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1965-1975

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the spring of 1981, Newsweek magazine began a series of articles dealing with the public school system in the United States. The first article was entitled "Why Public Schools Fail".[1] According to the article, a public opinion poll conducted by the Gallup organization found that half the respondents believed schools were doing a poor, or at best only a marginal job of educating the youth of the country. Sixty per cent of the people polled said that they would like their children taught in a more orderly manner, while seventy per cent seemed to be clamouring for a greater stress on the academic basics. Concomitant with the general feeling of displeasure with the public school system is an increased enrolment in private schools which are seen as providing a much superior academic preparation within a well disciplined setting.

The flight to private schools and the general dissatisfaction with the public school system is not only an American phenomenon. Canadian parents are also enrolling their children in private schools in the hope that such schools will provide an education better than that offered by the public sector. During a conference held in Winnipeg

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[1] Dennis A. William, Janet Huck, Christopher Ma, and Sylvester Monroe, "Why Public Schools Fail", Newsweek, 20 April, 1981, pp. 62-65.

in February, 1981, Kay Sigurjousson, the deputy secretary of the Federation of Women Teachers' Association of Ontario, suggested that public school teachers should view the ever increasing number of students being enrolled in private schools as a criticism of the quality of education offered in the Canadian public school system.[2]

Anyone involved in the educational field has become aware in recent years that the North American school system is being attacked. In the past few years, the schools, at least in the public's perception, have seemingly moved away from strict academic programs with well disciplined classrooms to something else. In the summer of 1981, the Winnipeg Free Press published an article entitled "School Discipline Turns Full Circle with Tough Stand". Within the body of the article, Ted Elsberg, president of the council of Supervisors and Administrators, is quoted as having written in a letter to the New York Times, "We suggest giving the authority back to the authority figures, the principal, the assistant principal, the teacher".[3] In February, 1981, the minister responsible for education in Quebec made it quite clear at a press conference that the educational policies of the school system were going to reflect a desire that students acquire greater levels of academic skills in the province. For a number of years, concerned people have been clamouring for a return to the teaching of the "three R's". Some provinces, notably Ontario, have reinstituted departmental

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[2]Manfred Jager, "Parents' Interest in Private Schools Concerns Educator", Winnipeg Free Press, 4 February, 1981, p. 12.

[3]Fred M. Hechinger, "School Discipline Turns Full Circle with Tough Stand", Winnipeg Free Press, 2 July, 1981, p. 3.

examinations at the high school level in an attempt to tighten the educational process and make schools more responsible for the quality of the training they provide. It seems obvious that whatever factors, whatever conclusions were influential in causing the school to change their traditional approach to education are no longer valid for the society of today. "The trendy pendulum that swung toward 'relevant classes' and open classrooms in the 1960's and '70's is swinging back toward basics these days".[4]

To understand the views being expressed today about public schools, it is necessary to examine and to trace the evolutions of the attitude, and philosophies of education that became prevalent during the 1960s and extended well into the 1970s. In the decade between 1965 and 1975, a number of socio-economic factors came together and caused the school system in North America to embark on a series of experiments dealing with curricula, administrative structure, physical structure, teaching methods and goals of education.

It is the contention of this thesis that these changes in the schools were but one manifestation of the social philosophy of the period. The philosophy advocated the rejection of some of the traditional values and attitudes cherished by the previous generation. The rejection of these values and attitudes led to the rejection of established authority figures and the practices entrenched in some of the

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[4]Williams, et al. "Why Public Schools Fail", p. 62.

major social institutions.

From the beginning the system of public education seemed to be closely tied to changes in the socio-economic structure of society. As Michael Katz has noted:

> During the early and mid-nineteenth century, industrialization, urbanization, and immigration reshaped the economic and social order of North America. The pace and timing of social development varied, of course, from region to region. However, everywhere a close temporal connection existed between social development and the creation of public educational systems. 5

The "temporal" is not, however, the only connection that exists between social changes and the creation of educational institutions. According to Katz, many institutions, those concerned with public schooling among them, were deliberately created as an answer to the social problems that became apparent during the early period of a socio-economic shift to an industrial, capitalistic society.

> The policies that created institutions arose in response to shifting social conditions: most directly from pressures felt within cities and regions experiencing a shift to a capitalistic mode of production. 6

Even today, changes in educational systems are dependent on the occurrence of changes in the values held by society and the socio-economic structure effecting a society at a particular moment in history. Socio-economic conditions can be altered by a variety of events,

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[5]Michael, R. Katz, "The Origin of Public Education: A Reassessment", History of Education Quarterly, (Winter, 1976), p. 384.

[6]Ibid. p. 391.

such as wars, invasions, political revolutions, massive immigrations, the introduction of new technology, the discovery of new sources of wealth. Some evidence that value shifts have occurred in a society can be found in the modification of the relationships of individuals to the state, the increased or diminished importance given to work as an indicator of social worth, the introduction of new status symbols, and the formation of new social classes.

A major indicator of a change in societal values can also be seen in the modifications made in the philosophies and methodologies adopted and sometimes implemented by the various public institutions, such as health, social welfare, and education. There is no doubt that public education is one of the institutions often dramatically affected by turmoil in society.

Like most other institutions, public school systems are basically conservative in the sense that, whenever possible, they often resist changes in structure, philosophy and methodology. However, some changes will occur when society applies enough pressure on the institution through political or economic channels. More often than not, public education institutions assume the visible trappings and express the rhetoric of change rather than effectuate a basic modification of the educational system. The trappings of new methods and the verbiage of new philosophies give the impression that new, innovative systems are being implemented, while in reality nothing of real importance to maintain the status quo of the schools has been compromised.

In modern times, public education in North America seems to be swinging between two approaches to teaching. A "traditional" approach which emphasizes strict discipline and academic excellence, and a "humanistic" approach that advocates a more laissez-faire attitude toward discipline and training.

The efficient communication system available to society and the ease of travel makes possible the rapid dissemination of ideas and concepts from one geographical area to another. This thesis will show that when real or apparent changes in educational methods or philosophy appear in one geographic region (because of some specific socio-economic condition that created a need for change in that area) the educational practices tend to be adopted by neighbouring regions having similar economic and social conditions. The adoption of foreign, new educational practices is thus often not in response to any local social need but is due to the desire to appear innovative.

Often the "new" educational practices prove to be both expensive and unsuitable for the adopting region, especially when the country importing the ideas might be linguistically the same as the exporter but culturally very different.

However, as this thesis will attempt to show, since the need for educational change is often not really required by the local social conditions, the new practices are adopted and practised very superficially and are quickly abandoned when the novelty wears off or the practical aspects of implementing a specific theory or philosophy prove

too expensive and impractical in the real world of the classroom. Additionally, it will be argued how in some cases one consequence of the adoption of the appearance of change is that the quality of public school education deteriorates because of the conflicts that arise between the expounded philosophy and the practice. Dropping educational standards brings about a reaction on the part of society; society begins clamouring for a return to traditional methods of instruction, stricter discipline, and greater emphasis on basics. A return to traditional education is usually quickly accomplished since no real change of any consequence has really occurred in the school system. The counter reform is further facilitated by the fact that many schools, especially those catering to the social elites, never really relinquish traditional practices. Some attitudes, philosophical stands, and methods from the innovative period, especially those found to be convenient for the teacher and less expensive for the administrative bodies in charge of school systems, are usually retained and incorporated in the new traditional educational practice. Eventually, the traditional methods once again give way to the onslaught of innovative methodologies when locally generated socio-economic conditions or the desire to adopt innovative, status-producing practices from elsewhere force schools to begin their cyclical metamorphosis.

The Manitoba school system has not been immune to the educational cycles that periodically sweep through North America; in the 1965-1975 period, Manitoba also went through a period of experimentation. In this

thesis, there will be a discussion of the social forces and philosophical ideas which were prevalent during this significant decade. There will also be an examination of those educational concepts which were introduced in the educational structure, the modus operandi and the general philosophy of education of the Provincial department of education and how these ideas were implemented by the Winnipeg School Division #1. The focus on this particular school division is dictated by the fact that the Winnipeg School Division #1 is one of the larger and more important school divisions in the province and is, consequently, quite influential in educational matter. .

Among the changes that will be considered are those dealing with curriculum; the decentralization of authority as represented by the deletion of inspectors; changes in the administrative structure at the superintendent level; introduction of experimental methodology of teaching and consequential structural modification of school, such as the building of lecture theatres and open area classrooms; introduction of the idea of continuous progress and abolition of examinations both at the departmental level and the local school level; the development of community schools and the introduction of special programs. Finally, in this thesis, there will be a discussion of education today and of those factors which influence the new sequence of changes.

This investigation requires a fairly extensive study of the educational literature of the 1960s and 1970s. Hence, the major concepts of that period along with their exponents will be examined. The socio-

economic conditions which gave rise to the ideas and practices of the period will also be discussed.

CHAPTER II

A MODEL OF CHANGE IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

In order to understand the mechanism of change operating within an educational institution, it is first necessary to understand the relationship of the educational institution to the larger society of which it is part, and those forces which shape all socio-cultural groups. Obviously, our attempt to understand the forces that shape societies involves sociology. Sociology is a relatively new science but in a short time its students have expounded, supported and rejected many theories as to interaction of events that shape society.

The Sociological Perspective

One of the primary concerns of sociologists has been the study of the process that causes societies to change over a period of time. Many theories have been advanced to explain both the nature and the reason for change that occurs in any social group. Some of the theories proposed by the sociologists have created interest only in academic circles; other theories, such as those expounded by Marx, have not only attempted to explain society but have also been instrumental in affecting society.

Some early theorists seemed to view society as an organism constantly growing, with every society reaching a higher level of civil-

ization in a linear progress that can be traced back in history and predicted forward in time. As Herbert Spencer wrote in Sociology,

> The many facts contemplated unite in proving that social evolution forms a part of evolution at large...social organization is at first vague; advance brings settled arrangements which grow slowly more precise; customs pass into law which, while gaining fixity, also become more specific in their applications to a variety of actions...There is progress toward greater size, coherence, multiformity, and definiteness. 1

In the view of these theorists, any society could be seen as similar to a single organism, an organism going from infancy to adulthood to old age and finally death. The demise of one society being followed by the emergence of a new society which would in turn go through various stages of growth and eventual collapse. Oswald Spengler claimed that "Cultures are organisms, and world history is their collective biography".[2]

History seems indeed to justify the organic model of change. The various historical empires and societies appear, in retrospect, to have gone through a process of humble beginning to great size and power to decay and fall from former prominence. For example, one only has to study the progression of historical societies such as those established by the Etruscans, the Phoenicians, the Egyptians and other

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[1]Herbert Spencer, "Sociology" in Social Change: Source, Patterns and Consequence, 2nd ed., ed. by Amitar Etzioni and Eva Etzioni-Halvey (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p. 13.

[2]Oswald Spengler, "The Decline of the West" in Social Change: Source, Patterns and Consequences, p. 20.

more ancient and more recent societies.

The early theorists were not very concerned with the mechanisms and reasons for the occurrence of change. Changes occurred because of the intrinsic nature of any society. However, a simple organic view of society was not sufficient for Marx. Marx was not only interested in recording past events; he was also interested in explaining the reason for changes and thus become able to predict the future course of history. He postulated a progression from a lower to a higher social status; in his view, however, progression was not smooth, but a movement characterized by conflict. Social changes, in Marx' view, can be traced to economics. Given any society, except a very primitive one, a major reason for its existence is to organize the distribution of goods available to the society. The very nature of most economic systems is such that an inequality is created in the distribution of goods, with some groups (classes) getting more of the common goods. The unequal distribution of wealth and power inevitably brings the various classes into a state of conflict. From the conflict a new structure is created--a social structure also built on inequalities; the process is then repeated until such time as a socio-economic system would be created in which all inequalities are eliminated. Thus, while for Spengler, history was but a biography of the life of various cultures, Marx claimed that

> The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle...The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class

> antagonism. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones. 3

The problem with the classical theorists is that they sought to find some unique cause for changes in society and attempted to explain all happenings on the basis of that one causative factor. Thus, for some theorists, the cause for change was to be found in the "organic" nature of society; for the followers of Marx, change was due to the conflict created by the unequal distribution of wealth and the consequent class struggle.

Modern sociologists tend to avoid sweeping generalizations, and tend to focus on very specific areas of study limited both in time and detail. The basic assumption underlying some modern theories is that societies are in a state of equilibrium, one force neatly balanced by another force. It is only the occurrence of a shift of force which causes the original state of balance to be lost and a new balance to be acquired. Thomas C Cochran drew attention to the difference between classical and modern sociologists by stating that

> In contrast, most behavioural or economic theorists are prone to assume a state of social equilibrium unless some particular force exerts a disruptive influence. Hence, they are inclined to talk of a 'change' rather than the process of change. 4

Regardless of what social theory one subscribes to, the fact remains that historically no social system or group has been immune

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[3] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party" in Social Change: Source, Patterns and Consequences, p. 32.

[4] Thomas C. Cochran, Social Change in America (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), p. 13.

from at least some modification within the duration of its existence. Wilbert E. Moore states that social change is, in one form or another, a phenomenon "universal in human experience".[5]

In pre-literate society, changes were slow, centuries often being the time span necessary to see a difference within a culture. In more modern times, social changes have occurred with dizzying frequency. This view is supported by Toffler who claims that

> "Western society for the past 300 years has been caught up in fire storm of change. This storm, far from abating, now appears to be gathering force. Change sweeps through the highly industrialized countries with waves of ever accelerating speed and unprecedented impact". 6

Although, as stated previously, changes in society are a relatively common phenomenon, they do not come easily. In order for a true change to occur in any culture, the agent of change must overcome an enormous state of inertia. Societies are basically conservative. Most members of society do not desire a change that might bring with it a disruption to their ordered way of life. This resistance to change was noted by Robert Nisbet who wrote

> The persistence of culture at times appears so strong that it seems as though culture actually resists change. There certainly is resistance to change as any modern social reformer will testify. 7

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[5]Wilbert E. Moore, Social Change (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1963), p. 1.

[6]Alvin Toffler, Future Shock (New York: Bantam Books, 1971), p. 9.

[7]Robert Nisbet, ed., Social Change (Oxford: Western Printing, 1972), p. 45.

It is obvious, in looking at history, that no one single cause can ever be pinpointed as the one factor that initiates changes in a social structure or in any one culture. At times, economics seems to be the causative factor for social changes; at other times, the prime mover appears to be the introduction of some particular technological innovation; at still other times, the original impetus seems to come from forces originating outside the culture itself--forces such as immigration, war, invasion, climatic change. The reality seems to be that although any single factor can sometimes produce change, no single factor can be considered uniquely responsible for all the changes. Most often the pressure for society to change can be found in many factors all operating more or less at the same time and all reinforcing one another.

Equally as difficult as determining the causes of change in any one culture group is attempting to determine if a true cultural change has, in fact, taken place.

The introduction and acceptance of new technology in a culture might give the impression at first that a cultural shift has taken place. In fact, the culture might adapt to the innovation without basically undergoing any major modification. It is the alteration in the role of the social institution and of the individual which marks the beginning of true social change. As Robert Nisbet states

> All culture resolves itself into a multitude of ways of behaviour --socialized behaviour--each in its way a model of the human being's adaptation to his environment. Each is, in a manner of speaking, a 'solution' to some problematic aspect of environment, whether the human being--or the social order as a whole, through

> institutions--contrives this 'solution' or, as is far more likely the case, simply inherits it through kinship group, church, school or other socializing agency, does not effect the matter. [8]

Thus, it is only when the "solution" changes that one can say that there has been a change in the culture. Innovative techniques change society only insofar as it becomes impossible to retain certain institutional or personal roles, or it becomes possible for certain members of society to assume roles formerly denied to them. The modern woman who is assuming formerly typical male roles can do so because modern technology has removed the need for certain physical attributes such as muscular strength. Additionally, advances in medicine have given women the power to avoid pregnancy and thus postpone child bearing and rearing for a time when such activities would not interfere with the development of a career. Other factors such as economics and education have caused enough changes in norms and values previously held by the culture that women are able to assume, without excessive opposition, new roles made possible by the technology.

As new roles become more and more accepted, new norms and values are adopted by society thus creating the milieu in which the new roles both at the institutional level and the personal level are formed. For example, the introduction of the gun and the horse to the American Indian did not basically alter the structure of their society; what caused the changes were the limitations imposed on them by the encroaching white society and the subsequent disappearance of traditional roles as hunters and warriors.

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[8] Ibid., p. 7.

Although it might not always be possible to determine precisely what specific events initiated a societal change, it is still possible to assume that a cultural shift has occurred, when, over a period of time, one can determine that a new set of norms and values has supplanted previously held norms and values in a society; this new set of norms and values becomes evident in the roles assumed by the institutions within the society and the roles of the people within the institutions. Sometimes even the establishment of new institutions can be an indication that new values have entered a society. Cochran proposes that

> To gain consensus, therefore, it seems best to focus on role playing as the central process involved in social change, and to relate all other elements to it in a systematic way....Role is the key point in the interaction between personality, and its social context, the point at which individuals or groups shape and are shaped by the environment; in other words, roles constitute a form of social structure. Novel role performances, therefore, underlie structural changes. [9]

Introduction and Development of the Public School in North America

All cultures share the need to socialize the young so that they will fit in the established social order and contribute to the welfare of the society. Different methods of education have been employed by different societies in order to achieve the socializing goal. In preliterate societies, the socialization of the young was left in the hands of the family and the tribal elders. While being socialized into proper behaviour, the children also learned specific skills--skills which,

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[9] Cochran, Social Change in America, p. 15.

when fully developed, would make them useful members of the society. The skills were taught by the parents and by the more able members of the tribe.

Later societies, such as the Greek and Roman, developed schools to which children could go to learn some skills in writing, reading, and develop understanding of the political nature and the philosophy of their society. The Greek and Roman schools were, however, expected to serve only the young of the elite members of society; the children of the great majority of the people learned useful skills either from their parents or under some kind of apprenticeship system.

During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance period, the Catholic church, more precisely the monastic orders, was responsible for the educating of the children of the wealthy and the training of its own novices. The Protestant Reformation gave impetus to the idea that everyone should at least be literate enough to read the Bible; the need for religious literacy and the greater availability of books made possible by the printing press, stimulated the development of the concept of a universal elementary education. It was not, however, until the nineteenth century that one saw the development of a system of public education; that is to say, a system that made education available, more or less, to all members of society regardless of the financial status of the family. Thus as Katz writes in The Origin of Public Education,

> Though schools existed and frequently received some public support, the haphazard arrangements of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries cannot be considered true progeni-

> tors of the school system we know today. For by the latter part of the nineteenth century the organization, scope and role of schooling had been fundamentally transformed. In place of a few casual schools dotted about town and country, there existed in most cities true educational systems: carefully articulated, age graded, hierarchically structured groupings of schools, primarily free and often compulsory, administered by full-time experts and progressively taught by specially trained staff. 10

The introduction of the public school system in North America marked the beginning of a new set of values; it in fact, indicated that a new culture was in the process of being established. The impetus that forced the creation of a new societal system in the nineteenth century came from industrialization and urbanization; these two processes in turn affected most other social aspects. The institution of the family had to be reshaped in order to be adopted to the needs of the new society; the entire economic structure of the state was changed by the new industrial processes as well as by the rapid expansion of the cities--an urban expansion made necessary by the need for the new industries to have a large body of workers easily available.

The state began assuming responsibility for many aspects of welfare--responsibilities which were formerly the domain of the family or of the community at large. The state's solution to the problems created by the new social order was the creation of formal institutions whose task was to address and rectify the problems. As Katz points out,

> The origin of public education systems cannot be understood apart from their context. For they formed part of four critical developments that reshaped North American society during the first three quarters of the nineteenth century. Those developments were:

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[10]Michael Katz, "The Origin of Public Education: A Reassessment", History of Education Quarterly (Winter, 1976), p. 383.

> first, industrialization and urbanization; second, the assumption by the state of direct responsibility for some aspect of social welfare; third, the invention of institutionalization as a solution to social problems; and fourth, the redefinition of the family. 11

Having once been established, the system of public education in order to remain viable occasionally changed its priorities and its form; it adapted to changing social and economic conditions, and generally attempted to fulfill the roles and functions that society decreed as being its domain. The public school system's primary function was not educative in nature. Its prime function was the socialization of the young--especially the young of the lower classes. It was the school's duty to make sure that the young people would be imbued with respect for law, order and their betters, thus lessening crime and maintaining the "proper" order in society. Katz indicates that in the nineteenth century it was the general consensus that

> Exposure to public education, it was widely believed, would provide the lower class child with an alternative environment and a superior set of adult models. Through its effect upon the still pliable and emergent personalities of its clientele, a school system would prove a cheap and superior substitute for the jail and the poor house. 12

Just as society has not remained static through the passing of time, so schools have undergone changes. However, the changes in educational practices are often followed, after a period of years,

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[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid., p. 393.

by counter changes which return educational practices to former methods and philosophies. As society grew in complexity and in the process of growing discovered or created new problems, public schools were expected to provide solutions for those problems through education. Often public schools were being pulled in several directions at the same time as different factions in society battled for the role the school should fulfill and the manner in which these roles should be achieved. Thus, while legislators and interest groups struggled to determine the function of the school in society, philosophers and educators argued not only for the curricular content of schools but also for the methodology to be used to teach it. The period between 1920 and 1955 witnessed, throughout North America, a series of changes and counterchanges in schools' curricula and methodologies as the advocates of traditional education struggled with the proponents of progressive education. In A Brief History of Canadian Education, Johnson F. Henry claims that

> The Canadian elementary school by 1920 had become fairly stabilized--strongly teacher centered, highly regimented, strictly but not harshly disciplined, emphasizing factual learning, reading ability, and acquisition of arithmetic skills and 'good behaviour'. This all represented what progressivists were to refer to as 'traditionalism'. 13

On the other hand, progressivists advocated a child-centered approach to education rather than a subject-centered approach; an

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[13] Johnson F. Henry, A Brief History of Canadian Education (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1968), p. 133.

abandonment of standard curricula and prescribed texts; a changed role for the teacher who, rather than being the dispenser of knowledge and discipline, becomes the guide and resource person as the children explore their own interests. By 1938, a rather large segment of society seemed to accept the theoretical framework of progressive education. As Lawrence A. Cremin pointed out in The Transformation of the School

> There is a growing perception of the truth that a rapidly changing society demands a responsive effort on the part of education; there is a growing public which willingly supports such responses. Progressive education, as Frederick Redefer remarked in Time a year later, was no longer a rebel movement: it had become respectable. 14

Progressivists' ideas greatly influenced American education during the thirty or so years that their ideas were promulgated; however, by 1955, progressivism, as a general concept in education, was no longer popular in North America . In a remarkably few years, the educational trends reversed themselves and there was a swift return to academically-oriented education. The trend in the 1950's was toward structured curricula and disciplined classrooms. The coup de grace to the progressive movement in North America was administered by the Russians' successful launching of the Sputnik satellite.

> When the Russians launched the first space satellite in the autumn of 1957, a shocked and humbled nation embarked on a bitter orgy of pedagogical soul-searching. 15

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[14] Lawrence A. Cremin, The Transformation of the School, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), p. 276.

[15] Ibid., p. 347.

The result of this soul-searching was an attempt to return to the 'proper' function of schools i.e. the intellectual training of the young.

In spite of the apparent rejection of progressive education, the thirty-year movement did bring changes to the practice of education. Educational opportunities were extended to most social levels; schools made some allowance for the "special requirements of pubescent children"[16] by introducing middle school programs--i.e. junior high; extra-curricular activities in most schools were greatly expended; students were grouped as to ability; classroom discipline became less formal and rigid; curricula became more flexible and varied. From the extremes of traditional and progressive education most school synthesized a system of education that attempted to retain much of the old and incorporate some of the new ideas.

A Model For Changes in Education

Since the establishment of public schools, the educational institution has been accused at one time or another by just about everyone, of not fulfilling its function, or failing to achieve the goals that had been set for it, or of failing adequately to prepare children entrusted to its care for life, work and society. Perhaps it is true that schools have indeed failed in some of their tasks,

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[16] Ibid., p. 306.

but in one aspect public schools have not failed. The public school as an institution has survived, even more remarkably it has survived undergoing relatively few changes both in structure and function. This is not to say that no changes have occurred: the survival of the school had demanded, from time to time, adaptation to existing social conditions so as to remain acceptable to society at large. Although some schools and school districts have at times experimented with extreme practices, most schools have achieved acceptance often with only the appearance of change. The culture of the school seems to know that basically the vast majority of society is conservative and that it is necessary to abide by its wishes rather than the ideas of relatively few radicals no matter how well motivated they might be.

Not only has the public school remained within the cultural framework, it has also so entrenched itself in the mind of society that it is almost inconceivable to think of a modern industrial society able to function without a public school system. This entrenchement of the public school system in the mind of society has been observed by Crewin who states

> There are few, if any, major social problems for which explanation and solutions do not in some way involve the public school--involvement that may be direct or indirect, relevant or irrelevant, small or large. After all, the argument usually runs, the school is a reflection of our society as well as the principal vehicle by which its young are socialized or prepared for life in adult society. Therefore, it should not be surprising that discussion of any major social problem--be it violence, drug addiction, sex, illegitimacy, malnutrition, unemployability, smoking, or social discrimination--quickly centers on what schools are and what they should be. 17

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[17] Seymour B. Sarason, The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1974), p. 7.

In spite of all the pressures and demands placed upon the public school, the institution has reacted slowly and cautiously, often assuming the trappings of change, while in reality the business of educating the young went on as before--little changed from one year to the next. The conservative attitude, the resistance to change, find their root in the very nature of the school. The school system is a cultural system. The people that work in the school system constitute a cultural group that have established very specific roles and values for themselves. As any other cultural group the school personnel will resist any attempt to bring about changes in their designated roles. As Seymour B. Sarason writes in The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change

> There is nothing unusual in the fact that many of those who comprise the school culture do not seek change or react enthusiastically to it. In this respect, school people are not different from those who make up any culturally distinct organization. [18]

In addition to the natural resistance to any cultural group to resist change, one must also take into account that the school personnel were originally attracted to enter the culture of the school precisely because the roles they would assume appealed to them. It would, therefore, be most natural for them to resist any change that would alter their role within the structure. Thus, a person attracted to teaching because the teacher's role was one of authority, would certainly find it difficult to give up the authoritative role simply because some expert advocated that the teacher's role should be more permissive and

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[18] Ibid., p. 9.

less directive.

Further resistance to change in school is motivated by the fact that most instigators for change are often not directly involved with the culture of the school and are, therefore, really unable to understand the interaction of roles that is part of the school system. Additionally, the suggestions for changes are often ignored because the teacher,principal, or superintendent cannot see how an idea, although possibly valid, could be implemented in the practical day-to-day running of the school.

> The classroom teacher, who so often is viewed as if he or she is a mechanical transmitter of change, can frequently be heard to say about the critic that he had "good" ideas but "bad" or impractical methods of implementation. Basically, the complaint of the teacher is that the critic really does not know the system to the degree that he is aware of obstacles and can adopt the means to deal with them. 19

Schools are part of modern society; the primary function of the public school system is to transmit the culture of the society of which it is part; schools do not make or alter values, they merely reflect and inculcate the dominant values of the society at large; thus, in order for the nature of school to change, there must occur first a real shift in the larger culture, a cultural shift profound enough to alter the values held by the members of the society. The original cause for the modification of the culture can be anything: changing economic conditions, new technology, political upheaval, etc. As the

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[19]Ibid., p. 21.

cultural milieu is altered, schools necessarily have to adapt so as to maintain their status in society. However, schools will also resist change as they attempt to maintain the long established internal structure and the roles of the various personnel. Eventually, schools will change enough to satisfy the "new society" without undergoing any really radical modification. Real innovation to a school system might occur when, over a period of years, new personnel are attracted to the school culture--personnel who have the new value base and different role expectation.

A theoretical model for change in a school system requires consideration of the following:

1. A change of the economic, social, cultural, technological condition of a society
2. brings about a change in the values held by the society
3. which, in turn, brings about a change in the societal expectation about school systems in terms of the functions and roles the school must fulfill.
4. Experts propose changes to the schools in terms of curricula, method of instruction and role of personnel.
5. School personnel resist change out of self-interest or even philosophical conviction.
6. Social pressure for change increases usually accompanied by increased enrollment in private or visibly progressive schools.
7. School systems slowly adopt the more visible manifestation of the new trends in education. If this can be accomplished with

reduced expenditure of public funds, so much the better.

8. Old teachers retain their old methods within the new structure.

9. New teachers practise the new methodologies.

10. The new becomes the old--ready for the next cycle.

As a final point, it is important to note that a new cycle of change might bring about almost a return to former systems and methodologies. Educational practices tend to move in a spiral fashion, although sometimes the coil of the spiral is so close as to seem a closed circle.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND PHILOSOPHICAL BACKGROUND OF THE PERIOD

In the introduction, the thesis was advanced that there exists a rather close relationship between education and social conditions, so that changes in social conditions are often reflected in changes in education and educational institutions and practices. This chapter will briefly outline some of the factors that were effecting North American society in the 60's. It will show how the socio-economic situation made possible the emergence of a youth culture whose values and attitudes differed sharply from those held by the previous generation.

Many of the ideas which shaped the society of the sixties originated in the United States but found rapid acceptance in Canada. Proof of the Canadian acceptance of American ideas can be found in the popularity of writings of American educators such as John Holt, Neil Postman, Charles Weingartner, Charles Silberman and many others.

The period between 1965 and 1975 was a period of social experimentation in both Canada and the United States. But it was in the U.S.A. that the conditions which generated the attitudes and philosophies of the 1960s were most sharply apparent. This does not mean

that there were no innovative educational ideas in Canada; it is just that the sheer size, boldness, extremism of the United States tends often to obfuscate the more sedate, cautious Canada.

It would be difficult to examine events in Canada in isolation. The socio-economic forces affecting Canada during this period were affecting the entire North American continent and were, in fact, being generated to a great degree in the United States. Just as the economic forces being generated in the United States were affecting the Canadian economy, so the ideas and philosophy being generated by the United States affected Canadian thought.

The period following the end of the second World War was one of unprecedent economic prosperity for the North American continent. By 1965, the United States and Canada had achieved an enormous level of prosperity and every indication pointed to the probability that many more years of prosperous growth would follow. With the United States setting the pace, Canada seemed to be reaching toward the ultimate goal: continuous prosperity and economic growth.

In January, 1966, the Winnipeg Free Press carried in its financial section an aricle which stated in part that

> The period of economic expansion, now nearly 5 years old, may run another five and any recession is likely to be short and shallow, the Economic Council of Canada says in its second annual review. 1

This economic prediction proved correct. The following five years were indeed very prosperous for the North American continent.

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[1] "Boom Expected to Run Another 5 Years", Winnipeg Free Press, 5 January, 1981.

The continuing economic boom had begun during the second World War. Geographically removed from the actual war zone, North America developed a massive industrial complex to provide the allies with the necessary supplies. The large American corporations made fortunes on government contracts; the very special war conditions did not only favour the corporations--the workers, who were producing the goods, also benefitted. At the end of the war, the economic recession, which many economists expected, did not materialize. A combination of industrial and government policies helped to maintain the economic momentum. Europe had to be rebuilt, returning soldiers had to be housed. The industrial machinery set in motion by the war was redirected to supply the economic needs of the nation. Well-paid, well-unionized industrial workers wanted private homes rather than crowded apartments; the desire for a home began a mass exodus to the suburbs--an exodus made possible by the fact that, in addition to the home and necessary appliances, the workers were also able to afford the automobiles to bring them back to the city to work. Godfrey Hodgson, in reference to this continuing boom, wrote

> High wages created the demand, and high profit created the business confidence necessary for the expansion of construction and other consumer industries that lead to the boom. 2

The prosperity of the country seemed to be obliterating the social and economic injustices that "used" to exist during the lean years.

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[2]Godfrey Hodgson, America in Our Time (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1976), p. 50.

It seemed to the people of the time that American society was getting more egalitarian; the blue collar worker was being replaced by the white collar worker: the managers, the clerks, the skilled technicians. America seemed to be in the process of abolishing class barriers and became a mostly middle class society. There existed a wide-spread hope that abundant production of all sorts of goods made possible by the technological advances, would guarantee that all citizens would share in the national well-being, possibly not equally: but the sheer quantity of material goods made it seem irrelevant that some might get a bigger share of the national wealth. The ideology of the period based on the apparent, visible conditions of the time was summarized by Godfrey Hodgson:

> 1. The American free enterprise system is different from the old capitalism. It is democratic. It creates abundance. It has revoluntionary potential for social justice.
> 2. The key to this potential is production: specifically, increased production, or economic growth. This makes it possible to meet people's needs out of incremental resources. Social conflict over resources between classes (which Marx calls the "locomotive of history") therefore, becomes obsolete and unnecessary. [3]

North America had become a modern industrial society. The continuing economic growth, the enormous production of goods and services demanded or expected by the population could only be sustained by the development of huge, self-contained, enormously powerful corporations. The independent grocery store had to give way to the national and

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[3] Ibid., p. 76.

international food chains such as Safeway, Loblaws and Dominion. The small oil producer, pumping away a few barrels from his own two or three wells had been absorbed, for the most part, by Shell, Dome Petroleum, Gulf Oil. Companies such as Ford, General Motors, Bell, IT&T, Edison Electric had grown from privately owned companies to public companies whose shares were purchased by a multitude of small investors.

The development of multinational corporations brought with it not only an increase in wealth for the nation as a whole, but also created what amounted to a new social order. Power to make decisions passed from the consumer and the citizens to the industrial bureaucracies that led and controlled the large corporations.

Previous to the advent of the "corporation", North America glorified the individual, the pioneer who single-handedly brought about reforms, opened frontiers, made himself wealthy. Anyone, if he worked hard, could attain whatever he desired...or so the North American legend led people to believe.

The legend, the dream still exist, firmly imbedded in the North American psyche. Unfortunately, the reality is quite different. "It is not to individuals but to organizations that power in the business enterprise and power in the society has passed".[4]

Early industrial society controlled, through the mechanism of supply and demand, the production of specific goods and services.

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[4]John Kenneth Galbraith, The New Industrial State, 2d ed., rev. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1971), p. 59.

At times the state would interfere in the free enterprise market to bring change needed for the good of society as a whole; but in most cases, the consumer dictated what should be produced. The advent of the large corporation changed all this. A large corporation simply cannot be subject to the whims of a consumer. The continuing existence of the corporation as a viable economic entity depends upon knowing well in advance, often years in advance, what the consumer will buy, at what price and in what quantities. Thus, the corporation has learned to control both what will be produced and what the item will cost. The tools of control are advertising and outright economic power. The advertising techniques mould public desires; the economic power controls, at times, the government itself. Within the new industrial state, both the individual's goals and national goals are subservient to the goals of the corporation.

The goals of the corporation are profit and the continuation of its existence. The control of the corporation is in the hands of a vast body of technocrats. The day seems past when a single tycoon of industry could make all the necessary decisions; the corporations are too complex for any one individual to be aware and knowledgeable enough to make decisions on his own. Corporate decisions, such as the items to be produced, time frame of marketing and cost, are made by teams of experts--all of them trained in some particular skill or knowledgeable in some particular area. Thus, the marketing team studies the desirablility of producing a certain product while the

engineering team works to see if the product can be produced at all within the cost parameter set by the economic team. At any point in the decision process, a team might decide that the production of such an item is not feasible or is too expensive or not saleable, and the product is not produced.

The modern corporation, run by the technocrats, needs highly-skilled, well-trained, well-educated personnel. It is in the best interest of the corporations to encourage and support educational institutions--especially those which cater to the scientific and technological study.

The modern industrial state is highly dependent on large corporations. Often national economic survival is predicated on maintaining, and attracting within its national boundary, a number of economically healthy corporate plants. It is, therefore, in the best interest of the industrial nation to encourage the development of centres of higher learning and to facilitate the acquisition of a good education among its population, thus creating a pool of skilled personnel from which the large corporation can draw.

Parallel to the rise of the corporation and the continuing economic progress of the nation, one also sees, following the second World War, an enormous increase in the student population in North America. In the United States, the high school student population in the 1900s was fewer than 520,000; by 1959, that number had risen to 8,485,000 and by 1967, the number was 13,647,000.[5]

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[5]Ibid., p. 285.

In Canada, the Economic Council of Canada reported in 1970 that

> Full-time enrolment in post-secondary education is currently about ½ million compared with 165,000 a decade ago and 90,000 two decades ago. In other words, most of the increase in post-secondary education enrolment took place during the 1960's. 6

The national wealth, combined with the increased need of the corporations and aided by a sympathetic government, encouraged more and more young people to remain in school for a longer period of time. This rather large student population had the leisure time to think, idealize and often fantasize about the status of modern society and the quality of life.

As we have seen, the decade that began in 1965 was a period of great economic wealth: a period of economic growth that had started during the second world war and was maintained by a combination of both internal and external factors. It was also a period of great social unrest.

Unfortunately, within the midst of relatively wealthy middle class America there existed a large section of the population that was not benefitting from the abundance of goods and services available. The black population of the United States were in a militant mood. They were facing legal segregation in the southern states and illegal, although very actual, segregation in the northern states. In addition to being legally and illegally second class citizens, the blacks were also economically poorer as a group than the whites. "That the cleavage is, above all, racial shows clearly in the United States, where the poor are predominantly Negro".[7]

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[6] Canada, Economic Council of Canada, "Patterns of Growth", Seventh Annual Review, 1970, p. 55.

[7] Peter F. Drucker, The Age of Discontinuity (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), p. 109.

The blacks in the 1960s were more and more insistently asking to be granted the equality for which the civil war had supposedly been fought.

> By demanding that in theory the national creed ought to allow them --equality--blacks had revealed the inconsistency between the eqalitarian ideals of the American creed and the inequality of the actual conditions of black people in American society. But not only that. The black revolt was changing as it spread and as the events of the summer of 1963 dramatized the issues. Now the demand was not just for legal equality, which was withheld only in the Deep South; it was for social and economic equality everywhere. 8

Thus, the social unrest was almost a natural by-product of the very obvious contradictions that existed in American society. On one hand, the economic middle class enjoyed a comfortable, orderly life, symbolized by the home in a suburb, the two-car garage, almost guaranteed employment and the steak barbecue in the back yard on weekends. On the other hand, away from the sheltering enclaves of suburbia, America was dominated by racism, pollution and discrimination.

America was a paradox: a country dedicated to equality and justice, which harboured discrimination and injustice; a country powerful and wealthy, which allowed a large percentage of its citizens to live below the poverty line in the rat-infested tenements of New York, Chicage and the other large urban centres.

The contradictions and paradoxes of America have always existed, but at this time, a new group of people was emerging in America. The students of the nation--wealthy, educated, idealistic were not happy with

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[8] Hodgson, America in Our Time, p. 159.

the contradictions they saw and many of them set out to change the status quo. One must keep in mind at this time that a gulf of experience and attitudes existed between the parents and children. The parents, moulded by a psychology born of the economic depression, were goal-oriented, security conscious, very much afraid--afraid of losing what they had worked hard to achieve.

It was not a case of selfish callousness which prevented the parents from seeing the plight of the underprivileged. The typical American was, and is, generous to a fault--one only has to look at the large number of charitable and medical organizations totally supported by donations to recognize American generosity. The curious blindness to the American paradox was due to a mental attitude which put the blame for failure on the shoulders of the person who failed and not on outside forces. Thus, according to this attitude, the blacks remained in the urban ghettos because they, blacks either actually liked living there or simply lacked, because of a typical character flaw shared by the black race, enough mental fortitude, dedication to work and moral fibre to work their way out of their situation. The poor unemployed whites, of course, stayed poor because they were too lazy and undisciplined to find a job and stick to it.

The post-depression, post-second world war children had never experienced anything but affluence. This group assumed that economic well being was a right, not something one had to earn. They were not afraid of losing their comfortable position because they really had no emotional

awareness of what it meant to be jobless and poor. Brounght up in a permissive environment, in which little was ever denied, the children developed into rather self-centered, self-involved young adults often quite incapable of tolerating frustration. The combination of wealth, leisure, education, and a self-centered, indulged, idealistic, large group of young people proved explosive.

The relatively peaceful existence of America was shattered by the angry protestations of young people everywhere. The universities and other educational institutions in the nation became not only the target of, but the centre from which waves of social unrest spread out. The wide-spread unrest and the attacks on the centre of power were discussed by Peter F. Drucker in The Age of Discontinuity in which he points out that

> This general dissent of "cosmic scope" as one writer has put it, seems to have grown out of a general malaise and disenchantment with the conditions of modern life. It saw people comparing the ideal of America with the reality, and finding the comparison distasteful.
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> It saw some people attempting to achieve an ideal overnight, forgetting that instant Utopia has forever eluded mankind. Some dissenters decided to escape the bonds of society, either in a dreamland of drugs or by creating some separate and different community. Most, however, were determined to attack the seat of power to compel changes of policy and improvement of conditions. 9

The original causes for the dissent were the racial problems and the American involvement in the war in Vietnam. However, in a period of a few years both these causes receded in importance and were replaced with

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[9] James N. Holm, Dimension of Dissent (Maine: J. Weston Walsh, 1975), p. 34.

one overwhelming issue. The youth of North America were clamouring for the "right" to dissent--the right to speak freely and disagree without consequences from the political, religious and educational authorities. They wanted the right not to accept the customs and traditions of the time--they wanted to create their own morality and often their own social system. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the student activists of that period challenged the authority of all institutions so that as Drucker makes clear

> Today's student "activists" are against organization and its authority in any form or shape. Above all, they oppose what used to be considered the "good guys" among organizations, university, and government. 10

The youth of North America seemed to go through, or experience, a dramatic cultural shift--a shift at least partly caused by the wealth of the technically advanced society. Whereas the former generation, moulded by economic depression and war, was goal-oriented and security conscious, the generation that was maturing in 1965 was looking not for economic or social goals but for an identity. The young people wanted a sense of being important in themselves, not important because of what they had achieved or would eventually achieve.

The youth of the middle 1960's rejected the hierarchical order established by the previous generation--an order that decreed it was only after having achieved a goal and secured a modicum of success that

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[10] Drucker, The Age of Discontinuity, p. 243.

one should seek one's own intrinsic identity. The young people saw that all too often the identity was inextricably tied to the economic and social functions of the person. In the Identity Society, William Glasser explained the position taken by the youth of the time.

> The young say that this traditional order is inhuman and degrading. They maintain that our identity is as basic as our humanity; therefore, we should reject goals that do not immediately and directly reinforce our basic human roles. Seeing little value in power or property for its own sake, they believe that power, property and technology should support and reinforce people and their roles as human being. [11]

The post-World War II America had spawned a new generation-a generation who, rather than adopting the values, the traditions, the culture of their elders, had proceeded to create its own culture. Most cultures are in a constant process of change, new sets of values and attitudes replacing the old, but normally there exists a continuing trend between the old and the new. In the case of the mass culture of the youth of the 1960s, the trend did not seem to exist. The new culture and the youth of the period had long before refused to condone the perceived hypocrisy of their elders. The concept that what developed among the youth of the sixties was a culture was supported by Drucker who, as we read in the following quotation, accepted the name Roszak had assigned to this new phenomenon.

> It was not until near the end of the decade that the historian Theodore Roszak suggested the most satisfactory name for the whole complex of new patterns of behaviour and belief. "It would hardly seem an exaggeration," Roszak wrote, "to call what we see arising among the young a 'counter culture': meaning, a culture so radically

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[11] William Glasser, The Identity Society (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), p. 41.

> disaffiliated from the main stream assumptions of our society that it scarcely looks to many as a culture at all, but takes on the alarming appearance of a barbarian intrusion. 12

In the decade after 1965, there existed in North America a state of conflict not only between one generation and another, but more precisely between one culture and another. Although many institutions came under the attack of the young members of the "counter culture", those institutions which dealt with education were the ones most often blamed and criticized by both the young and the old.

The educational institutions set up to deal with one set of cultural biases and needs found themselves unable to cope with the demands of the new mass culture that pervaded North America. An ever-increasing number of young people found themselves at odds with the educational institutions which seemed unwilling, and more often incapable, of coping with their demands and felt needs. The young people's response was anger--anger that manifested itself in mass protests, sit-ins and often violent, destructive demonstrations. Many young people simply dropped out of schools, their families, and often did their best to drop out of society. The economic conditions which generated the hedonistic, self-involved youth, also made it possible for this same group to drop out from the main stream of economic life. The society of the period was, in fact, wealthy enough to support, at least for a while, its many non-productive members.

The educational institutions of the times found themselves criti-

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[12]Hodgson, America in Our Time, p. 310.

cized by the youth and by their elders. The young people felt that the schools were not fulfilling their needs, while the older members of society felt that schools had failed in their prime function of socializing the young. The educational institutions were under great pressure to change and become more responsive to the times. Obviously, a goal-oriented school system was not in keeping with the new "Identity Society". Spurred by the unrest, the educators of the time sought to find ways of satisfying the needs of the young rebels and the needs of society.

CHAPTER IV

THE TEMPERS OF THE TIME

This chapter will attempt to show how the special political and economic circumstances that were present in North America between 1965 and 1975, especially in the United States, caused the youth of the nation to revolt against the perceived social and economic inequalities of the period. This chapter will also show how the educational institutions became the focus of criticism for both the students and the general public. "Alternative", "innovative" educational systems were proposed to replace the methodologies and philosophies of education that were being criticized. The new educational systems promised to fulfill the demands of the rebellious students and hinted of the possibility that, in the long run, it would help eliminate the perceived social inequalities.

As shown in Chapter II, in 1955, North American society had rejected progressive education with its humanistic, child-centered educational philosophy, and had adopted a strongly subject-centered, academically-oriented direction. Fear of falling behind in the technological race with the rest of the industrialized nations, especially the U.S.S.R., had prompted North Americans to demand that schools return to a more con-

tent-oriented, structured education for the children of the nation.

In the sixties, the educational pendulum began once again to swing toward affective rather than cognitive education. The swing away from the progressive movement in education in vogue between 1920 and 1955 was generated by fear of losing economic and technological advantages on the international scene and was promoted by established political leaders. The movement toward affective education and various sorts of concomitant experimentation were dictated to some extent by the need to cater to the turbulent, politically aware and powerful youth of the period. As Michael W. Miles points out in the Radical Probe: The Logic of Student Rebellion the role of students in a social movement had changed during the sixties.

> Historically, the students and intellectuals are notoriously the dangerous classes...Fortunately for the old order, however, they were also few in numbers; they were potential vanguards for other social forces or mainly symptoms of social malfunction, rather than threats in themselves. The unique feature of modern society is that it requires an entire class of educated people which is capable of producing bona fide mass movements. 1

Students of the sixties were in a state of revolt against all forms of authority. They contended that the authority that rested in the hands of the members of the previous generation had not been used wisely or justly. The issues facing the students of the sixties were many. A commentator of the period, Jean-Francois Revel, listed these issues he felt were of major significance at the time.

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[1]Michael W. Miles, The Radical Probe: The Logic of Student Rebellion (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971), p. 106.

> The 'hot' issues in American's insurrection against itself, numerous as they are, form a cohesive and coherent whole within which no one issue can be separated from the other. These issues are as follows: a radically new approach to moral values; the black revolt; the feminist attack on masculine domination; the rejection of young people of exclusively economic and technical social goals; the general adoption of non-coercive methods in education; the acceptance of the guilt for poverty; the growing demand for equality; the rejection of an authoritarian culture. [2]

Obviously, the most immediate targets of students' revolt were the centers of learning--in the beginning the universities, later, as the movement gained momentum, the high schools became involved.

The 1965 North America was on the verge of a political revolution; it was also on the verge of a cultural revolution. The political unrest that seemed to be sweeping the industrialized world found its strongest and most vocal expression in North America.

It is, perhaps, interesting to note that some European writers were aware, even before the Americans, that an insurrection was taking place. Jean-Francois Revel, a columnist for the French newspaper, L'Express, identified five conditions which are prerequisite for a revolution:

1. There must be a critique of the injustice existing in economic, social and racial relationships.
2. There must be a critique of management, directed against the waste of material and human resources...
3. There must be a critique of political power.
4. There must be a critique of culture: of morality, religion, accepted beliefs, customs, philosophy, literature, art...
5. There must be a critique of the old civilization, as sanction,

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[2] Jean-Francois Revel, Without Marx or Jesus: The New American Revolution Has Begun (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1971), p. 200.

or a vindication of individual freedom... 3

By 1970, all the above prerequisites were abundantly evident on the North American continent. Although some critiques of the status quo were conducted at a somewhat physical level with sit-ins, demonstrations, drop-outs, the occasional bombing and act of vandalism, most of the criticisms were expressed through the printing press.

It is important to understand here that never before in history had there been such a large literate group of revolutionaries. In spite of all their criticisms of the educational system, student activists were deeply aware that the written word was probably the most far reaching tool they had to bring about a change in the social structure. Students had also been brought up to assume that all they wanted to know was written in some book somewhere. Typically, when information was not available, students proceeded to prepare and distribute their own, as in the case of the Organizer's Manual published in 1971 by Bantam Books. The Organizer's Manual is a compendium of all the strategies, techniques and precautions one should take to organize and carry through a successful demonstration. The book is dedicated "To all those who will make a better revolution than we can prescribe".[4]

Underground presses operated by students published pamphlets, newspapers and books vehemently criticizing the authoritarian society in which they lived.

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[3] Ibid., p. 11.

[4] O.M. Collective, The Organizer's Manual (New York: Bantam Books, 1971).

Students of the sixties were definitely in the forefront as agitators for a reform of society; it would be fallacious, however, to assume that they stood alone. Both in politics and in education, the youth found ample support from members of the establishment. And whereas the student movement and protestation could, at times, be dismissed as the usual unrest of any new generation, their support by established professionals could not be so easily ignored.

That America was in a state of unrest was evident to all who followed the news reports. Society blamed the unrest on the activism of a revolutionary fringe. The involvement of the large number of students who took part in various demonstrations was rationalized, according to Miles, by the development of the following theory.

> The official theory of the dynamics of student rebellion--elite manipulation--runs like this: a hard core of student radicals decides to move against the university--since they are revolutionary nihilists, these hard-core radicals despise reforms in university policy or structure, but use these issues as pretexts to mobilize student moderates, who are young idealists genuinely concerned about such matters (and therefore, should be listened to and not alienated by faculty and administration). 5

Supporters of the student movement saw the student rebellion as a logical consequence of the crises in which society found itself--a social crisis which according to Charles A. Reich, had been created by:

1. Disorder, corruption, hypocrisy, war...
2. Poverty, distorted priorities, and law-making by private

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[5]Miles, The Radical Probe, p. 3.

power...

3. Uncontrolled technology and the destruction of environment...

4. Decline of democracy and liberty, powerlessness...

5. The artificiality of work and culture...

6. Absence of community...

7. Loss of self. Of all the forms of improverishment than can be seen or felt in America, loss of self, or death in life, is surely the most devastating. It is, even more than the draft and the Vietman war, the source of discontent and rage in the new generation. 6

Along with viewing the student rebellion as a logical consequence of the existing socio-political situation, supporters saw the student radicals, the hippies, the young intellectuals, not as the producers of the crisis but indeed as the prophets of a new order to come. Theirs would be the task to lead the industrial world out of the morass in which it found itself. Reich, a strong supporter of the youth movement of the sixties, envisioned that

> The task of the new generation is to see the humanity in all men, and to work for the renewal, the rebirth, the return to life, of all men. The new generation must bridge the gap that separates parents from children, and the still greater gaps that separate worker from student, white-collar professionals from those who are young and liberated. 7

Many felt that if a change had to come to North American society, the impetus for the change should logically come and in fact had already begun, within the educational system--an educational system that

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[6]Charles A. Reich, The Greening of America (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 6.

[7]Ibid., p. 297.

had obviously failed to create a docile, industrially-oriented population on one hand, and also had obviously failed in the past to "right the wrongs", the inequalities, that existed in the modern industrial state.

Critics and Reformers

During the sixties a number of educators believed that the educational system had become an insular, self-perpetuating institution unable to respond adequately to changing needs of the public it purported to serve. Writers such as Ivan Illich, Everett, Reimer, Neil Postman, Weingartner, John Holt and others, looked at the schools and felt that the schools were failing in their job of educating the young into becoming well-adjusted members of society.

Some writers believed that only a relatively narrow segment of the total population, the middle class, seemed to derive any benefit from the schools. This view was supported by Charles E. Silberman who wrote in Crisis in the Classroom

> The public school never had done much of a job of educating youngsters from the lower classes or from immigrant homes. For one thing, as Lawrence A. Cremin has pointed out, we have greatly exaggerated the "commonness" of the common school, which has always been essentially a middle class or upper middle class institution. 8

Thus, the inequality of North American society began in the institu-

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[8] Charles E. Silberman, Crisis in the Classroom (New York: Random House, 1971), p. 54.

tions which were supposed to be the equalizers in a democratic "equal opportunity" society. Furthermore, Postman and Weingartner declare in Teaching as a Subversive Activity

> At present, the conventional school is a hostile place, especially to urban "disadvantaged" children. They do not learn what the school says it "teaches", and they drop out--or are thrown out--of it as soon as they reach an age where this is legally possible. 9

One must not assume, from the previous statements, that the schools and teachers within the schools deliberately set out to exclude the lower socio-economic classes from their educational system. Teachers and administrators did, in fact, do the best they could, given the very nature of the school system and their own innate biases. Often the failure of the schools to succeed with a specific class of people was rationalized by assuming that given the cultural background, the poverty, lack of educational stimulus in the formative years, children from the lower classes began school with a handicap which prevented them from achieving beyond a restricted level. This rationalization was clearly expressed by Carl J. Dolce in the following statement which was part of an article in Saturday Review of January, 1969.

> A victim of his environment, the ghetto child begins his school career, psychologically, socially, and physically disadvantaged. He is oriented to the present rather than the future, to immediate needs rather than delayed gratification, to the concrete rather than the abstract. He is often handicapped by limited verbal skills, low self-esteem, and a stunted drive toward achievement. 10

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[9] Neil Postman and Charles Weingartner, Teaching as a Subversive Activity (New York: Dell, 1969), p. 155.

[10] Carl J. Dolce, "The Inner City - A Superintendent's View", Saturday

School did not, however, merely fail in educating a segment of the population; in the view of some educators, schools had reached a dead end and were detrimental to the psychological well-being of all students--and were, moreover, detrimental to society itself. Reimer claims that

> No child, however, fails to learn from school. Those who never get in, learn that the good things in life are not for them. Those who drop out early, learn that they do not deserve the good things of life. [11]

As for the student from a good background who made it to school more or less successfully, John Holt, the author of The Underachieving School, states he finds an environment in which

> ...he learns that he is worthless, untrustworthy, fit only to take other people's orders, a blank sheet for other people to write on. [12]

In addition to schools being dangerous to children who in one way or another are damaged by them, it was also argued by Reimer that the financial maintenance of the educational system was set up so that escalating costs of education were a burden carried by the needy for the benefit of the wealthy.

> Schools are an almost perfect regressive form of taxation, paid for by the poor to benefit the rich...Schools constitute a re-

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Review, 11 January, 1969, p. 36, cited by William Ryan, Blaming the Victim, rev. ed. (New York: Random House, 1976), p. 34.

[11] Everett Reimer, School is Dead (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1971), p. 21.

[12] John Holt, The Underachieving School (New York: Dell, 1969), p. 18.

> gressive tax because the privileged go to school longer and because costs increase with the level of schooling--graduate schools, for example, provide by far the highest student subsidies not only in relative but also in absolute terms. Graduate students come largely from the upper income level of the society. 13

One of the strongest critics of the public school system was Ivan Illich. In his introduction to Deschooling Society, he states,

> In these essays, I will show that the institutionalization of values leads inevitably to physical pollution, social polarization and psychological impotence, three dimensions in a process of global degradation and modernized misery. 14

In the text of the book, Illich goes on to suggest alternatives to the educational system--alternatives which did away with schools and formal education altogether.

The extremism of Illich was counterpointed by more moderate but equally adamant educators who, although seeming generally to favour retention of schools, recommended drastic changes in the method of teaching and in the way of dealing with pupils. Such a one observed,

> We live today in a world marked by accelerating technology and social changes, by increasing complexity and uncertainty. In such an environment educational procedures developed during an era of relative stability and certainty are no longer able to provide the student with the skills he needs to exist effectively in contemporary society. 15

Having denounced schools as bad places, critics of the educational systems began analyzing what it was that made schools unsuit-

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[14] Ivan Illich, Deschooling Society (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), p. 1.

[15] Harold M. Schroeder, Marvin Karlins and Jacqueline Phares, Education for Freedom (Toronto: John Wiley, 1973), p. 6.

able for the task which had been assigned them, radical and not so radical writers began producing their own formulas for solving the problems.

Methods and philosophies of education advocated by each of the educational writers were varied and multitudinous. However, shorn of the verbiage, polemic and political bias which obfuscated some of the writing, a common philosophical trend emerged. In the introduction to Radical School Reform Critique and Alternatives, the editor, Cornelius J. Troost, compiled the following points as the beliefs and attitudes prevalent among the radical educational writers of the seventies.

1. American schools are moribund, repressive, authoritarian places.
2. Children are bored and unhappy with their educational experiences.
3. Education today is irrelevant and outmoded.
4. Children are naturally good--if left to their own devices, they will grow to be virtuous, self-actualizing beings.
5. The objectives of education should be derived from the needs of the learners.
6. Egalitarian values should permeate the curriculum.
7. Humanistic personal values should prevail: self-respect, self-reliance, personal freedom, self-fulfillment.
8. The teacher must be non-directive and non-judgmental.
9. Honesty, fairness, moral rectitude (character), and high intellectual achievement are less important than private choice, gregariousness, and moral relativity.
10. Knowledge, especially factual knowledge, is undependable because it evolves at too fast a rate.

11. "Learning how to learn" must be the principal cognitive goal of education.

12. Classroom decisions should follow democratic procedures.

13. Feelings and emotions are more important than intellectual skill and knowledge.

14. Peer motivation is preferred to any other type. 16

Acceptance of such beliefs logically implied advocating specific methodological, curricular and administrative changes in the schools. Consequently, some critics felt that schools should encourage children to participate in the running of the school and be given a voice in the selection of the curriculum to be taught. In Schools Without Failure, Glasser advocated student involvement in scholastic matter,

> Children should have a voice in determining both the curriculum and the rules of their school. Democracy is best learned by living it! Children who attend a school in which they are asked to take some responsibility for the curriculum and rules discover democracy... 17

Grades and examinations were seen as harmful to students since such procedures placed them in competition against others rather than against themselves. Furthermore, it was felt that most testing simply trained students to parrot required responses rather than allowing them to develop independent solution to problems. Additionally, using academic achievement to determine personal worth placed enormous psychological pressure on those students who could maintain the requiredstandards, and was devastating to those students who did

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[16] Cornelius J. Troost, Radical School Reform: Critiques and Alternatives (Boston: Little, Brown, 1973), p. 6.

[17] William Glasser, Schools Without Failures (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), p. 37.

not have the required attitudes, qualities or background to succeed in such a school system.

> Although grades purport to raise academic standards, there is good evidence that just the opposite is true. 18

While grades prove little as to what has been learned, the need for good grades creates pressures, and according to Holt

> What are the effects of these pressures? They are many--and all harmful. They create in young children an exaggerated concern with getting right answers and avoiding mistakes; they drive them into defensive strategies of learning and behavior that choke off their intellectual powers and make real learning all but impossible. 19

It was believed by many educators that a child left on his own would know what he had to, or wanted to, learn at any particular moment, and do whatever necessary to learn it. To place a greater responsibility for learning and decision-making on the student, implied a definite role change for the teacher. No longer required as a dispenser of discipline and/or knowledge, the teacher's primary function would be as provider of necessary human and physical resources. The Vermont Department of Education made it quite clear, as shown in the following statement, that it had adopted the new, non-traditional role for its teachers,

> The role of the teacher must not be one of an imparter of know-

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[18] Ibid., p. 65.

[19] Holt, The Underachieving School, p. 38.

> ledge, someone who knows all the answers and is never wrong, but rather one who possesses those skills necessary to establish an appropriate learning climate, both in atmosphere as well as equipment and material. 20

The philosophical attitude that the child should be free to choose what to study as his interests are aroused, and the changed role of the teacher also demanded an actual restructuring of the school day, the physical aspect of the classroom and indeed the school building itself. Obviously, if a child is to pursue his interests as the spirit moves him, then his school day should not be regulated by specific time-tabled periods marked by disturbing bells. Rather than ordered rows of desks focusing attention on the teacher, the classroom should be divided into learning centres--sections of classroom in which materials specific to certain subjects or areas of interest would be placed so that a child would know where specific resources to explore his interests would be located. Logically, a child should not be limited to his own classroom, but be free to follow his quest for knowledge wherever it might lead within the school or even outside the boundary of the school and in the community. David A. Armington describes some of the characteristics of a modern, innovative school,

> Although it is difficult to know what a child is learning at any moment, one can describe some of the characteristics of a good classroom for young children in which good learning is likely to occur. Here is a partial list.

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[20] Vermont Department of Education, "Vermont Design for Education", in Open Education: A Source Book for Parents and Teachers, ed. B. Nyquist and Gene R. Hawes (New York: Bantam Books, 1972), p. 58.

1. There is a rich environment of materials for children to explore and there are abundant opportunities for learning through experience...

3. With guidance from the teacher children plan their own activities drawing from a range of relevant choices.

4. Each child is free to explore an interest deeply and is also free to disengage when an activity no longer seems appropriate...

7. There is minimum dictation by a clock. A flexible schedule permits children to learn according to their individual rhythms of engagement and disengagement...

11. The teacher serves in a supportive rather than a dictatic role, guiding the children provisioning and structuring the environment. 21

As previously mentioned, the avante garde educators of the sixties felt the restrictive environment of a school should, whenever possible and practical, be abandoned in favour of pursuing education outside the walls of the institute of learning. Conversely, the community should be allowed into the school not as barely tolerated visitors, but as full participants in the educational process.

Some educators and community leaders felt that schools and teachers in an attempt, perhaps, to achieve professional status, had become so far removed from the community, whose children it attempted to educate, that it had become an alien place unable to understand or serve the community. The obvious solution to this estrangement was to open the school doors to volunteers; to delegate some of the decision-making as to curriculum development and teacher selection to representatives of the general public, actively to seek the help of

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[21] David A. Armington, "A Plan for Continuing Growth", in Open Education: A Source Book for Parents and Teachers, p. 69.

parents to motivate the children; to use the myriad of skills available in any societal group to augment and enrich the education of the children.

Thus one of the major trends in the late sixties was the attempt to involve the community in the running of the school and the education of the children. As Loren Lind points out in The Case for Community Control of the Schools,

> Community control of education is a process whereby parents, teachers and students in a local community would set the policy for their school. Their involvement would be participatory rather than merely representative--they would be able to tackle educational issues on a community basis and come to a decision in an authentic educative fashion. Out of this involvement, people would learn how they feel about their school--what they expected of it and what they are willing to give. 22

Community involvement, free movement of children from learning area to learning area, and new teaching strategies required the development of a new type of physical structure for the school building. Obviously, a typical school with rows of classrooms, with doors closing on long, empty corridors, did not create a welcoming setting for visiting parents nor facilitate the unstructured movement of children.

Different architectural structures were devised to accommodate the new methodologies developed in response to the new philosophies. Open education lead naturally to open classrooms and eventually to open area schools. The prime requirement of a school structure de-

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[22] Loren Lind, "The Case for Community Control of the Schools", in Must Schools Fail: The Growing Debate in Canadian Education, ed. Nial Byrne and Jack Quarter (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), p. 169.

signed to accommodate the innovative methodologies was flexibility. The building had to be able to accommodate both large groupings of students, as when the approach called for team teaching, and very small groups when independent study or tutorials were to be implemented. The space needs of the school building designed for the educators of the sixties would have to have, according to Ronald Gross and Judith Murphy,

> Expansible space, that can allow for ordered growth; convertible space, that can be economically adapted to program changes; versatile space, that serves many functions; and malleable space, that can be changed at once and at will. 23

The open area school seemed to fulfill the need for flexibility. The open area school is a school built without internal fixed walls and, of course, no specific classrooms. Within the open area school, specific areas could be defined as fulfilling special functions as the need arose, using mobile partitions or by simply declaring that a particular corner should be used, for example, as a "quiet" area for reading, while another area would be defined and used for large group discussions.

This chapter has attempted to show the prevailing concepts advocated by some of the innovative educators of the sixties and seventies. As shown, the trend was toward humanistic education, based on the assumption that a child, given the proper environment, would be a self-motivated "eager learner".

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[23] Ronald Gross and Judith Murphy, Educational Changes and Architectural Consequences (New York: Educational Facilities Laboratories, 1968), p. 15.

The educational concepts proposed by the innovative educators in the sixties were very similar to the ideas expounded by "progressive" educators in the decades between the twenties and fifties.

The progressive educators believed that a child should be allowed to follow his/her own interests with a teacher acting as a guide and facilitator; they also believed that the division of subject matter into discrete segments such as history, language arts, mathematics, sciences, etc., should be abandoned in favor of an integrated curriculum--a curriculum based on the child's interest. Generally, progressive educators believed that schools should prepare students for life within a social setting. As it can be seen in the following quotation taken from Stephen Duggan's A Student's Textbook in the History of Education, there seem to be some attitudinal similarities between the educational goals of the "progressive" educators of the forties and the "innovative" educators of the sixties,

> This social motive demands that the materials and practices of the school shall be an introduction to and a preparation for social life...And not only has a greater stress been placed upon content and social materials in the academic work of the school but a great development has taken place also in social activities, student-government and cooperative and social learning...Thus by two pathways, the individualistic and the social, some educational thinkers have arrived at the idea of a progressive education which is based upon the spontaneous activities and the social participation of children. 24

The swing from progressive education to the structured curriculum of the fifties and back to the innovative education of the

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[24] Stephen Duggan, A Student's Textbook in the History of Education, 3rd ed. (New York: Appleton-Century-Croft, 1948), p. 312.

sixties shows how the changing approaches to curriculum and methodologies are simply the swing of ideas between established concepts. They are in actuality a reimplementing of solutions to problems generated by social and economic pressures of the time, but they are hailed by their current advocates as being innovative.

CHAPTER V

THE CANADIAN RESPONSE

In the introduction, the thesis was advanced that the communication network that exists in the modern world makes it relatively easy for ideas generated in one geographical area to be quickly disseminated and often adopted in other geographical areas. This phenomenon is apparent in the case of the United States and Canada. Sharing a continent, a relatively common language and culture, and a similar economic basis, it is inevitable that ideas generated in one country are studied and often accepted in the other.

Chapter five will briefly examine how the social unrest that existed in the United States in the sixties was reflected, although on a lesser scale, in Canada. It will show how some provincial departments of education attempted to resolve some of the social and economic difficulties which faced them by adopting some of the philosophies and concepts developed by American educators. It will also show how in the process of being transposed to the various provincial milieu, these ideas underwent modifications and dilution often to the point that the new methodologies failed to work as expected.

The student movement that characterized the sixties was common to most of the industrialized countries. The established power elites

of the United States, France, England and Germany found themselves confronted and challenged by the activist students within their universities who refused to accept both legally and socially established authority. Canadian students were not immune to the world-wide epidemic of protest. As noted by Julian Reid:

> One of the most startling aspects of the student protest movement is its internationalism. Student demonstrations erupt in countries around the globe--the United States, Canada, England, France, Germany, Belgium and Japan, to mention just a few. 1

As in other countries, the Canadian Student movement had its origin among the students of the universities; from the universities the movement spread tentatively to some of the high schools of the nation.

Canadian student activists were concerned with two areas; one area was the socio-political conditions existing in the world--conditions such as poverty, the status of women, war, ethnic and racial discrimination, etc.; the other area was the acquisition of some control in the running of the institutions of learning to which they belonged.[2]

In Canada, the dichotomy between international social issues and student power within the university gave rise to two different modes of behaviour on the part of the students. When dealing with social issues, the authorities often found themselves confronted with

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[1]Julian Reid, "Some Canadian Issues", in Student Power and the Canadian Campus, ed. Tim and Julian Reid, (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1968), p. 11.

[2]Jack Quarter, The Student Movement of the 60's, (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1972), p. x.

strongly militant groups quite prepared to use almost any tactic to publicize the issue in question. These tactics ranged from the relatively peaceful sit-ins and protest marches to the blatant violence used in the destruction of the computer centre in Sir George Williams University in 1969 to demonstrate against the alleged racial bigotry of one of the professors. On the other hand, as far as student power in the running of the university was concerned, Canadian students attempted, whenever possible, to deal with university authorities within the existing political and institutional framework already in place.[3]

Canadian educational institutions of the sixties were facing some of the same issues and problems which confronted educational institutions in the U.S.A. The issues were student unrest, increased educational cost, increased need for a skilled and educated population to run a modern industrial state, a general sense of dissatisfaction with traditional educational policies. As shown previously, economic conditions prevalent in Canada were also quite similar to those in the U.S.A. with both countries enjoying a period of prosperity and the prediction that the period of affluence would continue for a number of years.

As reported in The Review of Educational Policies in Canada: Foreword and Introduction, the Canadian student population, following a North American trend, had also increased dramatically,

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[3]Ibid., p. 25.

> During the twenty years between 1915 and 1971, the combined elementary and secondary enrolment more than doubled, and in the 1960's alone it rose by 39% to a peak of nearly six million in 1970-71. 4

In Manitoba alone, the enrolment in grade 12 in 1960 was 4,902; by 1970 that figure had increased to 13,349.[5] As elsewhere, this large student population agitated for changes in the educational system. As one student is quoted as saying in the article by Lorraine Coppersmith entitled University Student Power and the High School,

> 'More and more high school students...are rejecting that we'll-suffer-cause-there's-nothing-we-can-do attitude, to seriously question the school system. 6

During this period of unrest, Canadian educators, following a well established practice, turned to the ideas and philosophies emanating from the U.S.A. for a solution to their own problems.

The Canadian dependence on the U.S.A. was not a new phenomenon. Traditionally, Canadian educators have travelled south to acquire the latest methods, ideas and curriculum guides to be carefully transplanted, after suitable pruning, to Canadian soil. This Canadian dependency on American education was humorously criticized by Norman Goble at a conference on education held in Ottawa in 1976,

> There was a time, back there a little way, when it seemed that the field of Canadian education was bounded on the south by a range of sacred mountains (with the odd ridge running up to the outcrops in

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[4] Review of Educational Policies in Canada: Foreword and Introduction, (n.p. 1975), p. 9.

[5] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report of Youth and Education: Province of Manitoba (Winnipeg: Queen's Printer, 1970), p. 109.

[6] Lorraine Coppersmith, "University Student Power and the High School, in Student Power and the Canadian Campus, p. 195.

> Toronto, Edmonton, Victoria and the like). A fairly constant stream of Canadians went up to the glittering peaks as pilgrims, and came back as prophets...Back home, they sought with great diligence to devise problems to fit the solutions they brought --latter-day Prince Charming (to change the image) cramming Canadian feet into American slippers in the hope of finding and transforming our homebred Cinderellas. 7

What the Canadian educators of the 60's found in the United States was not one idea, but indeed a plethora of ideas on how to change the school system and bring about a truly democratic-humanistic education. Open education, open area schools, community schools, continuous progress, nongraded classrooms, decentralized control of education, learning centres, team teaching, multi-age groupings, etc.--singly or in combinations, all these concepts were carefully studied for possible application to the Canadian educational system.

The innovative education movement in Canada received a tremendous boost and a definite aura of respectability when the provincial committee on Aims and Objectives on Education in the schools of Ontario published its report, Living and Learning, in 1968.

The Ontario Committee on Aims and Objectives had been appointed by an order-in-council of the provincial legislature, and had been given quite wide ranging power to seek the services of anyone it felt could provide information and assistance. The group was also empowered to visit classrooms in schools throughout Ontario after proper clearnace with school boards involved.

The Committee had been given some rather specific tasks:

- To identify the need of the child as a person and a member of society.

- To set forth the aims of education for the educational system of the province.

- To outline objectives of the curriculum for children in the age group presently designated as kindergarten, primary and junior division.

- To propose means by which these aims and objectives may be achieved.

- To submit a report for the consideration of the Minister of Education. 8

The basic assumption of this Committee seems to have been that the existing system and methodologies were not adequate. The impression was given that the traditional approach to education was not valid. In the foreword of the report the Committee states:

> Answers to many problems were found by studying innovations already implemented in the schools of Ontario and other provinces. The Committee sent teams to study the educational systems and programs in many parts of the United States and in several countries in Europe and the Orient (emphasis mine). 9

It is important to note at this point that, of the twenty-four members of the Committee, only one was an active teacher; and although the remainder of the group had its share of former teachers, principals, and officers of the Department of Education, no one else was directly involved in the day to day running of the classroom.

Having been formed, the Committee set out to study the problems in education in Ontario.

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[8] Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario, Living and Learning (Toronto: Ontario Department of Education, 1968), p. 4.

[9] Ibid.

> The Committee was told of inflexible programs, outdated curricula, unrealistic regulations, regimented organization, and mistaken aims of education. We heard from alienated students, frustrated teachers, irate parents, and concerned educators. Many public organizations and private individuals have told us of the growing discontent and lack of confidence in a school system which in their opinion, has become outmoded and is failing those it exists to serve. 10

In 1968, the group published a report which, in addition to a definite philosophical statement, included 258 recommendations on how to translate the philosophy into a concrete educational system. In effect, the committee accepted most of the attitudes and ideas already discussed in Chapter 3. Thus among the 258 recommendations one finds:

> Eliminate lock-step system of organizing pupils, such as grades, streams, programs, etc., and permit learners to move through the school in a manner which will ensure continuous progress...
>
> Use theme-oriented approaches in the senior years...
>
> Develop, in senior curriculum areas, learning experience designed to assist students in their search for fulfillment in leisure and recreation...
>
> Abandon the practice of assigning homework as a regular curriculum activity in favour of long term assignments that invite pupils to make responsible decisions regarding their use of time...
>
> Abandon the use of class standing, percentage marks, and letter grades in favour of parent and pupil counselling as a method of reporting individual progress...
>
> Abandon the use of formal examinations...
>
> Establish experimental schools...

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[10] Ibid., p. 10.

> Review and redesign the preparatory stages which would qualify every teacher as a counsellor... 11

In the opinion of the author, the Living and Learning report was widely read by the various educational institutions across Canada, and was often used as the basis for changes in educational programs in other provinces.

Other provincial reports on education also embraced the philosophies of the period. The report of the Minister's Committee on Educational planning-Education Tomorrow-published in 1973 by the Department of Education of New Brunswick recommended

> That the philosophy of continuous progress be implemented in the junior high school to ensure that students entering junior high school from the elementary school are suitably placed. 12

Alberta's report of the Commission on Educational Planning, A Future of Choices, published in 1972, is a massive volume which advocates, among other things, greater development of community involvement in the running of the schools.

> Any barrier or gulf between school and community is detrimental to learning...
>
> Active community support and participation is also a strong force for change...
>
> The school principal will, of course, be accountable for the implementation of policies established by both the board and the school council... 13

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[11] Ibid., pp. 180-194.

[12] Minister's Committee on Educational Planning, Education Tomorrow (New Brunswick: Department of Education, 1973), p. 41.

[13] Commission on Educational Planning, A Future of Choices (Alberta: L.S. Well, 1972), p. 127.

The Committee also advocated student participation in the making of decisions about school programs.

> "A part of schooling's present malaise stems from the historical antecedent and influences in which learners are seen as being unappreciative, undisciplined pupils in need of forcible socialization...Not to involve learners in program planning is to suggest that they are bound servants, indentured to an infallible master..." 14

As in the case of Ontario's Living and Learning, the Minister's committee which published Education Tomorrow for the New Brunswick Department of Education was also lacking in classroom teachers. In fact, not one of the fifteen members was at the time directly involved in classroom teaching.

The committee which produced A Choice of Futures for Alberta did not include a list of its members; furthermore, the document seems to show a definite bias against teachers:

> Not only must we open the doors of classrooms, but the walls as well. The jealously guarded traditional right to close the door and dictate the learning transaction has endowed teachers at all levels in the educational structure with a lock on learning which they are not likely to surrender with grace. 15

The committee suggests that the teacher's role should change, since

> The concept of the teacher holding forth at the front of the classroom has been dead for some time...The teacher will have

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[14] Ibid., p. 167.

[15] Ibid., p. 194.

> to practise a pedagogy of restraint, doing more guiding and assisting and less directing. 16

Obviously, the aforementioned reports are but a sample of the masses of studies made regarding the educational issues in Canada; however, the failure of including active teachers in the development of "innovative" educational practices was probably one of the reasons why so many of the ideas of the sixties were poorly implemented in the schools.

The early sixties and seventies were periods of great public interest in educational matters. Most provincial governments, faced with increased costs and complexities in education and faced also with the social clamouring on the part of the citizens, set out to examine their own public educational system.[17] The Province of Manitoba was as involved, during this period, as the rest of Canada, in a thorough examination of its educational institutions and practices.

Manitoba

As previously indicated, the Province of Manitoba was also involved in an examination of its educational system and curricula. In fact, the search for programs of study and methodology suitable to the requirements of a generation that would have to be able to

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[16] Ibid., p. 197.

[17] Review of Educational Policies in Canada, p. 5.

fit successfully in a society changed by an ever expanding technology, had been going on for some time.

A memorandum prepared in 1956 by the Superintendent's Department of the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 states in its introduction,

> The other powerful factor operating to influence the thinking of the community with respect to its schools is that we are living in a period of great social, economic, and political stress when old values are being challenged and old institutions attacked. The events of recent years have made us conscious both of the virtue of our liberal heritage and the peril in which it stands. In such circumstances we are, as a people, looking to the period of formal schooling, hopeful that as a result of education youth may acquire that insight and wisdom which will enable them to preserve what is good of the past and build well thereon. 18

Although Manitoba's students, on the whole, did not become as active as students in some of the other Canadian provinces and the United States, the general unrest of the sixties added urgency to the search for a 'better', more responsive, and equitable educational system.

In order to begin the implementation of a more responsive educational system, the Manitoba Department of Education began slowly to abdicate some of the authority it had yielded in the past. The process of relinquishing control was slow but continuous. In 1967, the Department of Youth and Education had dropped the grade IX June promotion exams; from that time it was up to the individual schools to decide who was ready for high school. The grade XII

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[18] Memorandum from Superintendent's Department, Winnipeg School Division No. 1 to Winnipeg School Board, 16 October, 1956, p. 5.

examination remained for a while the domain of the Department of Education, but this last bastion was also soon eliminated. In 1969, the Department of Education disbanded the High School Examination Board. This statement was issued,

> During the 1970-71 school year, all schools will be responsible for the assessment of the progress of all students in all grades and for issuing statements of standing. 19

In the same period, responsibility to insure the continuous attendance of all school age students was passed to the various school boards.

As well as abandoning departmental examinations and thus somewhat relinquishing control on educational standards, the Department of Education began in 1967 to re-define the role and function of its Instruction and Supervisory branch. It was within this branch that the authority of the school's inspectors resided. The inspectors were the field representatives of the Department of Education. It was their function to make sure that the teachers taught the approved curriculum using an acceptable methodology. Inspectors could enter any classroom and demand to see the teacher's certification (theoretically a teacher was required to have his teaching certificate with him/her whenever she/he was in a classroom). Inspectors had the power to recommend which teachers would be granted a "permanent" teaching certificate. Of course, different inspectors

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[19] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report of Youth and Education (1970), p. 9.

viewed their role differently. Many inspectors did more than merely police the teachers; in many cases they helped teachers, especially new ones, by showing different ways of presenting lessons or by introducing a teacher to new ideas and approaches concerning a particular subject. Eventually the police role was de-emphasized and the consultative role increased. The change in role began with a reduction in number. Between 1967 and 1970, the number of inspectors decreased from 41 to 32. As noted in the Annual Report of Youth and Education in 1970

> The change in the number of inspectors has been deliberate in that many former duties and responsibilities have been shifted to school division personnel. The function of inspectors has been altered and modified from one of teacher inspection to one of consultation, school, or system evaluation, and examination and assessment of programs. 20

By 1973, the name of the Instruction and Supervisory branch was changed to Field Service branch, and all pretenses of inspectorship were dropped. The Field Service branch acquired a consultative role and became staffed by experts recruited on a secundment basis from among teachers in the various divisions.

The rationale behind this deliberate decentralization of authority had been stated in 1970:

> It is the policy of the Department of Youth and Education to strengthen the local school boards and the schools so that they may discharge their responsibilities more effectively and respond adequately to the needs of their local communities. 21

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[20] Ibid., p. 41.

[21] Ibid., p. 9.

In addition to giving power to the various communities, the Department of Education also found it expedient to recognize the growing political power of the students of the province. The recognition of the youth power took the form of granting representatives of the student body the right to be part of the educational planning:

> The Minister of Youth and Education has announced the appointment of two grade 12 students, Gary McIntosh of Brandon Collegiate and Peter Dubienski of Kelvin High, Winnipeg, to the Educational Advisory Board. 22

Although removed from the mainstream of student protest, and perhaps also unable to understand the depth of the problem, Manitoba nevertheless recognized that it would be unwise not to cater to some students' demands. In this regard, the following statement appeared in the Curriculum Bulletin published by the Manitoba Department of Education in February, 1969

> It would be just as unwise to dismiss the recent dramatic and often tragic outbursts of student protest on university campuses as the work of a small minority, as it would be misleading to exaggerate their importance. There are often local, very special reasons for each outburst. But we would be doing education as a whole a disservice, if we failed to realize that at the root of many of these disturbances, there are underlying factors and common demands which impinge upon our dealings with young adults within our own school system...23

There is no question that the late sixties and early seventies were periods of experimentation in education in Manitoba. It is often not clear if the Department of Education led, or merely followed,

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[22] Manitoba Department of Education, Curriculum Bulletin 3, No. 2 (December, 1968), p. 2.

[23] Manitoba Department of Education, Curriculum Bulletin 3, No. 3 (February, 1969), p. 3.

the educational trends that were in vogue in the United States and had found acceptance in other parts of Canada. Regardless of its role, by 1968 the Department had recognized the changing nature of schooling,[24] and a number of changes and experimentations were underway in Manitoba by 1968.[25]

By 1970, there was no question that the Department of Education in Manitoba, under the leadership of the newly elected New Democratic Party was pursuing a policy which promoted the development of alternative educational methods and increased community participation. Although by 1970 the Department of Education had experienced the diluting of much of its authority, it still retained one rather powerful incentive to encourage programs to develop along desired guidelines. In the 1970-71 school term, the Department of Youth and Education made special grants available to schools for special projects.[26]

The projects which were selected reflect the direction the Department was interested in exploring and perhaps encouraging.

Northern Schools Projects--An Experiment in Confluent Education:

Confluent education is an approach to learning and teaching which seeks to integrate the affective and cognitive domain.

An Experiment in Differentiated Staffing

The project will evaluate the use of teacher aides and teaching assistance in classroom including the use of senior students as teacher aides.

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[24] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report of Youth and Education (1968), p. 9.

[25] Manitoba Department of Education, Curriculum Bulletin 3, No. 2, (December, 1969), p. 3.

[26] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report of Youth and Education (1970-71), p. 35.

An Experiment in Community Involvement

Teacher Preparation Project

Community Schools Research

A grant has been given to the Boundary School Divisions to investigate the feasibility of a community school in the area.

Development Grant-Research Project in Early Childhood Education

Special Counsellor for Teachers

An Experiment in Citizen Participation

Small Projects:

A series of small projects were funded in the Morris-MacDonald School Division. These projects fall under three headings.
1) Differentiated Staffing...
2) Developemnt of Advisory Committees...
3) Community Teaching. This project employs the services of carpenters, sheet-metal workers and electricians from the Morris-MacDonald school area to teach their specialties to groups of boys who at present are unable to cope with regular school programs. 27

The direction the Department of Education wanted schools in Manitoba to follow was further clarified in a booklet published by the Planning and Research branch in 1973. On the surface, the booklet is a simple explanatory paper published to clarify the concepts implicit in open education--a document to be used as a basis for discussion on the part of teachers, principals and the community; the presentation is however, definitely slanted in favour of open education and continuous progress type of teaching philosophy. Traditional forms of education are subtly linked to authoritarianism. And authoritarian attitudes are denigrated.

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[27] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report of Youth and Education (1971-72), p. 34.

> Another set of attitudes that is linked to authoritarianism is that which deals with the open and closed mind. The closed mind refers to the kind of person who refuses to examine new or different ideas...In today's society, it creates disastrous conflicts. 28

Although not meant as a statement of policy, Open Education seems to embrace most of the philosophical attitudes prevalent at the time. The definite endorsement of the practice of open education is evident in the conclusion of the paper which

> ...has pointed out what the innovations mean and how the recommended changes would work to meet the changing needs of the individual and society...,Finally, it must be recognized that these changes are difficult to implement but that these difficulties are part of the process and not reason for their abandonment. 29

The official blessing for the implementation of reforms in the educational system in Manitoba came with the publication of the Report of the Core Committee on the organization of secondary schools in 1973. The Core Committee was established in July, 1969, by the Minister of Youth and Education. The task of the Committee was to review secondary education in the province of Manitoba.

Philosophically, the Core Report of Manitoba bears a striking resemblance to the Living and Learning report of Ontario. Perhaps the resemblance is an indication of the pervasiveness of the problems and ideas about education that were prevalent during the late sixties and early seventies among professional educators.

It is important to notice at this time that the "modern",

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[28] Planning and Research Branch, Open Education (Winnipeg: Department of Education, 1973), p. 9.

[29] Ibid., p. 12.

"innovative" educational philosophies of the period were not, however, shared by the majority of the population. In fact, in the introduction to the Core Report, it is stated

> For the majority, education remains an intellectual process whose main goal is the transmission of knowledge and the stimulation of critical, inquiring habits of thoughts; further, education should help students prepare for a career or some form of post-secondary education or training. 30

However, in spite of the purported philosophy of community involvement in the decision-making process in regard to educational matters, the experts on the Core Committee ignored this majority's concern and published a report which recommended changes which satisfied, not the general public but their own attitudes which was expressed in the following statement

> The basic purpose of education is to provide the instrument through which each individual realizes self-respect, self-fulfillment, and his relevance in a dynamic society, and it is mandatory that the educational system be on-going, flexible, and centered on the human needs of the students that it is designed to serve. 31

Following their own expressed philosophy, the committee came out with a series of recommendations advocating continuous progress and individualization of student programs in secondary schools, training and retraining of teachers to emphasize counselling and interpersonal skills rather than academic skills, development of community involvement in school programs, and evaluation of student performance

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[30] The Core Committee on the Re-organization of the Secondary School, The Secondary School (Winnipeg: Department of Education, 1973), p. 1.

[31] Ibid., p. 3.

which

> Must also seek to appraise not only intellectual and skill development, as has been customary, but also the affective behavior of students. Moreover, while the immediate responsibility for student evaluation lies with the school, student self-appraisal must be part of the evaluation. 32

There is no question that the debate concerning education issues was indeed pervasive throughout the provincial educational system in the late sixties and early seventies.

The perceived problems in education created by a rapidly changing technology and concurrent social values were discussed and debated both in the educational milieu (i.e., the schools, universities and departments of education) and in the political arena of the legislature where, in the final analysis, the immediate power for change resides. In 1969, the province of Manitoba had elected a New Democratic Party government--a government whose socialistic orientation and philosophical attitude found itself commited to changes in the educational field--changes in line with the government's rejection of elitism, advocacy of equality of opportunity in education and popular involvement in the decision-making process. Additionally, by 1970, the rapid expansion in the student population had begun placing an enormous financial burden on the provincial budget; the government was, therefore, looking for ways and means of reducing the cost and still maintaining or even improving the quality

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[32] Ibid., p. 38.

and equality of education.

The innovative approach to education with its differentiated staffing, community involvement in programming and open area schools seemed to be able to satisfy both the need for popular support and the economic needs of the province. In relation to community involvement the government of Manitoba prepared a discussion paper in which the following policy statement was made:

> the wider range of activities must be accomplished by a redistribution of decision-making powers. All the inhabitants of the school district must be involved in the selection and development of programs. 33

In terms of open area schools, the province really felt it had the best of all possible solutions--an obviously innovative structure which could be easily adapted to the educational and community needs, and additionally, one that was relatively inexpensive to build.

> Perhaps the most comprehensive and visible effort to restructure the physical environment of the school is the open-area school based on experiments in the United Kingdom and the United States. The open-area school has evolved partly in response to the need for more economical school construction and space utilization, partly in response to the frustration of educational reformers trying, with limited success, to implement the new curricula and team teaching in traditional schools with self-contained classrooms. 34

Thus, motivated by political, philosophical and economic considerations, Manitoba pursued its search for innovative education.

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[33] Government of Manitoba, A Reference Paper on Selected Topics in Education, Tabled in the Legislature Assembly of Manitoba, 26 June, 1972, p. 27.

[34] Ibid., p. 38.

CHAPTER VI

WINNIPEG

"The Tempers of the Time" (Chapter IV) has shown how student unrest, generated by the socio-political conditions of the late sixties and early seventies, gave rise to a search for alternative educational systems and methods. The educational reformers of the period advocated a decentralized, less structured educational organization; they de-emphasized academic excellence and promoted the idea that the goal of the schools should be personal growth and greater social awareness on the part of the students; they also advocated greater community participation in the managing of schools and student participation in curricular and academic decisions. The philosophical trends gave rise to such concepts as open education, continuous progress, and community schools. All of this necessitated the creation of techniques of team teaching, multi-graded classrooms, learning centres and the development of open area schools.

In Chapter V, it was shown that although not as troubled with student unrest as other industrialized countries, Canada responded to the educational philosophies expounded in the U.S.A. and began advocating many of the same ideas.

Manitoba, although somewhat removed from the focus of unrest found in the universities of the east, also found it expedient to promulgate educational changes in line with the trends prevalent at the time.

Not to have followed the "humanistic", "liberal" educational trends would have made Manitoba's education appear outdated, possibly even reactionary. It would be politically and economically unwise for any party in power to allow such a labelling of one of its more visible institutions. Provincial growth depends on attracting people and investments to the province. People, especially those with children, do not tend to move to a province which bears the reputation of offering sub-standard education. Industries that depend on people both as workers and consumers do not tend to be established in provinces with a static or declining population.

In the Canadian educational system each provincial department of education is fully independent in the setting of educational policies. Once the policies are set, it is the task of the various school divisions in the province to translate the theories and principles into practical learning experience for its students.

Obviously, although the provincial department of education has in theory, the final say in the setting of policies, many of the major decisions regarding education are made in consultation with a variety of agencies and groups involved in the educational process. Groups such as teachers' union, ethnic associations, school board trustees, and other departments of the Provincial government all have

some input in formulating educational policies. Additionally, the school board's elected members and executives often direct and modify the final educational position taken by the province. In some cases, educational changes are proposed by and for a particular school division. Often these changes are adopted as a general policy for education in the province and all other divisions are encouraged/ directed to follow the new pattern.

Thus, the direction of impetus for changes in the educational pattern is often blurred. Ideas for change that originate at the divisional level are sometimes taken over and/or modified at the provincial level, then promulgated as policies to be followed by all divisions. At other times, ideas originating at the provincial level are adopted by school divisions, which are often encouraged by special grants made available by the province to encourage the changes.

This two-way relationship is very evident if one examines the pattern that exists in the case of the Winnipeg School Division No.1 and the Manitoba Department of Education. A close link seems to exist between these two levels of educational institution. The link is probably due in part to the large number of students served by the Winnipeg School Division No. 1, which means that any change will effect a large proportion of the student body in Manitoba. In part, the close cooperation is due to the physical proximity of the Winnipeg School Division No.1 to the provincial administrative centre. This proximity makes it possible for the provincial executives to be quite familiar with the

work and personalities of Winnipeg School Division No. 1 personnel, a familiarity which often leads to the seconding hiring of teachers and executives from Winnipeg School Division No. 1 by the Provincial Department of Education. Thus, it is easy to see how, under these circumstances, policies and ideas advocated by a school division might be introduced in a provincial department of education and consequently become governmental directions for all school divisions. For example, in 1966, Dr. W.C. Lorimer, the Superintendent for the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 since 1953, was appointed to the position of Deputy Minister of Education.

Obviously, the proximity of the offices of the Provincial Department of Education with the consequent potential for influencing the educational direction of the province is not an exclusive characteristic of Winnipeg School Division No. 1, but applies in some degree also to other school divisions in the urban area of Winnipeg.

As mentioned previously, the impetus for changes in education could come either from the school divisions or from the Provincial Government; however, it was felt, in the Winnipeg area, that the province was more influential in the rural school divisions. Rural school divisions did not have the size and financial basis to hire the supervisory and specialist staff that the large urban divisions could afford. Consequently, rural schools were dependent for directions and assistance on the personnel of the Provincial Department of Education. This dependency allowed the province to exercise a fair degree of control on the educational direction followed by rural schools.

It was also felt that innovative thinking on the part of the province trailed the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 by about four to five years. This leadership was confirmed by Mr. W. Donald, a former superintendent of the Winnipeg School Division No. 1, who, in an interview with the author, stated:

> In fact, the Department of Education has been quite influential outside of the metropolitan area...My guess would be that in everything that was done we would be 4 to 5 years ahead of them...
>
> We started the Child Guidance Clinic then they picked it up and supported it. We started special education...We ran kindergartens from 1941 to 1967--No support--then they finally made it provincial... So, in effect, we have done our thing. On the same basis, though, in the country, those inspectors have been strong enough, and the people in the country have changed over so fast that the school division in the country depended on the inspectors. Relied on them for their educational advice and information; so the situation was different in the country and the Department has had a tremendous effect...I shouldn't say that (in Winnipeg) it has been mutual. [1]

The Winnipeg School Division No. 1

Although far removed from the social unrest that was beginning to develop in the industrialized world, Winnipeg School Division No. 1 was well aware in the 60's that changes in society and concomitant changes in education were taking place across North America.

The annual Superintendent's report to the Board of the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 of 1964 states in its introduction:

> "While it has become almost routine to say that education and society are undergoing substantial changes and at a more rapid rate than in the past, the amount and the rate of change are so

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[1] Mr. W. Donald, held in the Winnipeg School Board office, Winnipeg, Manitoba, July, 1978.

important that they should be mentioned.

> In recent years, the Department of Education either has made substantial changes or established the basis for such changes in the curriculum. The new general course has been introduced, the University Entrance Course is being modified and changes are underway in the elementary and junior high school program". [2]

Year after year, the annual reports by the Superintendents to the Board began with statements to the effect that changes were occurring in society and in education, and more importantly, that Winnipeg was keeping pace with the innovative techniques being advocated throughout North America. By 1969, the newly developed trends in education seemed to be well established in Winnipeg's elementary schools. The "modern" Winnipeg school of 1969 were supposedly using such educational practices as continuous progress, team teaching, cooperative teaching and ungraded classrooms.[3]

The physical structure of some schools such as Kelvin, and St. John's had been changed by the introduction of "lecture theaters" to allow for the new educational approaches and "as a prelude to the seventies, three schools had open space teaching areas developed".[4]

At the secondary school level, changes were also taking place. In terms of curriculum, different levels of competency were now required from different segments of the population. By 1969, there existed two separate programs: the University entrance courses and the general program. The latter was geared for the less academically oriented, non-university directed students. Additionally, R.B. Russell

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[2] The Winnipeg School Division No. 1, Annual Report of the Superintendent to the School Board for the Year Ending December 31, 1964. p. 1.

[3] The Winnipeg School Division No. 1, Annual Report 1969. p. 7.

[4] Ibid., p. 5.

School, a technical-vocational school for students who couldn't cope with the rigors of the general course, was now fully operational. The doctrine of continuous progress was also making headway in the secondary schools. Encouraged by trends in other provinces and by the relinquishing of authority on the part of the Provincial Department of Education, Winnipeg was rapidly moving toward the elimination of all formal examinations as a way of assessing the academic competence of its students. Thus, the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 could state in The Annual Bulletin of 1969

> A development of substantial significance during the 1960's was the virtual abandonment of central examinations...Parallel to a rapid movement in the decade away from central examinations and away from examinations set by an authority external to the local school, has been a movement within schools to abandon formal examinations at Christmas, Easter and June and to attempt to evaluate student progress on a day to day and week to week basis. 5

The philosophical and methodological changes which were occurring at the school level triggered a need for modifications of the senior administrative level of the Winnipeg School Division No. 1. These changes at the administrative level were made necessary, first of all, by a philosophy which looked askance at a powerful centralized authority. It was generally felt that the superintendents were too far removed from the day-to-day running of a school and that, given the democratic nature of our society, they should be more accessible and responsive to the principals.

The second reason for the change of structure was dictated by

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[5] Ibid., p. 15.

the development of large schools containing both elementary and junior high classes within the same building and also the blurring effect the idea of continuous progress had on grade placement; these two aspects of modern education created confusion as to exactly which superintendent--the secondary or elementary--had authority in certain cases. In addition, education was seen as a continuum with an elementary-secondary split an artificial imposition. Therefore, the superintendent's office should not acknowledge within its structure this artificial division.

In 1973, the chief superintendent, Carmen Moir, had re-organized the administrative structure. Rather than having a chief superintendent, a superintendent for secondary and one for elementary schools, he created three Area Superintendents each responsible for all the schools --elementary or secondary--within a particular section of the city.

The rationale for this restructuring was presented by Mr. Moir to a principals' conference held at Minaki Lodge, October 25, 1973. In his presentation, Mr. Moir summarized the philosophical, curricular and technical changes which had occurred or were occurring in Winnipeg.

> 1. The re-organization is based on the concept that education is a continuous process and therefore the task of the schools should encompass the entire program from kindergarten to grade XII...
>
> 2. It is believed that this re-organization will contribute to the development of an integrated curriculum. The process of curriculum building would be: a single effort so that there would be no gaps or hurdles as pupils move from grade VI to VII or grade IX to X or from secondary to vocational or from secondary to adult education.

> 3. Of equal significance with curriculum development is the introduction of new approaches and the implementing of the curriculum. Exciting programs are to be found at all levels in the schools today. It is hoped that the re-organization will contribute to the dissemination of ideas within the system with the result that the most productive programs, wherever they are found, can be quickly and readily adopted.
>
> 4. The re-organization is structured to promote ease of communication within the system. It is hoped that there will be a reduction of distance between the schools and the head office administration...
>
> 5. Another purpose is found in the greater degree of decentralization that was being talked about throughout the system...
>
> 6. ...To ensure that the community has considerable infusion into the scheme, the bureaucratic structure must lessen its overall control so that a greater degree of local autonomy in the school may be obtained. [6]

Together with the general re-organization of education so as to make it more in keeping with the philosophies and ideas of the time, there was also a positive response on the part of Winnipeg School Division No. 1 to the new forcefulness displayed by the students.

Winnipeg's educational authorities were well aware of the potential for unrest that existed within any large student body. In the late 60's, newspapers were daily recounting stories of student protests in the United States and to a lesser extent in eastern Canada.

In 1970, the students found occasion to display some of their newly found political awareness. In that year, the teachers of the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 challenged the School Division on the issue of noon hour supervision. The teachers felt that their contract

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[6] C.F. Moir, "Address to Secondary Principals' Conference at Minaki Lodge", Nimaki, Ontario, 25 October, 1973, p. 2.

did not require them to be on duty during their lunch hour; the school board disagreed. The issue became one of principle as well as contract and the teachers, unable to strike because of a previous agreement, withdrew all voluntary activities such as coaching sport teams and supervising school clubs outside school hours. Obviously, the students were those who suffered the most from this work to rule campaign. Angered by the conflict which deprived them of some of their school related activities, the students organized a rather well orchestrated protest. This report of the event was included in the Annual Report of 1970,

> For two days, they moved in front of the Division's Administration building in numbers estimated at 1,000 or more to protest the fact that their after-school activities were being cancelled. Although they were wrongly absent from classes to make their protest, their conduct was good and there were none of those incidents that so often occur in youth demonstrations one hears about in other areas. 7

The student potential for unrest had, in fact, already been defused by the establishment of a student inter-high council under its own authority - i.e., no longer controlled by a school principal, with the power of influencing, through consultation, the programs of the Winnipeg School Division No. 1.

It can thus be seen that by the early '70's, Winnipeg School Division No. 1 had adopted, at least in principle, many of the concepts which had been promoted by the innovative writers of the sixties.

As shown by the yearly superintendent's reports of the '60's, Winnipeg was feeling the pressure to examine and implement the educational methodologies which were being advocated by educators in the

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[7] The Winnipeg School Division No. 1, Annual Report 1969, p. 7.

United States and other parts of Canada. The pressure came from a fear that not to accept the new methods would brand Winnipeg's educators as reactionary and outdated--a branding which, of course, could prove disastrous in terms of career advancement. In education, as in other areas, promotions are often dependent on the appearance of being bright, hard working and innovative. Also, the new methodologies were necessary to translate the expressed philosophy into the practical reality of the school and the classroom. It is necessary at this point to review the educational philosophy of the period. Generally speaking, the philosophy was highly humanistic and child-centered. The idea was not to "teach" but to create an environment in which a child could learn. The teacher was thus displaced from his position of authority and the school became a learning environment. This approach required considerable rethinking of the traditional patterns of education. Questions such as the response of a teacher to undisciplined behavior, evaluation of a child's academic progress, physical development of learning materials, the type of materials to be used, etc., all had to be addressed and answered.

By the late '60's, a number of educational methodologies were being practised within the schools of Winnipeg School Division No. 1. At the secondary level, the most prevalent were continuous progress, student initiated and independent study projects, phasing and team teaching, in a variety of forms. Continuous progress refers to a system whereby a student moves from one year (not grade) to the next

as s/he develops and grows in maturity and knowledge at her/his own pace, rather than in the lock step fashion prevalent in traditional education.

Student initiated, independent study projects were the schools' response to the philosophical attitude that a student is most able to determine where her/his interst lay and should, therefore, be able to select an area of study outside the standard curriculum. Under normal circumstances, a student would propose an area of interest which s/he would like to pursue, and a teacher would either be assigned or volunteer to act as a consultant for the duration of the project proposed by the student. Thus, as an example, a student interested in journalism might arrange to follow or even work with a newspaper reporter. The teacher-in-charge would then be required to monitor the student to ensure that s/he benefitted from the experience. At the end of the project, the student would be given an academic credit for his work in journalism. Furthermore, as a development of the idea that the curriculum guides established by the Department of Education were too restrictive, many schools encouraged their teachers to develop their own programs and offer these courses as options to be taken in addition to regular school work.

A continuing debate in modern education revolves around the grouping of students. Some educators advocate grouping homogeneously; i.e., the best students in one class, the second best in another, and so on. Homogeneous grouping facilitates teaching since the subject

matter can be geared to the competency level of the students in any one class. However, there are problems in this system. For one, it is difficult to decide what basis to use for grouping. Tested intelligence quotient, which seems to measure learning ability, does not give any indication as to the desire of a particular student to use that ability. A student might also be very talented in one subject and totally inept in another either because of lack of skill or interest. Additionally, an academically poor student, placed in a lower level class, can easily develop feelings of worthlessness and give up on education.

To resolve some of these problems, the Department of Education introduced in the '60's differentiated programs. The university entrance courses were directed to the academically able students who desired to continue their education at the university. General courses were developed for students who did not wish to develop an academic career. Thus, a student taking a "00" course (university entrance) in mathematics would be required in his three high school years to take algebra, geometry and calculus while his counterpart in the "01" program (general course) would only be required to study some algebra.

The two-stream system, however, did not seem to offer sufficient scope; therefore, "phasing" was introduced at the local school level. With phasing, a school could subdivide a general course or even a university entrance course. Phase I might be an enriched program for highly motivated students while Phase III might be considered a remedial program to assist a group of students to master a course so they

could graduate from high school. In phasing, placement is made in a group depending on ability and interest in any particular subject, so that a student might be in phase I in mathematics and phase III in language arts in addition to being in a university entrance course or general course. Theoretically, in this system no student could possibly fail since he should be able to find an academic level at which he could function.

However, the major innovation adopted by the Winnipeg School Dvision No. 1 was team teaching. As stated in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 Annual Report

> The pursuit of the goals of continuous progress and individualized instruction is leading schools to develop new forms of school organization. More and more teachers are grouping themselves into teams instead of working in isolation in individual classrooms. 8

According to Mr. Gordon MacDonell, one of the superintendents of the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 during the '60's, there seems to have been a great deal of writing on the team teaching concept in the educational literature of the time. Additionally, the concept was a recurrent theme at many of the conferences attended by Mr. MacDonell. Such continuous exposure finally convinced the superintendent that team teaching should be explored in greater detail with the view of possible implementation in the Winnipeg schools. Mr. MacDonell arranged to visit some schools in the U.S.A. where team teaching was being practised and on his return observed,

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[8]Ibid., p. 15.

> ...I said to the principals that there is something that looks as though it has some value. Let's take a look at it. 9

Principals were encouraged to attend workshops on team teaching and visit schools utilizing team teaching. Eventually, principals presented their staffs with the opportunity of attempting team teaching ventures within their own schools.

Team teaching is a method of school organization that seemed to satisfy many of the issues raised by the philosophy of the period. Team teaching does away with closed classrooms. It allows students to be routinely exposed to more than one view of a subject or issue. It apparently circumvents the problem of homogeneous grouping with its label of elitism, and at the same time appears to avoid the difficulties of heterogeneous grouping in which teachers often end up teaching either the bright students or the poor students but not both. Team teaching allows each teacher to deal with the subject area he knows best. Thus, students do not suffer academically because of the weakness of a particular teacher. Team teaching makes possible flexible scheduling so students are not exposed to the regimentation of the school bell. Finally, team teaching is visibly innovative--it even sounded right in an era during which communal living and sharing were the "in thing".

Team teaching is an organizational pattern in which a group of teachers, usually involved in the same subject area, work together. The idea behind the practice is that teaching takes many forms and required different groupings of students at different times. Thus,

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[9] Mr. G.T. MacDonell, held in Winnipeg, Manitoba, March, 1979.

at one time, a lecture style could be employed to teach a lesson--the lecture can obviously be presented to 100 students just as easily as to 30. At other times, it is more effective to use a tutorial approach at which point, a small number (12 to 15) is best. At other times, a student could study on her/his own with teachers circulating in the area and acting as resource persons.

By teaming, the teachers are able to use all forms of grouping as required by the teaching approach used at that particular time; additionally, teachers within a team can more easily plan lessons and share expertise.

The big bonus of the team teaching approach is that one can theoretically cater to the bright student as well as to the less academically skilled. Following a large group presentation, the group could be split so that the bright students go off on their own to explore the topic in more depth while the poorer students are grouped in small numbers so that teachers can resolve any difficulty the students might have encountered in the lecture presentation.

The problem with team teaching is that not only the school's human resources have to be re-organized--a timetabling problem--but also the physical structure of the school has to be modified to accommodate lecture theaters, small group seminar rooms, individual study areas as well as traditional classrooms--a financial problem.

However, in the late '60's the financial aspect did not seem to be a major problem, with the result that many junior and senior high

schools were modified to accommodate the team teaching pattern.[10]

As examples of the cost involved, in July, 1966, the Winnipeg School Board approved the expenditure of $47,465. to provide Hugh John McDonald School with team teaching facilities; in the same year, the Board was examining a $120,000. modification of River Heights School for the same purpose.

The Gordon Bell Project

In 1968, the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 and the Manitoba Department of Education decided that the aforementioned educational approaches, which were more or less attempted in many schools, should be examined closely in one school. To this end, Gordon Bell High School was designated as an experimental school for five years and given a fair degree of autonomy in the selection and development of programs and methods. In 1973, a report entitled A Report on How One High School Changed 1968-1973 was published by the team of professors and teachers selected to evaluate the Gordon Bell project. The following are quotes from that report.

> Broadly speaking, the Gordon Bell project resulted from a feeling on the part of many Manitoba teachers and educational administrators that the traditionally organized high school was failing in many ways to meet the educational needs of its students and the community at large.
>
> It was widely felt that our schools were not reflecting many of the profound social changes of recent years, and that the revision of course offerings--notably the development of the General Course and the introduction of such programmes as "The

[10] The Winnipeg School Division No. 1, Annual Report to the Board of the Winnipeg School Division 1967, p. 13.

> New Math"--were not sufficient in themselves. These curriculum changes needed to be accompanied by similarly imaginative and far-reaching changes in the total organization and learning climate of the school. 11

The selection of the Gordon Bell School as the one to be used in the project was dictated by several reasons.

> First, it served a student population with a sufficiently broad range of educational interests and needs to present adequate scope for the implementation of new approaches. Second, the proposed project required a school encompassing both junior and senior high levels. Third, the school's administrators and teachers had had considerable experiences in developing new courses and setting up instructional teams. Finally, and perhaps most important, the school staff had indicated that they were just as convinced as the Department and School Division officials about the value of the proposed project. 12

Written into the Gordon Bell project was the requirement of an evaluation of the experiment conducted by some outside source. In keeping with the philosophical attitude prevalent among "progressive" educators at the time, the evaluators of the project were not interested in the results the new methodologies had on the academic achievement of the students.

> ...and some, such as effects on students' academic achievement, were not judged sufficiently significant in terms of the central aim of the project to warrant undertaking the complex task of securing valid and reliable measures. 13

The project evaluators were mostly interested in evaluating the students' attitudes toward the school and the project. How the students

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[11] R.M. Sanford, The Gordon Bell Project. "A Report to the Board of the Winnipeg School Division 1967. p. 13.

[12] Ibid., p. 6.

[13] Ibid., p. 21.

felt was at that time more relevant than what they learned.

Through questionnaires, interviews and general discussions, attitudes of the students were probed. Generally speaking, the majority of students, about 75% of those who replied to the questionnaires, seemed in favour of Gordon Bell's approach to education; however,

> An interesting additional finding in connection with the system of student evaluation used in the project was that approximately 80% of the students who categorized themselves as 'doing as little as possible' stated that the usual evaluation of their work was 'satisfactory'. 14

In the same vain, the dissatisfied minority commented on the general lack of educational achievement thus:

> On the negative side were general complaints such as the following: ...up to Grade 10, I was used to a very strict school system. In the middle of Grade 10, however, I had to transfer to this school. Now three years later I am still sorry. The privileges we receive are all right but I would much rather sacrifice freedom in order to get a good education. 15

The teachers of Gordon Bell School and their attitudes were also surveyed through questionnaires and interviews. It was found that the typical teacher at the school was between 30 and 35 years of age and had taught at the school for four years. The teachers were tested on the Kerlinger's Educational Scale VII, a standardized attitude scale, and were found to be generally more progressive than teachers in other comparable Winnipeg schools. Overall, most teachers claimed to be in favour of the project although some concern expressed

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[14] Ibid., p. 30.

[15] Ibid., p. 25.

by teachers leaving the school (17 teachers left the school in the first year as compared to an average of 12 for comparable schools in the same year),

> ...was that the programmes, while beneficial for better than average students, was of doubtful value for those who are average or below average. 16

Gordon Bell had been set up as an experimental school to explore team teaching, continuous progress, phasing and independent study; however, it must be noted that by the early seventies the teachers at Gordon Bell had become aware that

> Gordon Bell no longer greatly differs from other Winnipeg high schools because so many others have now adopted our philosophy and curriculum approach. 17

The Elementary School--David Livingstone School

While the big innovation in high school was the team teaching approach, the innovators in the elementary schools of Winnipeg experimented with open plan schools, learning centres, multigraded classrooms and "open schools".

The open plan school was hailed as the panacea to education sometime during the latter part of the '60's. However, because the expenditure required to build a new school or even drastically modify an old one is a very large investment, no open plan schools were built by Winnipeg School Division No. 1 until 1970. From 1970 to 1979, nine

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[16] Ibid., p. 34.

[17] Ibid., p. 40.

open area schools were created. Some schools were replacement buildings for schools that were so old as to be in danger of collapse; other schools were modified to fit the new philosophy.

Interestingly, the open area concept was going out of favour across the North American continent by about 1975, and departments of educations were, by that time, busily spending money erecting real walls to replace the barricades of shelving and portable blackboards the teachers had been using for years to create private classroom spaces.

The open area school sounded positively idylic in theory; unfortunately the theory did not translate well to the practical reality of the school. Theoretically, there would be less structure in open area, in reality both the teachers and the students have to be more organized and more structured. Every moment of the day has to be carefully planned so as to allow every one of the ninety or more students to make use of the facilities and learning centres available in the area. The students, rather than being more free, must be more disciplined so as not to be distracted by the activities around them or disturb other students. The teachers are not free to break away from routines and just have fun with their classes because of fear of creating difficulties for the colleagues sharing the area. Some teachers were inhibited in their teaching because of the presence (and potential criticism) of their colleagues. Noise was always a major problem of the open area; a hundred or more students in one area watching movies, listening to records, discussing, moving around, turning pages all

create noise. The obvious teacher's response to the problems was to create private spaces any way they could.

The author's experience confirms the problems encountered in an open area school having taught in just such a situation. A major problem observed by the author was teachers' fatigue above and beyond that normally experienced by teachers in traditional settings. A teacher in an open area school seems to be in a continuous state of tension. The tension is generated by the lack of privacy and the awareness that, even if one's personal group of students is "settled", an happening in an other corner of the room might disrupt the calm. Unfortunately, some of the teachers respond to this state of affairs by learning to ignore all that is happening around them; others spend much of their time attempting to maintain strict control of their class with the consequences that little teaching takes place.

An innovation which did not require large expenditures of money and, therefore, was readily implementable, was the concept of "open school".

Unfortunately, the concept of the "open school" is as vague as much of the philosophical stand taken by many of the educators of the sixties.

In a very general sense, an "open school" is one in which students are given a great degree of freedom to explore their interests and potential. Included within the concept of the "open school" are such ideas as continuous progress, co-operating teachers, students helping students and community involvement both as a source of school volunteers and as advisors in the running of the school.

Many schools in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 declared that they were following an open school philosophy; however, it was up to David Livingstone School in 1974 to propose formally a project in which the school would experiment with open school concepts. The goals of the school, as stated by the committee in charge of the evaluation of the program at David Livingstone,

> ...were directed toward the provision of an atmosphere in which each child could assume responsibility for her/his own learning by becoming involved in flexible programs which offered a variety of learning experience. 18

The basic difference in the school was its organizational structure. The school population was divided into "family" units consisting of about 100 children ranging from grades 1 to 6. Four teachers were assigned to each family. Although the original plan of the school called for each classroom to have students from grade 1 to 6, by about Christmas of the first year of operation, students had been re-distributed so that there were only three grade levels in each classroom.

The grouping of teachers and students into "family units" was dictated by the idea that

> ...the family arrangement has many positive aspects in that it allows for flexibility of movement of students between classrooms and for the sharing of ideas, materials and problems between teachers. It was observed, however, that some families were not operating as effectively as they might have. Limited (or no) time for co-operative planning and difference in philosophy and personality seem to have inhibited communication between teachers in a family unit and thus have restricted the possibilities of building a cohesive group. 19

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[18] Evaluation Committee, "Report on the Evaluation of Programs at David Livingstone--The Open School, The Faculty Associates' Program. First Year 1974-1975", Winnipeg, 1975, p. 4.

[19] Ibid., p. 5.

In keeping with the philosophy of the project, the children were given a considerable degree of freedom in the choice of what to study from units on various topics prepared by the teachers. The preparation of study units requires considerable planning. The progression of steps needed to facilitate the mastering of the topic under study has to be carefully developed, materials such as books, illustrations, equipment have to be collected and integrated in the unit. Unfortunately, lack of preparation time and resources hampered the development of many quality study units.

Also as part of the philosophy of open school, there was a strong commitment to involve the community in the educational process. However,

> The committee discovered through staff and parent interviews that there was an overall lack of community involvement and of communication between the school and the community. 20

Additionally, there was also lack of effective communication within the school. The author was involved in teaching at David Livingstone School during the first two years of the project. The most difficult problem faced by the staff was to determine what was an "open school". The staff spent considerable time in attempting to reach a consensus.

It is the opinion of the author, that many of the difficulties experienced by the school were due to the fact that the staff could never agree on how the school should be organized. The result of the

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[20] Ibid., p. 6.

disagreement was that several groups were formed, all of them struggling to impose their views on the others. The resulting tension caused many teachers to simply withdraw to their classrooms and virtually ignore the other members of their "co-operating" team.

Open school philosophy incorporates the concept of continuous progress so that

> There was no formal evaluation used in the classrooms but the enjoyment of and the completion by the children of projects were seen as subjective and successful evaluations. 21

In actuality the David Livingstone project was innovative only in the fact that the open school concept was deliberately planned for a specific school, and that the staff of the school was replaced with specially selected personnel.

Most of the ideas practised in David Livingstone School, such as the greater student freedom, the multi-graded classrooms, the absence of tests or formal evaluations to determine promotions, learning centres, and community involvement, were not new; they had been practised and were still practised in several other elementary schools for a number of years.

Generally speaking, the innovative educational techniques that became popular in Winnipeg during the late '60's and early '70's were team teaching, continuous progress through the grades without much formal testing of acquired skills or knowledge and multi-graded classrooms.

The factors motivating the adoption on the part of Winnipeg

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[21] Ibid., p. 22.

School Division No. 1 of these techniques and the concomitant philosophy of eudcation do not seem to have been based on any major social upheaval requiring changes in the school system so as to satisfy some urgent need. The innovations were imported from other areas of North America, areas in which dramatic socio-economic events and vocal innovators made changes in the school system necessary.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION
or
THE NEXT SPIRAL

> These intellectual leaders of the future literally can not read, write, or think. They are good at word recognition but to read, mark, learn, and inwardly "digest" even simple material is beyond them...They are only ignorant, lazy, and unaware of the exacting demands of a society from the realities of which they have been carefully insulated. 1

Thus wrote Hilda Neatby in the introduction to So Little For the Mind, a book condemning the "progressive" educational practices which had pervaded North American educational thinking. The above quotation might sound familiar and contemporary but it is interesting to note that the book was published in 1953 and its publication closely coincided with the end of the "progressive education" period in North America. The end of "progressive" education marked the end of one of the educational cycles which seems to characterize the progression of educational practices in the public school system.

The period between the mid-50's and mid-60's was yet another cycle in the educational merry-go-round. It was a period of "new math" and "new science", multitudinous I.Q. and achievement testing and centrally supervised educational practices. That cycle had been

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[1] Hilda Neatby, So Little For the Mind (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company Ltd., 1953), p. 12.

generated by the realization that North American students were not as well educated, in such areas as mathematics and science, as their counterparts in other industrialized countries; as a result North America was rapidly being overtaken by other industrialized countries.

The mid-60's saw the beginning of a new movement in education in North America. As has been shown in the previous chapters, special sociological and economic factors set the conditions which forced educators to re-think once again the educational processes and underlying educational philosophies.

In the late 70's, North American education found itself once again in a state of turmoil--a turmoil characteristic of the beginning of a new cycle in the methods and practices of the public school system.

Even while the new educational theories were being tested in innovative schools around the country, some educators were vocal in their disagreement with the movement away from strict academic pursuit and the expectation of well behaved, disciplined students. Some educators, who did not agree with the educational practices in vogue in the sixties felt that giving authority for decision-making to young people, a common practice at the time, was in fact, unkind and in the long run, destructive.

> The child who has never been controlled can never control himself. And there is no insecurity like being unable to control oneself. Words like 'control', 'obedience', 'authority', 'discipline' offended the sentimental liberalism of too many American parents. But the Id can bea much more terrible despot than the super Ego... When should a parent turn over authority to the child? When the

> child stops reaching for authority and reaches for responsibility and not before. 2

The ideas expressed by Mr. Barr in an article in the New York Times magazine in 1967 were indeed contrary to the permissive attitudes which were being advocated in the schools at the time. However, by the time Our Children's Crippled Future was published in 1977, the vague rumbling of discontent of the few 'reactionary' had become a loud cry of alarm on the part of many concerned educators who had seen the negative effect the permissiveness of the 60's had on education.[3]

By the late seventies a large enough body of statistics, which pointed to the fact that the educational level of students was on the decline, had been accumulated. Concerned educators and parents looked for a cause for this decline in educational skills. Inevitably, the blame was placed on the teaching practices and philosophies of education prevalent in the previous decade. Frank B. Armbruster clearly expressed this condemnation of the education of the sixties in Our Children's Crippled Future,

> One harsh but perhaps not completely unfair way to describe the 1960's and early 1970's might be as the era gimmickry in education. Many of the innovations that were supposed to accomplish with little scholatic effort what previously had taken considerable self-discipline and hard, sometimes tedious, work seemed to fall into this category. Perhaps, it was inevitable that shortcuts were also substituted for extremely complex social processes. 4

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[2]Donald Barr, Who Pushed Humpty Dumpty? (New York: Atheneum, 1971), p. 33.

[3]Frank E. Armbruster with Paul Bracken, Our Children's Crippled Future (New York: Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Co., 1977), p. 109.

[4]Ibid., p. 123.

In 1981, the government of the U.S.A. appointed a commission to examine the quality of education in the U.S.A. In 1983, the commission, echoing the fears expressed at the launching of the Russian Sputnik in the 50's, published a report entitled A Nation At Risk in which it expressed deep concern for the fate of the American students and by projection the fate of the U.S.A. in competition with other industrialized nations. The commission's deep concern can perhaps best be exemplified by the statement from the report,

> If an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war. 5

The finding that prompted this extraordinary statement was the realization by the commission that,

> For the first time in the history of our country, the educational skills of one generation will not surpass, will not equal, will not even approach, those of their parents. 6

The concern for the quality of education received by the students of today is not restricted to the U.S.A. Canada also is re-examining its educational practices in view of the failure of the experiments of the 1965-1975 decade to produce the socially aware, skilled personnel Canada needs in order to compete and survive economically in the high urbanized, skill-oriented world of today and in the future.[7]

Thus, once again, the previous education system is being blamed

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[5] A Nation At Risk, quoted in Dennis A. William with Lucy Howard, Nadine Joseph, Barbara Burgower, Jacob Young, Dianne H. McDonald, "Can the Schools Be Saved", Newsweek, 9 May, 1983, p. 50.

[6] Ibid., p. 50.

[7] Peter Sypnowich, "The Trouble in Our Schools", Today Magazine,

for the failure to educate the students who are the product of the educational practices of the 1965-1979 decade to fulfill their assigned roles in the society of the eighties. Undeniably, educators were under great pressure, during the 1965-1975 decade, to find solutions to the problems created by students' unrest, social and economic inequalities, the enormous increase in the number of students, and other socio-economic conditions. However, with the 20/20 vision of hindsight, both the general public and professional educators began to realize in the late 70's that, in their haste to humanize and innovate education in response to the immediate, special socio-economic conditions of a specific time, they might have failed to consider the complexity of the situation and consequently advocated overly simplistic solutions to very complex problems.

Many of the solutions advocated in the 60's did not centre on methodologies but on educational philosophies and attitudes. New teaching methods were applied only sporadically and were practices a relatively short period of time. By and large, it was the attitude developed toward education and students that had the most powerful impact on the public school system.

The attitudes towards education stemmed from the philosophy that seemed to pervade the sixties. It is important to remember that in those years there seemed to be a turning away from practical reality and a movement toward idealism and humanism. It seemed to be a period of cooperation rather than competition--a period during which people aspired for a return to a simpler, less technologically dominated life

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5 September, 1981, p. 50.

style. It was a time of laisse-faire during which it was considered unacceptable to attempt to impart to young people the values of their elders. Young people were free to shape themselves. When the philosophy of the period was applied to the school, a number of attitudes toward education, its role and limits had to be developed.

One of the most obvious attitudes at the time was that education had to be "fun" and immediately relevant to the student. The learning process must not in any way become too much of a burden or too hard work for the students. Obviously, if the course was relevant to the student, then s/he would certainly want to learn and, therefore, the task of learning would become pleasureable rather than odious. The above attitude led to the offering of a multitude of courses which would be interesting, fun, and, when necessary, limited to scope and level of difficulty so as not to strain the students' span and assumed limited desire or ability to learn.[8]

Concurrent with the above attitude and practice was the prevalent belief that all children, regardless of their socio-economic background, personal problems and level of intelligence, came to school eager and willing to learn and, additionally, quite able to decide what it was that they would need to know in order to grow up to be mature adults and fulfill their personal potential and contribute to the growth of their society. Unfortunately, as Allan C. Ornstein wrote in Educational Innovation and Change: Some Trends Over the Decades,

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[8] A Nation At Risk, quoted in News Leader, Special Edition, May, 1983, p. 2.

> To a large extent, reformers' expectations were unrealistic. They expected that all students would want to learn and know how to learn; they expected unfailingly dedicated and competent teachers. 9

The 60's was also a period when it was felt that academic competition and the associated stress were counter-productive and had no place in modern North American schools. Children should not be asked to compete against their peers. The socially acceptable school philosophy of the period was not competition but cooperation, a philosophy that encompassed the classroom but was, in fact, never practiced outside the school in the real world of business and politics or the teachers' lounge. As was shown in Chapters four and five, a consequence of this attitude was the elimination of formal testing to measure achievement and to promote children from one level (grade) to the next since such tests would inevitably match child against child.

Probably the most seductive attitude prevalent in the 60's was the desire to create an educational system which would be free of the inequalities that existed in society and thereby hopefully to be instrumental in helping to create a more egalitarian future social structure. A consequence of this desire for equality was the assumption that most attitudes and practices existing in society were equally valid. As far as some educators were concerned, "middle class" attitudes, which included such things as certain behavioral expectations, dress codes, and language usage, should not be imposed on all the school's "clients". "Street language" was considered at par with

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[9] Allan C. Ornstein, "Educational Innovation and Change: Some Trends Over the Decades". The Education Digest (November, 1982), p. 17.

"proper English" and was theoretically acceptable in the classroom.[10]

The various attitudes and philosophies of education prompted the creation of new classroom practices and new teaching methodologies. Many of these practices were seen and reported in "Canada", Reviews of National Policies for Education published in 1976,

> The forms that have been chosen are numerous. The principles and practice of non-grading, continuous progress, and open-area classrooms and team-teaching are in evidence, as is the promotion of independent learning through new curricula. 11

Many of the innovative classroom practices were implemented for a relatively short time only and either distorted or simply faded away as the practising of specific methods became corrupted by the practical, everyday need of the classroom or the lack of skill on the part of the teachers using the method.

Thus, shortly after being built, open area schools saw the building, on the part of teachers, of "temporary" walls and divisions which soon became more and more established until such time as the temporary barriers were replaced by permanent walls.

The practice of continuous progress was distorted almost from the beginning; in most cases, it became a case of continuous promotion with students going from one grade to the next without having mastered much of the curriculum. The principle of individualization of program, the other aspect of continuous progress, also became corrupted, so that as is written in The Report on Canada by The Organization for

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[10] Armbruster, Our Children's Crippled Future, p. 8.

[11] Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, "Canada", Reviews of National Policies for Education, Paris, 1976, p. 41.

Economic Co-operation and Development,

> In many instances in Canada, the form of adaptation looks suspiciously like traditional streaming in ability groups, already from grade I. The choices made for pupils, at least at the elementary level, appear primarily to be regarded as a matter for decision by "pedagogoical" experts, with only limited possibilities for parental participation. At the secondary, choices of direction may be more susceptible to influence by individual pupils and parents, though the "advice" of teachers probably counts heavily at this level, too, and may be decisive in terms of relegating children to vocational streams at an astonishingly early age. 12

Changes in form that ought to have brought positive changes brought about a deterioration of the school system.

What the schools retained of the ideological conceptualizations of the 60's and early 70's were reduced academic expectations, reduced classroom discipline, and the elimination of formal testing to determine academic achievement and promotions, all of which resulted in a dramatic drop in the educational skills of the students graduating in the late 70's. Some of the findings of the National Commission on Excellence in Education are:

> Some 23 million American adults are functionally illiterate... About 13 percent of all 17-year-olds in the United States can be considered functionally illiterate...Average achievement of high school students on most standardized tests is now lower than 26 years ago when Sputnik was launched... The College Board's Scholastic Aptitude test (Sat) demonstrates a virtually unbroken decline from 1963 to 1980. Average verbal scores fell over 50 points and average mathematics scores dropped nearly 40 points... 13

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[12] Ibid., p. 45.

[13] A Nation At Risk, quoted in News Leader, Special Edition, May, 1983, p. 2.

These findings are not restricted to the U.S.A. The University of Toronto found itself compelled to institute English proficiency tests in order to screen students who had passed high school without having acquired sufficient command of the English language to be able to write a couple of coherent paragraphs.

By and large, the innovative techniques of the sixties failed not because the methodologies were faulty, but because the humanistic philosophy that generated the educational concepts of the time was too idealistic. The philosophy failed to take into account human nature and the economics of education.

Teachers, as do many other people, fear change. Changes in established patterns create confusion and anxiety, especially when the changes are imposed from without. As was shown in Chapter four, practising teachers were not usually included in the various commissions which proposed modifications of the existing education systems. Also, from the point of view of the good teachers, changes are not only not welcomed but utterly unnecessary; their own methods do in fact work and can be shown to work by the simple fact that their students learn whatever the teacher teaches. On the other hand, the inefficient or lazy teacher will not improve because of a new technique; in fact, s/he might use the novel situation to hide his/her inefficiency. Consider the elimination of centrally set exams and the relaxation of curricular standards. The usual argument was that as long as centrally set exams and strict curricula existed, a teacher would simply prepare students to pass exams and follow closely the prescribed texts. This

argument was valid for poor teachers (there are some). The good teachers usually used the mastering of the curriculum and the passing of exams as the minimum achievement level to be reached by their students. The elimination of centrally set standards was not a problem for the skilled professional, after all s/he has his/her own standards. The poor teacher, however, was left adrift without any goals that had to be achieved, and without, in some cases, a textbook to follow.

The innovators of the sixties also did not take into account the simple fact that the techniques they proposed were expensive. Team teaching requires, in addition to well trained teachers, preparation time for the team to meet and plan. Open area schools require an enormous amount of material and equipment to furnish the various learning centers.

The humanistic philosophy of the sixties was and is attractive. Unfortunately, the educational methodologies it generated required, in order to achieve the educational and human goals it envisioned, perfect teachers dealing with ideal students.

The general public has not been aware of the decline of the quality of education provided by the public school system. Many concerned parents, even some who could hardly afford it, have moved their children to private schools.[14]

Faced with the results of the "innovative" educational practices and the mounting anger of parents, the public school system throughout North America is rapidly re-establishing many of the practices that

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[14]Manfred Jager, "Parents' Interest in Private Schools Concerns Educators", Winnipeg Free Press, 4 February, 1981, p. 12.

were abandoned in the 60's and 70's. Thus, the re-establishment of formal examination can be seen as an indication of the direction in which education is moving. At present, exams are internally set by the schools but there are signs that soon externally set exams will have to be passed in order to graduate from high schools. Already, this trend is becoming apparent in Alberta where, as reported in the Newsletter of May, 1983,

> The results of Alberta's comprehensive exams for grade 12 language arts, history and social science, math, and physical and biological sciences, administered in January, were released last month. These exams were optional this year, but Alberta Minister of Education, David King, has indicated that some form of compulsory provincial exams are being considered for next year. 15

The introduction of externally set exams necessitates the establishment of precise, centrally set curricula; tasks which can only be performed by a strong Department of Education willing to assume full responsibility for the education of the students in the province and capable of enforcing its philosophy of education on recalcitrant or inept school divisions.

The "new" curriculum being proposed by the various provincial departments of education in Canada have a much stronger compulsory subject component--i.e., a component of subjects which students must take and pass in order to graduate. The Ontario Ministry of Education's Secondary Education Review Project, a committee studying the Ontario's secondary school system since 1980, came out with a report in 1982 in which it recommended an increase in the number of compulsory credits:

15"Exams in Alberta", Newsletter, May, 1983, p. 2.

> Specified for the secondary school diploma are 120 credits--56 compulsory (16 English or francais and 4 in either French or English, 8 in math, 8 in science, 4 in geography, 4 in history, 4 more in social science, 4 in arts and 4 in physical and health education. 16

The process of centralization and re-establishment of authority is also taking place in Manitoba. The non-directive approach of the 60's is rapidly giving way to a more autocratic stand. As early as 1978, the Report of the Task Force on Government Organization and Economy made a number of recommendations to the Department of Education of Manitoba.

> The Task Force identified a lack of leadership in the development and implementation of educational policy in the province...Basically, there is a need to re-assess and adjust the emphasis on experimental and special projects and to assume a support and leadership role with which the education community can identify.
>
> The Department should assume both a prescriptive role and regulatory role...The Department should monitor and evaluate the education system...Continuous surveillance of teaching methods, course content and testing needs to be undertaken... 17

The recommendations of the Task Force did not go unheeded. By 1981, the Department of Education had already begun tightening its control over education.

> Under Education Minister Keith Cosens, the government has established tighter provincial control over what goes on in the schools. It has brought back the old school inspectors under the new label of "field representatives". It has instituted departmental testing to detect teachers of schools whose pupils are under-achieving. 18

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[16] "SERP Recommends that Ontario Re-organize Secondary School", Newsletter, January, 1982, p. 1.

[17] Task Force on Government Organization and Economy, Report on Government Organization and Economy, Volume 11 (Manitoba: April, 1978), p. 71.

[18] Terence Moore, "Tighter Control Over Education", Winnipeg Free Press,

The Winnipeg School Division No. 1 is also following the centralization trend. The Area Superintendent system, discussed in Chapter 5, has been replaced by a system composed of a Chief Superintendent and two Assistant Superintendents: one, in charge of the secondary school and the other, in charge of the elementary schools.

The administrators both at the provincial and school division level hope that centralization of authority will remove a number of issues. Centralization will equalize the curricula throughout the schools of the province so that every student will be exposed to the same subjects at the same level of difficulty. It will re-establish some standard of academic competence that students must achieve in order to be promoted. It will reduce the waste of the limited financial resources through the elimination of duplication of effort.

Although a mere conjecture at this time, there is a general impression that the cooperative, democratic process through which school principals contributed much to the decision-making process at the divisional level, has been replaced by a much more authoritarian system in which the orders come from above and percolate down through the ranks.

The innovative classroom techniques developed in the sixties such as team teaching, are no longer practised in any of the schools of the division. In order for any teaching technique to function, the teacher has to be trained in its use. The Winnipeg School Division No. 1, after an initial period of enthusiasm was not prepared to continue paying to train its teachers in innovative techniques. So it

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3 November, 1981, p. 7.

was the case that as more teachers untrained in the technique became involved in team teaching, the program deteriorated and teachers went back to teach in more traditional ways.

As is evident from this quotation taken from an interview with Mr. G. McDonnel a former superintendent of The Winnipeg School Division No. 1, the executives of the division were not unaware of what caused the failure of some of the new methodologies.

> I am quite aware, here, of a number of situations team teaching fell flat on its face. I think basically because teachers were thrust into it without being convinced of its value. 19

Open area schools are, of course, still operational but, as everywhere else some open area schools are roughly partitioned with teacher-made barriers of shelves and portable blackboards, while others are having permanent walls installed as soon as funds become available for this major renovation.

Continuous progress and "phasing" are still being practised. "Phasing" has now changed into a system for streaming students along ability lines, while continuous progress has openly deteriorated into continuous promotion; however, this process of continuous promotion seems to be on the way out especially at the junior and senior high level, where many schools have established some form of internally set exams.

Multi-graded classrooms are still in existence in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1, especially at the elementary level, but now the practice seems to be dictated by the economics of reduced enroll-

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[19] G. McDonnel, Interview at his home, Winnipeg, 1979.

ment rather than ideology. In fact, the popular idea of a few years ago is meeting with opposition on the part of parents. In December, 1977, The Winnipeg Tribune reported:

> A preliminary report of the Winnipeg school division's 1978 budgets proposes cutting30 to 40 teachers because of declining enrollment and adding 15 other teachers to special programs in some schools.
>
> The cuts in teachers could result in more "split" classes in which students from two grades were combined.
>
> Parents have already protested split classes in some schools, saying they offer children a poorer education than one-grade classes. 20

It is obvious that the spirit of the 60's is no more. As early as the second half of the 70's, the socio-economic conditions which had created that extraordinary, revolutionary decade had begun to change. The period of economic expansion in the industrialized world was coming to an end.[21]

Society could no longer afford to cater to the whims of a self-involved, spoiled generation. The culture created by an idealistic, unrealistic youth and supported by a liberal-minded, sometimes frightened public, disintegrated, or more precisely, was absorbed in the mainstream culture when it clashed with the uncompromising reality of personal and national economic survival.

The trade marks of the hippy culture, the long hair, became respectable when combined with the three-piece suit; cannabis became

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[20] "School Division Faces Staff Cuts, Split Classes", The Winnipeg Tribune, 16 December, 1977, p. 4.

[21] Canada, Economic Council of Canada, "A Climate of Uncertainty", Seventeenth Annual Review, 1980, p. 1.

the drug of choice, in spite of its illegality, for the young, ambitious corporate executives; the jewellry worn by the liberated male to show his androgynous characteristics became the adornment of the "macho" man of the late 70's.

Once again, the public school system finds itself at the centre of controversy. This time the public is clamouring for a "return" to an education more concerned with the acquiring of skills than with the development of "human" qualities. The public school systems are now asked to provide more and stricter discipline, higher and recognizable educational standards, and the development of marketable skills.

Educational elitism is making a re-appearance within schools. Today's schools are once again concerned with the recognition and development of the gifted students--a concern abandoned when major work classes (the pre 60's classes for bright students) were disbanded because they seemed to encourage elitism and because it was feared that the program was deleterious to the entire emotional and social life of the students in the program by setting them apart from the majority of the student body.

The school system of the 80's is in the middle of a new cycle. It is still burdened by some of the practices of the previous cycle but is reaching toward the establishment of programs more in keeping with the demands dictated by the socio-economic conditions with which it is now faced.

Summary

A combination of socio-economic factors such as a rapidly increasing population, a period of high economic growth following a deep economic depression and a major war, and a rapid industrial expansion created a situation which made possible the formation of a youth culture with enough education, leisure and political power to challenge the established cultural values of the rest of society.

The established culture responded with an attempt to appease the new culture by adapting the school system to the requests, explicit and implicit, of the large student population.

A number of "innovative" concepts and attitudes toward education were grafted to those already existing within the school system. Many of these concepts were inherited from the progressive education of an earlier cycle.

Over a period of a few years, new methods and curricula were attempted in schools. The schools appeared to become more in tune with the tempers of the time. However, many innovations, although successful at first, failed to continue being practised because of lack of teachers' training and interest, lack of facilities and lack of financial support. Teachers and schools adopted those aspects of the innovations which seemed to be the least difficult to implement, such as team teaching, continuous progress, phasing, self-directed study, etc.

The conditions which generated the educational attitudes of the 60's came to an abrupt end in the 70's. The post-war baby boom was over; the adult and senior population was rapidly increasing; the

economic expansion, expected to continue indefinitely, first slowed down and then reversed itself plunging the industrial world into an "inflationary recession"; the funds necessary for educational experimentations were no longer available. Society found itself unable and unwilling to support a large body of non-productive members. A large number of workers and a reduced number of jobs made competition in the work force once again a necessity. The advent of the electronic age created a demand for a highly skilled, scientifically educated work force; thus education in the hard disciplines were again in demand.

Governments and schools are rapidly moving to the educational practices prevalent in the period following the launching of the Sputnik in the 50's.

Some teachers and school boards are resisting the changes but parents are exercising their political power and putting a lot of pressure on the recalcitrant schools.

A new educational cycle is now evolving. Hopefully, the initial reactionary movement will become tempered as time goes by and the most blatant problems of the previous cycle are rectified. The new public school will probably retain much of the humanistic attitudes of the 1965-1975 decade but will also incorporate more realistic attitudes toward discipline and the teaching of skills students will need when they leave school.

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