a story which they chose by lottery, and tests on these stories - most of these assignments actually grew out of the suggestions which they made in the first few classes - I drew up the structure after I'd consulted them....So flexibility was important - chances to rewrite, to make up, to try again, to choose how many questions to answer, to set the topics, and so on....They really appreciated the chance to try again - a lot of them told me that, on many different occasions. It helped establish a kind of trust, a much more relaxed atmosphere, I think.

A third English teacher offered optional tests, topics, and types of exercises; topic creation opportunities; decisions regarding the number of tasks completed, and so on. He commented that students appeared to enjoy both the freedom and responsibility involved in this extremely flexible evaluation system.

How does it feel for the teacher to offer students these opportunities for self-directed learning and/or evaluation? One

teacher replied as follows:

Well, it took a lot of energy, let me tell you. I had to spend a lot of time outside of class to give make up tests and so on. But no, I wasn't uncomfortable with it. But I learned something very important, which I am going to put into practice in all my teaching in future. One of the things I really did very conscientiously was tell them WHY I was giving all this flexibility, WHY it was important to me to hear how they thought they could succeed better in some particular format, WHY I wanted to hear how they wanted to be evaluated. I learned how to do this really simply and directly....Don't tell more than you think they want/need to know, but be really sensitive to what they need to know. Three sentences will do it - I did it often before I introduced any kind of choice....It really helps them to know why.

Another teacher described his feelings as follows:

Well, as I develop as a teacher I am finding that what I am doing more and more is that

I'm relinquishing control. I am...definitely loosening the structure.... Well, it felt fine. It was fun. But I have to tell you ... as a boy ... when I played with my older brother... for hours and hours... we played statistical games... so I do that on the computer, I mean, and I have fun doing it...and the other thing I would say is that... I am now I think a very patient person and so I was willing, and sometimes it was endless, it seemed endless with some students, to go over what they'd done so far, what was missing, and what they needed to have done....And it has been a most liberating experience for me as a teacher, so in that sense it has changed my life. And because I've been liberated as a teacher, I'm much more liberated as a human being.

E. STUDENT GENDER DIFFERENCE IN GENDER-FAIR EDUCATION

The gender differences which these teachers tended to report included such points as males more fully represented in the general classroom discourse, women writing more personal and self-reflective journals, women marginally more adept at the collaborative work in the classroom, women much more likely to be

pressured to take notes for and even, on occasion, to deliver group reports which have been largely the creation of males in the group, men more likely to cause behavioural problems, and men much more likely to rely on stereotypical views of gender in their writing and discussion. There is a slight trend for these teachers to consider women students as more open to and engaged with the material but less expressive in the classroom.

This being said, it must be noted that many of the teachers would hotly contest one or more of the somewhat predictable gender differences listed above. And they would contest these gender distinctions on the basis of their work in the project, on the basis of what they viewed as very careful observation of student behaviour in the gender-fair course.

For instance, one woman English teacher argued that both journals and group work were performed equally well by both women and men. She reported that she was, in fact, surprised at how well the males responded to the gender issues she raised in class, and how comfortable they were with the pedagogy. She found these strategies excellent ways of dealing with male negativity about the study of English, and used both journals and partner work to allow these males to express their feelings and then get on with the task. Another interesting twist to the more predictable observations came from a male English teacher who also observed that the gender issues engaged the men much more than he had thought they would. This teacher reported that, though women students normally do better than men in his English

classes, in this one, the men did equally well as the women in the top mark category and better in second level categories. Only one teacher said that he had "three blokes in the back row" who balked, finally, at discussing gender. This does not seem a very high rate of male dissatisfaction.

In fact, far from alienating the males, many of these gender-fair courses seem to have captivated them to quite a substantial degree. One English teacher said that she was so pleased by the understanding and openness expressed by the male students that it was not until several weeks into the course that she realized that they were nevertheless still dominating the classroom. What followed was a very serious classroom discussion of this phenomenon, after which she was able to draw more women students into the discourse. The problem, however, did not disappear, as it surfaced again in the small group discussions. She described the difficulty she had dealing with this recurrence, and how displeased, the second time, the young women were to have attention called to their silence. In order to deal with the issue, she found she had first to ask each student to write his or her ideas down and then to structure the group discussions so that each person had speak-time.

Two men continued to assert that, as they had told us in their earlier interviews and questionnaires, the women in their classes "talk more than the men." We do not know how to deal with this observation, except to set it in context with other such observations which video-taping have brought into question.

However, it was interesting to hear from one of these teachers that the males in his classes "are not allowed to dominate," and we wonder whether, with strong male teachers who exercise such control and authority in the classroom, the male students may pick up the message that their dominant behaviour is unacceptable, and space is therefore left for the women.

Student reaction to matters of sexual orientation were not much discussed in these interviews. One male English teacher had chosen a text in which sexual orientation was explicit, and he reported what he characterized as "the usual incredulity that women would choose to live happily without men." Another male English teacher had chosen a text in which a lesbian relationship was implied but not explicit: this teacher made it explicit for the class and said that he was not aware of any particularly negative reactions. However, the work was the final item on the reading list, and the teacher admitted that he resorted to lecture more frequently in order to finish on time, therefore not asking for quite as much feedback from students as he might have earlier in the course. Homosexuality was discussed in both the Housing and Prejudice classes, as gay magazines on interior decorating were examined in the former, and rights and liberties were discussed in the latter. The topic seemed to be an acceptable one in both cases, though many students felt it important to point out that homosexuality was not something they "agreed with."

F. RACE AND ETHNICITY IN GENDER-FAIR EDUCATION

Though all teachers reported trying to bring issues of racial and ethnic marginality into the discussion, many of them felt they had not dealt with these matters to their satisfaction. One woman English teacher in particular remarked that she had difficulty bringing other kinds of marginality into the gender-fair course. She felt that gender could be discussed without the teaching of concepts, since it draws so greatly upon immediate experience. Her view is that gender has a direct appeal because every person has experience with it, whereas racial and ethnic marginality is not the experience of everyone and has to be conceptualized and explained. Moreover, she said that, for her, connecting gender with other kinds of marginality required the teaching of very sophisticated concepts, and that she therefore was less successful in this area, especially with her first semester, low-skilled students. Her difficulty appears to underline the immense problem for educators in getting past the ways in which these issues of race and ethnicity have been envisaged and defined by white western society. Since "whiteness," for instance, is still the norm in Canadian society, there is little incentive for white people to develop a racial self-consciousness. This teacher did feel, however, that including readings which appealed to a wide variety of ethnic and racial groups was empowering for such students: she gave examples of students doing their best work with readings by authors of

their ethnic group.

Courses which focus explicitly upon certain national literatures and therefore draw students from these specific ethnic and racial groups have a particular advantage. A core of sometimes knowledgeable and certainly empathetic learners helps open the subject matter for other students in the classroom, and issues of race and ethnicity are not restricted to depressing studies of victimization. These courses validate their experience in a society in which they are a minority. Even more notable, however, are those courses which allow for ethnicity and race to be introduced by the students themselves, as is the case with the Humanities courses on Prejudice and on Housing. Here students make their own experience, knowledge and biases part of the curriculum. Such knowledge roots the cognition in affect, and students become engaged in dealing with important issues which much of their life and education encourages them to ignore.

The teacher of the Housing course spoke at some length about how the experience of exploring difference often results in an experience of cultural commonality in her classroom. As students look into their family histories and traditional housing practices they see:

...how that family lived, and, in most cases, how poor they were. And what gives them, I think, reassurance, is how alike many people, grandparents, great grandparents, in

different parts of the world, Italy, Greece, Portugal, South America, wherever, how many of them have the same kind of ... rural experience and that peasants lived pretty much the same anywhere in the world...And of course they're always impressed by how much the women did because the women not only worked in the fields but also in the domestic scene... and did all the other things the family needed themselves...so it's an exercise in ... commonality of men and women as well as cultural groups....

The teacher of the course on Prejudice said that he felt that such a focus allows all students a truly equal access to the discourse. He teaches that prejudice is natural to all of us and has to be admitted to be dealt with. It was he, in fact, who warned us in advance that we were likely to find a higher rate of xenophobia at the end of the semester than at the outset, simply because students would have come begun to look at their real feelings. A focus on gender issues is sometimes, he feels, quite silencing and alienating for males, since gender consciousness is not already part of their lives, and they tend to feel as if they are unfairly targeted in discussion. Prejudice, however, is something they can connect with, and as women students introduce gender prejudices, males begin to see the relation between such

matters and the prejudices which they are more ready to acknowledge and which women students are also forced to recognize in themselves.

G. CONCLUSION

One of the questions in the interview schedule concerns advice which the teacher might like to offer other teachers, engaged in teaching a gender-fair class. We would like to conclude with the comments of one teacher, since he sums up so expressively so much of what we might try to pull together ourselves:

...teachers need to be encouraged to learn methods of confronting statements and sexist things when they pop up because they will pop up. That there's a way of intervening that leaves an impact....One of them would definitely be confrontation, confrontation of what will arise, challenging absurd assumptions about the sexes, both of them, both sexes, "men are, women are," whatever that may be. To sort of raise the issue with the students. And I think teachers have to - I had one teacher tell me we shouldn't be teaching "isms." And I said "Well, you know,

everybody's teaching 'isms.' It's just what you call it or don't call it." And I'd like to be much more open with my "isms" than sort of, I don't want the students to feel as though they've been had, you know. So, I do think that if one is an anti-sexist, he or she should say so, to the students, as part and parcel of the other things they tell their students about their approach to teaching.

CHAPTER VII

OVERALL CONCLUSIONS

This study has combined the articulation of an educational philosophy, from which a pedagogical Model was then constructed, with analyses of both quantitative and qualitative data. It is therefore important to draw conclusions not only from significant results, but from every step of the process. To this end, we have divided our conclusions into several categories: the philosophical and structural characteristics of the study; teachers and teaching; student response to gender-fair education; characteristics and efficacy of gender-fair education; and, finally, the research design. Each of these categories has been treated in some detail.

A. PHILOSOPHICAL AND STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDY

We have been, from the outset, very committed to developing a theory and model of gender-fair education. We began by researching the subject through readings in both French and English and early in 1991 we formulated our initial description of the Model, circulated to interested teachers under the title "Towards a Definition of Gender-Fair Education." This article, revised, extended and up-dated, was recirculated to participants in the project in 1992, has now been published as "Gender

Fairness in the Classroom: Theory and Praxis," and is used in this report as the opening theoretical discussion (see Chapter I).

Though much research has been produced in this area since 1990, these studies were not available to us when we first began. Consequently, many of our early readings were, per force, tangential to our preoccupations with gender fairness, although many contained useful elements. As we continued to pursue our reading and research, we observed that gender must be considered along with other social constructions in our society which may place obstacles in the way of students' learning. These obstacles often relate to race, ethnicity, social class, sexual orientation and /or degree of ableness, all of which, along with gender, are central mediating factors in how students experience school. We made a particular effort to build these latter components into the exercises we prepared for the preparatory "Teachers' Kit" (Appendices 12 and 13), but once again we did not have access to some of the most recent work in this burgeoning field of philosophical inquiry. There is an urgent need in the Cegeps, as in all other post-secondary institutions in Quebec and Canada, to address all of these issues and to formulate appropriate curriculum and pedagogical models.

That being said, however, it is our contention that "Gender Fairness in the Classroom: Theory and Praxis" has made a contribution to the study of gender fairness in curriculum, and that it is one of the first studies to do so.

Feedback on our annotated bibliographies in French and English has also been positive (Appendices 14 and 15). While this pleases us, we fully recognize the need to up-date such bibliographies on a regular basis.

While we took great care to develop "The Teachers' Kit" in both languages, we found that this form of faculty development did not always meet our needs as researchers. It is important to foresee that some teachers, even those with the best of intentions, can feel resistance to being presented with a formulation which, at the outset, may appear to offer them little room for their own contributions. While the exercises in the "Kit" were designed to facilitate the participants' course planning, some teachers not only did not formulate their courses in accordance with the exercises, but appeared not to have read the contents of the "Kit." Although our participants were self-selecting, it nonetheless takes great tact and encouragement to convince faculty who are concerned about academic freedom to follow what appear to be very directive guidelines. Defensiveness might also form as a result of reasoning that, if what we suggest is allegedly so positive and different from their practices, what are we saying about their teaching?

While we still think that the materials in the "Kit" were judiciously formulated and presented, we acknowledge our difficulty in getting teachers to "buy into" our guidelines as faithfully as we had hoped they would do. Some teachers built their courses around specific readings rather than on concepts

and pedagogical practices consistent with gender-fair education. A few of the teachers adopted an "add on" strategy to gender issues: they added to their reading lists a few texts which they believed would cover gender adequately. Some teachers seemed very reluctant to adopt new texts which were more congruent with the design we offered in the "Kit." Others did not always point out obvious gender issues in texts they had taught before.

In other words, to some of the teachers, gender fairness is not a "given" in the curriculum. Such teachers must be encouraged to strategize more effectively on the formulation of gender-fair courses rather than simply creating small spaces within their courses for the consideration of gender issues.

Taking into account the natural resistance teachers may have to change, the workshop is a most important site for discussion and sharing of ideas among teachers and with the researchers. We conclude that the teachers who were most likely to cooperate with our suggestions and to teach gender-fair courses with enthusiasm were those who were able to attend our meetings and workshops on the project. There, they were able to reinforce one another's enthusiasm, as well as to share their considerable expertise. These participants were the most enthusiastic, right to the end of the project.

B. TEACHERS AND TEACHING

One theme which arose often when we tried to attract new

participants to our research project was that Cegep teachers are often tired and discouraged. Their workload is heavy, they seem to find it increasingly difficult to maintain discipline in their classes, and they do not get much validation from their colleges or from society at large. It is difficult for many teachers who can look forward to at least another fifteen years in the classroom to find the energy radically to reformulate their courses and to change their curriculum and pedagogy. Because there is so little turn-over in faculty and because so many of the faculty have been together in departments for such long periods of time, it is difficult for them to feel energized by the thought of working together on projects such as ours.

Some of these feelings are best illustrated by the following comments made by one of the teachers in an interview with us:

Oui, c'est le fait que les profs, si on bouge pas plus, si on innove pas plus, et je m'en rends compte aussi, c'est la lourdeur de la tâche, c'est le premier handicap. On fait de qu'on peut avec le temps dont on dispose et... je l'ai et j'ai d'autres collègues dans cette conscience-là, qu'on contribue à accroître les inégalités entre les groupes sociaux de par le type de pédagogie qu'on a. Ceux qui n'ont pas de soutien familial, ceux qui sont pauvres, ceux qui sont démunis, de

minoritiés défavorisées, c'est pas le système scolaire qui va les aider à s'en sortir.

In our first questionnaire, which interrogated teachers' attitudes and expectations regarding course content and student performance, we found that a significant percentage of all respondents, male and female, recognized gender-linked differences in student attitudes to the curriculum, readings and assignments. Surprisingly, however, a majority of them did not appear to build on their gender-based perceptions in either their pedagogical strategies or course design and readings.

Our second questionnaire on students' attitudes and our interviews with teachers at the end of the first phase of our research indicated that a significant number of teachers were not in tune with the students, were often unaware of student response to the readings and to the pedagogical model in operation in the classroom. Even if they are aware of student resistance within their courses, teachers often turn a blind eye and continue with the curriculum they set down at the beginning of term. It is our impression that there is a certain inflexibility among teachers to initiate change in their courses once the courses are under way.

Since teachers, on the whole, get little support or validation from either their peers or college administrations, it is much harder for them to initiate change than to carry on as they always have. Some teachers dropped out at various stages of

the project. Frequently, we found ourselves persuading new teachers to join at a later stage. It is our conclusion that faculty need much encouragement to experiment pedagogically within their own institutions. Such concerns should be a priority in faculty development programmes within the colleges.

Our data has indicated that the influence teachers have on students appears to be significantly related to the gender of both teacher and student. Women teachers seem better able than their male peers to encourage students to adopt new ideas and practices and to deal with their own prejudices.

Finally, we have found that those teachers who claim to have benefitted the most from their participation in this research project began with a strong a priori commitment to improving their classroom climate both generally and in response to gender issues. They were also the most flexible in terms of taking risks for the sake of pedagogy, even if they were initially concerned that gender-fair pedagogy might make them focus too much on process and not enough on content. The risks seem to have been well worth while:

The ideal is more important in everything in this, like to me it was an ideal teacher's classroom because really it transcended the pedagogy. It transcended the assignments, it transcended the material, it transcended everything, which shows me that they are

very, very ready and very eager to deal with this issue on a level which is not hostile and angry and requires them to continue the war. I mean, that is my end gut feeling about it. We need to do this. I need to do it all the time because I don't lose my contents, I don't lose my performance demands. Nothing, nothing gets lost in this and there seems to be everything to be gained.

While a commitment to the cause of gender-fair pedagogy was an excellent starting point for the participation in this project, some teachers spoke of positive spin-offs in their personal lives:

...I think it came at the right time. I mean, I'm intensely interested in all this material...very keenly interested in it, and I'm very committed to it. And so, here was something that would allow me to put what I would say would be political views into some kind of action. And it has been a most liberating experience for me as a teacher, so in that sense it's changed my life. And because I've been liberated as a teacher, I'm much more liberated as a human being....I'm

now finding... I am the principal... caregiver with my mother and I'm astonished at the amount of patience that I have with my mother who has short term memory problems. I don't think I would have had that before.

C. STUDENT RESPONSE TO GENDER-FAIR EDUCATION

As a result of the students' responses to our questionnaires, it has become very clear to us that the comfort level of the students is central to their appreciation of courses. While many of the students refer to their liking teachers as positive factors in how they experience courses, the most frequently expressed negative adjective was "boring," and the most frequently expressed positive adjectives were "interesting" or "fun." The more participatory the pedagogy, the more positive were the students' responses to their courses. They appreciate being heard and respected, and learning with and from their peers. Certainly, too, the gender of the teacher affects the performance in class and in the assignments and exams of both female and male students.

It has also become clear from the students' remarks that they either did not understand, or perhaps appreciate, the ideological and epistemological frameworks of gender-fair education. It is difficult to interpret whether or not these lacunae are due to resistance to gender fairness and its

concomitant focus on race, ethnicity and class, or due to teachers not rendering these preoccupations explicit within the course. If teachers did not outline the general ideas on which courses were constructed and referred to gender only insofar as it arose from a text, it is entirely possible that students did not connect these seemingly discreet instances. This makes us conclude that it is essential for teachers engaged in gender-fair pedagogy to render their purpose explicit rather than depending on implicit values being excavated and connected by the students.

D. CHARACTERISTICS AND EFFICACY OF GENDER-FAIR EDUCATION

On the whole, gender-fair education has emerged from discourse about women. Early Women's Studies was built on positions supporting an equality of opportunity for women and men. It has been our experience that, on the whole, both women and men who were familiar with feminist literature and Women's Studies pedagogy were able to extend themselves and their practices more successfully into gender-fair education than those participants who had little real knowledge of feminist educational and epistemological theory and practice. While we do not know if exposure to feminist pedagogy is a necessary prerequisite for people engaging in gender-fair education, it appears to be a more sufficient point of departure than does a background in a mythic "gender neutral" education.

It is very clear to us that in designing "fair" courses, it

is not sufficient to focus solely on gender. While gender mediates much of people's experience in our society, their experience is also mediated and formed by considerations of class, ethnicity, race, sexual orientation and degrees of ableness. Indeed, some of the responses to our last student questionnaire indicate places where these factors are crucial in explaining differences in student response to some of the situations outlined for them. It is our opinion that current efforts to "include" the above factors in regular Cegep courses and elsewhere in post-secondary education are, at best, at an embryonic stage. There is clearly a need for the development of alternative models to current pretences of "neutrality," and that such models must resist incorporating value systems which produce hierarchies of oppression. This new curriculum and pedagogy should validate each student's situation while at the same time inviting students to interchange their experiences and views in order to enlarge their world pictures. This is a new and fascinating field which requires further research and experimentation.

E. RESEARCH DESIGN

1. Language, Culture and Credibility

From the very outset of our research project, we were anxious to work with teachers from the French Cegeps. To this end, we first worked in 1990-1991 with Louise Poisson, a member

of the faculty of Collège Lionel-Groulx, and then in 1991-1992 with Vivianne Silver, a teacher of French as a Second Language at Dawson College. Our initial mailings of questionnaires, which offered the opportunity for respondents to indicate their interest in participating in the development of this research project, did not elicit much interest from francophone men or women. Three francophone women who initially showed interest could not participate in the later developments of the project because they were placed on surplus for 1990-1991 and 1991-1992.

The presence of francophone research partners did not ensure as large a participation of faculty from francophone colleges as we had hoped for. Indeed, given the total size of each reference group, it is clear that the francophone sector is under-represented in our study and that our results are affected by the fact that there are no male francophone teacher participants.

Since 1970, Frances Davis and Greta Hofmann Nemiroff have both developed networks among Cegep English and Humanities teachers. It would seem that personal contacts as the "credibility of the known" play a significant role in attracting participants to a long term teaching project. It is also possible that francophone colleagues associated this project with the anglophone colleges and were not interested in establishing such contacts. We are inclined to think that it takes some moral suasion on the part of researchers and trust on the part of colleagues to enlist wide participation in a project which asks that teachers entertain the possibility of changing their

pedagogical approaches. Clearly, personal contact is a central means of achieving the necessary atmosphere for cooperation. We greatly regret the reticence of our colleagues in the francophone Cegeps.

2. Multi-Faceted Collection and Processing of Data

As we conclude the study, we are more convinced than ever that research on pedagogical and curriculum matters must incorporate a judicious mixture of qualitative and quantitative data and analysis. At every stage of the study, we designed strategies to elicit the participants' affective responses to gender and gender fairness as well as to elicit data more susceptible to quantitative analysis.

We regret not having the resources of time and personnel to make on-site visits to watch the classes and to interview some of the students. It is our opinion that such interactions might have further refined our conclusions.

In studies such as this, one needs a qualitative appreciation of the nature of the issue and the responses it elicits among those people closest to the process: the teachers and the students. On the other hand, it is essential to verify what may often be impressions or suppositions by designing ways of quantifying the participants' responses to a particular educational ideology. While we would have appreciated a group of participants more balanced as to the two Cegep language groups, we nonetheless were able to obtain sufficient cooperation from

faculty and students to conduct our study. Despite the infinite variables of drop-outs and the variegated way in which teachers designed their courses, we have managed to identify enough trends to indicate to us that gender-fair education and pedagogy are necessary to ensure that both male and female students be prepared for an egalitarian transformation of our society.

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FIGURE III.7. STUDENT INTEREST IN CORE COURSES, H91.

Question: Did you find the subject matter in this part of the course interesting?

Teacher	Total % of Student		% Yes		% No	
	Yes	No	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
F.Eng.	84%	16%	84.6%	82.3%	15.6%	17.7%
M.Eng.	96%	4%	98.3%	93.9%	1.7%	6.1%
F.Hum.	92%	8%	93.9%	88%	6.1%	12%
M.Hum.	86%	14%	90.5%	80%	9.5%	20%
F.Phil.	92%	8%	95.8%	85.4%	4.2%	14.6%
M.Phil.	80%	20%	78.9%	80.6%	21.1%	19.4%
F.Fr.	-	-	-	-	-	-
M.Fr.	95%	4%	90%	100%	10%	0

F.= Female teacher M. Male teacher
Girls= Female students Boys= Male students

FIGURE III.8. RELEVANCE OF CORE COURSES FOR STUDENT LIVES, H91.

Question: Did you find the subject matter in this part of the course relevant to your life?

Teacher	Total % of Student		% Yes		% No	
	Yes	No	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
F.Eng.	42%	58%	47.1%	36.5%	53.1%	64.5%
M.Eng.	30%	70%	32.2%	25%	57.8%	75%
F.Hum.	62%	38%	66.5%	53.8%	33.5%	46.3%
M.Hum.	57%	43%	53.3%	61.5%	46.7%	38.5%
F.Phil.	60%	40%	72.1%	41.5%	29.9%	59.5%
M.Phil.	47%	53%	44.5%	52.5%	55.5%	47.5%
F.Fr.	-	-	-	-	-	-
M.Fr.	37%	62%	50%	28.6%	50%	71.4%

F.= Female teacher M. Male teacher
Girls= Female students Boys= Male students

FIGURE III.9. STUDENT DIFFICULTY WITH CORE COURSES, H91

Question: Did you find the subject matter in this part of the course difficult?

Teacher	Total % of Student		% Yes		% No	
	Yes	No	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
F.Eng.	20%	80%	17.9%	24%	82.1%	76%
M.Eng.	13%	87%	18%	6.9%	82%	93.1%
F.Hum.	18%	82%	14.3%	23.9%	85.9%	76.1%
M.Hum.	32%	68%	20%	46.2%	80%	53.8%
F.Phil.	15%	85%	6.9%	22.9%	93.1%	77.1%
M.Phil.	47%	52%	55.1%	34.5%	44.9%	65.5%
F.Fr.	-	-	-	-	-	-
M.Fr.	8%	91%	12.5%	6.7%	87.5%	93.3%

F. = Female teacher M. Male teacher
Girls = Female students Boys = Male students

FIGURE III.10. EXTENT TO WHICH STUDENTS' VIEWS ARE CHALLENGED BY CORE COURSES, H91.

Question: Were you presented with anything that challenged your views?

Teacher	Total % of Student		% Yes		% No	
	Yes	No	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
F.Eng.	49.1%	50.9%	50.1%	48%	49.9%	52%
M.Eng.	57.2%	42.8%	57.8%	56.2%	42.2%	43.8%
F.Hum.	62%	38%	61%	64%	39%	36%
M.Hum.	38%	62%	33.3%	44.4%	66.7%	55.6%
F.Phil.	58%	42%	61.6%	52.2%	38.4%	47.8%
M.Phil.	65%	35%	68%	59.4%	32%	39.6%
F.Fr.	-	-	-	-	-	-
M.Fr.	56%	44%	41.7%	69.2%	58.3%	30.8%

F. = Female teacher M. Male teacher
Girls = Female students Boys = Male students

FIGURE III.11. STUDENT REACTION TO BEING CHALLENGED, H91.

Question: If you were presented with anything which challenged your views, how did this make you feel?

Tch.	Very Comfort.			Comfort.			Uncomfort.			Very Uncomf.		
	Tot%	%Gls	%Bys	Tot%	%Gls	%Bys	Tot%	%Gls	%Bys	Tot	%Gls	%Bys
F. Eng	15.1	14.6	16	66	69.6	60	17.4	14.6	22	1.5	1.2	
M. Eng	20	12.8	15.4	69	79.5	65.4	11	7.7	19.2			
F. Hum	23	23	23	61	63	57	14	12	17	2	2	3
M. Hum				62.5	66.7	60	37.5	33.3	40			
F. Phl	32	31.1	33.3	53	62.2	41.7	11	4.4	19.4	3	2.2	5.5
M. Phl	22	15.4	36.8	65	66.7	63.2	10	15.4		3	2.5	
F. Fr.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
M. Fr.	33		62.5	53	71.4	37.5				14	28.6	

F. = Female teacher M = Male teacher
 Gls = Female students Bys = Male students

FIGURE III.12. GENERAL LEVEL OF STUDENT COMFORT IN CLASS, H91.

Question: How did you feel in class during this part of the course?

Tch.	Very Comfort.			Comfort.			Uncomfort.			Very Uncomf.		
	Tot%	%Gls	%Bys	Tot%	%Gls	%Bys	Tot%	%Gls	%Bys	Tot	%Gls	%Bys
F. Eng	24.4	27.6	20	62.7	62.1	64	11	8.2	15	1.6	2	1
M. Eng	33	34.4	31.5	62.5	62.3	61.1	4.5	3.3	7.4			
F. Hum		31.7			64.3			3.6			0.5	
M. Hum	29.7	40	17.6	70.3	60	82.4						
F. Phl	35	38.4	29.8	57.5	58.9	59.1	7.5	2.7	19.1			
M. Phl	31.5	32.7	21.9	68	57.7	78.1	0.5	9.6				
F. Fr.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
M. Fr.	33	25	40.7	66.2	58.3	58.3	0.8	16.7				

F. = Female teacher M = Male teacher
 Gls = Female students Bys = Male students

FIGURE III.13. STUDENT RESPONSE TO PEDAGOGY: CLASS DISCUSSION.

	English		Humanities		French		Philo.	
	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.
Very Pos. % Girls	26.8	24.6	28	28.6	-	44.4	40.8	16.7
% Boys	28	14	23.6	50	-	33.3	21.7	24
Positive % Girls	46.1	62.3	44.6	64.4	-	55.6	40.8	56.3
%Boys	42	57	53.1	42.9	-	46.7	63	48
Neutral %Girls	22.4	11.5	23.7	7	-	-	11.8	16.7
%Boys	27	29	19.9	7.1	-	20	10.9	28
Negative %Girls	3.1	1.6	2.1				2.6	8.3
%Boys	2		2				2.2	
Very Neg. %Girls	1.1							2
%Boys	1		.8				2.2	
Not Applic. %Girls	.5		1.6				4	
%Boys			.6					

F.- Female teacher M.- Male teacher
Girls= Female students Boys= Male students

FIGURE III.14. STUDENT RESPONSE TO PEDAGOGY: LECTURES

	English		Humanities		French		Philo.	
	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.
Very Pos. % Girls	19.5	26.7	17.6	23.6	-	10.1	18.7	9.8
% Boys	18	19	33.3	17.9	-	6.7	14	21
Positive % Girls	47.7	50.6	58.8	47.4	-	89.9	33.3	52.9
%Boys	48	55	33.3	47.3	-	60	25.6	42
Neutral %Girls	24.3	22.7	11.8	23.6	-		41.3	31.4
%Boys	27	19	13.4	29.3	-	26.7	44.2	28
Negative %Girls	4.6		11.8	2.4	-		6.7	5.9
%Boys	3	2.3	13.1	2.4	-	6.6	9.3	6
Very Neg. %Girls	1.5			.9				
%Boys	1	2.3		.1				3
Not Applic. %Girls	2.4			2.1			3.9	
%Boys	3	2.4	6.9	2.1				

F.- Female teacher M.- Male teacher
Girls= Female Students Boys= Male students

FIGURE III.15 STUDENT RESPONSE TO PEDAGOGY: GROUP PROJECTS.

	English		Humanities		French		Philo.	
	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.
Very Pos. % Girls	7.9		11.2	8.3	-	30	35.1	9.3
% Boys	10		8.3	8.3	-	41.7	20	12.9
Positive % Girls	23.2	12.2	20.8	75.1	-	40	32.4	40
%Boys	21	11	31.1	33.3	-	25	28.9	32.3
Neutral %Girls	16.3	12.2	21.4	8.3	-	30	22.9	29.6
%Boys	23	8	22.3	16.7	-	25	37.8	38.7
Negative %Girls	2.2		3.7	8.3	-		5.4	8
%Boys	6	2	7.9	8.3		8.3	4.4	6.7
Very Neg. %Girls	1.4		.9	-			1.4	5.6
%Boys	3		1.8				4.4	6.2
Not Applic. %Girls	49	75.6	42				2.8	7.4
%Boys	37	79	28.6	33.4			4.5	3.2

F.=Female teacher M.= Male teacher
Girls= Female students Boys= Male students

FIGURE III.16. STUDENT RESPONSE TO PEDAGOGY: EXAMS AND TESTS.

	English		Humanities		French		Philo.	
	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.
Very Pos. % Girls	7.9	5.9	13.1	10	-		5.6	4
% Boys	7	2	18.5		-	12.5	4.4	15.6
Positive % Girls	34	29.4	43.2		-	42.9	38.6	36
%Boys	30	37	36.2	20	-	18.8	22.2	40.6
Neutral %Girls	21.4	19.6	31.3	50	-	28.6	28.6	44
%Boys	32	17	32.2	60	-	12.5	40	31.3
Negative %Girls	8.8	2	5.5	30	-		10	8
%Boys	12	2	7.6	20	-		11.1	12.5
Very Neg. %Girls	2.4	2	1.2		-		4.3	6
%Boys	2		1.2		-		6.7	
Not Applic. %Girls	25.5	41.2	5.7	10	-	28.6	12.9	2
%Boys	17	42	4		-	56.3	15.6	

F.= Female teacher M.= Male teacher
Girls= Female students Boys= Male students

FIGURE III.17. STUDENT RESPONSE TO PEDAGOGY: RESEARCH PAPERS

	English		Humanities		French		Philo.	
	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.
Very Pos. % Girls	7.2	3.8	11.1	22.2	-	28.6	6.5	8.3
% Boys	5	2	13.8	21.5	-	21.4	2.6	13.4
Positive % Girls	19.4	22.6	44.1	11.1	-	42.9	40.3	25
%Boys	20	19	29	28.6	-	64.3	36.8	17.2
Neutral %Girls	17.8	28.3	28.2	22.2	-	28.5	29	33.3
%Boys	22	12	32	35.7	-	14.3	28.9	31
Negative %Girls	4.9	5.7	4.2		-		14.9	10.4
%Boys	9		9.9		-		15.9	13.7
Very Neg. %Girls	2.1	1.9	1.1		-		3.2	2.1
%Boys	6		2.8		-		7.9	3.8
Not Applic. %Girls	48.6	37.7	11.3	44.5	-		6.1	20.9
%Boys	38	67	12.9	14.2	-		7.9	20.9

F.= Female teacher M.= Male teacher
Girls= Female students Boys= Male students

FIGURE III.18. STUDENT RESPONSE TO PEDAGOGY: SMALL GROUP DISCUSSIONS

	English		Humanities		French		Philo.	
	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.
Very Pos. % Girls	17.4	5.4	11		-	50	29	21.6
% Boys	18		9.9	33.3	-	45	18.9	17.1
Positive % Girls	43.6	17.9	24.1		-	33.3	49.3	51
%Boys	44	21	28.8	16.7	-	40	50.9	54.3
Neutral %Girls	20	21.4	23.2		-	16.7	20.3	23.5
%Boys	22	16	21.9	33.3	-	10	20.8	17.1
Negative %Girls	5.1		2.7		-		1.4	3.9
%Boys	6		6		-	5	1.9	5.7
Very Neg. %Girls	1.2		1.2					
%Boys	1		1.3					
Not Applic. %Girls	12.7	55.3	37.8	100			4.3	
%Boys	9	63	31.9	16.7			7.5	5.8

F.= Female teacher M.= Male teacher
Girls= Female students Boys= Male students

FIGURE III.19. STUDENT RESPONSE TO PEDAGOGY: FREE WRITING

	English		Humanities		French		Philo.	
	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.
Very Pos. % Girls	11.1	2.2	7.6		-	70	31.9	16.7
% Boys	14		6.5	28.8	-	36.8	21.6	13.9
Positive % Girls	29.6	6.5	19.6		-		43.5	35.4
%Boys	29	5	22.7	14.3	-	47.4	43.2	27.8
Neutral %Girls	23.4	6.5	23.2		-	30	11.6	22.9
%Boys	24	5	28.3	28.6	-	10.5	27.5	36.1
Negative %Girls	3.9	2.2	3.1	25	-		2.9	8.3
%Boys	3		3.7		-	5.3		11.1
Very Neg. %Girls	7.8		6		-		1.4	2.1
%Boys	2				-			2.8
Not Applic. %Girls	24.2	82.6	40.9	75			8.7	14.6
%Boys	28	90	38.6	28.6			7.7	8.3

F.- Female teacher M.- Male teacher
Girls= Female students Boys= Male students

FIGURE III.20. STUDENT RESPONSE TO PEDAGOGY: JOURNALS

	English		Humanities		French		Philo.	
	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.
Very Pos. % Girls	8.4	4	7		-	50	18	3
% Boys	9	2	3.3		-	35.7	9.8	
Positive % Girls	20.3	4	10.5		-	37.5	16	6.8
%Boys	20	4	10.4		-	50	24.4	6.9
Neutral %Girls	17	14.3	16.5		-		19	13.5
%Boys	21	9	17.1	40	-	14.3	31.8	17.2
Negative %Girls	6.1		2.5	25	-	12.5	10	4.5
%Boys	8		7.8	20	-		4.9	3.4
Very Neg. %Girls	3	2	.7		-		4.1	
%Boys	5		1.4		-			
Not Applic. %Girls	45.2	75.7	62.8	75			34	72.7
%Boys	37	85	60	40			29.3	72.4

F.- Female teacher M.- Male teacher
Girls= Female students Boys= Male students

FIGURE III.21. STUDENT RESPONSE TO PEDAGOGY: ORAL PRESENTATIONS

	English		Humanities		French		Philo.	
	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.
Very Pos. % Girls	13.1		3.6		-	12.5	2.1	
% Boys	18		11.9	20	-	6.7	12.5	3.3
Positive % Girls	29.9	10.2	16.5		-	12.5	8.3	6.5
%Boys	27		16.7		-	26.7	15	3.3
Neutral %Girls	16.8		17.6		-	12.5	18.8	7.4
%Boys	16	25	24.6	40	-	26.7	20	10
Negative %Girls	3.6	2	5.4	25	-	25	8.3	14.3
%Boys	4		6.2		-	13.5	5	10
Very Neg. %Girls	3.7		3.6		-		10.4	4.3
%Boys	4		6.2		-		10	3.3
Not Applic. %Girls	32.9	87.8	53.3	75	-	37.5	52.1	67.4
%Boys	31	75	34.4	40	-	26.4	37.5	70

F.- Female teacher M.- Male teacher
 Girls= Female students Boys= Male students

FIGURE III.24. TEACHER ESTIMATION OF STUDENT RESPONSE TO PEDAGOGY, H91: CLASS DISCUSSION.

	English		Humanities		French		Philo.	
	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.
Very Pos. % Girls	6.7	100	18.2			100	100	33.3
% Boys					100	100		
Positive % Girls	93.3		54.5					66.7
%Boys	100	100	54.5					33.3
Neutral %Girls			27.3					
%Boys			36.4					66.7
Negative %Girls								
%Boys			9.1					
Very Neg. %Girls								
%Boys								
Not App. %Girls								
%Boys								

F.- Female teachers M.- Male teachers
Girls- Female students Boys- Male students

FIGURE III.25. TEACHER ESTIMATION OF STUDENT RESPONSE TO PEDAGOGY, H91: LECTURES.

	English		Humanities		French		Philo.	
	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.
Very Pos. % Girls								
% Boys								
Positive % Girls	25	100	68.2					100
%Boys	25	100	61.5					66.7
Neutral %Girls	58.3		31.8			100	100	
%Boys	50		38.5		100	100	33.3	
Negative %Girls	16.7							
%Boys	25							
Very Neg. %Girls								
%Boys								
Not App. %Girls								
%Boys								

F.- Female teachers M.- Male teachers
Girls- Female students Boys- Male students

FIGURE III.26. TEACHER ESTIMATION OF STUDENT RESPONSE TO PEDAGOGY, H91: GROUP PROJECTS.

	English		Humanities		French		Philo.	
	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.
Very Pos. % Girls	22.2						33.3	
% Boys	22.2						33.3	
Positive % Girls	22.2		33.3			100	66.7	100
%Boys	22.2		11.1			100	66.7	
Neutral %Girls								
%Boys			11.1					100
Negative %Girls								
%Boys			11.1					
Very Neg. %Girls								
%Boys								
Not App. %Girls	55.6	100	66.7					
%Boys	55.6	100	66.7					

F.= Female teachers M.= Male teachers
Girls= Female students Boys= Male students

FIGURE III.27. TEACHER ESTIMATION OF STUDENT RESPONSE TO PEDAGOGY, H91: EXAMS/TESTS

	English		Humanities		French		Philo.	
	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.
Very Pos. % Girls								
% Boys								
Positive % Girls			54.5				100	66.7
%Boys			36.4				100	
Neutral %Girls	90.9	100	45.5					33.3
%Boys	90.9	100	63.6					
Negative %Girls	9.1							
%Boys	9.1							100
Very Neg. %Girls								
%Boys								
Not App. %Girls						100		
%Boys						100		

F.= Female teachers M.= Male teachers
Girls= Female students Boys= Male students

FIGURE III.28. TEACHER ESTIMATION OF STUDENT RESPONSE TO PEDAGOGY, H91: RESEARCH PAPERS.

	English		Humanities		French		Philo.	
	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.
Very Pos. % Girls								
% Boys								
Positive % Girls	12.5	100	54.5				100	
%Boys			36.4				100	
Neutral %Girls	12.5		27.3			100		
%Boys	25	100	45.4			100		
Negative %Girls	12.5							
%Boys	12.5							
Very Neg. %Girls								
%Boys								
Not App. %Girls	62.5		18.2					
%Boys	62.5		18.2					

F. = Female teachers M. = Male teachers
Girls = Female students Boys = Male students

FIGURE III.29. TEACHER ESTIMATION OF STUDENT RESPONSE TO PEDAGOGY, H91: SMALL GROUP DISCUSSIONS.

	English		Humanities		French		Philo.	
	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.
Very Pos. % Girls	23.1	66.7	14.3			100	33.3	
% Boys	23.1	66.7				100		
Positive % Girls	69.2		28.6				66.7	100
%Boys	69.2						100	100
Neutral %Girls								
%Boys			42.9					
Negative %Girls								
%Boys								
Very Neg. %Girls								
%Boys								
Not App. %Girls	7.7	33.3	57.1					
%Boys	7.7	33.3	57.1					

F. = Female teachers M. = Male teachers
Girls = Female students Boys = Male students

FIGURE III.30. TEACHER ESTIMATION OF STUDENT RESPONSE TO PEDAGOGY, H91: FREE WRITING.

	English		Humanities		French		Philo.	
	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.
Very Pos. % Girls						100	66.7	
% Boys						100	66.7	
Positive % Girls	18.2						33.3	66.7
%Boys	18.2							
Neutral %Girls	36.4							
%Boys	36.4						33.3	66.7
Negative %Girls								33.3
%Boys								33.3
Very Neg. %Girls								
%Boys								
Not App. %Girls	45.5	100	80					
%Boys	45.5	100	80					

F.- Female teachers M.- Male teachers
Girls= Female students Boys= Male students

FIGURE III.31. TEACHER ESTIMATION OF STUDENT RESPONSE TO PEDAGOGY, H91: JOURNALS.

	English		Humanities		French		Philo.	
	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.
Very Pos. % Girls	8.3					100		
% Boys						100		
Positive % Girls	25		20					
%Boys	33.3							
Neutral %Girls	8.3							
%Boys	8.3							
Negative %Girls	16.7							
%Boys	16.7		20					
Very Neg. %Girls								
%Boys								
Not App. %Girls	41.7		80				100	100
%Boys	41.7		80				100	100

F.- Female teachers M.- Male teachers
Girls= Female students Boys= Male students

FIGURE III.32. TEACHER ESTIMATION OF STUDENT RESPONSE TO PEDAGOGY, H91: ORAL PRESENTATIONS.

	English		Humanities		French		Philo.	
	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.
Very Pos. % Girls	7.7	66.7						
% Boys	7.7							
Positive % Girls	76.9		25					
%Boys	76.9	66.7	25					
Neutral %Girls			25					
%Boys			25					
Negative %Girls								
%Boys								
Very Neg. %Girls								
%Boys								
Not App. %Girls	16.4	33.3	50			100	100	100
%Boys	16.4	33.3	50			100	100	100

F. = Female teachers M. = Male teachers
 Girls = Female students Boys = Male students