

**THE CANADIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO CULTURAL DIFFERENTIATION**

A thesis presented by

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 ORIENTATION

The practical value of a scholarly study of a foreign education system, such as the Canadian Education System, is that it can result in a study in greater depth and understanding of one's own system. Furthermore, it assists in providing a range of perspectives, a pattern of commonalities and facilitates comparisons.

When one thus studies the design and structure of an education system, certain conceptional and dynamic qualities are observed. One has to take into account the religious beliefs, customs and traditions of a specific people, as well as the transcultural values in the life of the community. Therefore, programs have to be considered and geared within the education system - to provide education and training for the potential adults, keeping in mind their individual talents.

A particular education system has evolved in Canada, which reflects a uniquely Canadian character. It is different from other systems - because of the various factors which influenced its development, namely the physical and cultural factors as well as the particular constitutional enactments and legislative statutes.

This study embraces the history, traditions, religious beliefs and constitutional developments which have shaped this education system, while also reflecting on the motivation and subsequent changes incurred during its evolution.

In the report Programs in Support of Multicultural Educational Activities, (1984:1) it is stated that "Education touches every Canadian directly, and the nature and quality of its content affect our perception of ourselves as Canadians, our sense of belonging to the country and our place in the world. All our schools are part of a multicultural society and all students need to know how to live in that society."

Kaz Mazurek (1981:3) adds to this by stating, "Multiculturalism must find expression in the schools, because it is through the schools that our social ideals are translated into future social realities, when today's students become the citizens and leaders of tomorrow."

The question to be answered then is: "What has led to these respective statements?"

1.2 THE PROBLEMS CONSIDERED IN RESEARCH

The term 'multicultural education' refers to a system or program of education that reflects and embodies the cultural

diversity of Canadian society (Programs in Support of Multicultural Educational Activities, 1984:1).

For multiculturalism to find expression in the school, one should consider how the Canadian education system functions. Within this study one should view certain aspects which shaped and relate to this education system. In particular one should note the possible cultural orientation and influences which the multicultural population, or various ethnocultural groups have contributed, if any, to the education system. In addition, one should consider what provision is available for cultural differentiation within the Canadian education system. Thus, these questions may be formulated as follows:

- * Has the education system of a particular population or cultural group been determined by the culture of that specific group?
- * Have cultural differences within the Canadian population had any historical influences on the educational provisions of the ethnic groups within the country in the past?
- * Have the educational structures and designs within the Canadian education system been organized in a rational system as an expression of cultural intent?

- * Have specific and significant measures been taken to allow for cultural differentiation within the education system?

1.3 AIM OF RESEARCH

To be consistent, one should recognise those practices that are functioning in harmony with its avowed purposes; thus one's aim of research must determine whether:

- * the Canadian education system was culturally determined;
- * cultural differences within the Canadian population have influenced educational provision in the past;
- * the design and structure of the Canadian education system have been determined by cultural influences; and
- * certain specific measures have been taken within the education system to provide for cultural differentiation.

1.4 RESEARCH METHODS

To make this paper a scholarly study, the following research methods were used:

- * The literature study was made possible by obtaining literature from the following sources:

- The Ferdinand Postma library, Potchefstroom.
- The education library at McGill University, Montreal.
- The professional library at the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal.
- Educational publications obtained from the Department of Multiculturalism Canada, Ottawa.
- An outline on education of each province in Canada from the departments of education of each province.

* The source material for the literature study was as follows:

- Journals, such as Tesl, McGill Journal of Education, The Times Educational Supplement and Education Canada.
- Publications from the Department of Multiculturalism and the education departments of the provinces of Canada.
- Ph.D. manuscripts at McGill University.
- Newspapers, such as the Montreal and Toronto Gazettes.
- A wide range of books relating to the research subject from the libraries quoted, by Canadian authors in the field of education, as well as South African authors.

The source material was studied, sorted and noted on case cards, which then became the references for research. When information from certain authors was used, their views were cross-checked with various sources, to get a spectrum of opinions. Where one author was favoured above others, it was because the source on that particular issue was

more comprehensively stated by that particular author, though others concurred. So, where Palmer is extensively quoted, Titley and Miller also carried the relevant information.

- * Interviews were held with various experts and people versed in education to gain further information, thereby broadening the outlook and verifying certain views.

The following people were consulted:

- Dr. K. Tracy, professor at Trent University, Peterborough, in telephone conversations on multi cultural conferences in Canada.
- Fiona Hellstrom, consultant at the Reading Clinic at Montreal Children's Hospital, regarding Indian and Inuit education, during January 1986.
- Lorna Rubenstein, chairperson of Native Studies within the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal on Indian education, during November 1985 and April 1986.
- Mr Da Silva, consultant at the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal regarding French education under jurisdiction of the Protestant School Board.
- Barbara Weir, principal of Carlyle School, Montreal, regarding the changing scene within the English Protestant School in Montreal since the 1970's.

During the interviews with the above-mentioned people, certain information relevant to this subject was noted, namely:

- that there are many conferences held in Canada at various places relating to multiculturalism. The department of multiculturalism supports a variety of programs and projects;
- that the education of the Indian and Inuit population is very much under the searchlight at present. Many learning problems experienced by Indian and Inuit children are culturally related. At present certain Indian schools are experimenting with the curriculum--presenting Indian traditional cultural activities, as opposed to the curriculum in the federal governmental schools. The possible relationship or comparison between the educational provisions and demands of the Canadian and South African native peoples has revealed itself as a very likely field for further investigation;
- that the declining birthrate and the implementation of French as the official language in Quebec have drastically decreased the number of schools operated by the English Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, resulting in a surplus of ageing teachers. The Board has now initiated a large number of French schools to accommodate the English pupils who have to attend French language schools. It seems to be a case of fighting for survival and using the available means to continue. The fear of redundancy has caused a low moral in the teaching corps. Teacher militancy, high absenteeism and a general 'burnt-out' syndrome have

been noticed. The French-English conflict is very much felt in the schools and in the organization and administration of the English school boards in Quebec.

1.5 RESEARCH AREA

The research area covered within this study is:

- * Physically, the geographical and demographic land mass known as Canada, highlighted by the historical and cultural phenomena related to the education system evolved within these confines.
- * 'Education', is the broadly-based and permanent focus for the student of comparative education.
- * In a multicultural population the special emphasis will be on the role cultural differentiation has played in determining a particular education system.

1.6 FORMAT OF THE CHAPTERS

In the introductory chapter the basis of the research study is formulated.

Chapter two states the overarching cultural influences in education and the education system.

Briefly, chapter three deals with the physical setting of the country and the natural and cultural aspects which have influenced the education system.

Within chapter four the historical outline of Canadian education is given, and the establishment of the education system is discussed.

In the fifth chapter educational structures and policy are described, looking at the judicial and organizational aspects. Therefore administrative and educational issues are discussed.

Chapter six deals with the development and provision for culturally determined differentiation within the Canadian education system, with specific reference to the French influence on education in Quebec and Canada in general.

Finally, chapter seven concludes the research project with an attempt to summarize the perspective of cultural differentiation within that system.

2. CULTURE: THE DETERMINING AGENT OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

2.1 INTRODUCTION

"Man lives within a total environment, which includes everything in nature - the stars, atmosphere, terrain, the birds and beasts. Within this stage, man has expressed himself according to his amazing ingenuity - his fears, dreams and wants. This stage is culture," said Brameld (1957:5), "and from the stuff of culture, education is directly created and given not only its own tools and materials, but its reason for existing at all."

Vos and Barnard (1984:38) stated that a national education system is an integral part of the culture of the community and congenitally linked to the particular culture it serves. Without culture there can be no education, and without education, no culture and no community.

Considering the afore-mentioned views, one is led to the question:

"What is culture, education and the education system?"

2.2 CULTURE, EDUCATION AND THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

2.2.1 CULTURE

Culture is a term which has been widely used and commented on with various interpretations and explanations. Kroeber and Kluckholm (1952) published: Culture - A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions with 164 definitions of 'culture'. Some of the following quotations are from their collection under certain headings which encompass the term 'culture' within the limits of this study.

- * Culture covers a wide spectrum of man's activities, for as Tylor (quoted by Kroeber & Kluckholm, 1952:81) wrote: "Culture or civilization . . . is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."
- * Culture recognises the role of society and the individual and includes objects and institutions as Boas (quoted by Kroeber & Kluckholm, 1952:82) stated: "Culture embraces all the manifestations of the social habits of a community, the reactions of the individual as affected by the habits of the group in which he lives and the products of human activities as determined by these habits".

- * Culture is acquired. Linton (quoted by Kroeber & Kluckholm, 1952:82) stated: "Culture is the sum total of ideas, conditioned emotional responses, and patterns of habitual behaviour which the members of that society have acquired through instruction or imitation and which they share to a greater or lesser degree."

Lowe (quoted by Kroeber & Kluckholm, 1952:82) agreed to the above in his statement and added: "By culture we understand the sum total of what an individual acquires from his society - those beliefs, customs, artistic norms, food habits, and crafts which come to him not by his own creativity, but as a legacy from the past, conveyed by formal or informal education."

- * Culture includes both the products of physical (material) endeavour and non-physical (non-material) practices. Kluckholm & Kelley (quoted by Kroeber & Kluckholm, 1952: 83) explained: "Culture in general, as a descriptive concept, means the accumulated treasury of human creation: books, paintings, buildings and the like; the knowledge of ways of adjusting to (our) surroundings, both human and physical, language, customs, systems of etiquette, ethics, religion and morals that have been built up through the ages."

- * Culture is a truly human activity; man must live in society because culture is not created in solitary confinement. Kroeber (quoted by Kroeber & Kluckholm, 1952: 84) mentioned: ". . . the mass of learned and transmitted motor reactions, habits, techniques, ideas and values - and the behavior they induce - is what constitutes culture. Culture is the special and exclusive product of men, and is their distinctive quality in the cosmos . . . Culture . . . is at one and the same time the totality of products of social men and a tremendous force affecting all human beings, socially and individually."

"Man differs from the animal because he possesses the culture building capacity; groups of men differ from each other, because they build different cultures."
(Beals, 1967:5.)

- * Culture has social implications, as Kluckholm (quoted by Kroeber & Kluckholm, 1952:254) explained: "Human beings must adjust to other human beings as well as to impersonal forces and objects. To some extent these adjustments are implemented and limited only by the presence or absence of other human beings in specified number at particular points, and of specified age, sex, size and intelligence, relative to the actors whose actions are being 'explained'."

- * Culture is carried over, taught to and learned by the young in various ways because: "The process of enculturating (transmitting a culture to the young) is highly variable from society to society and along the complexity continuum. The individual's selfconcept, as well as his skills and goals, evolve as enculturation proceeds and are influenced by it." (Goodman, 1967: 128.)

- * Culture is expressed in language. Bloomfield (quoted by Kroeber & Kluckholm, 1952:230) said: "Every language serves as the bearer of a culture. If you speak a language you take part, in some degree, in the way of living represented by that language. Each system of culture has its own way of looking at things and people and dealing with them. To the extent that you have learned to speak and understand a foreign tongue, to that extent you have learned to respond with a different selection and emphasis to the world around you, and for your relations with people you have gained a new system of sensibilities, considerations, conventions and restraints."

It is clear that language is the most easily separable part or aspect of total culture, that its processes are the most distinctive.

- * "Culture is dynamic, never static, constantly changing and being renewed: Culture is cumulative; most of it is the result of very small increments over many generations of nameless individuals. A culture seems almost to have a life of its own because individuals come and go, yet the culture goes on, seldom perceptibly modified by the lifetime of a given individual. Yet a culture constantly changes, and perhaps nothing else about it is truly constant, not solely environmental changes or outside influences, but the cumulative effect of many individuals each restlessly testing, revising, recombining cultural elements," (Goodman, 1967:195.)

Keeping in mind what has been expressed by the panel of writers on the various facets of 'culture', one agrees with Maquet (quoted by Kroeber & Kluckholm, 1952:98) who wrote: "La culture c'est la manière de vivre du groupe," (culture is the way of life of the group) because there seems to be no aspect of human life culture does not cover. In examining Tylor's definition once more, "Culture, or civilization . . . is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." (Kroeber & Kluckholm, 1952:81.) The "complex whole" points to or hints that the multiple parts of culture might possess some kind of unity, or perhaps a design. "It embraces an array of psychological achievements, not visible materially, but expressions of emotional and mental life, yet it includes

material artefacts - art, books, buildings, as well as morality as manifested in the conduct of the visible groups, (the family). The kind of behaviour, customs, capabilities, habits, stress regularity and continuity. Since man acquires culture from his surroundings, it is not genetically passed on, but the totality of characteristics are shaped by his society and environment. It is not created in solitary confinement." (Brameld, 1957:7.)

Culture is coloured and shaped by the values that synthesize into standards of what is considered desirable either by the respective culture as a whole, or by influential sectors of that culture. Underlying these values, norms or self-image is the viewpoint held - the ground motive, the spiritual root, which controls the entire life and world view which places an indelible stamp on the development and social structures of the group. This normative dimension shapes the education and education system of the group. With the assumption that every group has shaped its particular culture, it would follow that each nation creates a culture which is identified as their indelible stamp - therefore the Protestant British settlers created a different cultural heritage from the French Roman Catholic settlers - the most obvious features being religion and language.

Steyn (1984:3) stated that the cultural norms within a cultural group (or education-HDB) follow the cultural developmental principles which Stone (1979) named:

differentiation, integration and historical continuity; which complement Tylor's and Brameld's views.

According to Steyn (1984:4) the uniqueness of a particular group or nation is based on the principle of differentiation of individuality, which explains why a nation with a life vision based on Christian Judaic principles would radically differ from a Communistic or Moslem society or a Protestant would differ from a Catholic. Even between groups of the same life vision the physical environment, such as geography or climate would differentiate for instance their lifestyle, clothing, architecture and physical stature. These factors would again influence the demands made on, for example, the style of furniture or building. Two different ethnic groups co-existing within the same boundaries would separately maintain what is precious to them or unique, which indicates that the differentiation principle is at work.

The principle of integration or enrichment indicates that group culture is not practised in isolation, since one group, or nation, is continually exposed to the culture of other groups, especially through communication, like the television. Thus overarching of cultures take place. The group (or groups) are thereby influenced and enriched. This widens the scope of the cultural viewpoint of the recipient group, otherwise there is stagnation. Integration is thus only viable when what is suited to the recipient group is

applicable or taken from the donor group for enrichment, voluntarily, and not imposed on, to stamp out the former's uniqueness (Steyn, 1984:4) (which has been the fear of the French Canadians since British domination in Canada -HDB).

The development of any group (or nation) is built on the historic foundations of that group. Changes within the group cannot occur without reflecting the existing cultural pattern, unless a rebellion or revolution is planned. That is then the principle of historic continuity at work, namely, building on the cultural influences which have existed in the past (Steyn, 1984:5).

To conclude: culture is an all-embracing human activity or 'the complex whole' of man's beliefs and products, of his institutions and rules. Never static, there are sequences or stages, or levels of historical development; being dynamic, changes occur constantly and are reflected also in education, as part of the culture of any given society.

To summarize then, man's activities, traditions, customs, history, economics, politics, trade, commerce, architecture, agriculture, sport, language, art, sculpture, clothing, social habits, ethics, education, every aspect of life in fact, is part and parcel of his culture.

2.2.2 EDUCATION

"Education refers to successful efforts, usually by the more mature members of a society, to teach each new generation the beliefs, the way of life, the skills and the knowledge of the group; it also refers to successful efforts to learn on the part of those who are the objects of teaching." (Hunt, 1966:359.) According to Hunt then, the transmission of knowledge and skills needs two parties, a recipient and a transmitter, usually both products of - and influenced by - their cultural milieu. Therefore each cultural group (as the Anglophone and Francophone in Canada) will make specific demands on education, so that successful teaching and learning can take place within their cultural milieu.

To add to the above, Byrne (1977:87) explained that the educative process focuses attention on instruction. It is concerned with what takes place in the classroom situation. It involves both teaching and learning, and is, consequently, also called the teaching-learning process, between teachers and scholars.

Education, then, belongs to the general process known as enculturation. Schooling is one of a number of enculturating agencies - namely the family, the church, the peer group and the mass media - each with its own values and purposes. Even if the educator wants to cultivate certain qualities in the child, he is limited by the influence that

the other agencies have; therefore the educator should be aware of the nature and scope of these agencies (Kneller, 1965:12).

As has been pointed out, culture is constant yet ever changing - constant in certain elements like law and language which persist without major changes for long periods of time; changing in that all its elements, however gradually and subtly, are undergoing a continuous metamorphosis. Kneller (1965:80) named three processes of cultural change:

- * Origination, which is the discovery or invention of new elements, within culture, such as the progressive education movement originated in the United States.
- * Diffusion, which is the borrowing of new elements from other cultures, such as the adoption of the Italian Montessori method by non-Italian educators.
- * Reinterpretation, which is the modification of an existing element, to meet fresh circumstances, as in the extension of federal aid in education.

In conclusion one affirms with Kneller (1965:42) that culture is at once the creation of man and the condition of human living. Man creates culture, but culture, in turn, makes man - what makes this possible is enculturation or education.

2.2.3 THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

2.2.3.1 INTRODUCTION

While education is the teaching and learning process, the place where formal education takes place, as opposed to informal education at home, is the school. A school is part of a vertical school system of elementary, secondary and higher education. The schooling system again is related to the education system, the organizational structure which makes organized education possible in a country.

2.2.3.2 THE COMPONENTS OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

The education system represents a certain cohesion of levels of relationships between various social structures representing the family, school, church and state, as has been pointed out. When they function in harmony and co-operation, to make education possible on a wide scale, a system is created whereby each level or element fulfils its proper and expected role within public education (Vos & Barnard, 1984:37).

The education system consists of the organization formed to direct or control education by the state or social institution or church. This organization should have certain characteristics indicative of certain normative standards as Stone (1974:70) declared, namely:

- it is an interwoven societal structure with other structures;
- it is sovereign in its domain of operation;
- it is totally involved with the society it serves;
- it has a two-way opening up function (the child for the world - the world for the child);
- it includes professionally trained educators;
- it is subject to the three cultural developmental principles, namely differentiation, integration and continuity;
- it functions in accordance with the limitations and possibilities of the education;
- it functions in all cosmic aspects;
- it is determined by ground motives; and
- it is educationally qualified in all aspects and functions.

The education system is then a comprehensive organization, interrelated to other structures and agencies in society. They are all concerned with, and have a vested interest, in the education of their youth in a school system which differentiates at various levels to meet the needs of the pupils, community and society as required by the cultural and economic demands of the particular society. Therefore each society should undertake the planning of its own education system according to its own cultural and natural imperatives and motives (Vos & Barnard, 1984:36).

2.2.3.3 THE STRUCTURE OF AN EDUCATION SYSTEM

As has been stated, distinctive components operate within an education system. They might be interrelated, yet they are sovereign in their own sphere or domain of operation. So, within an education system of a community, the family unit, the church, the state, the department of education, the school board, the school, the maintenance staff, all have their specific task or role, and all are necessary - like the bricks in a wall, forming a unit - to form the education system of a community (Van Schalkwyk, 1981:80). The structure of the educational system could be presented as:

* Educational policy

- Certain governance structures such as the state or provincial legislature, shape and enact legislation relating to and governing the education within its borders (Van Schalkwyk, 1981:146).

* Organizational structure

- The educational organizational structure is comprised of a ministry of education and other administrative bodies for implementing laws related to education (Van Schalkwyk, 1981:146).

* Administrative structure

- The administrative executive of the department of education, such as the superintendent and secretary-

treasurer, usually have a supportive staff, consisting of professional, technical and clerical personnel, who would all be involved in the implementation of the legislation regulating education (Friesen, et al., 1980:47).

* Administrative control

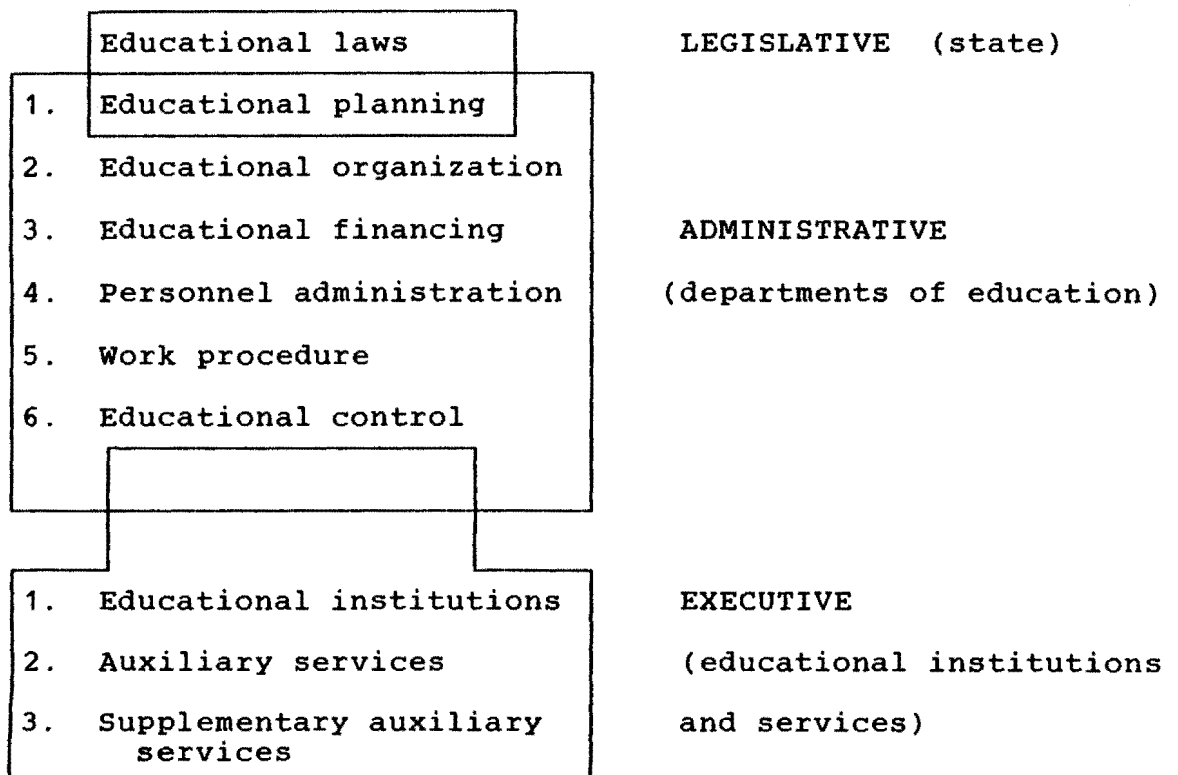
- The administrative division controls educational planning, organization, finance, curriculum development, personnel administration, work procedure such as transportation, building and maintenance and educational control (Friesen, et al., 1980:47 and Van Schalkwyk, 1981:147);
- supervision, which involves an inspectorate, or supervisors, who oversee all the aforementioned activities (Vos & Barnard, 1984:35); and
- further planning for educational needs, research, consultation and decision-making, which aid the harmonious interaction and general execution of all aspects of education (Vos & Barnard, 1984:35 and Van Schalkwyk, 1981:153).

* Executive control

- In addition, the education administration, through the departments of education, is responsible for the functioning of:

- the school systems, such as the elementary and secondary schools, colleges and universities;
- the auxiliary services of specialized units augmenting education which are libraries, audiovisual aids, psychological services and curriculum development;
- supplementary auxiliary services, which include amongst others hostel accommodation, transport and certain medical services (Van Schalkwyk, 1981: 189-212).

The following schematic outline summarizes the structure of a comprehensive education system (Van Schalkwyk, 1981: 148):



2.2.3.4 EMBODYING FACTORS OPERATING IN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

By prolonged reflection and investigation, the extent to which culture influences and contributes to the educational system and process can be established. Stone (1974:21-50) has named various embodying factors or cosmic aspects which modulate and operate within the culture of a community, as well as in the education system. Under the guidance of the religious groundmotive, these embodying factors may be indicative, limiting or directive factors which deal with the natural laws and cultural aspects of man, his world and his society - and therefore in the education system. .

The logical order of the modalities are divided into six natural and nine cultural factors which will be briefly given (Van Schalkwyk, 1981:43; Stone, 1974:24-50).

* Natural factors (aspects)

- ** numerical (distinctive quantitative)
- ** spatial (continuum of expansion, such as rural or urban)
- ** kinetic (physical movement)
- ** physical (working of energy, technological or climatic)
- ** biotic (organic life)
- ** psychic (sensual feeling)

* Cultural factors

- ** logical (analytical thinking)
- ** historical (shaping culture and traditions)
- ** lingual (symbolic meaning in oral or written expression)
- ** social (social intercourse between people of all ages)
- ** economic (saving - a budget provided for a certain project has to meet the demands and aim)
- ** aesthetic (beauty, harmony)
- ** judicial (revenge, laws, ordinances, regulations and circulars)
- ** ethical (moral love, concern in the community)
- ** pistic (certainty of belief, faith)

These modalities are then the fifteen embodying factors which relate to the education system. By considering each embodying aspect, the cultural influence (of the group for which the system is proposed) can be clearly defined in the education system.

Some of these embodying factors which clearly portray the relationship between the culture and the education system will be further discussed.

- * The physical factors within nature such as the geography, climate, the seasons, distance and resources determine the development of an education system.

These factors combined with the technological physical factors, which could either be seen as terrain development in providing buildings, or the knowledge and skills needed to develop raw materials into products and consumer goods for the community. The way in which the community uses, makes allowances for and deals with these physical factors to create an education system, would be revealed in their unique cultural relationships and approaches to these matters (Steyn, 1984:6).

In Canada, a country with a very severe climate - long, icy winters and short, hot summers - these factors determined certain aspects; snow has to be cleared to provide access to schools - snowblowers are mandatory. The schools must be heated for six or seven months. Building practices were adapted to the available materials and a special way of building developed. A major part of the building material is wood, which is plentiful.

School terms are regulated by the weather, resulting in a ten-month school year, with July and August as the holiday months. Children are sent to summer camps in the country, or the school boards provide camps in town. This again provides employment for students and teachers as supervisors or instructors.

- * The psychic factor is much wider than sensual feeling or perception. A harmonious interrelationship must exist between abilities, intellectual potential, interest levels and mentality. Since the education system is related to a particular group of people, it should motivate to get a response from the group in the area they are particularly adapted to (Barnard, 1981:55). In this respect the education system should provide for cultural differentiation in the curriculum. Since the curriculum is divided into areas of subject matter, organized into learning areas to perpetuate the cultural heritage and to prepare for the present and the future, curriculum planners should consider that culture changes and becomes complex, and that a large number of people to be educated is culturally, mentally or physically disadvantaged.

The school of today must educate its pupils to enable them to adapt to the unforeseeable events that are bound to occur during their lifetimes - since technology-science has influenced the economy by creating new jobs and destroying old ones. Through technology, as in transport and communication, science influences social arrangements, bringing the world closer together, and everywhere urbanism and industry is spreading - education should take account of these cultural happenings also in the curriculum (Kneller, 1965:137).

- * The historical-cultural aspect is experienced in the development of an education system with historical roots in the past, adapting to new challenges and eventually becoming a national education system (Barnard, 1981:56).

Schools transmit and reinforce the values of the culture of the society, and the agents of transmission are the teachers. To have the historical-cultural aspect in operation, teachers should study the development of the cultural group they teach, to familiarize themselves with the cultural order, cultural process and cultural goals of the community they serve in the past, present and future (Brameld, 1957:264).

According to Byrne's (1977:91) interpretation the historical embodying factor is in operation when the aims and goals in education are culturally determined. During the Reformation, education was dominated greatly by religious aims. The aim of preparing youth to become Christians and church members was strongly emphasized by men like Luther, Calvin and Comenius - as well as the importance of citizenship and life. In North America the schools of the period were dominated by the religious aims of the denominations who started the various schools. So for instance did the Roman Catholics, Church of England and the Methodists in Canada dominate early education. Conflicts can occur in the culture as it changes from an agrarian to an industrial society, and education should recognize these

changes and adapt or reinterpret its goals to fit the changing times. So, goals in education should be visionary, long-term or short-term, changing, but should always be constructed with various aims in mind to reach the ultimate objective which the cultural group's education is aiming for in a specific time period. In all respects then, goals and aims are linked to and dictated by the culture to which one belongs.

- * The education system functions by means of the lingual aspect and is partly determined by it, since it is the transmission medium of knowledge, customs and agents of communication. Mother-tongue instruction is didactically expedient and pedagogically accountable, because cognisance is taken of origin, national character, identity and the life and world vision of a people, since language is the symbolic expression of everything which exists within a nation (Vos & Barnard, 1984:50). Thus language is the most expressive way of identifying a cultural group.

Teachers teaching in a multicultural society should therefore be sensitive to multicultural concerns about language and verbal expression, since he/she has to address not only ethno-cultural minorities or new immigrants, but all children of the nation, as experienced in Canada. Therefore the lingual aspect, as will be pointed out later in chapters 4 and 6, has played a very decisive role in the shaping of the Canadian education system.

- * The social aspect is expressed within the education system as the social structure which caters for inter-personal relationships at various levels, relate to the cultural community from which it originates and which serves the education system (Steyn, 1984:8). The parents and children, the principal and teacher, the teachers and pupils - the community as an entity are all socially interrelated.

Four major concepts of the organization and purpose of learning areas within the curriculum are identified by Byrne (1977:158-159), namely:

- the information or knowledge concept for intellectual mastery, where factual subject matter is graded on a quantitative basis from level to level - as one's education is measured in terms of the amount of information one has memorized and retained over the years;
- the disciplinary concept, where subject matter is used to exercise and develop the learner's mental powers and capabilities;
- the social concept which stresses the needs of the individual as he functions in the social structure; also of dynamic social changes with inevitable adjustments to them and the impact on the total environment of a technological, scientific and democratic culture.

Problems to be faced in such a situation include the influence of science and technology, changes in community life, social stratification, changes in family life, changes in occupation and employment, changes in economics and changes resulting in confusions in the present system of values. The question asked then, is:

What does the learner need to know, to function in modern society?

- the creative concept places emphasis on the psychological nature of the individual; learning activities are arranged to motivate self-expression, self-appraisal, self-activity, adjusting the curriculum constantly to the pupil's needs.

According to what has been quoted, it is clear that the modalities do not operate in isolation. They are influenced by each other, and are interrelated as seen in the directives in curriculum consideration for subject matter. Barnard (1981:58) mentioned that social communication, amongst various levels in the society, and also in the education system, needs a historical directive with cultural shaping, combined with the linguistic expression to be able to communicate and socialize.

- * The economic aspect is concerned with the careful use of resources; therefore the economic state of the country reversely influences the education system. A healthy economy makes provision for a widely diversified educa-

tion system, which can then train and provide the necessary manpower to provide for the requirements of the economy and social structure (Steyn, 1984:8; Vos & Barnard, 1984:51).

- * The aesthetic aspect sets the standards of an education system, with regard to the curriculum as has been discussed, to provide for aesthetic school milieus. Therefore co-operation should exist between the education system, teachers, pupils and the community served, so that cultural ideals can be expressed harmoniously (Steyn, 1984:8).

- Method is an orderly, systematic procedure employed to carry out some purpose or to gain some preconceived goal. In the education world, method involves the use of educative procedures in attaining educational goals. Such procedures fall in two main categories: administrative and instructional. Administrative methods include those devices and processes by which classes are grouped, advanced and dealt with in regard to abilities and capacities. Instructional methods include those devices and processes which facilitate the teaching-learning process, culminating in knowledge, habits, attitudes and ideals, with primary emphasis given to instructional methods (Byrne, 1977: 185).

The curriculum, trained teachers, and the methods expressed in teaching all contribute to a normative school milieu, and provide a harmonious personality development (Barnard, 1981: 59).

- * Without the judicial factor, an education system cannot function, since the judicial statutes stipulate the role of state, education system, school, teacher, pupil and parent within the enforcements of laws, ordinances and regulations applicable to each level in the hierarchy. The cultural products of a particular group, such as the judicial system or the political viewpoint (democratic or autocratic) are all revealed in the education system (Steyn, 1984:9).
- * The ethical or moral aspect of reality lies in the sphere of relationship, which takes the form of love, loyalty, respect or patriotism. Within the cultural milieu of the group, the youth should be guided to gain their set of morals, principles and views of life, also within the educational institutions (Vos & Barnard, 1984:52).

Within the cultural system, then, are the things (material culture), the people (society), the tradition (culture), and the activities that belong there. Outside are the things, people, traditions and activities which do not belong there (Beals, 1967:9). By employing the process of teaching and learning, the

pupil is exposed to the processes, happenings or activities in which a given set or several sets of people engage in - thus acquiring his sense of security, self-image and identification with the external world of which he is a part and member - internalizing his newly-acquired knowledge to become operational in his experience milieu - which would be his personal cultural development being enriched and motivated by the teaching methods employed by his teachers, parents and the church.

These modalities place the emphasis on the similarities and differences which exist between individual education systems, thus re-establishing that the education system is a cultural phenomenon, and implanted within the culture of a specific community according to their cultural bias or preferences.

2.2.4 SUMMARY

The question as to whether culture, education and the education system is interrelated has been answered in the preceding investigation. Since it has been established that culture consists of facts, principles, social norms, tools, machines, products, institutions and modes of individual and social actions, therefore, the group culture does exist within this infinitude of meanings. These are in turn displayed in the goals, teaching methods and curriculum of the education as part of the total culture of the group.

This will also be reflected in the subject matter, which consists primarily of what men know and believe in and of their valuations and loyalties, because one way in which a society keeps abreast of changes is by modifying in each generation the heritage taught in schools, as old knowledge and values are reinterpreted to meet new situations, and new knowledge and skills are added to the curriculum. Latin and Greek have been dropped, but the social sciences have been embraced; vocational training has been expanded to meet the demands of industry (Kneller, 1965:82). Thus the culture's values are manifested in education, the goals, teaching methods and curriculum. As Tylor had said, culture is a "complex whole", of which education is an aspect and the teacher the transmitter.

However, cultures do not grow independently of other forces, but the effect of any particular force upon any particular cultural system is predictable, only if one knows what that cultural system was like in the first place and the ground motive directing it. Clearly, the universal structure of an education system is then adapted and shaped to the needs and requirements of each country, to be realized within its own cultural milieu, integrated within the cultural life of the community, building on the underlying ground motive viewpoint held, providing continuity and guidance for the future.

The education system consists basically of the total structure which includes governance and policy, the various administrative levels of planning, decision-making, policy forming, management, auxiliary services and school systems which all function to aid the teacher and pupil, so that teaching and learning can take place constructively in cultural harmony.

The uniqueness of a particular education system will be revealed to the degree that the cultural developmental principles of differentiation, integration and continuity function. Underlying the particular education system would be the life and world view held by the community. However, education systems influence each other by transposing and borrowing, which will enrich the recipient without losing sight of its own historical roots or future goals.

2.3 CULTURAL DIFFERENTIATION IN EDUCATION

2.3.1 INTRODUCTION

It has been pointed out that culture is a 'complex whole', embracing the total endeavour and product of man; invisible, as expressions of emotional and mental life, kinds of behaviour, customs, habits, values; visible in artefacts, machines, paintings, books, clothes and buildings. Culture is related to a particular group, so we speak of the French, the British or the American culture. By the same token the

education system is related to the group as well as the education processes it serves. The group takes responsibility for its education system and its changing requirements and needs, as required.

Differentiation in education is therefore necessary when based on the various needs, such as age groups, boys and girls, intelligence and also according to the different cultural requirements and desires of the various cultural groups. Cultural differentiation exists between different groups; therefore the French education system in France must differ from the French system in Quebec or the Danish education system. In countries with multiracial populations, education planning has to consider why and how to differentiate for the different cultural (or ethnic) groups by virtue of the recognition of the principle of differentiation (Van Schalkwyk, 1981:230).

Multicultural societies have dealt with cultural differentiation in education in various ways, called cultural models, of which the segregation, assimilation and cultural pluralism patterns are some. Margaret Mead (1970) in Culture and Commitment named three different kinds of enculturation:

- * postfigurative, in which children learn primarily from their forebears;
- * configurative, in which both children and adults learn from their peers; and
- * prefigurative, in which adults learn from their children.

2.3.2 CULTURAL MODELS

The postfigurative culture depends upon the actual presence of three generations, because continuity depends upon the expectations of the old, and the almost ineradicable imprint of those expectations upon the young. The grandparents see their grandchildren reared by their children in the way they reared theirs (Mead, 1970:2).

Coming from any country in Europe shrouded in history, with a rich literary heritage, immigrants to a new country like North America, had to adapt to the new country, preserving of the past that which was relevant, thus condensing the past. People continued speaking the old language, following the old customs as long as the people lived together as a group where grandparents were still regarded as authorities (Mead, 1970:24).

Cultural segregation is practised by encouraging each cultural group to keep its culture parallel to the host group - also called unity in diversity. It can cause the formation of ghettos or separate development as seen in the Jewish societies in Europe, or the Negro ghettos in the USA, or as Gans (1962:3) referred to the ethnic settlement grouping of New York - "Urban Villagers".

But, as the government of the new country insists that the immigrants accept a new ideology, or give up the habits and language of the past, the role of the grandparents and even parents diminish. Consequently, the young break away from the old ways, because the grandparents represent the past which is best left behind. The grandparents' footsteps will not be followed by the grandchildren as the new environment has precedence (Mead, 1970:37).

Since the pioneers or immigrants who went to the USA, Canada, Australia or Israel had no precedents in their own experience on which they could base the way they should rear their children in the new country, they adapted to a new way of life. They were strangers and became innovators. For instance, the Israeli-born children are brought up in the Kibbutz life style. In the USA and Canada, the children of the immigrants are guided by the precepts of their teachers and examples of their peers - the melting-pot idea.

There are then the configurative elements of the pioneer generation type, in which adults must learn together to deal with a new situation; and configurative elements of the second-generation type, in which the children of newcomers - the first natives in the new environment - must develop appropriate styles of behaviour for which there are no parental models (Mead, 1970:59).

Here, the pattern of assimilation is named the 'melting-pot' model, which was the policy in the USA and Canada to accommodate the millions of immigrants in the early part of the century. The ideal is to integrate the various ethnic groups with the dominant group to have a homogenous society, language being the prime unifying force.

Mead named two cultural groups, Jews and Armenians, who have reared their children for generations, expecting to move and learn a new language without losing their sense of cultural identity. Today, children in different cultures are being reared to an expectation of change within changelessness. (The French Immersion classes or schools in Quebec for English-speaking children have become mandatory since the 1970's.)

Cultural pluralism or multiculturalism, which is practised in Canada since the 1970's, recognises the various ethno-cultural groups, accepting the differences in each group - and the education reflects and embodies the cultural diversity. Sanders (1982:13) puts it thus, "Each very subtly contributes its own flavour to the overall ambience; the dominant flavours are muted, but no flavour lost."

Prefiguration is a new cultural form emerging. Today, because of world-wide electronically-based intercommunication, young people everywhere share a kind of experience that none of the elders have had or will have. The collapse

of the family, the decay of capitalism, the triumph of soulless technology and the wholesale repudiation and breakdown of the Establishment, have been attributed to the overwhelming rapidity of change (Mead, 1970:65).

Mead (1970:69) identifies the conditions which have brought about the revolt of the young around the world in the emergence of a world community - where their shared information brings about a quick response. She sees the young generation of articulate young rebels all around the world lashing out against the controls they are subjected to. They are like the first generation born in a new country, in which their community is united by shared knowledge and danger - satellites are familiar to their skies; war threatens with annihilation; computers are programmed by human beings; when given the facts they understand pollution (Mead, 1970:75).

The young adults have as models only their own tentative adaptations and innovations, since their past or the culture that had shaped their understanding - their thoughts, feelings and conceptions of the world - has proved to be no sure guide for their present situation and the elders among them, bound by their past, cannot provide models for the uncertain and complex future (Mead, 1970:72).

The elders are separated from the young. They too are isolated in their experience of rapid changes, build-up of sources of power, means of communication, the definition of humanity and limits of the explorable universe - the fundamental imperatives of life and death have changed before their eyes (Mead, 1970:78).

Mead explains that as parents have given up the right to teach their own children, their children learn from other adults and more knowledgeable peers, or the contemporary rock star or TV actor/actress becomes the role model to emulate. In India and Africa where great social changes take place, the children become the authorities on the new ways. They have to explain, lead and initiate the parents in the new concepts, and parents lose their power to control.

In prefigurative culture then the child and not the parent or grandparent represents what is to come.

In summary, one should be aware of these models of enculturation when a changing society is studied, with a multicultural foundation where immigration took place and still does, to understand the underlying conflicts, the adaptations expected to be made and the integration required.

In Canada, the ethnic, racial and social make-up of the population has changed greatly as a result of a change in

immigration laws. Early settlement was mainly from Europe and America; assimilation was easier. Now the influx of large numbers of immigrants and refugees from the Third World has become a major concern to the government, who is set to follow a program to preserve and develop the various cultural identities, traditions and languages of the groups. This has led to the establishment of the Ministry of State for Multiculturalism, after the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism & Biculturalism, 1969.

2.3.3 'ETHNICITY'

Religion and language are concrete cultural differences which are dealt with in education as the various cultural models indicated. Glazer (1975:18) feels that religion and language have become more 'symbolic' in the West, serving as a basis for mobilization under a new term, 'ethnicity', which interest or pressure groups use as a rallying point. Divisions such as culture, religion, language, and political affiliation have thus become a basis for ethnic conflicts with the state, since the welfare and socialist state appears to be especially responsive to ethnic claims, as governments employ ethnic categories and classification as a basis for distributing rewards (Glazer, 1975:10). 'Ethnic group' is used to describe a group with a common cultural tradition and sense of identity, but which still exists as a 'sub-group' of a larger society. In Canada any group not belonging to the French or English-

speaking populace would be considered ethnic minorities, because they are characterized by their distinctive differences owing to culture and descent. Glazer (1975:6) explains that the new word 'ethnicity' is an expansion of the term 'ethnic group', from minority and marginal subgroups at the edges of society - groups expected to assimilate, to disappear, to continue as survivors, exotic or troublesome - to major elements of society. In Canada there has been a rise in 'ethno-nationalism'. Many countries have been troubled by 'ethnically-inspired dissonance', as seen in the greater degree of ethnic conflicts during the last ten or twenty years. Take for example the conflicts between Anglophones and Francophones in Canada or Catholic and Protestant in Northern Ireland or Walloon and Fleming in Belgium or Black and White in the USA and South Africa.

This pressure of ethnic groups for recognition of their cultural distinctiveness has been felt in the education of multi-cultural nations. In Canada, this pressure of ethnic groups became the driving force behind promoting multicultural education. The government of Canada hopes to promote human understanding, acceptance and appreciation of differences. "A primary objective of this approach is to educate future citizens to be less accepting of the inequalities and injustices that exist in our society." (Programs in Support of Multicultural Education Activities, 1984:1).

In the Canadian context the term 'multicultural education' refers then to a system of education which reflects and embodies the cultural diversity of Canadian society. It is relevant to people of all racial, ethnocultural, language and regional groups and is designed to engender mutual respect and understanding amongst all segments of the society.

2.3.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The purpose for the inclusion of this section is to demonstrate the various premises on which cultural differentiating models have been constructed.

Carlton (1976:9) explains that in Culture and Commitment Margaret Mead presented a social-psychological theory confirmed on the anthropological front by cross-cultural comparison; her conception is based on the relationship between the individual and society. 'Socialization' being the outcome of the formative process by which from infancy, each acquires his beliefs, emotional attachments, personality traits, habits and values by imposition of the socio-cultural environment - thus man is then predominantly seen as a product of his socio-cultural environment - not losing sight of the fact that the personal genetic endowments he possesses make him unique - but still very much a product of his socio-cultural milieu.

She has shown how the changing times - immigration, industrialization and modern education have caused a metamorphosis in the enculturating practices of the group - of which the education system and all it might encompass, should be aware to the degree that it differentiates for cultural diversity. The Canadian Report on Bilingualism & Biculturalism (1969) revealed that the education system must consider new goals or practices in dealing with a multi-cultural population.

When school systems are organized on a scale co-extensive with political boundaries in a multicultural society, the common education experience or system must embrace groups which are heterogeneous in economic status, language, customs and religion.

To accommodate such a diverse society, certain models have been used to form a homogeneous society as seen in the 'melting-pot' concept, to assimilate and accommodate all linguistically and culturally distinctive groups - fusing into the dominant culture. New terms such as 'pluralism' or 'multiculturalism' favour the maintenance of distinctive linguistic and cultural identities.

Since it seems as if the whole world is involved in an ethnic revolution as Glazer (1974:18) stated - the English and French in Canada, the peoples of Africa, the Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland - we have to consider the

position of government policies and the consequent influence it has on the education of a multicultural society. It is clear that the greater the difference between the immigrant's way of life and the community into which he settles, the greater becomes the pressure for integration and assimilation - and greater the conflict of cultures. If the contrast is great, one has 'culture shock' - leading to bewilderment, frustration, disorientation and a breakdown in communication. "Yet culture shock is relatively mild in comparison with the much more serious malady, 'future shock'. Future shock is the dizzying disorientation brought on by the premature arrival of the future." (Toffler, 1970: 13.) For any technologically underdeveloped group transferred to a great metropolis, with its congestion and modern technology, the 'future' always arrives prematurely. The problem is compounded if the transfer is to a foreign culture, with a different language and totally different traditions and culture (Grygier, 1976:209).

In attempts to mould different ethnic groups into a 'nation', many futile and oppressive techniques must be used. Consider the attempts of Mao-Tse-Tung to break the Chinese youth loose from the past.

Grygier (1976:209) foresees disastrous consequences if different ethnic groups are not accepted in multicultural societies. By treating the most obvious dissimilar ethnic

groups, such as the Blacks in a White society as inferior, he expects a certain reaction or retaliation in a disrespect for authority, law and order. Perhaps this is a simplistic view, but it is advisable for the education system to be aware of this, and make allowance for cultural differentiation, to accommodate for ethnic diversity.

Considering what has been said on cultural models and ethnicity, one has to view the role formal education plays in the transmission of cultural values, its latent socialization potential embodied in the school structure and roles, as well as the curriculum content. Although the school is seen as a powerful socializing lever, either to retain group identities or to assimilate them, depending on the effective support and belief it has in a pluralistic policy of a country, it should be realized that that is not the only role the school should play in the community!

3. CANADA: THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

According to what has been stated in the previous chapter, the education system is the structural frame around which a group of people build their cultural input for their youth. This group of people may be described as a political community. The community lives within a recognised clearly-defined geographical boundary, has a system of government and other shared institutions, with a set of goals reflecting their ground motive (Hodgetts & Gallagher, 1978:9). Within the political community operate the various interest groups, such as the family, the neighbourhood, the regional area of an ethnic group, and groups of different religions, languages, occupations and economic statuses.

The Canadian population may be called a mosaic, since it is heterogenic, with people of various backgrounds such as the indigenous Indian tribes and the Eskimos in the Far North; the descendants of the original British and French settlers; migrants from Europe who arrived at the turn of the century, Germans, Ukranians, Dutch, Poles, Jews and Italians; the Asiatic people joined later, as well as Negroes from the USA.

With the signing of the British North American Act in 1867, the British North American colonies became united within a

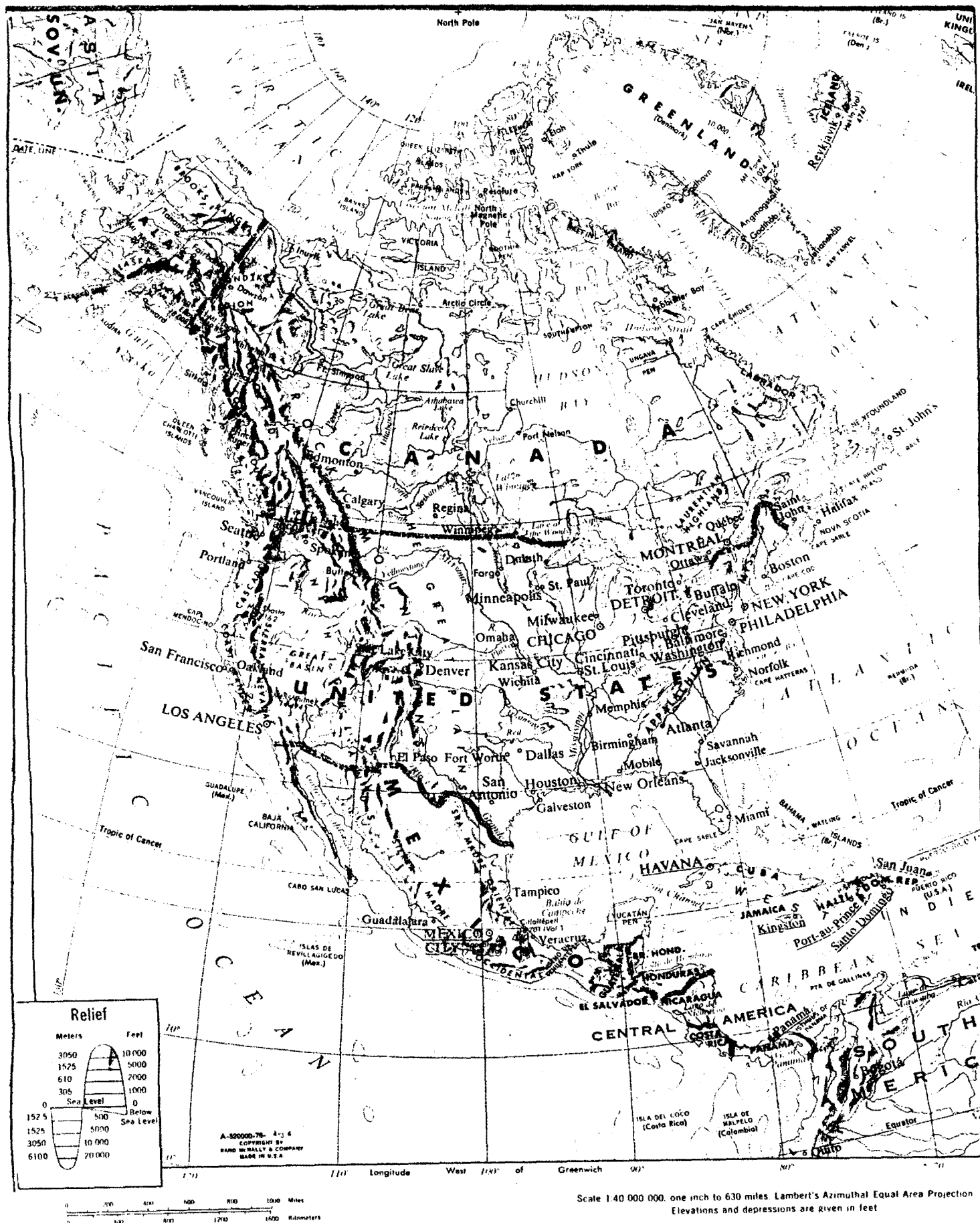
federal governmental framework. Each province has its own constitution. Provincial control over education constitutes the cornerstone of the conceptual design of the Canadian education system.

Education is dynamic and has to respond to the changes in Canadian life caused by social, economic, demographic and technological pressures. The response of the education system to the changing environment and to a population needing and demanding more education, has to be pictured against the following factors which Hodgett & Gallagher (1978:12) aptly named:

- * Canada is a northern, vast and regionally divided country;
- * Canada has a broad natural resource base, composed of both renewable and non-renewable resources;
- * Canada is an industrial, technological and urbanized society;
- * Canada is a culturally diverse, multi-ethnic country with two historically pre-dominant linguistic and cultural groups;
- * Canada is exposed to a multitude of external economic, political and cultural influences.

Since this study is concerned with the education system of Canada, these above-mentioned features will serve as an outline to investigate the interaction of natural and

Figure 3.1 NORTH AMERICA (Goode's World Atlas, 1970:58)



cultural factors on the political community as a whole, focussing in on the education development in a historical review in the next chapter.

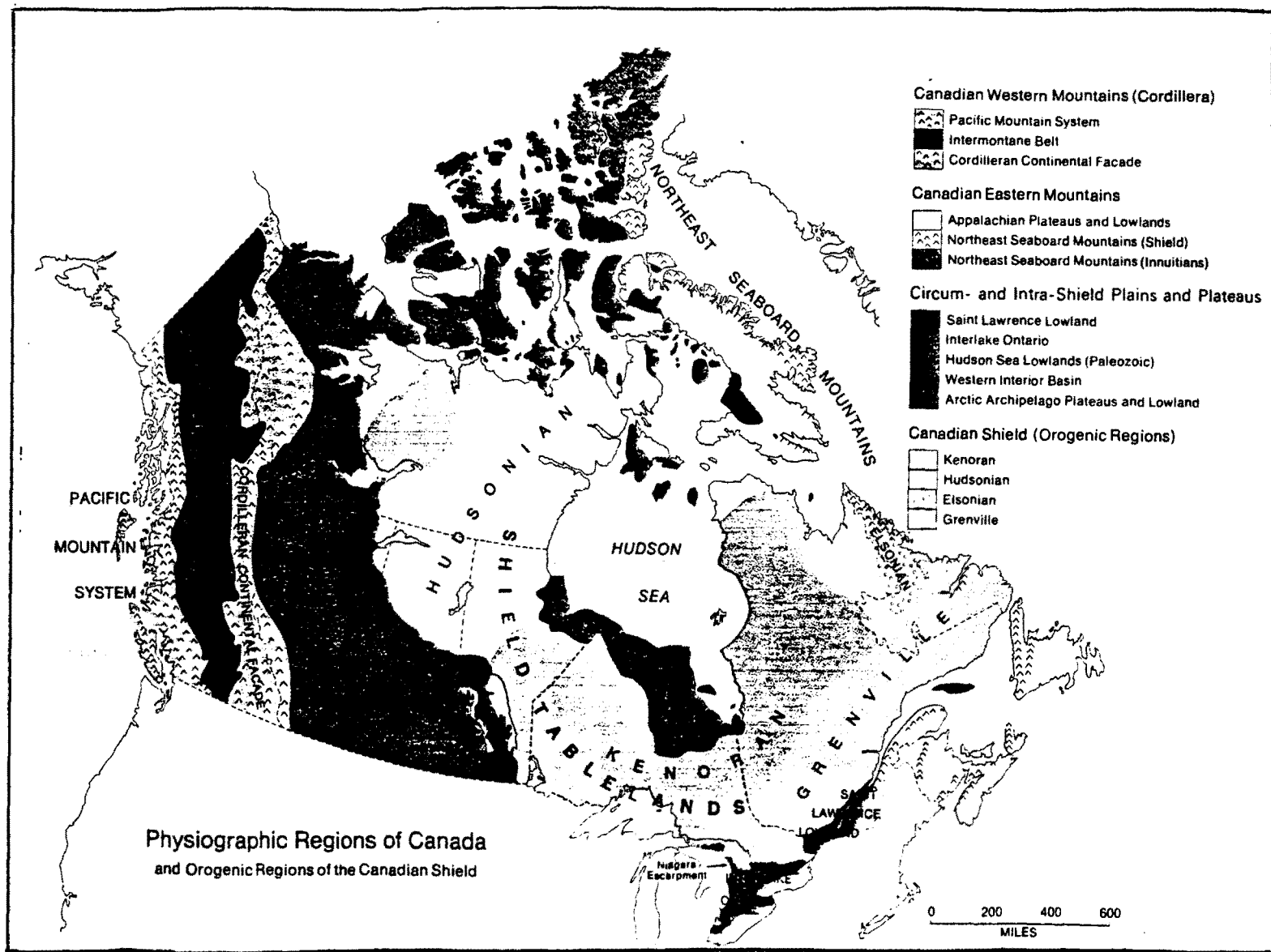
3.2 CANADA: THE LAND

The characteristic of northernliness is as particular to Canada as the West is to America, or the jungle to Africa or the outback to Australia. Canada was discovered by men from Northern Europe, and since their discovery led to the development of the fur trade, this northern enterprise led to the requirement of trading posts which attracted European settlement. The boundaries of this trade correspond to the boundaries of modern Canada (Hodgetts & Gallagher, 1974:38).

The North American continent is divided into two countries, namely Canada and the United States of America, which is south of Canada, sharing the 49th parallel as border for over 3000 miles (see figure 3.1 map of North America for location of Canada and the USA).

Canada has a land mass of four million square miles stretching from the Atlantic ocean in the east to the Pacific ocean in the west, and from the 49th parallel in the south to the Arctic Ocean in the north - which makes it the second largest country next to the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics (Katz, 1969:1). The country is sparsely populated in relation to its vastness, because 90% of the 23 million

FIGURE 3.2 PHYSIOGRAPHIC REGIONS OF CANADA (Warkentin
1970:59)



Canadians live within two hundred miles of the international border (giving it a population density of two inhabitants to a square kilometer). Beyond the populated zone lie the almost uninhabited territories which give Canada its vast size.

Between the Pacific and Atlantic coasts lie six natural divisions: the Appalachians, the Great Lake St. Lawrence lowlands, the Canadian Shield, the Interior Plains, the Pacific Cordilleran region, and the minor Far North regions - the Hudson Bay Lowlands, the Inuikin region and the Arctic Lowlands and Plateaux. Wedged between these regions is the Great Canadian Shield, a rugged, horse-shoe shaped rocky plateau - covering over two thirds of the country with a wealth of minerals some of which have been exploited. The prairies, a vast flat land, covering a thousand miles on the Interior Plains, is one of the world's highest wheat producing areas. On the west coast, running north to south, are the Rocky Mountains, with fertile valleys, massive forests and a long sea coast, which all combine to determine the character of the economy of the British Columbia area. The Atlantic Provinces are relatively poor in natural resources and economically depressed. The Great Lake St. Lawrence lowlands were firstly settled, with the result that it has the highest population concentration (Katz, 1969: 2). (The physiographic regions of Canada are represented on a map, figure 3.2.)

The climate ranges from the relatively mild west coast to the frozen north, where winter lasts nine to ten months and summer is measured in weeks. South, along the U.S. border, summers can be so hot that air-conditioning is needed in buildings; while the winters are long and icy with plunging temperatures and frequent snowfalls, central heating is therefore a necessity. The climate and the situation of the natural regions influence the natural vegetation, agricultural patterns and industries. Trees flourish in this country - hardwood, softwood and fruit trees. In the mild Okanagan Valley, British Columbia, grapes are grown as well as soft fruits - also in the Niagara peninsula of Ontario. Apple orchards are plentiful in southern Quebec and Ontario. On the Prairies a wheat strain has been developed which needs only a short growing season and is therefore adapted to the climate.

The topographical and climatic differences which are reflected in the vast extent of this country are exemplified in the five and a half hour time difference between east and west. One impact of this vastness is that many Canadians never get to know Canadians in the other provinces. Until the development of a country-wide railroad link, the distances were just too great and difficult to overcome, especially in the face of the climatic conditions, so that it was difficult to think in terms of a central government. These same factors, even with greatly improved communications - the telephone, television, air and rail transport, a

well-kept motorway - are obstacles which influence the concerns and understanding of each other. Combined with the political and cultural aspects a preference arose for regional areas, or provinces, to concentrate on decentralized solutions to questions, of which education is one (OECD 1976:17). Provincial autonomy has resulted in distinct education systems being developed to serve the particular requirements of individual provinces.

Considering the vastness and afore-mentioned factors, one comes to the realization how costly it has been to build Canada 'from sea to sea' and to maintain the union. Because regionalism was so strongly supported Canada opted for a federal form of government in 1867, at Confederation, at the same time remaining a constitutional monarchy.

Regionalism is further reflected in the distinctive life style developed in Canada in the various regions. The physical characteristics of the frozen Far North, in contrast to the mild South-western British Columbia on the Pacific Ocean, have led to a considerable difference in outlook, customs and values. The distance between Newfoundland and Vancouver is 4,300 miles. Since these areas were settled at different times, different historical and cultural influences are dominant in these provinces.

Quebec and Alberta are 3,500 miles apart, which led to the French culture and language guiding Quebec, while Alberta is guided by a blend of Canadian and American viewpoints, and British Columbia is dominated by a British ethos reflecting the roots of the settlers (Katz, 1969:3). Distance has been a definite reason for the shaping of a federal government and the distinctive decentralized Canadian education system.

3.3 CANADA: ITS NATURAL RESOURCES

Resources are culturally defined as that which is a resource depends upon the needs and wants, the attitudes and objectives, and the levels of technology of the people in a culture. Oil, of prime importance now, was not a resource of the indigenous peoples of Alberta - buffalo meat was. Transforming the prairies from lands of low productivity to high productivity, was largely the result of various mechanical inventions (Hodgett, 1978:40).

Canada's vastness is a resource which has not been fully exploited. The great variations in physical geography determine great diversity in agriculture, as Canada, despite the climate, or long winters, can supply the great bulk of food which its inhabitants consume, and is able to export large volumes of food, mainly wheat (Krueger, 1974:275).

The vastness and resource base have influenced the immigration flow and settlement patterns. The availability of land brought rural immigrants from every country in Europe. They settled in the rural areas, developed the agriculture, and formed communities where their cultural habitats and values could be perpetuated (OECD 1976:18).

The opening of the west by rail brought labourers of many ethnic origins to work on the railroad, and as transport improved, the natural resources and minerals could be exploited. The promise of work and plenty of land encouraged further immigration. There is a wealth of minerals in the bedrock, as well as in the glacial deposits of settled and unsettled regions of Canada. The cost of mining these minerals at present is too high because of the distance from the market and the awkward terrain.

Besides its land resources, Canada possesses impressive water reserves, with three oceans surrounding the country. Many large freshwater lakes provide a living for thousands of fishermen and widespread river systems provide for a vast communication and transport system, as well as for hydro-electric power used in industrial and commercial development and which is also exported to the U.S.

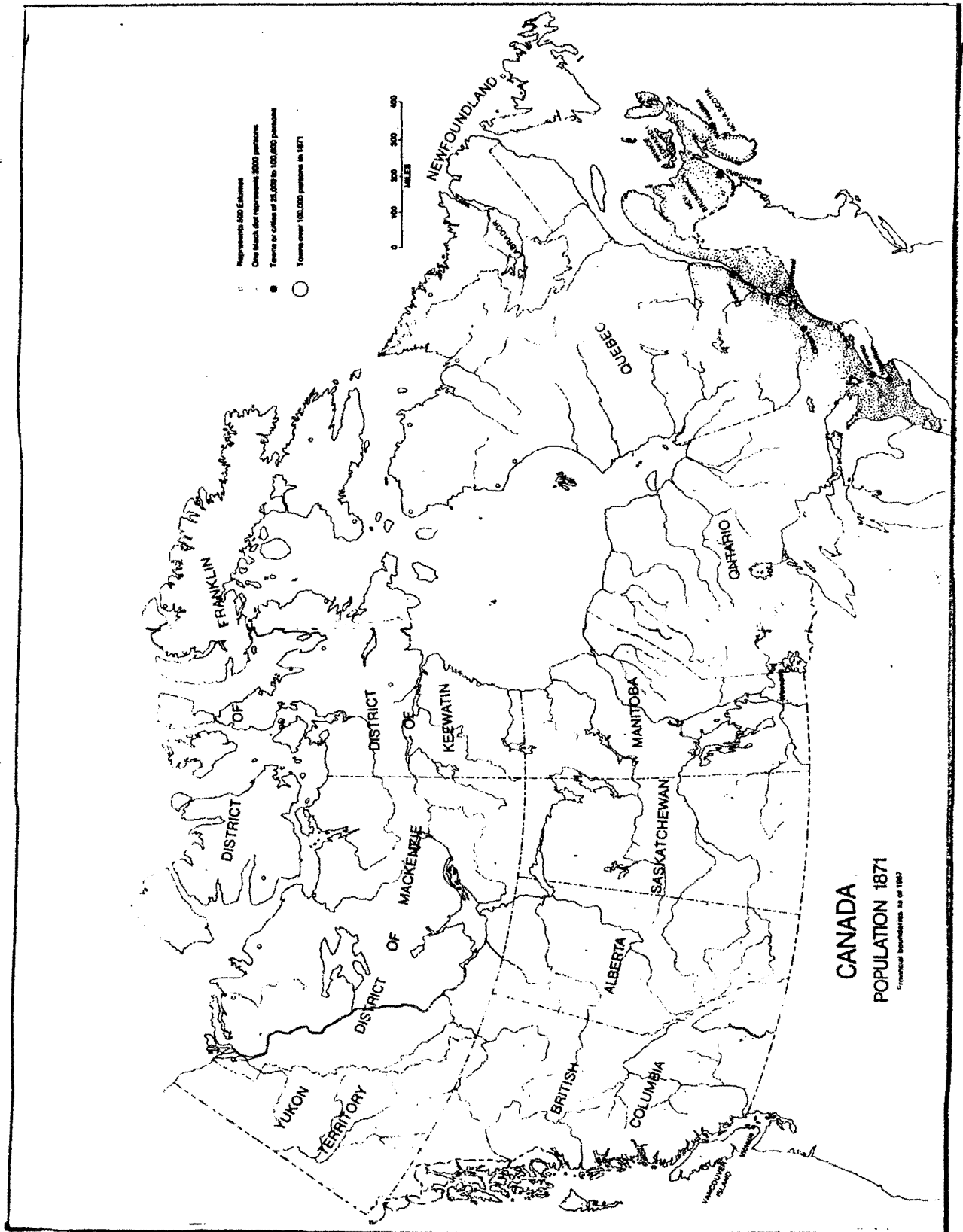
From the endless forests lumber has become a major industry as hardwood is used for furniture, cedarwood for building houses, and softwood in the pulp and paper industry, which Canada has become renowned for (Krueger, 1974:339).

Since Canada is a vast country with a relatively small population and a massive supply of resources, conservation has not been of great importance until recently, when an awareness has developed that basic resources such as gas, oil and minerals are exhaustible. However, the exploitation of these resources has resulted in the high standard of living Canadians have become accustomed to, giving them a materialistic outlook upon life (Katz, 1969:1). A particular Canadian phenomenon has been the resource-based single-industry town of which more than six hundred exist such as Sudbury, where nickle is mined, and at Kitimat where aluminium is the prime industry. Resource development has shaped these towns and the standards of living; also the demand on services and educational expectations. However the Canadian resource base is not evenly distributed. Some regions have resources which demand a higher income; for example, the Atlantic provinces depend on agriculture and fishing, while the oil and gas deposits in Alberta are more lucrative. This imbalance of resources in the different regions means that the federal government has to step in and help economically depressed areas to maintain the quality of life for all citizens (Hodgett & Gallagher, 1978:1).

3.4 CANADA: INDUSTRIAL GROWTH

Canada used to be a predominantly rural society, but it has now acquired all the characteristics of any Western industrialised society, and has also entered the arena of

FIGURE 3.3 CANADA: POPULATION 1871 (Warkentin, 1970:155)



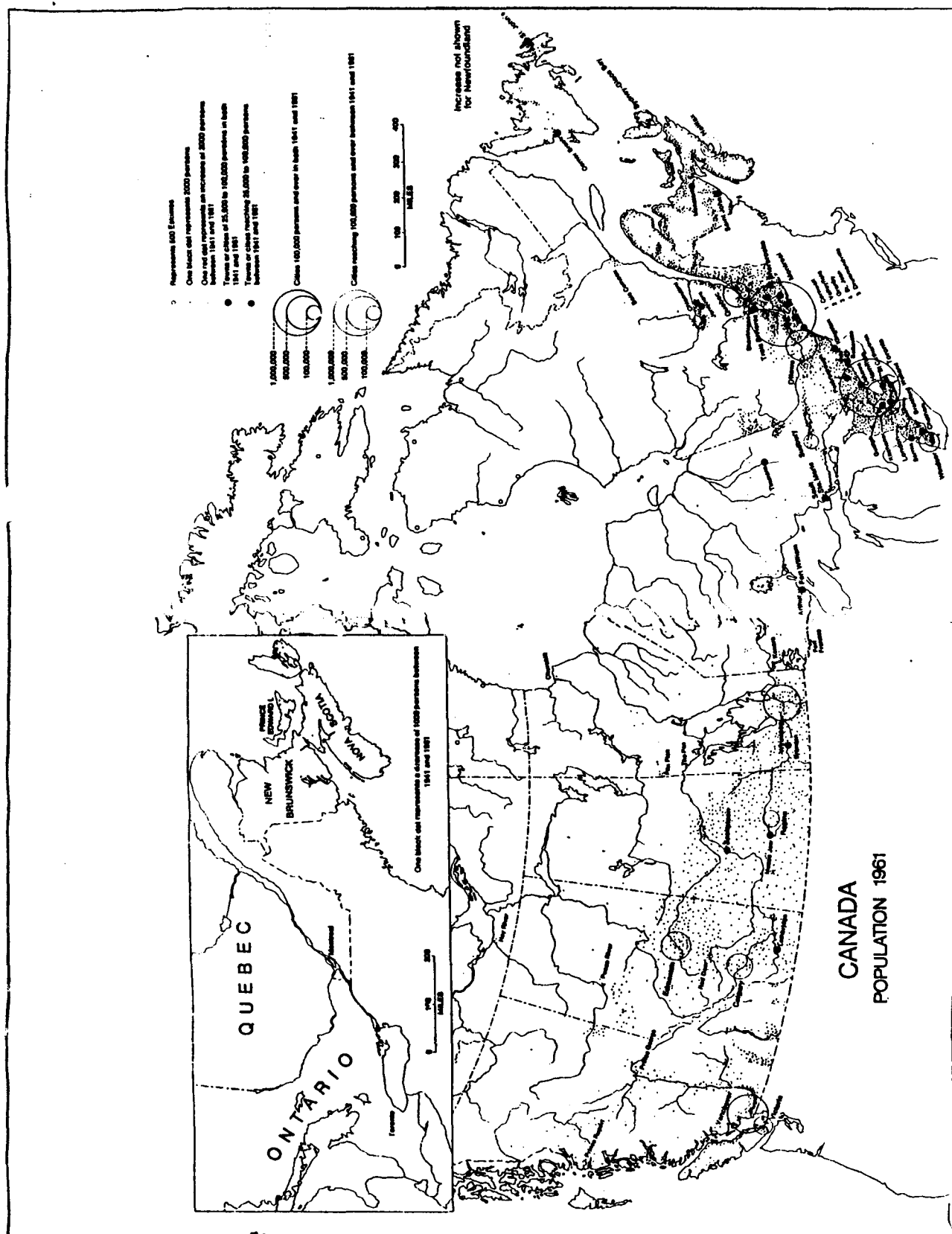
computers and space technology. Canada has emerged from a primary industry economic base, through the development of secondary manufacturing, to a major growth in recent years of the service or tertiary industries. The industrial and technological revolution brought about a radical change in occupations and life styles. These changes were accompanied by consistent urbanization - with the growth of towns and cities and suburban areas there is a corresponding decrease in rural living. Some of the reasons being better and broader job opportunities, rapid transportation in urban centers, social amenities and a variety of services available which are found in major concentrations of populations (Hodgetts & Gallagher, 1978:42).

This burgeoning industrial growth and urbanization required major social adjustments. Around 1871 one fourth of Canadians lived in towns and cities (see figure 3.3); by 1920 half the population was urbanized, and since then the city dwellers have multiplied by four. This movement to the cities has a counter-movement, in that city dwellers escape to rural areas for vacations or retreats. Many Canadians acquire a country house - another token of an affluent society - for summer vacations, or ski lodges for the winter. Urbanization produced a need for new services - transportation, sanitation, water supplies, public health, police and fire protection. To train and educate people to provide for the manpower demands of an industrial and

technological economy, a comprehensive education system is needed. Thus more demands are made on education by urbanization than what was expected by the rural communities. Reorganization of many provincial departments of education has occurred to keep up with changing demands. Some provinces established a second governmental department dealing exclusively with post-secondary education, to cope with the expansion of the tertiary section (Statistics Canada, 1973:133). (See supplement 1.)

To provide for the demands of urbanization and industrial growth, the provinces have delegated considerable responsibility for operating publicly-controlled schools to locally-elected school boards. These boards are responsible for building and maintaining schools, hiring teachers and preparing a budget. Local authorities exercise greater control in setting year-end examinations in the final year of secondary school, and in determining the curricula and the textbooks studied (Statistics Canada, 1973:133).

The migration of young people from rural to urban centres altered the character of both types, which resulted in a shift of social and economic patterns. The process of urbanization has varied in Canada. In Ontario and Quebec urbanization has been speeded up by the high rate of industrialization; but in the predominantly agricultural provinces such as Saskatchewan, New Brunswick and Manitoba, urbanization is much slower, matching the slower industrial-



ization (Katz, 1969:15). (See figure 3.4 for high density regions). The impact of urbanization upon education, namely to train and educate people, to provide for the manpower needs of a demanding economy, is reflected in the organization and administration of education in Canada in the form of division of higher education, the establishment of junior and community colleges, the increase in the number of vocational and technical schools and colleges, concern with the special education for children from under-privileged areas, the increase in provision for children of preschool and kindergarten age, and the provision for retraining adults whose jobs have been affected by automation and the computer (Katz, 1969:16).

The Indians are organized into 561 bands who live on 2,200 reservations. The Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs is responsible for the effective education, economic development, community development, resource management, social welfare, and engineering in partnership with Indian leaders across the country (Statistics Canada, 1973:47). In the Northwest Territories and the Yukon the education system is geared to fulfil the needs of the Eskimos, Metis and Indians living in isolated settlements. Since the aborigines have remained living in their territorial lands, their education systems are facing the challenge (or conflict - HDB) of competing in contemporary Canadian society, as more children enrol in school and more children complete Grade 12 (Statistics Canada 1973:137).

Thus manpower needs on the one hand, and cultural demands on the other, determine the way the Canadian education develops or keeps abreast.

3.5 CANADA: THE PEOPLE

The Inuit or Eskimos and Indian peoples were the original inhabitants of Canada. They developed a variety of distinctive life styles, customs and values influenced by their environment mainly, and heredity. They have retained their preferred ways of living in the face of great hostility, indifference and arrogance of Canadians of European origin. Current clashes of priorities and values between indigenous peoples and other Canadians, are reflected in the attention paid to the Inuit and Indian cultural development and self-expression by the authorities who are in control of their education system (Hodgetts & Gallagher, 1978:44).

Canada was settled by a number of European nations, of which the French and English have become the dominant linguistic and cultural groups. The differences of culture, language and values have been a persistent source of tension within Canada.

Since the late eighteenth century, the English influence has become more pronounced than that of the French and indigenous peoples, although not equally so in all parts of Canada.

Large-scale immigration from all parts of the world occurred during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. A multi-ethnic society developed with certain conflicting views among Canadians of different cultures and regions (Hodgetts & Gallagher, 1978:44). How these factors influenced the development of the education system, shall be described in more detail in the history of education following.

Lord Durham reported in 1837 that there were "Two nations warring in the bosom of a single nation." This seemed to be still evident in 1965, and led to the appointment of a Bilingual and Bicultural Commission, which looked into the relationships between the various ethnic groups. After the publication of the report, Book IV of the Royal Commission: The Cultural Contributions of the other Ethnic Groups, 1969, the government responded in 1971 with a statement by the Prime Minister, Pierre Elliot Trudeau, that the government opted for an official policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual structure.

"It was the view of the Royal Commission, shared by the government and, I am sure, by all Canadians, that there cannot be one cultural policy for Canadians of British and French origin, another for the original peoples and yet a third for all others. For although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other." (Trudeau quoted in Multiculturalism Canada, 1985:14.)

Katz (1969:4) wrote that since great diversity in ethnic distribution is experienced in the school populations, schools have to be sensitive to the various values these different cultures emphasize and try to accommodate these in all school programs. In contrast to a unicultural society such as Scotland or Japan, where the values propounded by the school are those held by society, the values set forth by a Canadian school may run counter to those of the home or even groups of homes. None the less, he opined that the schools in Canada are managing to establish an ethos capable of illustrating the social, economic, political and spiritual values deemed worthy of emulation by Canadian political communities.

Although multiculturalism has become a policy of the federal government, multicultural education is practised as an isolated subject, or integrated into various dimensions of the education system. But Programs in Support of Multicultural Education Activities (1984:2) proposes a much wider base. The school environment must be seen as a system comprising of a number of variables and factors, which each represent a part of the school's total response to ethnic diversity. These are the school staff, their attitudes, perceptions, beliefs and actions; school policy and politics; the school culture and the hidden curriculum, the learning styles, languages and dialects of the school; community participation and input, the counselling program, assessment and testing procedures; instructional materials;

the formalized curriculum and courses of study and teaching styles and strategies.

3.6 CANADA: THE POLITICAL AND CULTURAL INFLUENCES

Canada has always been influenced by developments beyond its control and borders, as it is part of a complex, inter-related world community. Historically there exist very strong ties with the United Kingdom. As Canada is a member of the Commonwealth, this has led to special associations with the Caribbean, African and Asian nations. Political and nationalist developments in Quebec have led to deliberate efforts to cultivate Canada's association with Francophone countries and to strengthen ties and cultural expression. This was clearly seen during February 1986 in Paris, where Francophone nations gathered to form a commonwealth association and the province of Quebec and the Canadian federal government were represented. Economic and cultural relations exist with Japan, China, the Soviet Union, Western Europe and Latin America. These countries have close ties with the Canadian colonial heritage, as they have provided the massive, successive immigration waves since the 17th century. Canada has as a close neighbour the United States, and it has been argued that north-south relations are natural and economically sound, while the east-west relations in Canada are artificial and heavily subsidised by the federal government to keep Canadian unity. However, contemporary susceptibility of Canadians to

American influences seems to be inevitable with the close television links and the cultural values it espouses. The existence and impact of U.S. based international corporations in the Canadian economy are further aspects of exposure of economic nature, as well as the defence agreements between the two countries.

Thus, Canada's multicultural character has been slowly built, as revealed in the history and immigration from early European expansion.

The impact of the British colonial heritage is clearly visible in the Canadian political system and economy, as well as in the education system. During the French regime the impact of the clergy on life in Quebec (New France) was very strong, and they kept their prominence in education until recently. European immigration to Western Canada has helped to shape the variety and character of contemporary Canada (Hodgetts & Gallagher, 1978:46).

Katz (1969:6) has named four factors which he declared have combined to give Canada its special character and which complement Hodgetts & Gallagher's views, namely geography; Canada's traditional dependence upon Great Britain, Europe and the United States; adherence to the monarchical principle of government; and a constant desire to achieve independence. These factors he noted were dramatically in evidence when the Liberal Government in 1965 managed to have

a distinctive flag accepted - a Red Maple Leaf on a white background - after much heated debate. Since Canada has strong ties with the British Commonwealth, it has helped to retain a Canadian identity, which prevented Canada being swallowed up by American cultural influences, and it has benefited the country materially. Canada's international independence was declared in 1922, when Britain recognized Canada's right to sign the Halibut Treaty with the U.S.A. With the Statute of Westminster in 1931, the Canadian parliament became an independent political entity (Katz, 1969:20).

3.7 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Canadian regionalism has developed from the natural conditions of climate, and rooted in historical and political traditions, which combined to emphasize decentralized government.

The agreement of union by the British North American Act (1867) recognized the country's diversity by proclaiming a federation of provinces, which clearly state the constitutional prerogatives of the ten provinces and the federal government. Residual powers not specifically awarded to the provinces lie with the federal government. Thus each province is able to dictate its independent role, allowing decentralization within to local, sub-provincial authorities (municipalities).

According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD 1976:20) findings, Canada has experienced a predominantly unplanned development. Its abundance of resources and rapid economic growth have provided collective material gains, and a high standard of living. Since serious political or economic crises have been few, problems have not been dramatized. This fortunate situation has prevailed in matters concerning education policy.

However, while one can agree that the Canadian way of doing things might not be violent or dramatic, it does not lessen the tensions and disagreements which have existed and still do exist among the dominant cultural groups especially in Quebec where one is very much aware of an 'undercurrent' of tension, but the OECD stated that Quebec is the exception to the rule. One can agree then that the solutions to the problems, conflicts, controversies, are truly a 'Canadian trodden path.'

The elusive Canadian identity is then being sought, out of the historical legacy of the early French and British settlers, regional fragmentation and the cultural influences exerted by their powerful neighbour, the USA.

4. HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The design of the Canadian education system lies in federal decentralization. Each province has its own constitution and this sovereignty of the individual province gives the Canadian education system its special status. Thus it is not the school, nor the district as in the United States, but rather the province, which has become the decision-making unit (Bryce, 1976:14). The complex reasons are rooted in Canadian history. The investigation following will therefore examine the fundamental dynamics and institutions which were influential in shaping it, and their correlation to the present-day situation as given in the next chapter.

The historical development of education in the past, must then be seen in the light of cultural differences. These cultural differences gave the impetus to a decisive direction of evolution in the Canadian education system. The values of French Canada, for instance, differed from those held by English Canada. Then also, different regions, in a country the size of Canada, are likely to express diverse expectations from public education.

Diversity within the Canadian context is therefore not only geographical, but also historical. Within the historical

inquiry one shall note what influence the metropolitan centres of France, Great Britain and the United States have had on the developing Canadian hinterland education system.

Titley and Miller (1982:3) underwrite a hypothesis that the metropolis is the centre of power and influence, while the hinterland (Canada and its regions) is subject to its domination being "the victim of economic and cultural imperialism, in-as-much as all its institutions and aspects of life are imitative of the metropolitan directives". Viewing Canada's colonial past and its dependence on France, Britain and the USA for leadership in most spheres of life, the pattern which developed, and the domination by them, may be termed the metropolis-hinterland relationship.

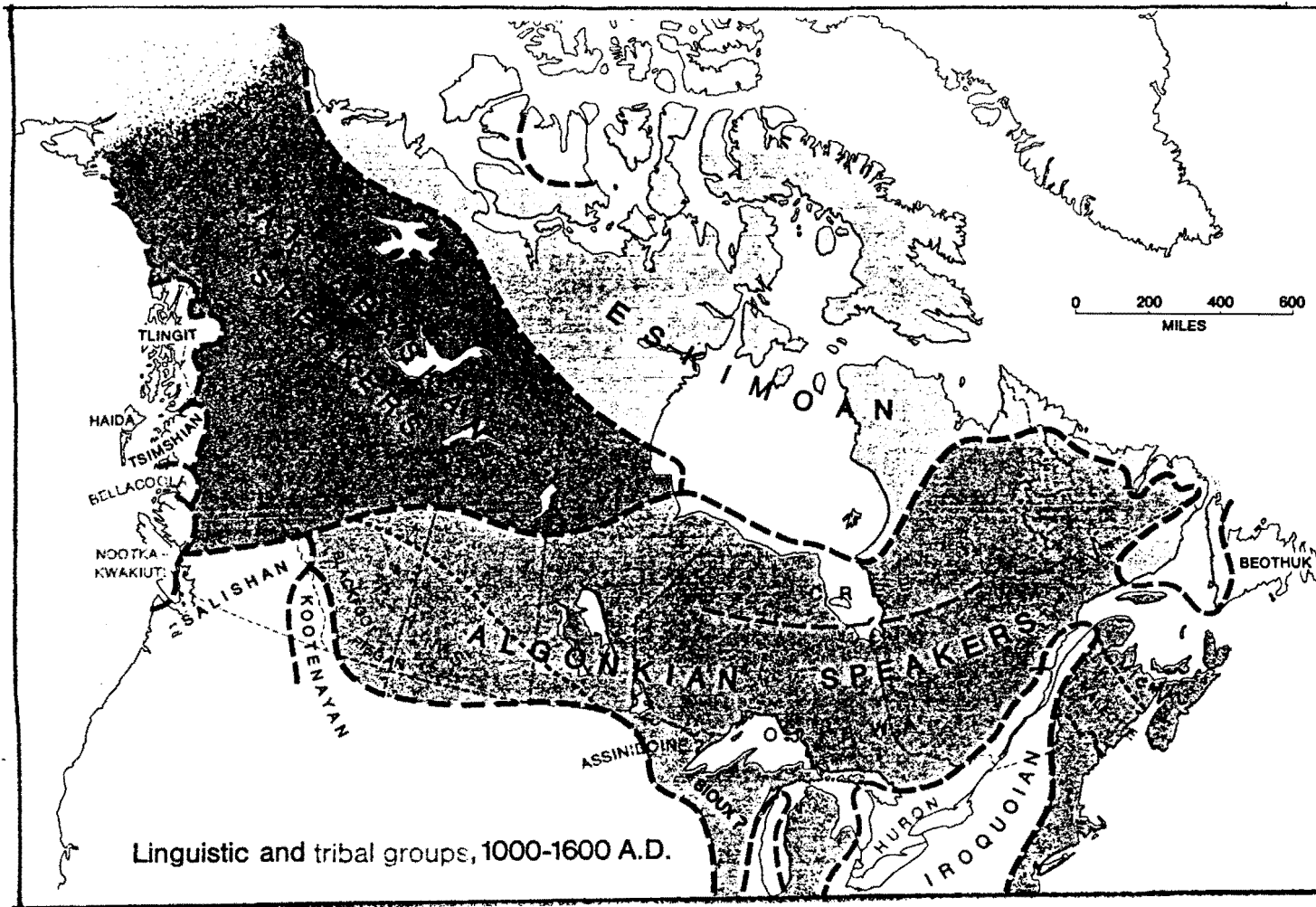
Thus the cultural beginnings, steeped and rooted in the ancient customs of the mother country, were brought to the new country, to be adapted and integrated, for a new life style.

These writers feel that of all institutions none are more affected by the impacts of the forces of the metropolis, hinterland and frontier, than the schools. The creative and formative powers of the frontier, in response to local conditions, are seen in both formal and informal education. In the reciprocal relationship between metropolis and hinterland, schools, curricula, teachers, methods, are originating in the metropolis and being transformed to suit

Figure 4.1 The Indigenous People of Canada

Linguistic and tribal groups, 1000 - 1600AD

(Warkentin, 1970:23)



the needs of the hinterland. In the case of metropolitan dominance, education including formal school, is interpreted as originating exclusively in the metropolis (Titley, 1982: 12).

Accordingly then, the cultural influences exerted by the mother country were adapted by the Settlers to accommodate the new environmental circumstances, and were adjusted to provide and satisfy their homespun cultural needs.

The development of the Canadian education system is therefore directed by cultural influences in the past. The history of New France, Ontario, Western Canada and Atlantic Canada will now be investigated.

4.2 EARLY HISTORY OF CANADA

It is assumed that the original peoples of Canada came from Asia, crossing the narrow land bridge, following game in the Bering Sea, over successive periods, lasting thousands of years. Some settled in the Arctic North and are called the Eskimo or Inuit. Other groups moved across the American continents, settling in various areas. Some remained nomadic, while others led a more settled life. The Europeans called these people Indians (Barclay, 1964:6). (See figure 4.1 for the early settlement pattern of the indigenous people of Canada).

The first Europeans to reach North America were the Vikings and fishermen, but they did not remain in settled communities on the east coast but returned to Scandinavia. Christopher Columbus reached America in 1492. John Cabot, 1497, 'discovered' the Canadian east coast and fishing banks - calling the island "Newfoundland", which became a fishing base. Jacques Cartier, a French explorer, moved further afield in 1534 - calling it the "land God gave to Cain". He was followed in 1603 by Samuel de Champlain, the first Governor of New France, with settlements in Acadia (Nova Scotia), Quebec and along the St. Lawrence river to Montreal island (Morton, 1963:10).

White settlement brought about the downfall of the Indians, who were destroyed by the European diseases, guns, liquor and new European ways. Ironically, the Indians taught the Europeans how to survive in Canada, to farm and hunt. Hunting the beaver was the start of the fur trade to keep the fashion conscious Europeans in beaver hats, and this led to the expansion of the Canadian hinterland. The frontier, being the untamed wilderness, which awaited settlement "offering tantalizing prospects of free land and economic independence". It fostered individualism and innovation, modifying the traditions emanating from the metropolis - or mother country by escaping the traditions they were bound by (Titley & Miller, 1982:4).

Figure 4.2 New France in the early 18th century

(Warkentin, 1967:31)

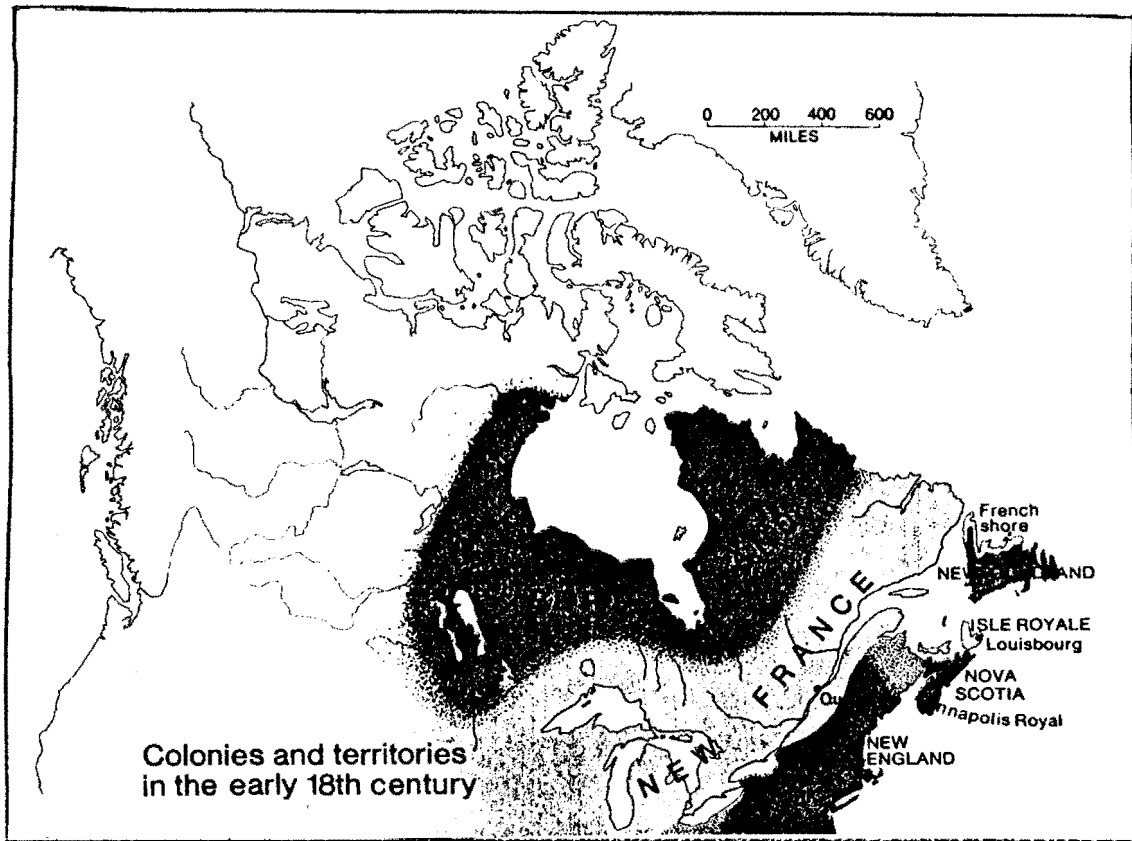
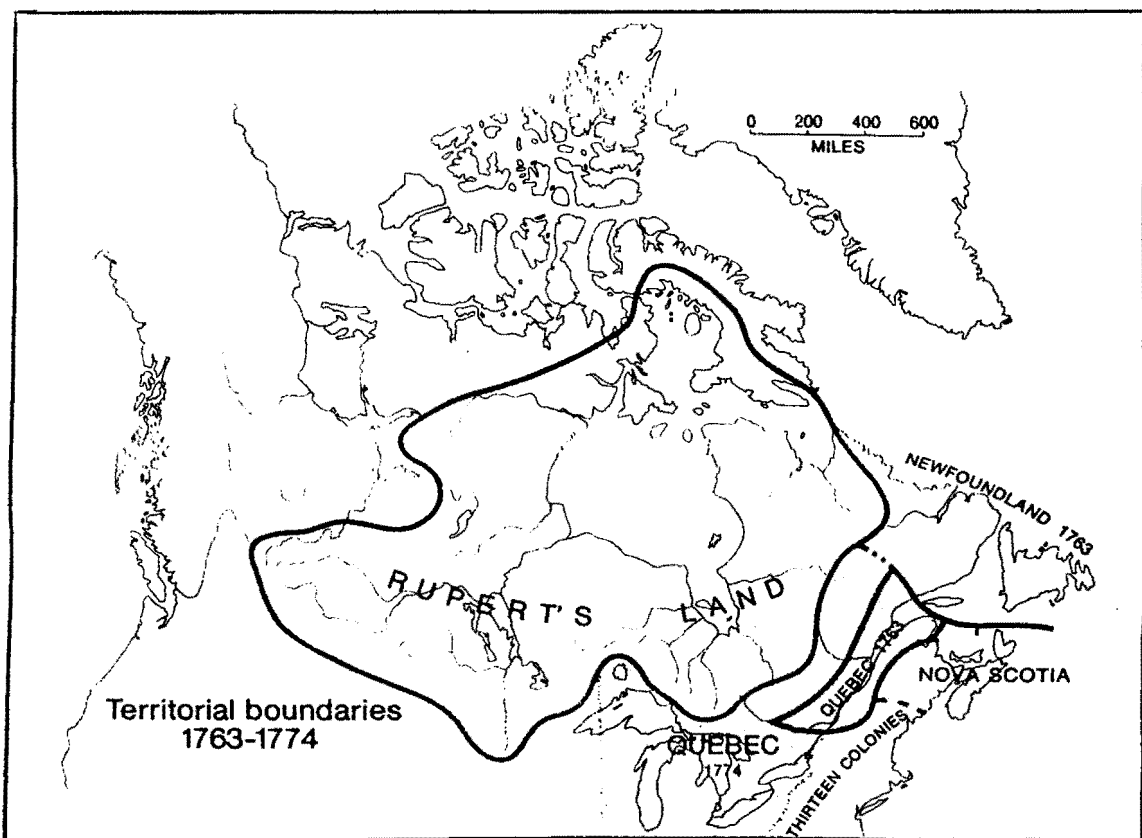


Figure 4.3 Territorial boundaries 1763-1774

(Warkentin, 1967:32)



New France denotes the area of French settlement along the St. Lawrence and in Acadia from 1700 to 1760. (See figure 4.2 and figure 4.3). It was a colonial society, being ruled by and following the institutional framework of the mother country, France. A ruling aristocratic oligarchy, an established church, and a system of feudal land tenure were in operation. Since the Roman Catholic church had the official sanction of the state, to operate schools, colleges, hospitals, poorhouses, seminaries and churches, it was an indispensable institution in the lives of the people. This network of operations copied from France, the metropolis, was reproduced in the social relations and cultural patterns of the hinterland, New France (Dawson & Titley, 1982:12).

Life in the colonies was full of hardships, the colonists wrestled with a hostile climate, rivers, lakes and endless forests. The settlers had to clear the land, build a one-room log cabin with a fireplace, cut hundreds of trees to clear enough land to plant crops. Families had to be self-sufficient - young males trained for various trades through an apprenticeship system. The population was small and dispersed, so in the rural areas the family undertook to give instruction in reading, writing and religion, although priests of the Catholic Church established 'petite écoles' (the little red school house) in certain areas to teach the catechism and other subjects (Gaffield, 1985:545).

Figure 4.4 Historical Landmarks in French Canada

	1492	Christopher Columbus reached America
	1497	John Cabot discovered "Newfoundland"
	1534	Jacques Cartier, French explorer, claimed Canada
N	1603	Samuel de Champlain - first governor of New France
E	1620's	Jesuits' & Recollects modestly active in education
W	1630's	Increase in settlers, education begins in formal way
F	1635	Jesuits' establish a college at Quebec City
R	1660	Assumption of royal control in New France
A		Bishop Laval founded Laval University,
N		Quebec City
C	1663	Colonists numbered $\pm$ 2,500
E	1670	Trade School at St Joachim for boys
	1740	French-English rivalry in Europe
T	1756	Seven year war begins between Britain and France
R	1763	Peace of Paris, New France ceded to Britain
A	1763	New France under British rule
N	1774	Quebec Act, British recognition of French culture
S	1775	British Government dissolved the Jesuit Order in Quebec
I		
T	1776	American Declaration of Independence
I	1748	French refuse to attend British schools
O	1787	Inquiry launched to investigate Quebec Education
N	1791	Constitutional Act: Colony of Quebec divided into (French) Lower and (English) Upper Canada
T	1801	Royal Institute to provide centralized schooling unsuccessfully
O		
	1821	McGill College established in Montreal for higher English education
N		
A	1827	Dalhousie petitioned by "Knights of Crosses"
T	1840	Education Office (of Lord Durham) failed
I	1841	Separate Local control for Roman Catholic and Protestant schools. Dual education system of Quebec legalized
O		
N		
H	1846	Separate school principle retained for religious minorities
O		
O	1850	Basic education structure in Quebec legally established
D		
	1867	British North American Act recognised provincial control in education

Frequent skirmishes occurred between the colonists and Indians and also between the French and British who both wanted to expand their territories in North America. This competition of claiming land, finding new hunting grounds, relocating people, culminated in the seven-year war of 1756 when France and Britain were at war in Europe, Asia and North America. In 1763 the long series of Anglo-French wars ended in British victory. France and Britain signed the Peace of Paris ceding Canada to England. The former French officials left the colony en masse, while enterprising Scottish and English merchants from the American colonies and Britain moved in soon dominating the fur trade, and the commercial life of the colony. The colony of Quebec was divided into two parts in 1791, Upper and Lower Canada, each having its own Governor, nominated council and elected assembly (Larose, 1974:7). The historical landmarks discussed in these paragraphs are indicated on the accompanying outline (figure 4.4).

4.3 EDUCATION IN NEW FRANCE, 1603-1867

The provision of education fell under the Catholic Church, which at this stage was imbued with the spirit of the Counter Reformation. Martin Luther (1483-1546) advocated that the success of the Reformation depends to some extent on educating the young in schools. He urged the authorities to set up Christian schools. This activity in education enabled Protestant ministers to be trained to hold their own with their Catholic counterparts (Wilson, 1972:11).

The strong influence Luther exerted on the development of Protestant education spurred the Catholic Church on to the Counter Reformation movement which gave birth to a number of religious orders and congregations whose specific purpose was the establishment and operation of schools (Dawson & Titley, 1982:12). These religious teaching orders: Jesuits, Récollets, Sulprecians and Ursulines were active in the towns and villages providing elementary instruction in catechism, reading, writing and arithmetic to girls and boys. Young men who wanted to become priests or enter the professions were able to take a course in advanced classical studies by the mid-17th century. Bishop Laval in the 1660's founded the Séminaire de Québec, which later became the Université Laval (Magnuson, 1969:11).

As in France, all formal education was the domain of the Catholic clergy. Schools were owned and operated by the bishops, parish priests and religious orders. The Bishop had the support of the civil authorities to control the school system as there were no laws governing the operation of schools before 1760. In New France he was the only authority. It was to the Bishop one turned to for all decisions of any consequence. New religious communities concerned with education needed his approval, and the parish priests as agents of their spiritual leader, had to keep a close watch on the education of their flocks. (Audet, 1970:72).

Royal subsidies from France, sporadically given, stimulated the building and maintaining of schools. Education in the towns closely resembled that of the motherland in fundamental respects: no formal education existed, and the education role of the state was confined to financial support (Magnuson, 1969:11).

But since the colonial society was on the edge of a wilderness, frontier influences dictated certain measures in education. The process of learning the new ways was integrated into everyday family life. In the labour-intensive economy of the 17th and 18th century, children had to contribute by active productivity - they learned skills such as gardening, spinning, weaving and land clearing. Education had to be practical. A trade school was opened at St. Joachim in 1670 to teach boys agriculture, carpentry and wood carving (Johnson, 1968:10).

This concept that education was intrinsically associated with the church; and instruction given by the church functionaries, had a distinctly spiritual and moral purpose - designed to promote loyalty to the church and her teachings among all sections of society. This particular model of education, elitist and moral in conception, with the association between the Catholic church and French language, was firmly established during the French Regime and survived till the Quiet Revolution in the 1960's (Titley & Miller 1982:26).

"The French cultural heritage, characterized by the intellectual, moral and institutional growth of the French society, developed not only during colonization, but was established centuries before. This dictated that the French colonists instilled in their children the rudiments of knowledge, first by setting up 'petite écoles' and later by the teaching of the parish priests, missionaries and itinerant teachers. They sent their children to convents such as those of the Ursulines and the Sisters of Notre Dame, to schools run by lay women, to the Trade schools at St. Joachim, Quebec and Montreal and to the Collège de Québec. Because these colonists clung so determinedly and firmly to their French roots, language, laws, customs and religion, Canada today can still share in the French uniqueness and cultural heritage." (Wilson, 1970:21.)

The fall of New France to the English in 1763 left a largely disorganized group of 50,000 French Canadians on the shores of the St. Lawrence when the 'elite' - nobles, intellectuals, wealthy and professional army left, taking their money, experience and leadership. The English forbid the Jesuits and Récollets to accept new subjects in schools, and a decree in 1775 from London dissolved the Jesuit order in Canada, and the government seized their property (Carter, 1957:6).

Johnson (1968:12) recalls these as "dark days" in French education when, as a result of the war and defeat, ignorance reigned as there was a shortage of teachers and books. In

1827 a petition was taken up against Dalhousie and his administration. The document carried 87,000 signatures, almost all French Canadians; 78,000 could not sign their names but used an X which the English press cynically called the "knights of the cross".

The British conquest of New France in 1760 cut off the colony permanently from its motherland. There were attempts made to introduce British ideas into the educational realm, but the clergy realized that if they wanted to preserve the Catholic faith and ancestral language, they and the parents had to intervene. Therefore they rejected the law of 1801, which they saw as gradually modifying the religious and political sentiments of the Canadians and refused to send their children to the schools of the Royal Institute. Thus another generation without school resulted (Carter, 1957:10).

Gradually through legislation (1824 and 1829) the general principles of Quebec's future laws of education began to appear: parental control through local commissions, the parish as the social unit, and the direct support of the state to public schools, and the principle of religious differences were recognized. Definite form and legislative sanction to these ideas came about in 1845 and 1846 under Union. "Thus the French Canadians succeeded in obtaining, against powerful opposition, the basic laws their philosophy of life required, even before they obtained the complete power to legislate for themselves." (Carter, 1957:10.)

Carter (1957:11) explained that the parochial structure plays an important role in the Catholic social framework. First is the grouping together of a number of families around the same church and same priest, which is the basic religious unit. Then the church is composed of dioceses, which are like superparishes under a super-priest called a bishop. In the parish framework a man is baptised, instructed in his religion, receives the sacraments of daily life, is married and buried. Every Sunday he re-establishes contact with his priest and fellow parishioners, participating in the great social sacrifice of the Mass, listens to his pastor. The parish is also the territorial unit and of political significance. It came to serve as the basis of the civil municipality and of the educational unit later known as the 'school commission'.

A compromise was reached between the French Catholics and English Protestants to accommodate two conflicting traditions and establish a basic structure of education for modern Quebec by the school acts of the 1840's and 1850's. The new laws allowed for the creation of school boards in each municipality, empowered to raise taxes for the construction and maintenance of elementary schools. There could be both Catholic and Protestant boards within a municipality, ensuring religious and linguistic separation of children. This division was further reinforced by the appointment of a board of overseers - the Council of Public Instruction - which was comprised of two departments; one for Catholics and one for Protestants (Titley & Miller, 1982:51).

The new structure did not affect secondary education, since only small numbers of French Canadians attended the private operated Catholic schools. The boys who attended the classical colleges would continue in religious life or study law or medicine. For girls the Ursuline convents provided exclusive traditional training (Titley & Miller, 1982:52).

Following their separate educational paths, the English in Quebec developed their own system of secondary schools, based on the grammar school model of the United Kingdom. McGill College in 1821 provided a higher learning institution, while the French attended Laval University in Quebec City. This then explains why the Anglo and Francophones had no common education experience. Linguistic and religious differences were rigidly institutionalized in the school system or differentiated for (Titley & Miller, 1982:52).

One concludes therefore that the education in New France was the product of two sets of interacting influences, New France being the hinterland of France, the society modelled its institutions closely to those of the mother country - the most distinguishing feature being education under strict control of the Roman Catholic clergy. Yet frontier influences on the edge of the wilderness, indicated to this society a certain practical orientation to life - though never abandoning the classical foundations, the church schools offered 'useful' knowledge and skills as well. The role of the church in education was so firmly established

that no incentive to modify the system could be imparted - which resulted in two distinctive viewpoints regarding the role the state and church play in education. This duality is manifested in the creation of two distinctive systems of education in Quebec one for Franco and another for Anglo-phones.

4.4 THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN ONTARIO, 1763-1876

In Upper Canada the population in the early nineteenth century was mainly United Empire Loyalists, a by-product of the American Revolution. The original Loyalist settlers who had founded the earliest villages and towns were soon joined by a steady stream of Americans seeking homes and farm lands in southern Ontario. Their numbers were swelled by English, Scots and Irish immigrants, mainly from the lower middle-class from the 'old country'. For the struggling frontier society of pioneer farmers life meant clearing the bush, sowing and harvesting, few amenities of life to be found in the cities, very little ready cash and long distances to traverse by lake boat, the 'batteaux', or the roughest trails to deliver farm produce to the market. The first schools were of a private nature, and the common schools started without government assistance, by anyone who felt inclined to teach (Johnson, 1968:23).

Early attempts to improve the availability of schooling in Ontario or Upper Canada were only modestly successful, although the principle of state aid to both grammar and

common schools was established, it was too modest to allow for extensive instructional facilities (Titley & Miller, 1982:15).

The Church of England was the unofficial established state church and synonymous with the 'Family Compact' - the elitist rulers. Adams (1968:2) explains that religious exclusiveness became a distinctive feature of colonial rule in Upper Canada, leading to arrogance, intolerance and intimidation. Social differences were reflected in the attitudes to education. Well-to-do members of the original Loyalist families, members of Compact, Tories and Anglicans, desired grammar schools to prepare young men for the professions and leadership in the new country, but the 'Reformers' (the American and British immigrants) wanted 'common school' to which all could send their children (Johnson, 1968:24).

The Government tried to satisfy both sides by passing the District Public Schools Act of 1807 - authorizing a Grammar School in each of the large districts, and an annual government grant towards paying teachers' salaries. 'Public school' was used in a traditional sense as current in England such as Eton, Harrow and Rugby, perpetuating the class distinctions of British society. The schools were independent, charging fees for tuition and for residence. This Act was the beginning of state control and establishing a system of secondary schools (Johnson, 1968:24).

The Common School Act of 1816 made provision that where parents of a locality could produce twenty scholars, they were empowered to provide their own schoolhouse, elect a three-man school board, appoint the teacher, set the course of studies and make regulations for the school and therefore become eligible for a small government grant. Schools were dependent on fees and subscriptions. This act reflects the American tradition of elected school boards exercising local initiative and control elementary education (Johnson, 1968: 24).

In 1882 the Government created a General Board of Education to exercise supervision over the colony's schools and Strachan, a Scott and former teacher, founder of the first grammar school, became chairman and the first Superintendent of Schools for Upper Canada. Strachan as a bishop of the Church of England, wanted to make his church the educational arm of the state but he received much opposition (Johnson, 1968:25).

He was succeeded by Egerton Ryerson, a son of an United Empire Loyalist, born in Upper Canada, brought up on a pioneer farm, who went to a grammar school, taught for two years and joined the Methodist ministry. With his influence in education and the Methodist community he won respect as a leader in education, and in 1844 he was appointed to take charge of the school system of Upper Canada as Assistant Superintendent of Education (Johnson, 1968:37).

Ryerson, when appointed Superintendent of Schools for Canada went to Europe to study various national systems of education in Britain, Prussia, France, Sweden, The Netherlands, Switzerland and Austria. On his return in 1846 he wrote a Report of a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada which encompasses his philosophy of education. It displays his favour of the Irish and Prussian education systems, and sets forth the framework for a public school system which evolved in the next three decades. Education for Ryerson was to be Christian, synonymous with Protestant values, universal, free and compulsory. "Like the 19th century humanitarians, Ryerson saw education as a vehicle to help man, by using his reason to overcome ignorance and thereby, vice, crime and juvenile delinquency. Patriotic needs are to be served by a free and compulsory education, and the system must be Canadian not British. Education had to be practical, thus he advocated a curriculum including history, geography, linear drawing, bookkeeping, music and the traditional subjects such as arithmetic, nature study, agriculture, physical education, hygiene and political economy." (Wilson, 1982:65.)

The system of common schools which developed owed much to the American influences because the Loyalists who settled in Ontario were products of the American experience. They had a tradition of well established schooling provided by locally supported, non-sectarian institutions which was much more democratic than the contemporary British system with its

rigid class system. On their traditions Ryerson then constructed and designed the education system. He was guided by ideas from the USA and major European countries, which then were the centers of economic and military power. Colonial and backward, Upper Canada looked to the metropolitan centers for leadership and inspiration. By borrowing from the countries he visited, he established a system which was highly centralized, with power in the hands of the state. Schooling was non-sectarian and financing was established by the taxation of local property. Uniformity in the area of curriculum was copied from Ireland, Prussia and France, deliberately using the readers from the Irish national schools. For uniformity in teacher training a Normal School was introduced to create competent and loyal teachers to replace the suspect characters who had frequently conducted classes in the colony; this was modeled on the Dublin archetype (Titley & Miller, 1982:17).

Since the population was spread thinly over a wide area, and of mixed religious composition, with no aristocracy or well-established churches, only the state had sufficient resources to set up a comprehensive network of schools. Thus state intervention had followed since the border hinterland lended itself to such a provision. The education system which developed was innovative. Extensive borrowing of education practices from the metropolitan areas, had taken place but it was adapted to suit the conditions prevailing in the hinterland, thus in Ontario in the 1840's there emerged a unique adaption (Titley & Miller, 1982:18).

A sequence of dates which outline the historical development in education of English Canada (figure 4.5) follows.

4.5 WESTERN CANADA, FROM 1862

Between British Columbia and Upper Canada lay the great plains which was empty, save for a few scattered fur posts and roving bands of Indians who followed the buffalo herds. The only authority was the Hudson Bay Company, which since 1670 had flown its initialed ensign from its forts in Rupert's Land and each year sent to England the season's collection of pelts. The isolated posts were garrisoned by a small bands of traders, usually Scots and French Canadians, assisted by a few 'Metis', the mixed offspring of white men and Indian woman (Johnson, 1968:59). Migration from the two linguistic groups to Central Canada took place but the majority were English-speaking, mostly from Ontario. As time passed, Francophones became a powerless minority in the newly created province of Manitoba and in the North-West Territories (present-day Alberta and Saskatchewan), leaving the Anglophone majority to determine the shape of the new society - using the institutional framework of Ontario as model (Titley & Miller, 1982:18). (See figure 4.6 for the territories mentioned).

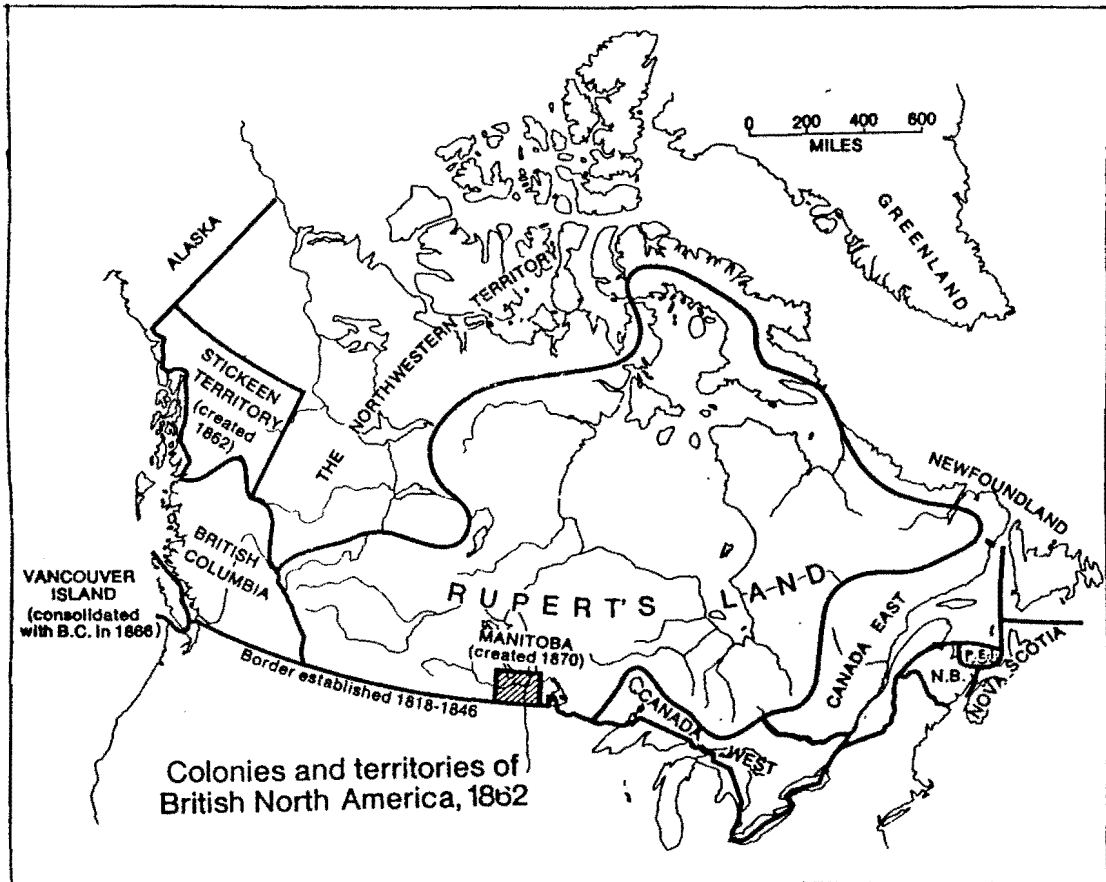
By the 1870's Ontario was no longer a pioneer society, but was becoming a rapidly industrialized center of economic and political power, a metropolitan center, in fact. The well-

Figure 4.5 Historical Landmarks in English Canada

- 1583 Britain acquires Newfoundland as a fishing depot
- 1670 Hudson Bay Company established in Rupert's Land
- 1763 New France becomes a British Colony
- 1774 Quebec Act - French culture recognized
- 1776 American Declaration of Independence, influx of Loyalists to Canada.
- 1791 Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, (Ontario) Lower and (Quebec) Upper Canada become known as British North America
- 1800-1840 Government of BNA a copy of American Colonies
- 1807 District Public Schools (Grammar Schools) or secondary schools subsidised
- 1816 Common School Act, right to establish schools
- 1822 General Board of Education
Strachan first superintendent of schools in Upper Canada
- 1834 Lord Durham (from Britain) investigated education in Upper and Lower Canada
- 1841-1871 Period of expansion, communications improved, growth in population
- 1846-1876 Egerton Ryerson, Superintendent of education in Upper Canada (or Canada West)
- 1850 Charter of Canadian education - provincial control of education
- 1851 Canada West (formerly Upper Canada) and Canada East (formerly Lower Canada) renamed
- 1867 Confederation, British North American Act
- 1869 Canadian Government acquired Rupert's Land, from Hudson Bay Company, to be known as Manitoba and the North West Territories
- 1870-1900 Period of consolidation and efficiency in education

Figure 4.6 British North America 1862

(Warkentin, 1970:37)



established school system, non-sectarian, publicly supported, with compulsory attendance laws, became an intrinsic element in the social fabric of the political community. Since the West was being established by the migration of Ontarians the concept of Canadian national identity emerged in English Canada - loyal to the British Empire and her political traditions as English Protestants. To ensure that their cultural traditions and concept of identity was carried out, the Ryersonian system of education with emphasis on control and conformity was transplanted (Titley & Miller, 1982:19). The influence of metropolitan Ontario shaped and directed education in the Western hinterland in the early formative years. The West's dependency on Ontario reflected in their need for Ontario-trained teachers, textbooks, and educative innovations - kindergartens and technical and vocational schools. But as time passed the West developed characteristics of its own educational system (Titley & Miller, 1982: 109). Few school districts existed prior to the establishment of the provinces, and their establishment became the first task of the youthful provincial governments (Byrne, 1976:14).

4.6 ATLANTIC COLONIES, from 1713

Prior to Confederation (1867) a particular school system had evolved in Upper and Lower Canada (Ontario and Quebec). In a different environment and influenced by its own peculiar circumstances the Atlantic Seaboard colonies developed an education system to provide for their particular requirements.

Newfoundland was acquired by Britain in 1583, as a depot for fishing fleets. Colonization was opposed, which made permanent settlement illegal on the island - yet permanent residents squatted in little outpost villages and coves from the sixteenth century (Phillips, 1957:43). These people sank to a state of benighted ignorance, until missionaries ventured into the forbidden land to minister and teach. From 1726, missionaries and schoolmasters were sent from England to Newfoundland and Nova Scotia by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.) and paid by the society. They started the schooling. In 1744 the Anglicans began a school and in 1770 the Roman Catholic church permitted priests to go to the island to minister to the large Irish population who came with the fishing fleets. Methodist missionaries arrived from England in the late eighteenth century, thus these three major denominations established Newfoundland's education each supporting education as well as religion as their charge (Johnson, 1968: 45). Formal education was provided in Newfoundland in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Organized education for the poor was provided as a charity by school societies financed by people of means in England from 1836. Education for the upper classes depended on private initiative, and parents wishing for a superior education sent their children abroad (Phillips, 1957:54).

Johnson (1968:51) stated that since education and early missionary activity coincided, a denominational system developed which the Government later supported by providing state aid without assuming any other responsibility for a public school system. By 1852 the Roman Catholic, Anglican and Methodist systems were recognized in the division of the grants. The denominational school system has prevailed till today and in addition Salvation Army and Seventh Day Adventist supported schools are also part of the system (Munroe, 1974:170).

There were schools in Acadia when it was under French rule, prior to 1713. When Acadia was taken over by Britain it was renamed Nova Scotia. The Acadians were allowed to follow their own ways for fifty years, but when they repeatedly refused to take the oath of allegiance to the British crown, they were deported to the southern colonies in America. Their vacated lands were gradually taken over by 'His Majesty's Yankees' from the south. Halifax was built as a British fortress and naval base, which encouraged sizeable migration from Britain (Johnson, 1968:46).

Early teaching was done by anyone who felt inclined to teach the young, also by the S.P.G. as in Newfoundland, until 1766 when the first Education Act was adopted which favoured the established Church of England Schools, provided for the examination of schoolmasters and the selection of local trustees to operate the schools in each township. The

Education Act of 1864 provided a free public school system supported by government grants and local taxation (Munroe, 1974:26).

Prince Edward Island in 1769, and New Brunswick in 1784, separated from Nova Scotia. The first schools were missions or operated by the clergy, Roman Catholic or the Church of England. Phillips (1968:135) wrote that between 1830 and 1840 one-third to two-thirds of the children received from 12 to 24 months of schooling. Within the Atlantic provinces children could receive formal schooling at irregular periods for up to six months. In the monitorial and town schools the duration of schooling was longer.

The American Revolution had greatly influenced the development of the Atlantic Colonies with substantial immigration, encouraging population growth which again brought about political changes. Where the early colonial governments were reluctant to develop a common school system, the New England and British influences encouraged a state supported school system; taxes were raised from local inhabitants and used to establish and maintain a local school with a grant from the state, while the local or municipal government took responsibility. In poverty stricken Newfoundland however, taxes could not be raised, and the churches continued to control schools.

Except for Newfoundland, institutions of higher education and established public school systems existed in the Atlantic colonies by the advent of Confederation (1867) (Johnson 1986: 47).

4.7 THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN ACTS

4.7.1 THE CONSTITUTION ACT OF 1791

After the defeat of the French army by the British in North America, all French territory in Canada was ceded to Britain. Following the Treaty of Paris in 1763, political and cultural ties with the motherland, France, were broken in the departure of the French elitist ruling group. United Empire Loyalists, fled northwards because they rejected the republican viewpoint in the south as they remained loyal to their British ties. They settled on the southern shores of the St. Lawrence - Lake Ontario region, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. New France now found itself isolated in a predominantly Anglo-Saxon world, and even though the British formalized their recognition of French customs and institutions in the Quebec Act of 1774, the British colonizers tried to convert the French colony to a British one (Magnuson, 1969:12).

The traumatic experiences which the Empire Loyalists suffered during the revolutionary war and their unwavering support of the Royal Crown, predisposed them to an 'unflexible conserv-

atism'. "Loyalty to the British Empire and its institutions was their distinguishing characteristic, which henceforth would guide their political viewpoint and motives and reflect in their educational goals." (Titley & Miller, 1982:57.)

The Constitutional Act of 1791 divided the former colony of Quebec into two - Upper (Ontario) and Lower (Quebec) Canada, and with Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland became known as British North America (BNA). This Act embodied the whole scheme of government, modelled on the British constitution of church and state, provided a governor, executive council, legislative council and representative assembly, corresponding to the British system of King, Privy Council, Lords and Commons (Johnson, 1968:15).

The Constitutional Act recognised the essential differences between the two linguistic groups. Lower Canada, predominantly French-speaking and Roman Catholic retained the French common law, the use of French in the courts and the seigniorial system of land tenure. In Upper Canada distinctive British institutions were recognised, namely freehold tenure and the British law. From henceforth the country would be inhabited by two peoples of two languages and cultures (Titley & Miller, 1982:57).

Upper Canada's ties with Britain and the strong anti-American sentiment combined to create the concept of Anglo-Canadian nationalism. This was further reinforced by the large influx

of immigrants from the United Kingdom over successive years enforcing Anglo dominance and 'Anglo-conformity' in education (Titley & Miller, 1982:57).

Between 1789 and 1801, a cohesive and strongly centralized school system was planned, but met with little success in French-speaking Lower Canada. A major reason was the attempted exclusive control of education by the governor and the small ruling class, which signified an attempt to Anglicize and Protestantize the French Canadians. Larose, contrary to what Carter (see par. 4.3) perceived, felt that the plan which included the establishment of Royal Schools as called for in the Education Act of 1801 could have been used by French-Canadian Catholics to build a school system to serve their needs and ambitions, but the Catholic clergy was violently opposed. This factor, along with the problems of illiteracy and the general public's indifference towards education, with strong opposition to all forms of taxation for the support of schools, meant severe difficulties and opposition for those whose intentions were to establish Royal schools (Larose, 1974:11).

Prior to 1840 no system of education existed at the executive level of government in Upper or Lower Canada. Lower Canada's early education by the Catholic Church had successfully been curtailed by the British in 1792 when the Jesuit estates were taken over by the British, and apportioned for military purposes, leaving Lower Canada without effective means of education (Larose, 1974:10).

The form of representative government in British North America (BNA) from 1800 to 1840, was a copy of the American colonies.

The Legislative Assembly provided Canada with a representative government. The governor with the Legislative Council had exclusive executive authority, the members of which he appointed out of a small and exclusive group representing wealth, education, government, church and society. This elitist group used their official positions to advance their own interests through the direction of policies and patronage, which frustrated the Legislative Assembly (Larose, 1974:8).

Due to grievances by those who wanted a more democratic government, Lord Durham was sent in 1834 to investigate, and he reported that the territorial divisions between Upper and Lower Canada had resulted into two nations, two races, two languages, two laws each clashing with each other. He recommended re-union to eliminate the racial conflict, and an Office of Education, under the control of an English officer, responsible to governor and government to bring about a fusion or amalgamation of peoples, races, languages and laws (Larose, 1974:10).

Trying to centralize education through the Education Office in 1840 failed, partly due to administrative factors, but mainly due to the racial and cultural factors, since the

Education Office was opposed to cultural separation, while each cultural group wanted its own system of education. It also lacked political status at a national level, and thus failed drastically to unite these opposing groups, and three years later it became two offices (Larose, 1974:49).

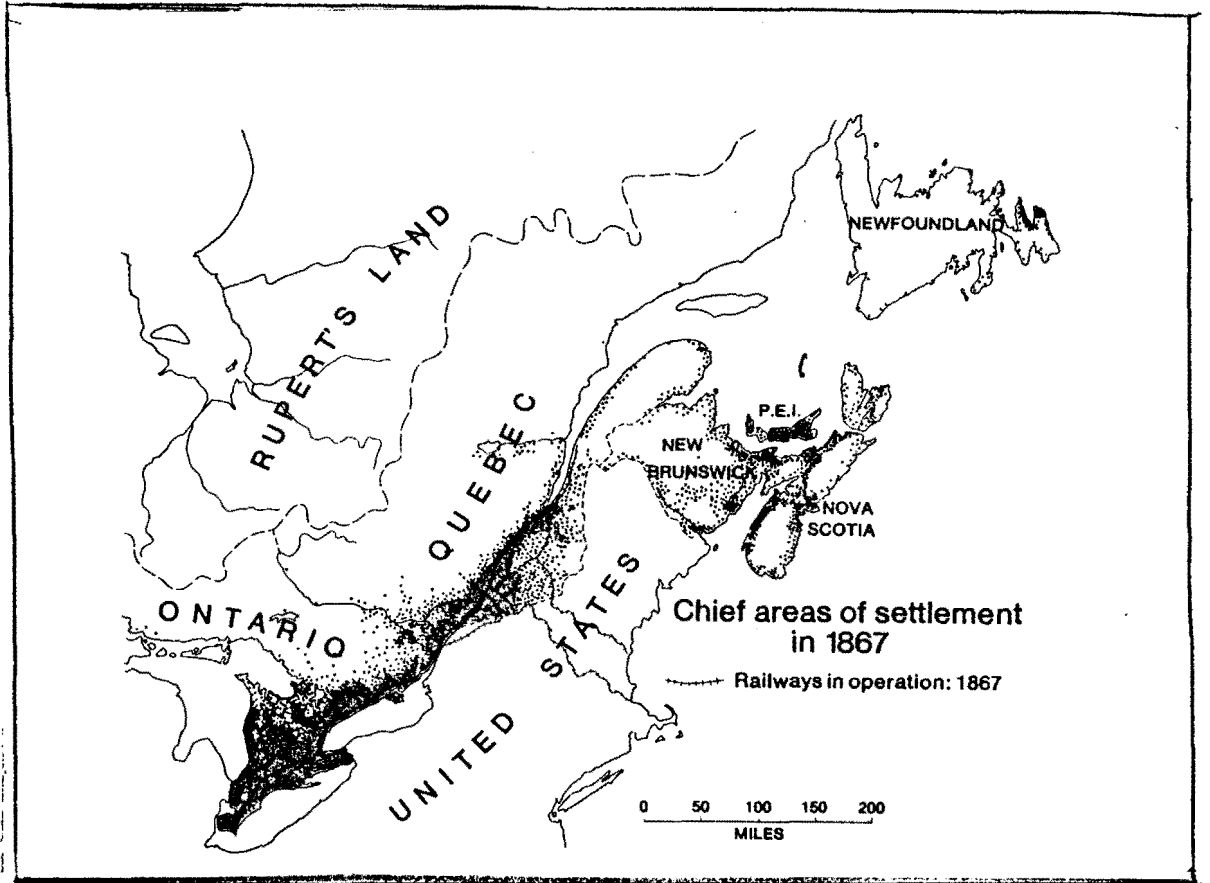
The series of school acts passed by the United Assembly of the Canadas in the 1840's and 1850's were aimed to reach a compromise between the two conflicting traditions and established the basic structure of education in Quebec. The new laws allowed for the creation of school boards in each municipality which empowered them to raise taxes for the construction and maintenance of elementary schools. There could be both Catholic and Protestant boards within a municipality, ensuring religious (and linguistic) separation of children. The Council of Public Instruction, comprised of two departments, one for Catholics and one for Protestants. These arrangements found favour with the Catholic Church as they reinforced denominationalism and as clergymen could sit on school boards. This arrangement did not affect education at the secondary level, since only a small number of French Canadians sought higher education - which was available in private schools operated by the clergy - 'the classical colleges'. The Protestant section developed a system of secondary schools based on the grammar school model of the United Kingdom. McGill College in 1821 became the institution for higher learning (Titley & Miller, 1982:51, 52).

Upper Canadians, up to 1841, had been largely rural and self-sufficient. Then industrialization, improvements in transportation and communications influenced the development of urban areas, especially Toronto. Specialized urban services were required including schools. Thus education of children became more widespread, more formalized and institutionalized. Egerton Ryerson as superintendent of schools for Upper Canada was greatly challenged by the educative demands the emerging urban and industrial society was making. He successfully provided a blue-print for English-Canadian public education, after studying international developments and drawing on first hand observations of American and European school systems, deriving a non-sectarian Christian philosophy of education.

Of this blue-print, Ryerson drew up for the education of English Canada, it was said: "So complete is the system, so carefully is every contingency provided for, that the observer is apt to feel that its completeness is perhaps its greatest defect." Thus Coleman in 1908, and the Hall-Dennis report in 1968, both concluded (Titley & Miller 1984:88).

By 1871 Ryerson had established free, compulsory, tax supported, province-wide elementary schooling, an inspection system and a system for training and licensing teachers. The secondary grammar schools were brought under unified control, and the curriculum at both levels was broadened. Ryerson's blueprint was adopted in the other English-speaking provinces, with minor adjustments (Stevenson & Wilson 1977: 4).

Figure 4.7 Chief areas of settlement in 1867, Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.
(Warkentin, 1970:45)



4.7.2 CONFEDERATION 1867

The Canadian colonies, namely Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick (see figure 4.7 for chief area of settlement) joined together to form a Confederation of provinces. The Act of Union or the British North American (BNA) Act became law July 1, 1867, and the following sections influenced education:

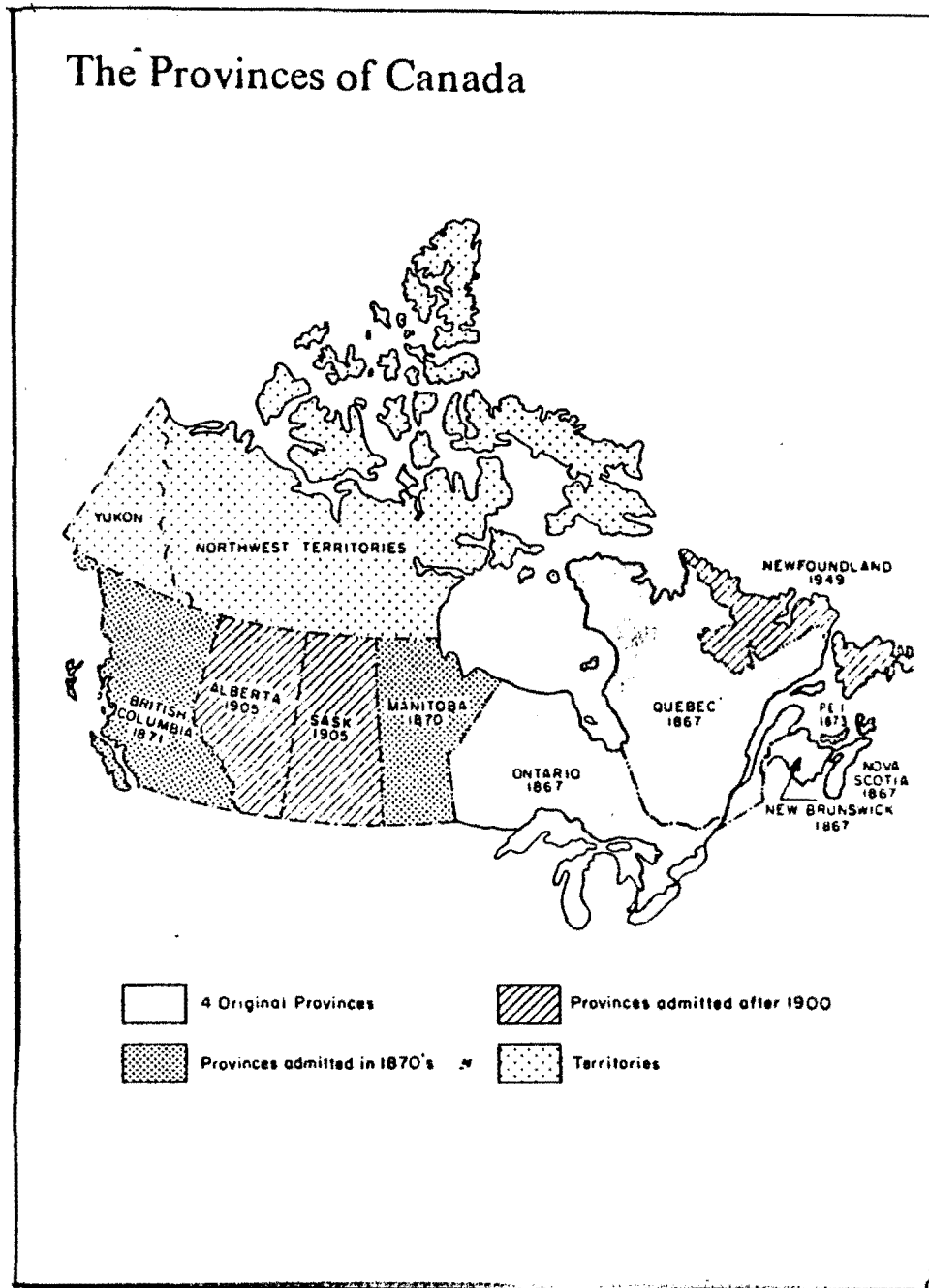
Section 91 dealt with the powers of the federal government;

Section 92 dealt with the powers of the provincial government;

Section 93 dealt with the exclusive responsibility of the provinces in education and the protection of denominational rights in education (Larose, 1974: 54).

Prime Minister McDonald at the time expressed his disappointment regarding the fact that education had not remained in federal hands, yet he understood that education had been so close to the people and bound up with their culture and religious traditions for so long, that if Confederation was to be achieved at all, education must remain under provincial control (Johnson, 1968:118).

Figure 4.8 Canadian Federation: The Provinces (Munroe, 1974:4)



Following the establishment of Confederation other provinces joined (figure 4.8): Manitoba in 1870, British Columbia in 1871, Prince Edward Island in 1873, Saskatchewan in 1905, Alberta in 1905 and Newfoundland in 1949. With each new admission, the provisions of the BNA Act with respect to education was reaffirmed.

Control of education is therefore decentralized, based on the cultural demands. While the Constitution gives to each of the ten provinces the exclusive right to make laws in regard to education, the tradition of local control of schools has also been established through the delegation of various powers to elected school boards who have local responsibilities.

The federal government's role in education was determined by section 91 of the Constitution. Since Indian Affairs resort under federal jurisdiction their education is constitutional (Larose, 1974:60).

4.8 EXPANSION OF WESTERN CANADA, from 1870

Canadian jurisdiction was established in the Western Prairies in 1869 when, through a financial settlement Rupert's land was bought from the Hudson's Bay Company, who held title to the land by charter from Charles II (King of England) since 1670. At Confederation the only Whites living in this region were Company employees. The prairies and the northern lands,

as far as the Arctic Ocean, were to be administrated as the Northwest Territories by a lieutenant governor and council, appointed by Ottawa (the seat of government) (Titley & Miller, 1982:107).

Prior to Canadian federation the Red River Colony (Manitoba) had an English and French, Protestant and Catholic population. Formal recognition was given to their duality by the Manitoba Act of 1870, which granted official status to the French and English languages and denominational schools. The steady increase of Ontarians and immigrants from the Britain, followed later by the flow of European immigrants, caused an imbalance, with the English element outnumbering the French, and challenging the principle of duality - till eventually in 1916 English became the official language in the secular public schools (Titley & Miller, 1982:111).

As population in the western frontier regions increased, the school system from Ontario became the hallmark, which was based on Ryersonian principles, that is: uni-lingual and state controlled. An Ontario-born and trained elite controlled the education developments. The school was the key institution to insure that the English-Canadian cultural character of the new society was implanted in the frontier regions demonstrating how the Ontario metropolitan influence was carried to the Western hinterland to effectively shape the emerging society (Titley & Miller, 1982:109).

The French, as stated, became outnumbered by the English-speaking settlers. The Anglo majority had strong nationalistic ideals. "Their ideal of a united Canada was a homogenous nation founded on a common language and cultural background, an appreciation of British institutions, identification with the Empire, as the British Empire was at its zenith, and pride in the Anglo-Saxon race." (Titley & Miller, 1982:121). The school system was organized to legitimize the cultivation of their concepts, reinforced by their domination of the media, churches, teaching profession and Legislative Assembly; and firmly established by the time European immigration flooded the West (Titley & Miller, 1982: 121).

Before 1920, Mallea and Young (1984:23) suggest that neither the melting pot or cultural pluralism models were used, but 'Anglo-conformity' was the predominant ideology to assimilate the immigrants in English-speaking Canada. Immigrants from Europe - Mennonities, Ukranians, Hungarians, Poles, German and Russians began to come to the newly opened land of Western Canada in the late 1890's. Proponents of Anglo-conformity considered that the new arrivals were obliged to conform to the values and institutions of Canadian society - which were already fixed - since Anglo-Saxon and white superiority was taken for granted. Anglo-conformity then and not Canadianism, was the predominant aim of the public school system in the West, and the underlying theme in the textbooks (Mallea & Young, 1984:25).

British Columbia, like Manitoba was part of the Hudson's Bay Company, except that certain areas were Crown Colonies of Britain where schools were organized by the clergy, - Church of England, Presbyterian, Methodist and Roman Catholic - but the rivalries led to a demand for non-sectarian public schools. The Free School Act of 1865 gave Vancouver Island colony a highly centralized system of free non-sectarian schools, financed entirely by the government and operated by a board of education which divided the colony into school districts and appointed a superintendent. This became the basis of the education structure. By 1871 British Columbia joined the Confederation and was the only western province without any provision for separate or denominational schools. Most of the teachers came from Britain perpetuating Anglo-conformity (Munroe, 1974:102).

The transcontinental railways opened up the Northwest Territories, making settlement attractive. The Canadian government successfully followed a concentrated policy to promote immigration. Furthermore lured by the Yukon gold rush, and the new developments in dry land farming, more than three million immigrants came, between 1896 and 1914, creating the new provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta (Report of Royal Commission IV, 1969).

The Canadian motto 'a mari usque ad mare - from sea even unto sea', chosen for the Dominion of Canada eventually became a reality then, when Manitoba, Prince Edward Island, British

Columbia in 1870, Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1905 and finally, Newfoundland in 1949 joined the confederation, as formerly stated.

4.9 SEPARATE SCHOOLS

At a very early stage in the development of an education system in Canada the principle of differentiation was adhered to. In the Common School Act of 1841, designed to provide one school system for both Canadas, a historic 'dissentient clause' was added to allow for "any number of persons of a different faith from the majority, in any township or parish, to establish and maintain one or more common schools". Thus they could notify the school commission of their intent to withdraw from the control of that body and to appoint their own trustees. Such schools would be equally eligible for government support. The Protestant minority in Lower Canada insisted on the dissentient clause when the bill was in the committee stage. This clause gave legal recognition to the educational segregation of the two ethnic groups. In subsequent years this clause was invoked almost exclusively by the Roman Catholic minority of Upper Canada (Johnson, 1968: 33).

Titley & Miller (1982:80) note that at the time of Confederation there were three kinds of separate schools in

Canada West:

- * public schools of a special nature, which were supported in part by legislative grants and were for special linguistic groups such as French, German, Gaelic and Algonkian;
- * schools for special racial groups such as Negroes and Indians; and
- * schools for special denominational groups such as Catholics and Protestants.

It could be that a French or Gaelic school was also a Catholic school. However, the School Act of 1841 created in effect the 'separate schools' of Canada West and the 'dissentent schools' of Canada East. In this and subsequent acts, legislators used the term 'denominational' schools distinguishing only between Roman Catholic and Protestant, referring or advocating a 'dual confessional' and not a 'denominational' school system such as the one which took root in Newfoundland.

Canada East then, possessed a dual religious education system, whereas Canada West had a national system of which denominational separate schools were a part. But Ryerson had insisted on three principles:

- * the freedom of the individual Roman Catholic to support the common school, without obligation to support separate schools;
- * centralized control of curriculum and textbooks, to prevent the system of duality in the East;

- * equal public grants for all schools, in return for common inspection insuring uniformity in all schools (Titley & Miller, 1982:82).

The separate school provision differentiated for the diversity in religion which existed in Canada East especially, and was acknowledged in the constitution. The resolution of the religious conflict resulted in two school systems, one Catholic and largely French, the other Protestant and English. In Canada West a uniquely Canadian concept developed, namely the separate school district with a local school government (Byrne, 1976:10).

4.10 A SUMMARY OF THE PRE-CONFEDERATION ORIGINS OF EDUCATION

In this summary, by way of an illustration, it can be pointed out that the origin of the Canadian education system was deeply rooted in colonial times, originating from the metropolitan areas of France, Britain and America. Certain features of the school system of Canada have been brought from the mother countries (the metropolitan areas) to a foreign soil (the hinterland) where various conditions influenced its re-establishment (the frontier) to be adapted to suit Canadian conditions. Mutation occurred during its gestation and development so that a new variety replaced the ancestral stock in widening areas of operation (the regions). As these changes and alterations manifested themselves, new features and new characteristics appeared through a number of mutational steps which is an ongoing process.

In Quebec, Canada East at confederation, a traditional education developed under the aegis of the Roman Catholic church - religion and education being viewed as one. These traditions of New France were placed beside the demands of the British-American colonizers who wanted schools to be public and practical. During the 1840's and 1850's the basic structure of the school system was designed to accommodate the two ethnic groups and their cultures. At the same time a public system of education was developed and established in Canada West under the guidance of Egerton Ryerson. These common public schools transmitted the dominant group culture, imbued with moral and patriotic values.

The Maritime Provinces established free public schools and Normal Schools for training teachers. In Newfoundland several denominations provided schooling.

Higher education was offered by private institutions, most of which were under religious control. Laval, founded in 1635 as a Jesuit college, obtained a royal charter as a university in 1852 and a Papal charter in 1876. King's colleges, usually considered as Anglican institutions, were founded in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Ontario. Queen's and Victoria universities were given charters in Ontario, where they were supported by the Presbyterian and Methodist churches. McGill in Montreal and Dalhousie in Halifax were established as non-sectarian universities (Munroe, 1974:2).

The framework of the Canadian educational policy, as well as its content has been based on the constitutional guarantee as set by the BNA Act of 1867 where by each province has exclusive jurisdiction over its education system, and the religious groups are assured of their freedom to exercise their rights to denominational and separate schools.

4.11 CONCLUDING REMARKS

A recurring theme, picked up from Canadian writers, is the issue of the 'Canadian identity' - either that it does or does not exist. This on-going debate has its roots deeply established in the ethnicity of the founding nations. Since their view of life has notably led to a dual cultural-fundamental structure, which, in its diversity created differing traditions and practices, and culminated in a lack of a coherent national educational policy. The vastness of the land and relative low population density contributed to a regional loyalty. Originally the land and climate dictated to the agrarian society, who were wrestling an existence out of the hostile environment "by the sweat of their brow". Then, industrialization with all its far-reaching implications touched their lives. Interwoven with all of these, is the continuous thread of political rivalry which is played against a backdrop of metropolitan influences, descending and withdrawing in varying guises or ideologies and economic policies.

Regionalism had a fundamental influence on the cultural structure which developed in the dominant areas of settlement. The emerging societies viewed the personalistic, religious and social involvements of their political community and their activities derived thereof - as seen in the education endeavour and prevailing educational circumstances. Thus each regional demarcation was influenced by and responded in a unique way to the outside (metropolitan) influences and local (hinterland) conditions, creating a unique identity within that (frontier) region. The societies of Quebec, Ontario, the West and the Maritimes were unlike each other, as was indicated. The provision of natural resources were unequal which have economic consequences; the ethnic composition and their basic motivation touched the cultural structure which was reflected in the traditions and development of the educational system.

Confederation became a political and economic viable union, but since the identification was not with 'Canada' but the 'glorious Empire' as opposed to its neighbour the USA where 'America' became the national focal point, the assimilation of a multitude of ethnic groups gave birth to an underlying concept that the Anglo language, values and traditions are superior.

The 'obstinate' refusal of the French to assimilate was constitutionally recognized, and under the exclusive ranks of the French Catholic Church developed a parochial education

system which remained unchanged until it was completely revised and overhauled in the 1960's, to keep up with the requirements of a technological age.

5. STRUCTURE OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN CANADA

5.1 INTRODUCTION

"Structural patterns seek to give effect to conceptual design. Constitutional enactments and legislative statutes are ineffective, unless an organization exists to translate law into practice. Departments of government and local school authorities are typical agents for this translation." (Bryne, 1976:7.)

Now one has to determine to what extent cultural demands have influenced the structure of the education system under review. It has been pointed out that within the Canadian perspective sovereign powers over education rested in the various provincial legislatures, as a condition of union under the British North American Act of 1867, and subject to the rights and privileges the denominational and minority schools held at the time each province was admitted to the Confederation. Consequently the decentralized system of education established on cultural demand, was perpetuated in each province. Certain common features are found, but great diversities also exist since the traditions and aspirations of the founding fathers differed. Furthermore, the geographical features, economic demands, settlement patterns and population composition, all had a role in shaping a particular school system and structure within each region or province.

In evaluating and examining the Canadian education system and structure, one should ask whether certain demands are met, as Harris (1967:125) stated in Quiet Evolution:

"Does the education system provide the full range of educational facilities that are needed to sustain and develop the economy and cultural traditions of the jurisdiction which the system is designed to serve? For instance, are there a sufficient number of secondary schools, public libraries and medical schools, and does the secondary school program provide adequately for the needs of the secondary school population?" One is here concerned with the separate parts of the system and how it differentiates for the age groups, abilities and cultural diversity.

"Then one has to examine the relation of the separate parts of the system to each other, the elementary school program related to the secondary school program, and the various post-secondary institutions available, to which high school graduates can proceed. Is the system therefore so structured that its various parts function effectively as individual units, but also in co-operation with each other?" (Harris, 1967:125.) Here one is concerned with the organizational structure and the various ways decided upon to implement the education policy.

To answer these questions one should view the general provisions made for education, as well as the structural organization. The structural development proposed in par. 2.2.3.3 serves as a basis to explain the Canadian education system. (For a schematic breakdown of each provincial department of education consult the supplement.)

5.2 EDUCATION POLICY

5.2.1. INTRODUCTION

The British North American Act and Provincial Statutes constitute the legal framework of government, while section 92 and 93 of the BNA Act provided the legal basis for provincial sovereignty by granting the provincial legislatures plenary powers within defined limits.

In section 93 of the BNA Act Provincial control over education is thus ensured:

"In and for each province the legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to Education, subject and according to the following provisions" (British Statutes, 30 Victoria, c.111, sec.93). The limitations are then the provisions designed to protect the existence of denominational or separate schools legally established by religious minorities prior to Confederation. These limits have been defined by judicial action. (Byrne, 1976:2-3).

5.2.2 FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

"Officially, there is no Federal interference in the area of education policy, and the Federal Government behaves, at least in public, accordingly. Not only is there no Federal authority with the word 'Education' in its title, but the Federal Parliament eschews all debates that might bear on education policy. Even reflection on educational policy happens at the Federal level only behind closed doors." (OECD, 1976:16.)

The struggle regarding provincial rights is an important phase in early Canadian history, resulting in federal decentralization of education. This, however does not mean that the Federal Government is not involved in education. "The Canadian government has had to use a back-door approach to participation in education, by adopting legislation in other areas such as manpower training, agriculture, economy policy, regional development and multiculturalism. Through this 'Do-One-Thing-As-If-It-Were-Something-Else' procedure, the Federal Government has been able to legislate and implement an array of educationally related programs." (Dibski, 1981:38.)

A unique feature of Canadian education is the absence of direct federal involvement. There has never been a national debate on education, and no explicit national goals or policies concerning education exist; only a fiscal policy

regarding post-secondary, Indian and military education. Up to \$2billion is annually spent on educational priorities in the field of technical, vocational and bilingual programs (Friesen, et al., 1980:59).

The absence of a federal governmental role in education, education policy and education laws, is deeply rooted in the social, religious, political and economic history, since the culturally diverse founding groups traditionally regarded education as a local affair. The French Catholic church was responsible for the education of their parishioners and the English groups also developed their education systems in their regions - refusing the Federal Government any power over education, officially.

However, as Wells (1985:35) pointed out, Section 93 of the BNA Act gives powers to both the Provincial and Federal Government. The Federal Executive may interfere in educational matters. They may enact provincial law, if certain guaranteed school rights, of a religious nature, have been violated. Other federal laws such as the Criminal Code, laws respecting sedition and libel for example, would still apply inside provincial school houses or provincially approved texts. The Federal Government is supreme in these areas, guaranteeing fundamental individual rights against provincial incursion.

5.2.3 PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

Provincial sovereign power over education came early in Canadian history. By 1850 provincial control was recognised and clearly established by 1867 - making education almost exclusively provincial. The reason for this - "two nations warring in the bosom of a single state" (Toombs, 1976:424).

In each province, the elected Provincial legislature enacts legislature, governing the conduct of education within its jurisdiction. The provincial education systems function under the direction of a Minister of Education, an elected member of the Provincial Government and member of the provincial cabinet (Friesen, et al., 1980:43).

The legislature has the ultimate power and responsibility in education and sets the overall policies in its legislation.

It has created agents to act on its behalf, and has assigned certain functions to each of them. The Department of Education and the School Board or its equivalent, the County School Committee, are bodies created by legislation (Enns, 1976:314).

The Provincial Department of Education traditionally prescribed programs of study, set examinations on these syllabi and maintained a corps of inspectors. These have been the typical controls through the central agency of the legisla-

ture who exercised jurisdiction over the interna of the provincial system (Byrne, 1967:18).

Certain obligations are imposed on the Department of Education and the School Board. Both are granted certain powers to carry out their obligations and both are responsible to the legislature. The legislature assigns two kinds of duties and powers to its local agents: mandatory obligations (must do) and discretionary powers (may do or not).

The School Act for mandatory obligations stated "The board shall ..." (Enns, 1976:314). The board has no alternative but to carry out the directives of the legislature.

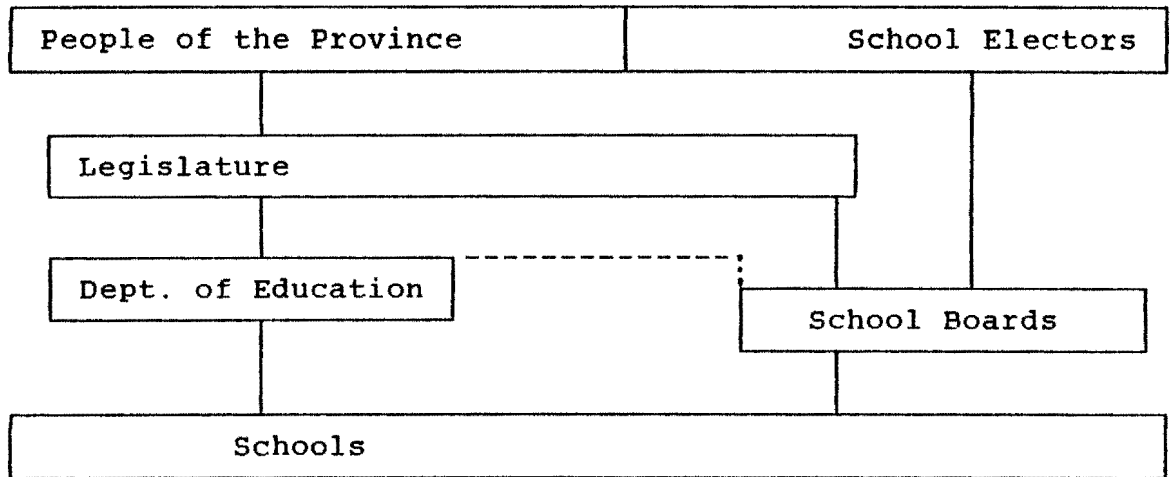
The school board must provide school accommodation, employ teachers, provide transport for pupils.

The School Act recognizes discretionary powers by "The board may ..." (Enns, 1976:314). The board acts here as the agent of the local school supporters rather than of the legislature. Here the boards can exercise their leadership, take initiative, and introduce innovations in their own school systems.

The school board acts as the local arm of the Provincial legislature who holds the ultimate authority and responsibility in education. Local electors have limited claims on

the school boards. This relationship is illustrated in the following diagram (Enns, 1976:314):

Figure 5.1 School Board Control



5.3 ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

5.3.1 FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Canada has no federal ministry of education. Federal interests in education as in manpower, agricultural training and grants to universities, are handled through the office of the Secretary of State and other federal departments as will be outlined:

* Council of Ministers:

- To centralize and coordinate educational efforts by the provinces the Secretary of State with the ministers of education from the ten provinces have formed a Council of Ministers, to jointly present federal and provincial educational interests. They meet in Toronto (not Ottawa) three to four times a year. A secretariat under

supervision of an executive director implement the decisions of the Council. They have launched nation-wide studies in post-secondary education, Canadian studies in schools, school textbooks and research (Friesen, et al., 1980:44).

- * The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development:
 - Federal Government is historically responsible for the education of status Indian (those living on reservations) and Inuit children and is directly concerned with the operation of federal schools for Indian children in the Indian reserves (Byrne, 1976:5).
- * The Department of National Defence:
 - The Federal Government operates schools for children of Canadian forces personnel stationed in Canada and overseas, as well as three colleges for armed forces.
- * Correctional Services of Canada:
 - The Federal Government is responsible for the education of inmates of federal penitentiaries.
- * The Federal Government provides financial assistance for:
 - occupational adult training (for manpower needs) in areas of national importance;
 - modernizing training facilities in these designated occupations;
 - post secondary education in transfer payments to the provinces and territories;
 - student loans to eligible graduate or undergraduates at universities in any form of post-secondary education; and

- the promotion of the official languages, support is given to official minority language education and official second language instruction (English in Quebec, French elsewhere).
- * The Multiculturalism Directorate of the Secretary of State Department provides financial assistance for heritage language programs in 'supplementary schools' (programs given outside the publicly supported school system) as well as the development of better Canadian context teaching materials, and better training for heritage language teachers.
- * The Federal Government through the medium of Statistics Canada, collects, compiles and disseminates data of education in Canada (C.E.A., 1984:8-9).

Figure 5.2 Decentralization Through Delegation: Locus of Decision-making in the Public School Systems of English Canada (Friesen, Farine & Meek, 1980:49)

Area of Concern	Province	School District	School
Finance			
Raising monies for education	**	**	
Allocation of monies for instructional resources	*	**	*
Financial accounting (revenues and expenditures)	**	**	
Provision of physical facilities	**	*	
Maintenance of physical facilities	*	**	
Curriculum and Instruction			
Developing curricular programs	**	**	**
Authorizing curricular programs	**	*	
Selection of instructional materials		*	**
Selection of instructional strategies		*	**
Students			
Evaluating students			**
Student discipline and control		**	**
Allocation of students to programs		*	**
School attendance policies	**		
Graduation requirements	**		
Teachers			
Certification	**		
Employment and placement		**	*
Assignment of classes and subjects		*	**
Evaluation		**	*
Duration of School Year and School Day			
	**	*	

** Major responsibility

* Some responsibility

5.3.2 ORGANIZATION OF THE PROVINCIAL EDUCATION SYSTEM

5.3.2.1 INTRODUCTION

Provincial jurisdiction accounts for the wide variability which characterizes Canadian education. The extension of religiously separated schools was not provided for in the BNA Act - only their protection as it then existed. Canadian education ranges in organization from the state support of five different religiously-based systems in Newfoundland, to a single non-denominational school system in British Columbia. There are varying types of separate schools in Ontario, Alberta and Saskatchewan, where legal provision for separate Protestant and Roman Catholic schools are made. Quebec's historical religious division has become a language issue, the Protestant English School Boards also operate French language schools.

Education in many provinces of English Canada is not subject to strong central controls by provincial departments of education, except in the area of finance. This decentralization of many educational functions in provincial legislation which establishes local or regional educational authorities, defines their jurisdictions and provides for further delegation of authority and responsibility to them by the Minister of Education (Friesen, et al., 1980:46). The decentralization of functions could be illustrated as in figure 5.2.

5.3.2.2 GOVERNANCE STRUCTURES

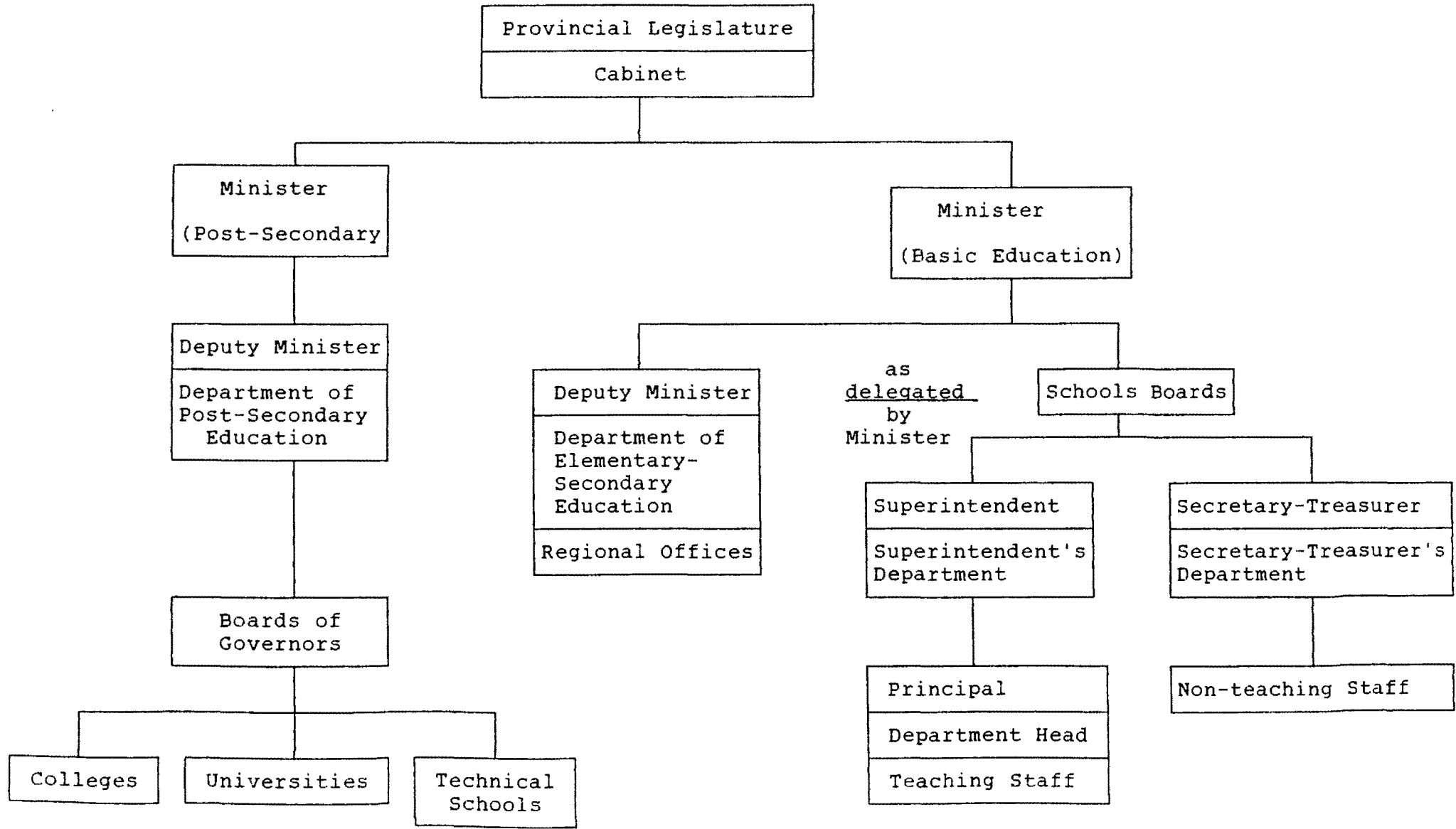
Governmental structures in the Canadian provinces are modelled and practised on English law (Byrne, 1976:7):

- * The Lieutenant-Governor performs certain symbolic functions, and is ostensible head of the Provincial Government.
- * Executive power rests with the Premier and his cabinet, a body responsible to an elected legislature.
- * According to parliamentary practice, a minister of education is appointed by the premier of the province.
- * The Provincial Minister of Education is responsible for administering the Ministry or Department of Education.
- * A deputy minister, who is a senior civil servant and usually a professional educationist, acts as permanent head of the Department and advises the Minister on policy, enforcing the regulations of the School or Education Acts.

5.3.2.3 RESPONSIBILITIES OF PROVINCIAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENTS

- * training or the supervision of training of teachers;
- * the certification of teachers;
- * delineating the duties of school principals and teachers;
- * the supervision or inspection of schools;
- * the course of study and approval of textbooks;
- * the evaluation of school programs;

Figure 5.3 GENERAL GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE FOR PROVINCIAL EDUCATION, ENGLISH CANADA (Friesen, Farine & Meek, 1980:48)



- * the provision of financial and pedagogical support by means of grants and services;
- * the prescription of rules and regulations for the guidance of trustees and teachers (Munroe, 1984:5).

A general structure of a department of education is given in the following diagram Figure 5.3. (See supplement for the structures of departments of education of each province).

5.3.2.4 PERSONNEL

The departmental personnel usually includes:

- * a chief inspector or supervisor of schools;
- * superintendents or inspectors of elementary and high schools;
- * directors of curricula, teacher education, guidance, certain subject areas such as languages, home economics, agriculture and special services like audiovisual, correspondence and adult education (Munroe, 1974:6).

5.3.2.5 SCHOOL BOARDS

All provinces and the Northwest Territories have created a sub-organization of local units of administration referred to as school boards (commissions scolaires in Quebec), to which certain duties and powers are delegated. Boards function as corporations and operate under their province's School (or Education) Act and Regulations. These legislative provisions

empower the Department of Education to determine the number and type of school boards, their jurisdiction boundaries and number of trustees elected by the public at large (CEA, 1982: 12). The school boards are delegated to establish and maintain schools, select and promote qualified teachers, prepare budgets and generally to represent the public in the administration of the schools. They are responsible for elementary and secondary schools. They appoint a professionally qualified executive officer as superintendent or director of education (Munroe, 1974:6).

In many school districts in English Canada a 'dual' system of authority exist for the administrative staff. The chief of education - the Superintendent - is responsible to the School Board for educational matters, such as the appointment and supervision of the professional teaching staff, financial facilities, planning and curriculum development.

The Secretary-Treasurer acts as the educational business officer, in education of the district and is responsible for financial accounting, legal transactions, maintenance of school buildings, transportation of students, and the appointment and supervision of non-teaching staff. Both officers, in a dual system, are directly responsible to the School Board for the functions under his/her jurisdiction. They have a supporting staff of professional, technical and clerical units (Friesen, et al., 1980:47).

5.3.2.6 SEPARATE SCHOOLS BOARDS

The separate school had its origins in the religious conflict in Upper and Lower Canada, which resulted in two school systems in Quebec. However, several provinces make legal provision for separate schools, usually under the authority of separate school boards. They operate under the authority of the Department of Education, conforming to curriculum, textbooks and teacher certification. These schools are designated to minority religious or language groups. Support and recognition of private and proprietary schools varies from province to province (Munroe, 1974:6). School Acts in Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta and the Northwest Territories provide tax support for both public and separate schools. Separate schools are generally thought of as being Roman Catholic schools, although in a few cases they are Protestant (CEA, 1984:15).

5.3.2.7 FINANCING

Revenues for school boards are derived from two main sources; namely provincial and territorial government grants and local taxation (generally a property tax). The provincial or territorial government finances the basic education program, which includes instructional maintenance expenditures, transportation of pupils, financing of school sites and buildings. Certain grant formulas of various types have brought fiscal equity among boards (CEA, 1984:14).

5.3.2.8 SUPERVISION

School boards elect their own chief supervisory officer and is responsible for his/her remuneration. The Minister of Education normally confirms the appointment and approves the professional qualifications. In British Columbia and Saskatchewan he/she is appointed by the Department of Education. Some provinces appoint field officers or superintendents to evaluate schools, programs and teacher performance, but since their supervisory functions have diminished over the years these officials have been designated as consultants (CEA, 1984:15).

5.4 SCHOOL SYSTEMS

5.4.1 INTRODUCTION

Certain expectations are held by Canadians regarding their school system. They prefer an open and flexible school system, with students moving along the educational ladder from grades 1 to 12 with few impediments. They attempt to keep most of their youth in school as long as possible. They are opposed to an emphasis on selectivity at strategic stages in the twelve or thirteen year program. They favour increasing the years of education, recognizing that schools should accommodate their students, rather than the reverse. These values are reflected in their school organization (Byrne, 1976:20).

Figure 5.4 PROVINCIAL SCHOOL SYSTEMS (Munroe, 1974:217)

	Elementary						Junior High			Senior High		
NEWFOUNDLAND ...	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII		IX	X	XI
	Elementary						Secondary					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5
QUEBEC (1)	I	II	III	IV	V	VI		VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
(2)	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
	Elementary						Junior High			Senior High		
NOVA SCOTIA ...	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND												
NEW BRUNSWICK												
MANITOBA												
ALBERTA												
NORTH WEST TERRITORIES												
	Elementary						Junior High			Senior High		
YUKON	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
BRITISH COLUMBIA												
SASKATCHEWAN ..	Division-1			Division-2			Division-3			Division-4		
	Level			Level			Level			Level		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
	Elementary						Secondary					
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII		IX	X	XI
										XII	XIII	
	Elementary						Secondary					
ONTARIO ..	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII

(1) Without Transition Year

(2) With Transition Year

5.4.2 GENERAL SCHOOL PATTERN

The pattern of the provincial grade organization throughout Canada varies from eight-four, to eight-five, to six-three-three. Secondary education ranges from three to five years, depending on the definition of high school grades (standards). There is not a high degree of selectivity in admitting students to the secondary school (Byrne, 1976:20).

A general structural school pattern diagram illustrates provincial school systems. The general organization of the school system of each province is given in figure 5.4. (A detailed outline of the school systems of each province is given in supplement 2). Elementary, secondary education generally refers to the first 12 years of education provided for children. Beginning school at the age of 6 as grade one, children normally progress to grade twelve in a period of 12 years. Some provinces like Ontario include a grade thirteen in their public school system. Most provinces now make provision for kindergarten, offering formal education to five-year olds - generally non-compulsory. Individual school buildings are constructed respectively for 'elementary' and 'secondary' schools. Several provinces divide their schools into elementary (grd. 1-6); junior high school (grd. 7-9) and senior high school (grd. 10-12) (Friesen, et al., 1980:45).

5.4.3 PRE-SCHOOL PROGRAMS

Pre-school education or kindergarten, is defined as educational and motivational activities preceding compulsory schooling, with the aim of enabling a child to integrate gradually into a social milieu beyond his family and immediate neighbourhood (Government du Quebec, 1983:11).

A variety of pre-school programs exist according to the demands and needs in the provinces.

- * Public kindergarten provides one year of pre-grade 1 education for five-year olds in all provinces, except in Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick.
- * Extended kindergarten is a program where three or four-year olds are admitted to junior kindergarten in Ontario, Quebec and Manitoba.
- * The Early Childhood Service program was established in Alberta to provide an integrated childhood developmental program for three-and-a-half or four-and-a-half year olds.
- * Private kindergarten or nursery school is licensed by the province's Department of Education or the Department of Social Services.
- * Day-care centres are in operation in Quebec, where school boards provide out-of-school day-care to children, receiving educational services in kindergarten and elementary grades (CEA 1984:28).

- * In Quebec, children who are five years old before October 1st may enrol in kindergarten, five half-days a week, for a total weekly duration of 11.5 to 12.5 hours. These children are in the care of a teacher specialized in pre-school education, who is responsible for two groups of twenty children - a morning class and an afternoon class. Schools in Canada have two sessions five days a week. In certain school board areas where there are large enrolments, a pedagogic adviser supervises the operation of this sector (Ministry of Education, Quebec, 1979:118).

5.4.4 ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

"'School' is defined as an institutional entity under the jurisdiction of a principal (or director), intended to provide education in an organized manner to pupils; an activity involving the participation of pupils, teachers, other staff members and parents." (Government du Quebec, 1983:11.)

'Elementary' refers to those schools offering kindergarten or grade 1 to grade 6 or 8, to children aged 5 or 6 to 11 or 13. The secondary transition from elementary varies from province to province. Some provinces group the grades from kindergarten to grade 6, elementary school, grades 7 to 9, junior high, and grades 10 to 12, senior high (CEA, 1984:28).

The elementary school curriculum concentrates on basic learning through reading, writing, computation, science, social studies, music and art.

In Quebec the first cycle (6 to 8 years old) seeks to develop a number of ways of securing knowledge for the child and expressing himself by the acquisition of knowledge and skills. The second cycle (9 to 12 years old) is one of consolidation and measuring growth in the child's capabilities (Quebec Information Document, 1982:7).

During the last decade, most provinces in Canada have discontinued the use of province-wide examinations for evaluating students in elementary and secondary schools. The authority for promotion rests with each school and the classroom teachers. Elementary schools have a philosophy of continuous progress education; students annually advance from one grade to the next. The practice of 'failing' a student, who then has to repeat a grade, has been abandoned - teachers are expected to provide for the different achievement levels of students (Friesen, et al., 1980:55).

5.4.5 SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Byrne (1976:20) described the typical high school as comprehensive, providing a range of courses (subjects), from the strictly academic to the wholly vocational. The term 'comprehensive' implies breadth of program to provide as wide a range of interests for abilities among as many students as possible.

In Quebec secondary school education is divided into two cycles. The first cycle is from 12 to 13 years and is sometimes grouped in a separate junior high school; the second cycle is from 14 to 16 years. The objectives of the two groups differ slightly.

The first cycle recognizes that adolescent intellectual capacities have reached a higher level of development, and that their learning is closely connected with their social and affective experience. The second cycle recognizes that adolescents are more and more involved in their own education and society (Government du Quebec, 1983:9-10).

To obtain a secondary school diploma, students must complete a specified number of credits*, of which a number are compulsory and some elective subjects. The wide choice of electives produced a system of individualized time-tabling and credit promotion, rather than a year-long grade, based on a two-term semester system.**

On graduation a student can take up employment, go to trade school, community college or university. In Quebec the secondary school program is followed by an intermediate level of two or three years at a collège d'enseignement général et professionnel (CEGEP). The two-year program leads to university; the three-year option is a career and vocational program leading to employment (CEA, 1984:29).

5.4.6 PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Private schools are generally described as schools that are not under direct control of either federal or provincial governments, although some provinces provide some financial support.

Private schools may operate in any province and grant diplomas, provided they meet the provincial standards. They are independent from the public system and charge fees. There are many types of private schools and the objectives vary.

* 'credit': a unit by which official approval may be given for attainment of the objectives of a curriculum; one credit normally consisting of 25 hours of learning activity (Government du Quebec, 1983:11).

** Secondary schools have switched from grade promotions to course promotions. Students thus do not fail a year, but are given credit for courses they 'pass', and denied credit for courses that they 'fail' (Friesen, et al., 1980:55).

Some are based on a particular religion or academic excellence; some are geared to develop talented students in the performing arts; some are military schools; some are for exceptional students (gifted, physically or mentally handicapped, emotionally disturbed, and talented). Private schools have increased over recent years. In 1983-4 an estimated 4.7% of pupils were enrolled in private schools. Five provinces provide private schools with financial assistance. In Newfoundland the local private school receives a grant equal to that of a public school, if there is no public school locally (CEA, 1984:30; Orlikow, 1985:548).

5.4.7 SPECIAL EDUCATION

The approach and attitudes to special education of exceptional children have changed greatly. In the past the education, for the different groups, was the responsibility of different provincial departments which could be education, health, community and social services. The Departments of Education of each province have taken over since the 1970's and local school boards are specifically involved (Brown, 1985:547).

The term 'exceptional children' includes: physically handicapped, the learning disabled, the mildly handicapped, the emotionally disturbed, educable or trainable mentally retarded; gifted and talented children are also defined as exceptional. There has been a move away from special schools for exceptional children to partial integration - placing

special classes in regular schools, or integrating exceptional children in regular classes.

There are 18 schools for the deaf and 4 for the blind. The four Maritime provinces have entered into an agreement for the joint provision of educational services for the aurally and visually handicapped and other physical or mental handicaps, under the Atlantic Provinces Special Education Authority (CEA, 1984:30).

5.5 EDUCATION OF INDIANS AND INUIT

The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (abbreviated DIAND) remain under Federal jurisdiction, and is responsible for the education of status Indian (those on reservations) and Inuit children. Schooling is provided in:

- * federal schools, which are located on Indian reserves in every province except Newfoundland; they provide for 29% of the native students in elementary and secondary schools. Indian bands or tribal councils have taken over the education of 16.32% of the native children in band operated schools;
- * provincial schools, accommodates 54.25% of the Indian and Inuit children, and the costs are paid by the Federal Government according to federal-school board or federal-provincial agreements. The provincial schools provide special options relevant to Indian culture, such as native languages and native cultural studies besides the regular

programs. A policy to employ native instructors and counsellors is followed, but a critical shortage exists. The federal assistance for Indian students at provincial schools ranges from paying tuition fees, providing school buses, keeping students in boarding homes or student residences;

- * private schools: 1.43% (1,156) native children attended private schools in March 1983;
- * post-secondary education is covered by the DIAND budget. Every province, except Prince Edward Island has established a teacher education program for native people. Teacher training programs are adapted to the needs of the native people (CEA, 1984:32).

5.6 POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

The tertiary level is composed of degree-granting institutions like universities and non-degree institutions awarding diplomas such as community colleges, technical institutes, colleges of agriculture, art school and nursing schools .

5.6.1 COMMUNITY COLLEGES

During the late 1960's an alternative to university emerged in the creation of post-secondary institutes under various names - colleges of applied arts and technology, regional or community colleges, collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel. These 'community colleges' do not include

specialized institutions such as fisheries, navigation and marine engineering schools, agricultural colleges or institutes of technology, but all such non-degree granting institutions are generally grouped under the rubric of community colleges.

Each province developed its own pattern to respond to particular needs. 'Community' denotes accessibility to meet local needs within easy distance of large population centers. As locally orientated institutions, they offer general and specialized programs for full-time and part-time students, credited* and non-credited** courses,*** day and evening, for all citizens of the community. The normal duration of college studies is two years for university transfer programs and up to three years for technical or occupational-career programs. In addition a wide variety of specialized one-year

*** Course: an organized set of activities, defined by curriculum, covered in a certain number of hours, divided over the year or part of year, and officially approved for the purpose of promotion or certification.

* Credited course: a unit by which official approval may be given for attainment of the objectives of a curriculum one credit normally consist of 25 hours of learning activity (Government du Quebec, 1983:11).

** Non-credited course: an interest course such as sewing or auto-maintenance, not for promotion or certification (-HDB).

courses are offered in response to special and upgrading needs for local business and industry. In 1984 the highest enrolments were in management and administration, community and social services, nursing, arts and programs in electrical and electronic fields (CEA 1984:35, Sheffield, 1985:545).

5.6.2 TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Vocational education is offered in some secondary schools, trade and occupational schools, post secondary institutes of technology and community colleges.

Private trade and vocational schools exist, intent on profit-making, and normally do not receive financial assistance from the province, but if their courses qualify, students may seek Federal financial assistance.

The National Training Act of 1982 gives the federal Government the power to designate occupations in which a national shortage of skilled workers exists and to disburse funds to modernize in operation, namely:

* The Skills Growth Fund, which may:

- be used by the provinces and non-profit training organizations to train people rapidly for occupations of national importance in which shortages are expected,
- modernize training equipment in designated occupations,
- provide training for special groups such as native people and non-English or French speaking women, and

- establish and expand training facilities, develop training courses and cover initial operation expenses if, extra funds are available.
- * The National Institutional Training Program provides institutional training which is purchased from provincial or municipal governments and the private sector; these courses cover 200 occupational areas deemed of national importance (CEA, 1984:34).
- * The National Industrial Training Program provides financial aid for skill improvement in the fields of general industrial and critical trade skill training, for one year or two years duration (CEA, 1984:34).

5.6.3 UNIVERSITIES

Universities in Canada have developed distinctive characteristics which have evolved from the diverse geography, history and economy of the different parts of the country. In the East, the earliest established universities were initially supported and controlled by religious institutions, until provincial charter made them secular institutions. The Western universities were established by provincial charter soon after the provinces entered the Confederation.

Canada has 66 public, degree-granting universities, 12 of which are affiliated with another university. The eight larger universities are the Universities of Toronto, Québec, British Columbia, Alberta, Laval (Quebec City), McGill

(Montreal), Western Ontario (London) and Waterloo. Admission to university requires the attainment of high school graduation, except in Quebec where a two-year program at a CEGEP is needed. Mature students (21 years or older) are admitted to University on a specific admission policy when a secondary school certificate is lacking.

Universities are usually administered by a lay board of governors and an academic senate. The most common organizational structure is the subdivision into faculties, presided over by deans, subdivided into departments headed by a member of the teaching staff. The academic year begins mid September till late April or early May. However, summer courses are offered. Bachelor of Arts or Science degree is a three or four-year program - in Quebec two years at CEGEP and three years at university. The Masters degree is at least one year after a Bachelor's degree, and doctorates involve at least two years after a Master's degree (CEA 1984:36-37; Sheffield, 1985:544-545; Orlikow, 1985:549).

5.6.4 TEACHER TRAINING AND QUALIFICATIONS

During 1983-84, 271,820 full-time teachers were employed in elementary and secondary schools. The department (or ministry) of education grants certificates (of qualifications) to those who comply with provincial regulations, which vary from province to province. Except for the Nova Scotia Teacher's College, which is independent of the university

structure, training for both elementary and secondary school resorts under the faculty of education within universities, preparing teachers for instruction in academic areas. At technical colleges teachers are trained for vocational instruction (Friesen et al., 1980:55).

Admission to its basic three-year diploma requires a high school completion (grade 12) certificate (CEA, 1984:23). In 1982 an attempt was made to implement a policy of transferability of teachers' certificates in the provinces, complying with three general qualifications:

- * a valid certificate to teach issued by a province or territorial government,
- * a three or four-year degree awarded by a university accredited by a provincial government, and
- * the successful completion of one year of teacher training, or equivalent as required by the education authorities of a province.

Updating and acquiring additional qualifications can be made by attending in-service courses, offered by departments of education, local school boards and faculties of education. Workshops are offered by teachers' associations (CEA, 1984:23).

Teachers are paid by the provincial governments. Teachers' salaries are open to negotiations, conciliation and arbitration. The channel varies in the provinces, from local school

board to provincial level. Teacher strikes are permitted in several provinces (CEA, 1984:24).

5.6.5 CONTINUING EDUCATION

During the past twenty years there has been a recognition of the need for varied opportunities for further education for adults. Therefore an impressive variety of programs for credit and for general interest in academic, vocational, cultural and social fields have been devised in response to the demand to develop integrated strategies to provide for the learning potential and needs of all citizens at every level of scholastic achievement. These programs are offered either full-time or part-time, day and evening, through technical institutes, community colleges, universities, school board programs, departments of education, correspondence courses, professional associations, community agencies and through such learning-based institutions as libraries, museums and art galleries.

School systems expanded their role to provide opportunities for adults to take elementary and secondary school credit courses during day or evening classes (CEA, 1984:40).

5.7 CONCLUDING REMARKS

When viewing the educational elements present within the Canadian Education System, one has to surmise that this

system evolved within the Canadian cultural climate in which the cultural developmental principles of differentiation, integration and continuity function. This system is closely interwoven with the group culture of the country as a whole and the provinces in particular. The educational system, presently in operation, is based on the educational policy, culturally determined, within the regions founded on regional norms, traditions, history and customs, to provide in the demands and needs of all citizens as an industrialized society requires.

While the Canadian Education System is described as decentralized, since the provinces have constitutional jurisdiction over education, the Federal Government is directly responsible for the education of certain groups (Indians, Inuit, Armed Forces and prisoners) and provides financial support for programs, services, research and training for various categories of manpower. This seems to constitute a conflict of interest which will be discussed in the following chapter.

Public education within the provinces remains directly under the authority of the Provincial Minister of Education who heads the Department of Education. A comprehensive organizational structure exists in each province to cover the various divisions for administration, financing, planning and staffing. At the local level, the provinces are divided into public school districts with elected school boards (or trustees), administered by superintendents and their staffs, who

implement provincial educational policy, and generally see that education takes place within the school systems.

Provision is made for religious organizations or other dissenting groups to determine the kind of education they want or expect their children to receive in private schools.

A comprehensive public school structure exists to differentiate for children of all ages, abilities and interests, languages and cultures. Thus when examining the separate parts of the school system, one acknowledges that there are schools for all ages, and education is a continuous process, starting in early childhood at a private nursery school or state supported kindergarten and continuing through elementary school, junior and secondary high schools, community colleges and universities or vocational schools.

Within the system the student group progresses either by grade level or by levels of proficiency mastered in a credit system to finish either in a degree-granting or a non-degree-granting post secondary institution or to attend one of the extensive programs provided for adult education.

Thus a cohesive school system provides continuity from kindergarten to post secondary level. Differentiation takes place at various levels to provide for children of normal abilities or for physically or mentally handicapped, for those whose native language is not English or French and for those opposed to public education.

Since the Canadian ideal or goal is that the largest possible number of young people should complete a high-school program, and that access to post-secondary education be open to all, the governments have certainly provided the financial assistance and availability of institutes in order to provide for the manpower needs of its economy.

6. PROVISION FOR CULTURAL DIFFERENTIATION WITHIN THE CANADIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

6.1 INTRODUCTION

It has been pointed out that at the time of Confederation Canada decided on a particular form of federalism so that education could remain a provincial concern. This was mainly done to accommodate the cultural, linguistic as well as religious diversity of the two founding nations to ensure "that all Canadians could retain their historic cultural identities, while at the same time share economically, militarily and in international affairs, in the benefits of a larger nation" (Cook, 1984:1).

This promise to accept the differences in language and culture was not always adhered to because certain ideologies of assimilation were adopted and practiced by the English-speaking majority who aimed for conformity and dominance (HDB). Since the public school was and is the agent viewed as the major agency to transmit society's core values, beliefs and culture, disagreement arose over these issues in the culturally and linguistic diverse society. As a result "Acadians, Franco-Ontarions, Franco-Manitobans and other French-speaking minorities at various times and in various contexts, have discovered that provincial autonomy in educational matters had worked to their disadvantage, in places where 'English only' was practised" (Cook, 1984:1).

Important changes in society were ignited by various and complex causes which brought about major changes in society as a whole and in education in particular. Mallea (1984:2) defined these as:

- * a rapid upswing in the economy after the Second World War which instigated widespread social and cultural change;
- * a rise in nationalism demanding greater sovereignty;
- * the 'Quiet Revolution' in Quebec which saw fundamental shifts in individual and collective expectations;
- * Francophone minorities outside Quebec sought ways to assert themselves;
- * massive immigration, changing the ethnic population composition, demanding cultural and ethnic recognition;
- * the native peoples began to demand more control over the forces of development which had engulfed them.

To be considered then, is how involved and complex the web of relationships is, which surround language, culture and education. Furthermore, in the pluralistic Canadian society one should contemplate carefully how society has responded to the diversity by focusing on the education policy and practice with regard to language and culture, both of which have undergone major transitional changes. Then the school curriculum, which reflects a version of the society's core values, knowledge, and skills, should ideally also reflect the experiences and cultural contributions of the minority Canadians. "It is now commonplace to speak of Canada as a multi-cultural nation, a mosaic of ethno-cultural communities, as a

society not only tolerant but also proud of its diversity. This has not always been the dominant view of Canada, nor is it a universally shared contemporary viewpoint." (Jaenen, 1977:77.) Thus a fierce debate is raging within the ranks of Canadian educationists to determine the role of the public school within the contemporary ideology. Mallea and Young in Cultural Diversity and Canadian Education gathered material from a number of writers in an effort to understand how they view Canadian education and the provision for cultural differentiation.

Their conclusion was: "Conflict not consensus characterizes the current debate. Schools are expected to contribute both to the promotion of cultural diversity and the maintenance of social cohesion. Dilemmas, ambiguities and contradictions abound. the search for responsive educational patterns to the realities of a multi racial, multi-ethnic Canada is far from complete." (Mallea and Young, 1984:x.)

There are four categories in which ethnic relationships may be classified:

- * dominance, an attitude or practice of superiority where one believes one's own ethnic group is superior to others, based on biological or racial superiority, or cultural superiority -- that "we have been, and are predominant";
- * paternalism also refers to a basis of superiority, but admitting the inferior group has some redeeming qualities and must be persuaded, educated and uplifted to a 'correct' way of life;

- * competition is typefied by two or more ethnic groups attempting each, from a basis of power, to maintain or secure a position, or achieve a higher status -- not so much an 'acceptance' of differences but rather 'endurance' of differences; and
- * co-operation, which indicates that two or more ethnic groups live and work together harmoniously, compatibility reigns with an acceptance of language, values and beliefs (McLeod, 1973:243-244).

This then, all lead up to the important question: Does the Canadian Education System provide for cultural differentiation? Should the answer be in the affirmative, the next question would be: How does education then provide for cultural differentiation?

6.2 ETHNICITY, CULTURE AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

By now it is clearly established that Canada has a pluralistic society, characterized by ethnic and cultural diversity in which certain terms are bandied about, which need clarification as Young, (1984:413) stated: "multicultural and multi-ethnic are frequently interchanged in literature, while there is a distinction between the terms 'culture' and 'ethnic group' as well as between the concept of 'culture' and 'social structure'".

Of interest is that Schermerhorn defines and inforces these terms within the Canadian perspective. Schermerhorn (1970:2) described an ethnic group as "a collectivity within a larger society, having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood, such as kinship patterns, religious affiliations, language or dialect, nationality, phenotypical features or any combinations of them".

He summarizes culture as "a pattern of fundamental beliefs and values differentiating right from wrong, defining rules for interactions, setting priorities, expectations and goals". He then draws an important distinction between culture and social structure since these "rules for life" are separated from social structure, and he used them to refer to "the set of crystallized relationships which its (society's) members have with each other which places them in groups, large or small, permanent or temporary, formally organized or unorganized, and which relates them to the major institutional activities of the society such as economic and occupational life, religion, marriage and the family, education and government" (Schermerhorn quoted by Young, 1984:414).

Therefore it is maintained that while this separation is rarely made in educational literature, the term multicultural has been used, where multiracial would be more appropriate - as a particular social structure might be, or might not be,

congruent with a particular culture, and this then makes one wonder to what extent the social structure represented in a school is congruent with the various cultures brought to it by its student population. Since these terms do not seem to be fully appreciated or understood in Canada, Young (1984: 412-414) argues that the issue of "multicultural education" is both "confusing and contentious." Guy Rocher, a Franco-phone sociologist echoes this sentiment since he sees multiculturalism as an invention of an English-dominated federal government intending to render the French as "just another ethnocultural group" (Rocher, 1976:42).

To contemplate how Canada had approached ethnic relations, the ideologies practiced will have to be described in greater detail.

6.3 ETHNIC RELATIONS: ASSIMILATION OR PLURALISM?

6.3.1 POPULATION GROWTH AND THE ETHNIC COMPOSITION

As Glazer (1975:18) pointed out (see par 2.5.3) there seem to be "A worldwide resurgence of ethnicity, which as a social and political force go beyond political boundaries, ideologies and economic systems." This phenomena has also occurred in Canada and therefore, it would be wise to recap the historical roots of the changing ethnic composition, which came about in four major periods of migration (Mallea, 1984:2-3):

- * the pre-European period before 1600 extended over ten thousand years, with scattered occupation of the native people, that is the Indians and Inuit;
- * it was followed by French colonization of Eastern Canada up to 1760;
- * then, large numbers of British immigrants and Empire Loyalists migrated to Canada following the ceding of Canada to Britain in 1763, and the American Declaration of Independence in 1776, eventually outnumbering the French; and
- * massive immigration was encouraged to settle the prairies, resulting in a flow of immigrants of various ethno-cultural backgrounds, outside the already established groups.

There were certain preferred immigrants, those of British descent, were most desirable; next came the northern and western Europeans who were regarded as culturally similar and hence assimilable. Then followed the central and eastern Europeans; the religious sects, Hutterites, Mennonites and Doukhobors, came next; the less desirable Asians, Chinese, Japanese and East Indians followed and the least desirable were the Black immigrants (Palmer 1980:23).

The historical relationship between migration and class differentiation has been discussed by John Porter, (1965, chapter 3) and led him to emphasize the relationship between ethnic and social stratification and to question the school's

role in the conservation of the vertical mosaic or class structure in which class lines coincide with ethnic lines (or biological descent group) by preserving conservative values which he regards as detrimental to the social and economic mobility of individuals from minority groups. From Porter's book, the phrase was coined "the cultural mosaic" which Canadians use with great satisfaction in comparing themselves with the United States 'melting pot'. But Maseman (1984:356) calls it a myth, because it was never translated into educational programs which actively encouraged the maintenance or development of the immigrant languages and cultures.

It would appear that the Canadian immigration policies ensured that immigrants were and are pre-selected according to occupational criteria (and therefore according to social class) thus different ethnic groups enter the nation at different status levels, higher professional, managerial, white-collar occupation levels, or the lower levels of the labor force (Mazurek 1979:35).

"We can distinguish a pattern of immigration in which certain ethnic groups enter the nation to fill low-status positions, others to occupy high-status positions." (Forcese, 1975:47.)

The contention is then that this practice is reflected in the view immigrant parents have of education and the achievement of their children: "Within every nation created through the immigration process, there exists, initially at least, a

hierarchy based on race, technical skills and education." (The Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism, 1974: 14.)

6.3.2 ASSIMILATION PRACTICES

6.3.2.1 ANGLO-CONFORMITY

There was no recognition of ethnic diversity aside from the British-French duality at the time of Confederation. With the advent of European migration anglo-conformity became the ideology of assimilation in English-speaking Canada until the Second World War. Masemann (1984:352) described the prevailing ideology in Canada prior to World War Two as "Anglo-conformity, based on the desirability of sustaining British institutions and norms as the established bases for building Canadian society". This view was based on the expectations that immigrants renounce their ancestral culture and traditions to conform to the behavioral patterns and values of the Anglo-Canadians. The public school system - as the agent to transmit social values, concepts and culture - had Anglo-conformity as the predominant aim, using it as the underlying theme in the textbooks, because cultural and linguistic uniformity were synonymous. "Cultural diversity was considered positively dangerous, or was something that would and should disappear with time, with the help of Anglo-Canadians." (Palmer, 1984:26.)

When Philips, (1957: Chapter 14) describes the public school systems in the Provinces, he points out how difficult assimilation practices were in Alberta. "Ruthenian priests were often opposed to the establishment of English schools and helped to foster among their people distrust of public education, passive resistance to the establishment of schools and sometimes active hostility." (Philips 1957:230.) "The Hutterites agreed to operate public schools, with certified teachers on five days a week during regular school hours, but the buildings for the rest of the time served as Hutterite churches in which the children were taught the religion, history and dialects of the group. There were settlers of a great many other nationalities and denominations, only a few gave trouble by insisting on the teaching of their own language and religion." (Philips 1957:231.)

A basic contradiction arose in the pre-1920 period, namely between the desire to include non-British immigrants within the community and so to eliminate cultural differences and the revulsion of mixing with the immigrants who were considered less desirable to socialize with.

Palmer (1984:28) describes this development as a "vicious circle of discrimination" because the non-Anglo-Saxons were discriminated against because, firstly, they would not assimilate, and secondly, were not accepted, or assimilated, either culturally or socially. A vicious circle arose as they could not assimilate since they were discriminated

against - thus the group 'clannishness' of the immigrants was caused by the prejudice against them, and reversely the desire to remain different and unique (the dominance principle at work).

6.3.2.2 THE 'MELTING POT' ASSIMILATION IDEOLOGY

The 'melting pot' ideology of assimilation emerged after 1920. With economic expansion, powerful sectors of the Canadian society (transportation companies, and boards of trade) pressured the government to allow further immigration to provide in the manpower demands. Thus a second wave of immigrants came from central and eastern Europe who could fulfill the menial occupations required (Palmer, 1984:29).

With the onslaught of the non-English, non-French immigrants, who increased the 'foreign' population by 18% a new view of assimilation, the 'melting pot' gained greater prominence - "biological merging of Anglo-Canadians with immigrants and a blending of their cultures into a new Canadian type or society, which would contain contributions from the various immigrant groups" was envisioned (Palmer 1984:31). Here the paternalistic view held by the Anglo dominant group was expressed - either to absorb or assimilate the inferior or lesser groups (McLeod, 1973:244).

Proponents of the melting pot ideology were people who knew the immigrants and were aware of the intense pride they held

in their cultural background and their rich cultural resources and traditions. The Anglo-Canadian viewpoint at the time used ethnicity as their basis for discrimination or exploitation, and some ethnic groups, with their peasant roots, closed ranks in ethnic solidarity, which was not conducive to upward mobility. According to the melting pot viewpoint social mobility opportunities would increase within the second generation (Palmer, 1984:32; Phillips, 1957:231). In Manitoba, Saskatchewan or Ontario, there were then repeated attempts to promote 'English only' (dominance) or 'English first' (paternalism)(McLeod, 1973:246).

But there seemed to be no clear cut distinction between Anglo-conformity and the 'melting pot' since champions for both views believed "that uniformity was ultimately necessary for unity" except that the 'melting pot' was a relatively slow process. However the 'melting pot' turned out to be an Anglo-Saxon melting pot because social mobility depended on the adaptability of the immigrants to Anglo-Canadian recognition of ethnicity. (Palmer, 1984:31). This led many second generation non Anglo-Saxons, who wanted to improve their status, to change their names and hide their ethnic background in an attempt to be socially accepted and find economic security (Palmer, 1984:34).

However, despite the viewpoints held at the time, there emerged certain advocates for pluralism in the 1930's who believed that ethnic diversity was not incompatible with

national unity. "Unity need not mean uniformity." Gibbon and Kirkconnel, were familiar with and sympathetic towards the minority ethnic cultures, recognizing the cultural contributions of non Anglo-Saxon groups which could enrich and heighten their sense of belonging to Canada, but these writers lived in a time of discrimination and racism when their opinions were negated (Palmer, 1984:35).

6.3.2.3 THE EMERGENCE OF MULTICULTURALISM

After 1945 a third wave of immigration occurred. Although a pre-war prejudice lingered, various factors contributed to developing an embryonic cultural pluralistic ideology. Amongst the refugees from postwar Europe came many intellectuals, and in Canada the growing number of second and third generation upward mobile non-Anglo-Canadians pressured both the Federal and Provincial authorities for greater recognition of Canada's ethnic diversity. The decline in racism and the acceptance of the theories about cultural relativism opened the way for the emergence of pluralistic ideas (Palmer, 1984:36).

The 1960's saw the emergence of the pressure for recognition of ethnicity, firstly by the Francophones in Quebec, where the Parent Commission Report (1961-5) linked education with economic, political and cultural changes in Quebec life, (Wilson, 1977:32). This led to a series of changes, labelled "la Révolution tranquille" in which the traditional instit-

utions and ideologies were dramatically changed, hitting at the core of French survival - education. In response to the Francophone assertion of equal rights, the Federal Government sponsored the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963 to assess and ensure the status of the French language and culture - "to inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership" (The B & B Report, 1969:3). The refusal to accept the dominance and paternalism of English Canadians, and the general desire for French Canadians to have a more prominent role, have thus resulted in a retreat by Anglophones and a greater acceptance of French as a language of instruction (McLeod, 1973:246).

By 1961, 26% of the Canadian population was of other than British or French ethnic origin, with the result that these non-British, non-French ethnic groups demanded recognition. They lived in large numbers in well-defined Italian, Jewish, Slavic and Chinese neighbourhoods in the large Canadian cities or in rural concentrations of Ukrainians, Doukhobors, Hutterites and Mennonites (Palmer, 1984:36).

Their demands to be recognised on a par with the status of the French became a dilemma in the bicultural society and led to Prime Minister Trudeau's declaration in 1971 that Canada is a multicultural country and that recognition is given to

Figure 6.1 Ethnic Origin of the Canadian Population
1901-1971

Origin	1901	1921	1941	1961	1971
British	57.0	55.4	49.7	43.8	44.6
French	30.7	27.9	30.3	30.4	28.7
German	5.8	3.4	4.0	5.8	6.1
Italian	0.2	0.8	1.0	2.5	3.4
Dutch	0.6	1.3	1.9	2.4	1.9
Polish	0.1	0.6	1.5	1.8	1.4
Scandinavian	0.6	1.9	2.1	2.1	1.8
Ukranian	0.1	1.2	2.7	2.6	2.2
Indian and Inuit	2.4	1.3	1.1	1.2	1.3
Other	2.5	6.2	5.7	7.4	8.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1969:248. Newfoundland was excluded from the Canadian census until 1951.

ethnic diversity through a federal policy of multiculturalism. Some provinces followed suit and have initiated their own policies of multiculturalism (Palmer, 1984:37). Figure 6.1 gives a statistical analysis of ethnic origins from 1901-1971.

6.4 EDUCATION AND MULTICULTURALISM

6.4.1 INTRODUCTION

The question is now, how to provide education in a multicultural society. Margaret Gibson has outlined four conceptual approaches to multicultural education which Young and Maseman discuss in their essays in Cultural Diversity and Canadian Education, 1984.

The four conceptual approaches to multicultural education are (Gibson, 1976:7):

- Education of the Culturally Different
- Education about Cultural Differences
- Education for Cultural Pluralism
- Bicultural Education.

6.4.2 EDUCATION OF THE CULTURALLY DIFFERENT

It has been found that amongst students who are culturally different from the dominant Anglo-Canadian culture, academic achievement is lower, the drop-out rate higher and career

aspirations are restricted among certain ethnic groups because of a rejection of cultural or genetic deficit models. Equalizing of education opportunities might combat the situation if the schools become sensitive to the minority students and reduce home/school discordance by considering the following (Maseman 1984:365):

- * teacher education programs designed to prepare teachers to meet the needs of specific minority groups;
- * special materials prepared for practising teachers as well as in-service training programs;
- * the recruitment of school-community liason personnel;
- * special programs designed for the culturally atypical students, such as English as a second language or transition programs;
- * initial school years where programs are carried out in student's mother-tongue as well as the majority language to reduce student's initial culture shock (Young, 1984:420).

But Gibson (in Maseman, 1984:365) criticizes this approach because:

- * there is no empirical evidence that the minority students' achievement is improved;
- * it is conceived as a special program for a special group of students; and
- * it is paternalistic and embodies oppression.

Young (1984:420-421) sees the outlined approach to Education of the Culturally Different as:

- * a strategy congruent with the stance of the liberal assimilationist or the liberal pluralist;
- * cultural diversity is placed at the pragmatic level of the school paying attention to the student's cultural identity; and
- * diversity is maintained at the will of the ethnic community and subject to the pressures towards uniformity of an industrialised and urbanized society.

6.4.3 EDUCATION ABOUT CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

Gibson (in Maseman 1984:365) explains that education is directed at all the students and they are taught to value cultural differences to understand the meaning of culture and to accept the right of others to be different - thus the school as the major formal institution of socialization has a responsibility to promote cultural understanding and decrease racial racism and prejudice.

The criticism to this concept is that:

- * teachers might become cultural relativists overemphasizing cultural differences;
- * this approach could be used to assume that the existing social order could be changed via the school system.

Young (1984:421) remarked that the school has traditionally failed to do this since Hodgetts (1968:20) criticized the ethnocentricity of Canadian social studies programs and commented that "although we laugh at ourselves for doing so and perhaps have convinced each other that today things are different, we are continuing to teach a white Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, political and constitutional history of Canada". Textbooks are seen as introducing a unitarian view of society, and teachers are not prepared to understand or cope with cultural differences.

Therefore in reaction to the criticism, there has been a demand that the schools become orientated toward the cultural development of all of its students by designing programs and creating environments that actively and positively endorse ethnic and cultural diversity as advanced by the Ontario Ministry of Education's Curriculum Guidelines, 1975.

An approach that focuses on cultural issues and seeks to eliminate discrimination and ethnocentrism from the school program is congruent with a liberal pluralist position. A corporate pluralist vision of society can develop depending on the extent to which aspects of structural diversity and studies are stressed (Young, 1979:422).

6.4.4 EDUCATION FOR CULTURAL PLURALISM

The education for cultural pluralism is based on a rejection of cultural assimilation and the 'melting pot'. Programs are intended to serve the needs of the ethnic community which proposes them, and to decrease the power of the majority to oppress the minority. Gibson (1976:12) points out that "for cultural pluralism to exist in a complex society structural pluralism must also exist". Young (1984:423) states "the belief that the school should actively be involved in the maintenance of cultures separates the approach from the two previous perspectives and gives it the unique characteristic of attempting to reinforce cultural boundaries".

These boundaries, in extreme educational situations could be:

- * separate schools (as with Hutterite Brethren);
- * separate school systems as the Roman Catholic School Boards;
- * additional after-hours schooling to supplement regular schooling within the public school system; and
- * within the public school system: cultural retention classes, instruction in the mother tongue, a quota system of teachers and administrators for each school to reflect the ethnic and cultural make-up of the population it serves (Young, 1984:423).

Cultural separation may be necessary in the first step to equality in an open society since Canadian Indians are saying

"By your treaties you have set us apart. You must now honour that setting apart. You must let us re-discover what it means to be an Indian. Once we know, then we can meet with your society, then we can be better Canadians." (Young, 1984: 424.)

6.4.5 BICULTURAL EDUCATION

Learners are taught to operate successfully in two different cultures. The assumption is based on a student's ability to function well in the native (original) culture, thus the mainstream culture will be enhanced. The student will therefore acquire competencies in the second culture, without rejection of the original culture - ideally, it is then aimed at all students (Maseman, 1984:365). Thus biculturalism is fostered on a reciprocity basis. Proponents assert that one's native culture ought to be preserved and that the mainstream culture (if different from that of the native culture) ought to be acquired as an alternative or second culture - also mainstream cultural students will profit from acquisition of competencies in a second culture (Young, 1984:425).

The meaning given to the acquisition of competencies in a second culture depends on the fundamental concept of Bicultural Education since "to maintain that a person can be equally comfortable and committed to two different cultures is incompatible with the definition of culture If different cultures possess, and are distinguished by, differ-

ent sets of fundamental beliefs and values, then the acquisition of a second culture implies an inherent value conflict and makes little practical sense" (Young, 1984:425).

Bicultural education programs invariably center on bilingualism, for as Rocher (1976:51) has observed, "knowledge of the second language is a stepping-stone to better understanding of the other group's culture - its literature, theatre, mentality and ideas". This approach implies a deeper understanding of the second culture and through language acquisition promotes participation in the institutions of the second culture and cross-cultural interactions. Young (1984:425) sees a distinction between individual biculturalism just as the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism also recognized that it was not "in our view a suggestion that individuals should acquire the traits and peculiarities of two cultures. What we are mainly asked to do is to establish whether both cultures possess the institutions they need, whether they are properly represented within the principal common institutions, and whether persons who participate in each of them have the opportunity to preserve and express their own culture" (The B & B Report, 1969:XXVIII).

This reciprocal approach within the Canadian context are few and generally limited to English/French-Canadian biculturalism as seen in the immersion programs in which the entire course is conducted in the second language, or programs where part of the course is taught in the second language and part in the mother tongue (Young, 1984:425).

Implicit in the concept of bilingual education is an appreciation of the benefits of cultural diversity and a commitment to a pluralist vision of society. Bicultural education seems the most elusive of the four conceptualizations in the Canadian context since individual biculturalism demands inevitably structural and institutional recognition of ethnic diversity (Young, 1984:426).

6.5 ORGANIZATION OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

6.5.1 INTRODUCTION

Since multiculturalism in a bilingual framework was declared federal policy in 1971 multicultural education policies have as goal the acceptance and development of cultural diversity by actively encouraging ethnic groups to retain their customs, traditions and cultural heritage in various ways.

"It cannot be said that the concept of Canada as a multicultural nation in a bilingual framework has gained universal approval; instead, there are those who maintain that biculturalism is the natural complement of bilingualism, while others assert that multiculturalism, to have real meaning, must eventually be supported by multilingualism, or at least a variety of bilingual systems." (Jaenen, 1981:84.)

6.5.2 FEDERAL LEVEL OF COMMITMENT

Although education policy is under provincial jurisdiction, the Federal Government supports various educational policies and programs by rendering financial assistance. The Federal commitment financially to multiculturalism, has increased from \$8.5 million in 1982-83 to \$118.4 million in 1984-85. The Cultural Enrichment Program, Intergroup Relations (comprising race relations, multiculturalism in education and assistance for immigrant women) and Cross-Cultural Organizations will receive the bulk of the funding. The aim of all these programs is to encourage inter-group activity and the expanded funding will expand and strengthen the infrastructure of national and provincial associations and as well as ethnocultural community organizations (Education Canada, 1985:16-17).

Since the Federal Government is committed to promote multiculturalism within a bilingual framework they have made certain provisions such as:

- * The Minister of State for Multiculturalism is responsible for the implementation of the Federal Government's multiculturalism policy.
- * The Multiculturalism Directorate of the Department of the Secretary of State administers the multicultural program activities, through officers in Ottawa and in regional and district offices across the country (Education Canada, 1985:30).

- * The Program Officers act as resource persons to the community, individuals, groups and both national and local organizations about financial assistance available. In turn they relay community concerns to government and private agencies (Education Canada, 1985:30).
- * The Cultural Enrichment Program is intended to strengthen the cultural identity and self-esteem of ethnocultural groups by:
 - providing assistance for the learning and retention of heritage languages by support to schools operated by ethnocultural community groups;
 - providing for teacher development in upgrading skills;
 - providing support for the preparation and publication of heritage language teaching aids; and
 - upgrading Canadian content in supplementary curriculum purchasing materials and acquiring curriculum advisors (Education Canada, 1985:31).
- * Multiculturalism in education is the umbrella for all multicultural education programs. Included are:
 - material development;
 - information exchange;
 - material dissemination;
 - personnel training and development;
 - community awareness and development; and
 - applied research (Education Canada, 1985:32).

The conclusion is then drawn, that the Federal Government has implemented and supported its commitment to multicultur-

alism by substantial funding and maintaining its official position that there are two official languages and a multiplicity of cultures by providing an infrastructure and programs to further its commitment to multiculturalism. Thus it is providing a national perspective and developing an interest among educators in these issues. Now the provinces must reciprocate.

6.5.3 PROVINCIAL LEVEL OF COMMITMENT

At provincial level, a variety of responses were made with regard to education, namely:

- * Conferences were the initial outflow in Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, where various recommendations were made concerning education (Education Canada, 1985: 18).
- * The Northwest Territories and the Yukon focus on teaching the aboriginal languages, and providing services for Dene (Indians), Metis, and Inuit children (Education Canada, 1985:18).
- * The Atlantic Provinces: In Nova Scotia an Ethnic Service section was established by the Department of Education in 1975, which pay special attention to the needs of the Micmac Indians, Blacks, French and recent immigrants.

Other Atlantic provinces have developed programs to provide for the needs of Native peoples, minority Francophones and recent immigrants.

New Brunswick has recognized the equality of the two official linguistic communities of the province (Education Canada, 1985:18).

- * Considerable progress has been made instituting French language programs in provinces where none existed. The Federal Secretary of State has organized a cross-country second language monitor program for post secondary students and a summer language program for teachers (Jaenen, 1981:85).
- * There has also been pressure on the four Western provinces to recognize several languages as minority languages. Ontario's Heritage and Language Program provides instruction in 44 different languages besides French and English to more than 76,000 students in public and separate schools (1980-81)(Jaenen, 1980:85).
- * Since 1976, Alberta permits French to be used as language of instruction for teaching of all subjects in elementary and secondary grades as a local option (Jaenen, 1980:95).
- * Since 1979, Saskatchewan's legislative permits a language other than English to be used as language of instruction, provides financial incentives and support for development of second language instruction, such as German-English, Ukranian-English from kindergarten to grade XII (Jaenen, 1981:85).
- * British Columbia, in 1979, has received recommendations for a comprehensive program of second language instruction and multicultural courses, teaching units and aids to be instituted (Jaenen, 1981:88).

- * Quebec has developed a pluralistic cultural policy within a Francophone framework. At the secondary school level and CEGEP level a wide field of modern languages are offered as well as subjects such as drama, history and geography. In fact the availability and selection of courses present a very "enlightened and cosmopolitan outlook" to multiculturalism in Quebec (Jaenen, 1981:89).

The adoption of multiculturalism in the curriculum is voluntary, therefore it is difficult to assess the multicultural programs and practices in existence in all the provinces (Education Canada, 1985:21).

The Canadian Ethnic Studies Association stated in 1981 that multiculturalism has not been translated into the school curricula. The question they ask is this: "Is multiculturalism a suitable subject of study or is it a quality which should colour all cultural studies?" The answer seems to be slow in coming said Jaenen (1981:88).

However, within the public schools is evidence that various second languages and multicultural programs exist, which would indicate that Canadians have accepted the premise that Canada is a multicultural nation, and public schooling should reflect and foster this identity. Language seems to be very closely associated with multiculturalism, and language maintenance is present in the home, neighbourhood, church, work and school, where ethnic concentrations or block settlements exist (Jaenen, 1981:92).

6.6 CURRICULUM AND MULTICULTURALISM

6.6.1 INTRODUCTION

Since "multiculturalism is perceived in a multiplicity of ways" (Jaenen, 1981:70) no consensus has been reached on the interpretation thereof within the curriculum, resulting in a wide gamut of viewpoints, programs and provision as has been pointed out, at federal and provincial level. This is reflected in the curriculum development.

6.6.2 CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

The literature on curriculum and culture is so diverse that it seems as if no two writers agree. Jaenen lists programs which have been initiated and notes how social studies especially reflect the cultural diversity, but he maintains the manifold facets of culture should be part of the curriculum as well as in literature, music, dances and arts, to reflect the experiences of the multi-ethnic, multi-cultural polygot Canadian population (Jaenen, 1981:88).

Attention is drawn to the fact that minority ethnic groups, when discussed at all in social studies curricula across Canada are interpreted in terms of the Anglo or Francophone perspective. Culture and ethnicity are defined at elementary school level as material things, emphasizing the unique, static and different - such as a trip to a museum or art

gallery. "At secondary school level the 'heritage approach' reflects mainly the historical Anglo-French roots - without emphasis upon cognitive culture or contemporary cultural change - material details relative to ethnic groups are emphasized, the heritage aspect is romanticized". (Aoki et al., 1984:257.)

Mazurek (1979) again criticizes the ethnicization of the curriculum on the grounds that it has been suggested that the curriculum was "biased" favouring certain ethnic groups, which would reflect in their achievement and academic performance. To "tinker" with the curriculum to overcome this problem serves no purpose since there are more important factors which should influence curriculum development; he listed the following:

- * "back to basics", following a decline in the student's basic literacy and mathematical skills, teachers were charged with incompetency by parents, employers and professors - which had led to a demand to get "back to basics" with the re-establishing of province-wide standards in high school English (Mazurek, 1979:28 and Wilson, 1981:8);
- * the great discrepancy between schooling and work has led to a drive for schools to become "training centers for the dissemination of technical skills at the expense of more general socialization programs" (Mazurek, 1979:28 and Wilson, 1981:10);

- * since the economic factor is of prime importance, it is found that as student enrolment decreases, financial costs escalate, and "multiculturalism as an educational ideal is one 'frill' that will not survive the economic axe" (Mazurek, 1979:28);
- * when one considers that curricula are structured by men, one ideology of orientation will invariably be favoured above another. To substantiate this statement Mazurek (1979:30) quotes Werner: "bias is inevitable because curriculum development is a social process. People have to write the program They are all born somewhere and are all influenced by the situations of their lives. Invariably their expectations and beliefs are shaped by experiences within some social and geographical location and their own ethnic affiliations Invariably any curriculum must reflect someone's point of view which embodies biases created by a set of underlying values, beliefs, and experiences. At the same time this perspective will affect the student's observations, interpretations and consequent actions within the Canadian mosaic."

Therefore it is advocated that ethnicization of the curriculum be abandoned as it fosters and legitimizes social inequality. Rather should the more fundamental relationship between the educational institutions and the economic demands of the times be considered, thus "recognizing that economics and not culture is the proper focus of our attention" (Mazurek, 1979:38).

A marked feature of the 1980's has been that centralized decision making has increased and dominates the curriculum guidelines. Thus Wilson (1981:11) points out that local school boards, administrators and classroom teachers have less involvement in curriculum development. As province wide assessment has become commonplace, constraints are placed on textbook selections by restricted lists or financial cutbacks, narrowing student course options. A provincial core curriculum seems to be the present trend.

Tompkins (1981:152) in his essay Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum, discussed the aforementioned trends and then questions: "Who makes the curriculum?" In Manitoba, Saskatchewan and New Brunswick an elaborate structure with senior curriculum advisory bodies, program review or policy committees, subject area committees and task forces ensure that ministries, teachers' federations, trustees, school administrators, faculties of education, the public at large and sometimes even students are involved in curriculum development. In all provinces, ministries other than education in areas such as the environment, health, agriculture and human rights provide fully developed curricula and materials - consequently the Deputy Minister of Education for British Columbia "speculated that other ministries in his province were collectively spending more money on curriculum development than was his own".

In addition, the federal government makes substantial contributions to the curriculum by the Canadian Broadcast Corporation's school broadcasts, language and second language programs, vocational, technical and agricultural programs, as well as upgrading the science teaching at the elementary and secondary school level (Tompkins 1981:152).

Besides, the provincial and federal sectors, many other groups, such as the Canadian Studies Foundations, universities, teachers' federations, the Canadian Society for the Study of Education and the Canadian Conference on the Arts, influence the curriculum indirectly or peripherally (Tompkins 1981:152).

However, the interest and influence the various levels and groups have exerted on curriculum development served as an impetus to cater for the culturally different or for special categories of children, the disabled and the gifted, by receiving recognition in the curriculum. Where the present organized school system provides few incentives for innovations in curriculum development, Tompkins (1981:154) foresees that "the Canadian curriculum is likely to exhibit a 'stubborn continuity' that results from the attempt of educators to mediate between the conflicting demands of stability and change".

Besides the formal curriculum the 'hidden curriculum' should also be mentioned since it is reflected in:

- * the organizational structures and evaluation procedures,
- * the selection, organization and distribution of knowledge,
- * the educator (Merrilees, 1985:1).

There are traditional and radical viewpoints held on the hidden curriculum. The traditional approach accepts that there is a relationship between school and the society it serves, by transmitting the norms, values and beliefs of the community to equip the student to face the world at large. While the radical approach condemns the socialization function of school, since schooling reproduces the inherent inequalities of society (Merrilees, 1982:4).

The demands made for the re-establishment of state-wide curriculum content, elimination of options, specified time spent on disciplines and stricter evaluation and certification procedures seem to be the desire for more control of educational institutions (Merrilees, 1982:7).

By the same token one can then explain and understand the Federal Government's role in controlling and promoting multiculturalism in its funding and program incentives. The provinces have followed suit in transmitting governmental policy which is eventually reflected in the curriculum. A concerted effort is made by the educational departments to see that the 'new' viewpoint is carried through to the schools.

Thus, sensitivity in the portrayal of ethnic and racial diversity in all curriculum materials have to be seriously considered. A positive outlook should therefore be fostered and aimed at to prevent discrimination on racial grounds. Teachers have guidelines on making multiculturalism an ethic that prevades the entire curriculum. Programs in the French language, English as a second language, native languages, native studies and social studies, heritage language, elementary social studies, secondary history, geography and social studies, art, music, drama, also extracurricular sports and cultural activities have all been affected and influenced by multicultural thought (Education Canada, 1985:64).

6.6.3 CONCLUSION

Despite the sometime negative opinions of various educationists, curriculum development has occurred to introduce and acquaint the Canadian student with the cultural diversity of his country. Great strides have been made in promoting bilingualism in a country where the Anglo majority for centuries ignored the French language. The Federal Government supports its multicultural policy in a bilingual framework, as has been pointed out, by lavish funding, various programs and a infrastructure to ensure its implementation.

At various times conferences were held to discuss Canadian studies and how the curriculum should be developed to

accommodate Canadian diversity, such as those launched by the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in 1969. On this occasion Laxer stated that a "Canadian consciousness forms the background, the motivational force, behind the burst of activity in the field of Canadian Studies" (Laxer in Humphreys, 1970:115).

So, it may be deduced that a Canadian consciousness prevails within the development of a multicultural curriculum. There is a willingness to co-operate and recognize the demands made by a culturally diverse country - and it is being promoted in the curriculum development by programs and materials available to provide for cultural differentiation.

"Perhaps the most important of these guidelines is the idea that new programs must recognize a fundamental condition in all free societies, namely, that any course of action, any policy, proposal or decision, is bound to arouse differing viewpoints, conflict, controversy, power struggles between individuals and groups This can no longer be locked out of the classroom, as in the past. We can place the available evidence and skills before the students and hope they will be able to reach their own conclusions based on the evidence; learn to respect evidence, tolerate a certain amount of ambiguity, retain open-mindedness and realize in this world there aren't many final answers." (Extracted from Hogett's speech in Humphreys, 1970:119.)

6.7 MULTICULTURALISM AND THE TEACHER

This policy of multiculturalism in a bilingual framework has to be implemented, and as the Canadian teachers are the prime agents of socialization they have to disseminate and carry it out.

Quarter (in Byrne, 1972:62-68) uses a paradigm to indicate the teacher's role within Canada's society.

Socio-			Teacher-	Socio-
economic	— School's	Teacher's	Student	economic
Structure	Function	Role	Relation-	Change
			ship	

Within the socio economic structure of the community the school must perform three functions namely: socialization, vocational selection and education. The teacher's task is to educate so that the students learn the technical skills necessary for their vocation within the prepared curricula. Performance is graded as a basis for academic advancement and social mobility. Since the teachers are the authorities in control of grading, they influence their students, and in reverse are manipulated by their students or become targets for student resentment. But, Byrne (1972:62-68) then suggests that in a progressive era, the teacher-student relations could improve if the school's socialization and

vocational selection functions are re determined, so that the education system stimulates creative, independent thought which would lead to profound social changes, assuming then that that is the role of school.

By using this analysis as a structure one can also basically use this premise to visualize how to promote the efforts to prepare students for life in a multicultural society, since the school or teachers are expected to implement the changes. It should be borne in mind however that: "no teacher can in a relatively short, or even in an unrealistically long period at the beginning of his career, be fully equipped for all the responsibilities he is going to face. This familiar truth has been given a disturbingly sharper edge, in a world of tremendous social and cultural change" (Wilson, 1973:14)).

Therefore, Mallea & Young (1984:402) suggested that, firstly, teacher education has to be a career-long process of professional development, in which academic studies, pre-service training, induction and subsequent in-service work is available and studied. Secondly, teacher education training programs should prepare all teachers for the multicultural, multi-ethnic, multiracial Canadian society it serves, not only for elected subjects or token groups, but for all students.

In a recent survey it was stated inservice and preservice training of teachers had markedly increased. Courses in cross-cultural education, ethnic and minority relations, language teaching methodology, native studies, counseling and immigrant assessment are available at most provincial universities. Chairs of ethnic studies are found at certain universities. Graduate studies in multicultural education and related subjects are available. Large school boards promote regular in-service workshops. Annual conferences are held by provincial professional associations, ESL (English Second Language), FSL (French Second Language), heritage language, multicultural education and other related fields. All of these activities are voluntary but many teachers do not avail themselves of these opportunities (Education Canada, 1985:64).

As Merrilees (1982:1) pointed out, "our hidden curriculum is showing" and teachers, being of the substance men are made of, cannot be perfect as educators so their 'hidden' cultural values will reflect in the way they educate. Therefore, teacher training in multicultural concepts is needed to understand the pupil and the background he hails from as a prerequisite for teachers.

"The premise of individualism has facilitated the incorporation of multicultural teaching methodologies in the classroom. Multiculturalism as a teaching philosophy is fully consistent with recent trends toward the teacher's

giving attention to the individual needs of each child, suiting the pace and content to the child's requirements and being more aware of its social and psychological background." (Education Canada, 1985:28.)

6.8 THE IMPACT OF FRENCH ETHNICITY IN GENERAL

6.8.1 INTRODUCTION

It was stated that there has been a rise or revival of ethnicity in many societies, and this has been experienced in Canada. In the United States the deprived minority is highly visible and demanded a share in the affluence of that society, while in Canada, by contrast, the minority was less visible, but their plight was similar. The French had the least education and highest birth rate, sharing the lowest paid jobs in Canada's industrial society (Porter, 1975:267). Pierre Vallières (1971) described in his book the White Niggers of America how the French peasant was continually being deprived and used by the authorities, firstly, the King of France and his representatives, then, the governmental authorities as well as the Church and finally, the large United States corporations. His dramatic sentiments expressed in his writings reflect the great bitterness and feeling of rejection the French populace harboured, which eventually led to the FLQ crisis (Front de Liberation du Quebec) by French militants. Some French Canadian intellectuals then began to demand that something be done about this inequality. This eventually led to the Quiet Revolution.

"The Quiet Revolution was the breakdown of that particular consensus known as French Canada and the creation of diversity of lifestyle among Quebecers. In another way a consensus remained namely: a desire spiritually to be apart from, but economically, a part of the North American context." (Henchey, 1973:250.) Education became the major thrust of the Quiet Revolution and the French language was used to symbolize French awareness and assertiveness. A federal level of enquiry was prompted by the societal changes in Quebec. This Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the 1960's then served as the impetus for, and foundation for the policy of multiculturalism introduced in 1971 by the government.

6.8.2 POLITICAL CHANGE IN QUEBEC

It was the Catholic Church who dominated French education and society until the 1960's when the series of changes occurred which became labelled "la Révolution tranquille", or the Quiet Revolution. With a change of government in the 1960's, the power and influence of the church came into question, as the Quebecer wanted a share in the prosperity of industrialized North America. To compete in this economy a highly educated and trained population was required. To achieve this, French education was moved out of Church jurisdiction into the hands of the state - or the Ministry of Education.

Henley (1979:93) quotes Levesque (a former Premier of Quebec) who stated that: "The first and most obvious move was towards education. After so prolonged and scandalous a neglect of this most basic instrument of development, it was quickly realized that here was the first urgent bootstrap operation that had to be launched. It was done with a vengeance: from one of the lowest in the Western world, Quebec per capita investment in education rapidly became, and remains, one of the very highest."

In 1980, the Minister of Youth, Paul Gérin - Lajoie appointed a Commission of Inquiry into Education also called the Parent Commission. This Commission suggested revolutionary changes in the education system of Quebec, which were consequently implemented after a great deal of philosophical and emotional discussions. This led to the founding of the Ministry of Education of Quebec in 1964 (Henchey, 1973:159).

Provincial intervention brought about major structural and institutional changes, such as the co-ordination between the school system and curriculum. Schools remained within the Catholic and Protestant designation, but the scholastic discrepancies between them were dissolved.

The compulsory school age was extended to fifteen years. New kindergartens, 'activist' oriented elementary schools, comprehensive or 'polyvalent' secondary schools with subject promotion, post-secondary CEGEP's were created, to provide

for the large number of students staying in school for a longer period, as a balance between pre-university and technical programs. The Universite' du Quebec in Montreal was created to accommodate the graduates of the CEGEP's - a public multi-campus university built on modules of professors and students in the American fashion (Henchey, 1973:160-163).

The teaching profession expanded in size and competence. Within the French system the qualification requirements were low and many teachers lacked proper training as being members of a Catholic religious order was deemed to be sufficient qualification. Lay teachers were also employed as the Church was unable to provide all the teaching staff (MacDonald, 1981:115 and Carter, 1957:60-68).

6.8.3 THE LANGUAGE ISSUE

6.8.3.1 LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

From 1965 French Immersion programs were introduced in English schools to adhere to the sociolinguistic changes of the Quiet Revolution. Prior to 1960 government researchers found that "French remains basically a marginal language since non-French-speaking people use English as much as, and sometimes more than, their mother tongue for important work" (Gendron, 1984:597).

To cope with the shift towards the majority-group status of French, and the importance placed on acquiring the French language, the English school boards introduced French immersion programs.

With the introduction of Bill 101 passed in 1977 (which made the use of French in school, business and communications compulsory) major linguistic controversy arose because French then became the first or official language of instruction and of the workplace, throughout Quebec. All immigrant children to the province were to be educated in French language schools, except for people temporarily residing there. These measures were considered "essential to the survival of the Francophone cultural community in Quebec" (Henley, 1979:89).

Since Bill 101, the Montreal English Catholic School Commission has been accepting 'illegal' students. They belonged to various ethnic groups who should have gone to French schools according to Bill 101, but since the Catholic philosophy decrees that the family is primarily responsible for the education of the children, and the choice rests with the family, they remained in English schools but were not on the official school role, and teachers accepted the higher pupil-teacher ratio (McDonald, 1981:122). With a change of government in November 1985, the Minister of Education has given the 1000 - 1500 'illegal' students official status in the schools they attend by granting them amnesty (The Gazette, April 23, 1986:1)

An interesting measure was employed by the Quebec Government to implement unilingualism, namely L'Office de la langue française (the 'French language police' as they are referred to by the Anglophones). Their prime object was to instigate 'French only' signs in the work place - thus 'City Hall' had to be chisled from the stone face of a century old building.

6.8.3.2 LANGUAGE AND CHANGE

With the restricted access to English schools, many English Quebecers left the province, with a severe drop in enrolment, causing a massive English teacher surplus and a steady closure of English neighbourhood schools. Many English-speaking students have chosen to attend French immersion schools causing a further drop in enrolment.

Using the metropolis and hinterland illustration, one now observes that many Quebec teachers (especially of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal) have gone to other provinces to initiate French language programs, or to teach French, in provinces where French has now become part of the curriculum.

McPherson (1986:83) points out that since the adoption of French as the official language of Quebec the bilingual rate of the English has increased from 36.7% in 1971 census to 53.4% in the 1981 census, while that of the French has remained more or less the same - in 1971: 25.1% to 1981:

28.7%. This makes the English Quebecer a well sought after employee since he/she is bilingual and complies with the requirements for employment by the Federal Government. Air Canada, the national airline, only employs fully bilingual flight personnel who pass the required test.

With reference to Vallières' sentiments expressed in the White Niggers of America it seems ironic that unilinguism now jeopardizes the French employee in job advancement or promotion. Since Quebec has been suffering from an economic depression, the French Quebecer is aware of his/her limits in seeking employment in the English sector.

6.8.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Catholic Church, over the centuries, carried the banner for French survival, and remained in control of education until its role was challenged by economic and political pressure. Thus in the 1960's the Provincial Government took over the responsibility of education. They ensured the protection of French culture and the expansion of language use within the province enthusing a nationalism into Quebec which led to the Federal inquiries into Bilingualism and Biculturalism, which in turn led the way for the Federal policy of multiculturalism in a bilingual framework.

MacDonald (1981:128) remarks that "as long as French nationalists have a different concept of the Anglophone in Quebec,

or the ethnic communities see themselves as second-class citizens, the language issue will continue to be a factor in Quebec politics generally and educational questions in particular".

Two distinct denominational school systems have lost their autonomy since 1964, when the Provincial Government instigated the ministry of education to centralize the education department. "The 'Quiet Revolution' has changed many facets of life, in Quebec, from 'priest-ridden' it has moved to a nationalistic and anticlerical society. The impact of this has had been felt in school as well as in other social institutions ... the crescendo of teacher militancy is but one aspect." (Friesen et al., 1980:81.)

But, as Mowat (1976:247) so aptly stated: "Change is continuous. Short term change may be unobstrusive but periodically it seems, we take actions which encapsule our judgements of what we used to do and what we should do henceforth. At such times, the past (as well as the future) becomes important".

This has been seen in the development of the Canadian education system, regionally and nationally - and can be said of any education system which considers the future.

6.9 SUMMARY

Since the 1960's Canada has experienced major events with related societal changes which have influenced education in a multitude of ways. This awakening of a Canadian consciousness helped to strengthen a feeling of national identity despite the multi-ethnic diversity within the population composition.

The concept of recognizing the multi-ethnic population in a federal policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework came about in 1970 after an extensive study which reviewed all aspects of Canadian ethnicity. A uniquely Canadian education experiment followed, in which minority languages and cultures are given official recognition in the schools. French and English are the official languages in Canada. Federal financial aid is given to implement the teaching thereof to all immigrants. Contrariwise, in Quebec French is the official language and English the minority language. In English Canada French might be given either as a total immersion program, or as a core program, where a specific time is allotted to French language instruction. Nearly 1.5 million students, attending English schools, studied a regular core French program in 1982-83 (CEA, 1984:22). Heritage language programs have also been introduced in the schools, mostly as a high school subject. In the city of Toronto Italian became the language of instruction in an experimental program in a separate school,

with the provision that English must also be taught (McLeod, 1973:246). Heritage language programs are available in Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec. Forty one heritage languages were offered in 1983 in Ontario, ranging from Albanian, Arabic, Maltese, Mandarin to Vietnamese (CEA, 1984:22).

Grade 1, 2 and 3 bilingual Ukrainian and grade 7 to 12 German curriculum guides and handbooks were provided in Saskatchewan. The Indian and Metis Education Development Program, was carried out in eight school divisions, this include Indian language studies curriculum development and home-school liason programs (Saskatchewan Education, 1984-1985:14-18).

To implement the policy of multiculturalism the federal and Provincial governments are inaugerating financing programs and provide training services for teachers. More attention has been given to Canadian studies which reflect the multicultural approach as opposed to the Anglo or Franco viewpoint of history or geography. Canadian teaching materials and textbooks are produced to complement the studies. Teaching of French outside Quebec has increased. However, local opposition to multiculturalism is also expressed by Canadians who maintain that by emphasizing the ethnocultural differences of the nation, the already 'fragile' national identity is further fragmented. Therefore, in being assimilated by the Anglo or Franco

cultures this can be overcome - which is contrary to the of accepted interpretation of what 'culture' entails and the growing pride in ethnicity.

Multicultural education policies involve the acceptance and development of cultural diversity which has curricular implications in all courses. Thus one looks to the curriculum developers to initiate course material to improve understanding of their own culture as well as that of the other citizens.

Since teachers are required to promote the multicultural education policy, school boards have hired teachers from various backgrounds. Some school staffs are culturally similar to their students (Education Canada, 1985:25).

Preservice and inservice training is available to familiarize teachers with the ethnic cultures of the students they will be dealing with - but it is on a voluntary basis, and needs to be expanded.

"There has been opposition to relativism of culture and values expressed in the daily press, and a growth in the number of schools which adhere to a unitary set of beliefs ... this is deduced from the shift to private and/or religious schools." (Education Canada, 1985:27.)

In some of the public schools, heritage languages, such as Greek, Hebrew, Armenian are taught as an extra curricular activity. Parents who especially want their children to be taught in their home language and cultural heritage have initiated private schools. In Montreal the Armenian school is operating on a full time basis, while a part-time Portugese school provides classes on Saturdays only.

The proximity to America and the resultant close communication have had an influence on Canadian education since American textbooks are used, and American educationist influences colour educational viewpoints and practices. Therefore, Canadian education have been multiculturalistic orientated, since Anglo-Franco and American viewpoints influenced educational thought and practice.

7. STUDY REVIEW

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose and nature of this study has been to investigate the Canadian education system and to determine whether this system provides for and promotes cultural differentiation. The following summary is a brief review.

7.2 PROBLEMS POSED

The questions which identify the framework of the research project are as follows:

- * Has the education system of a particular population or cultural group been determined by the culture of that specific group?
- * Have cultural differences within the Canadian population had any historical influences on the educational provisions of the ethnic groups within the country in the past?
- * Have the educational structures and designs within the Canadian education system been organised in a rational system as an expression of cultural intent?
- * Have specific and significant measures been taken to allow for cultural differentiation within the education system?

7.3 AIM OF RESEARCH

From postulating the problematical questions, certain research objectives have been formulated which have directed the research of this paper, namely

- * the Canadian education system was culturally determined;
- * cultural differences within the Canadian population have influenced educational provision in the past;
- * the design and structure of the Canadian education system has been determined by cultural influences;
- * certain specific measures have been made to provide for cultural differentiation within the education system.

7.4 THE METHODOLOGY

Analytical procedures have been used to formulate this report. Within the literature study, a wide selection of authors were consulted, contemplated and studied, to cover various aspects and topics deemed necessary within the limits of research. Personal interviews led to a broader understanding of the research area.

7.5 STRUCTURE OF STUDY

The area of research embraces the country of Canada, enormous in size and diversity - a diversity which extends from its physical character to the regional characteristics of its people. To understand the Canadian education policies and practices, special reference has to be made to the specific

geographical, historical, cultural and political conditions which govern it, and their direct influences on a unique education system. 'Education', referred to in broad terms, as related to the Canadian education system and relevant to a comparative study of an education system.

The focus of the study is on the complexities and possible ramifications cultural differentiation in a multicultural society would have on, and the demands made of, the Canadian education system. This has been in large measure a reflection on the various policy directives made or proposed at various times in the evolvement of the Canadian education system.

7.6 FINDINGS OF RESEARCH

- * In chapter two the research objective was to identify a certain terminology used, of a specific connotation and expression, as premise of the expansion for the theoretical framework in the chapters following. The concentration was focussed on the main elements of this study, namely culture, education and education system. These concepts were broadly discussed to prove their interrelationship and their integration. The universal developmental principles of differentiation, integration and continuity were discussed as factors necessary to determine a specific education system. Certain assimilation models were mentioned as practices used by dominant

ethnic groups to resolve cultural diversities in multi-cultural societies. A rise in ethnicity has occurred in certain multicultural societies and necessary accommodation has had to be made to resolve conflicts.

Consequently it was then established that the education system, as well as the teaching-and-learning process (or enculturation) are culturally determined and provision should therefore be made within the education system for cultural differentiation. It may then be stated that the Canadian education system is culturally determined. Thus the first research problem has been investigated and explained.

- * The natural and cultural factors or aspects, which had influenced the founding of the Canadian nation and education system were identified in chapters three and four. The influence which the physical features, especially distance and climatic conditions have had, and which consequently led to the difficulties of communication, were taken into account. These factors partially determined why Canada became a collection of provinces with regional loyalties, rather than a national entity. The distinctive regional developmental influences are reflected in the education structures and policies of the country as a whole.

Another aspect to be considered was that two culturally diverse groups came to co-inhabit a continent of immense size. Settlement first occurred along the St. Lawrence waterways and the Eastern coast, but later expanded westwards.

The historical legacy from the original French and British settlers, so diverse in religion, language, ground motive and educational focus, has permutated the education systems of the different provinces. The cultural heritage remains inextricably entwined in the daily life, the institutions, the visions and politics of Canada.

Lastly, the close geographical proximity of Canada to the United States has influenced Canadian viewpoints, economic growth and educational involvements.

In Chapters 3 and 4, it has then been established that besides the settlement patterns and geophysical features of the country, cultural differences between the two founding groups, who were ethnically, culturally and linguistically opposed (or diverse) have had a decisive influence on the historical evolvement and development of the Canadian education system. Hereby the second research objective has been met.

- * A discussion of Federal and Provincial involvement in the education system was the objective of research in chapter five.

Since education evolved as a local concern, it is necessary to view the federal, provincial and local school structures and interrelated policies, as well as the school system. How these structures were determined by cultural implications, and constitutionally reinforced, is broadly discussed.

Since the education system is decentralized, it was not feasible to follow, analyse and compare each province across the board; thus samples were used to illustrate the diversity within English and French Canada.

It is then concluded that the reason why educational policy, educational control and educational provision is so decentralized is culturally determined, and witnessed in the present day structure of the Canadian education system.

Hence the third research objective has been met.

- * The research objective in chapter six is to identify what kinds of multicultural policies and specific measures were implemented in Canada, and to assess the implementation thereof within the Canadian education system. What followed was, to a large extent, a reflection of the organizational scope and contributions by the federal and provincial governments and the complexities in the implementation of multicultural policies in a fragmented, pluralistic society. The policy directives are targetted to a mosaic of cultures, but within the framework of two official languages that is English and French.

Originally the religious leaders demanded that the education system should differentiate for local and regional differences on religious lines. Since the rise

of ethnicity and nationalism, language, instead of religion, became the relevant issue. The demands made by the Francophones for recognition, to be considered on a par with the Anglophones, had to be acknowledged. This led to an in-depth report by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism who recognized the cultural contributions of the other ethnic groups residing in the country. National acknowledgement was given in an official policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework - "necessary if Canadian unity was to be achieved". The different measures by which the different provinces promote cultural differentiation was illustrated by a few examples from some provinces. Finally, it was stated that various debates are currently being waged in Canada amongst educationalists, about alternative concepts of cultural pluralism and/or multicultural. Hereby, the fourth objective of research has been met that specific measures have been made to provide for cultural differentiation within the education system.

7.7 AN ASSESSMENT OF FINDINGS

Drawing on the evidence of this research study, certain findings emerge, namely that the Canadian society has been created by immigration, conquest and economic colonialism, in a country of vast dimensions and natural barriers which caused a fragmentation of those symbols to unify them. Some of these symbols have become superimposed on the political

and economic institutions. Two different nations namely French and English, came to co-inhabit this country, resulting in biculturalism and bilingualism which caused further fragmentation. These factors, biculturalism and bilingualism, coupled with expansive physical distances, caused a political federation with education designated as a provincial matter and without a clear national identity.

T.S. Eliot stated that "the culture of the individual cannot be isolated from that of the group, and the culture of the group cannot be abstracted from that of the whole society and our notion of 'perfection' must take all three senses of culture into account at once. Nor does it follow that in a society, of whatever grade of culture, the groups concerned with each activity will be distinct and exclusive; on the contrary, it is only by an overlapping and sharing of interests, by participation and mutual appreciation, that the cohesion necessary for culture can be obtained. A religion requires not only a body of priests who know what they are doing, but a body of worshippers who know what is being done" (Davies in Myers, 1973:30).

This quotation is used to point out that one of man's fundamental needs is his sense of belonging to a group or tribe. To be a member of a certain ethnic group is not the only means of satisfying this need, but it has played a major role in Canadian society. Anglo-Canadians had regarded education as the primary 'vehicle' or measure to assimilate

the waves of immigrants, by having them adopt their values, beliefs, attitudes, language and principles, since they dominated the cultural fragmentation. The Franco-minority maintained their cultural identity through independent educational provision with great jealousy in the face of possible integration and assimilation.

To assess the Canadian education system in its cultural context, and within the cultural dimensions which shaped it, one has to consider the cornerstones. The key to Canadian education lies in federal decentralization, which is a direct outcome of the manner in which the two dominant cultural groups viewed education namely, that it was a cultural endeavour, therefore deemed a local affair. This led to the establishment of provincial control over education, legalized by the constitutional act of 1867. To differentiate for religious differences a separate school provision was made, which led to a dual school system in Quebec - Protestant and Catholic - which eventually became centralized under a Ministry of Education a hundred years later. In other provinces separate school boards were created to allow for religious diversity. Since education falls under provincial jurisdiction, each provincial system varies from the other.

The basic structure and design of English education in Canada was founded by Ryerson in Ontario, the dominant Anglo stronghold at the time. The educational practices at that time were based on Anglo conformity. This

viewpoint was carried West, and enforced during successive stages of immigration. Quebec emphatically resisted the Anglo mould and developed a culturally independent education system. Thus, the provinces do not have a unified education system; for example, Newfoundland has a publicly supported denominational school system, while British Columbia has a non-sectarian one.

The assimilation practised in the evolvment of Canadian education and the drive towards Anglo conformity, came into conflict with French assertion in a drive for nationalism. The dominance of the Anglo culture was questioned by the Quebecers in no uncertain terms. Mr. Trudeau, a native from Quebec, was the federal Prime Minister during the late 60's and early 70's when this 'quiet revolution' occurred. He passed legislation acknowledging the historical bilingual principle, defined at Confederation in 1867, and recognized the different ethnic groups in Canada, who make up a third of the population, by the implementation of multiculturalism. The local communities and the school systems, as part of the community, must now give execution to the 'vision' or policy.

Multicultural education policies are complex, without concrete directives, and frequently controversial; therefore permissive guidelines, rather than specific direction or requirements influence implementation (Anderson and Fullan, 1984:11).

Organizational change does not occur immediately or automatically, once a policy or program change is announced. The implementation thereof becomes the developmental process through which existing beliefs, attitudes and/or practices in policies are clarified, altered and worked through. Although time might vary, major program innovations can take up to three or more years before new practices become stabilized, after adoption (Anderson & Fullan, 1984:5).

Time is needed to expand any educational policy. Since the education system of a country is evolved and established over centuries, changes which occur can only be described as an on-going or continuous process. When promoting multicultural education and making provisions for its implementation, one is faced with factors affecting change, and strategies are needed for implementation. In the process, controversy, political debates and popular opinions are all part of the scene. In Canada certain political pressures of national importance have been transcribed in education policy. The implementation of these policies vary greatly, therefore planners, researchers and students of education should consider some factors involved in policy change and implementation.

There are certain aspects which are especially vulnerable to 'change in actual practice', such as (Anderson & Fullan, 1984:6):

- materials (learning resources);
 - behaviour (skills, practices, activities); and
 - beliefs (attitudes, knowledge).
- * Furthermore, certain variables influence change, such as (Anderson & Fullan, 1984:7):
- the characteristics of the change (need, clarity, complexity, quality and practicality);
 - the characteristics at the school district level (adoption process, administrative support, staff development, monitoring, board and community support);
 - the characteristics at the school level (principal's role, teacher characteristics, teacher-teacher interaction); and
 - the characteristics external to the local system (government and external assistance).

Besides these 'factors' which affect the degree of implementation, certain 'strategies' - actions which are deliberately taken to contend with the factors - are used to enforce the policy.

What one country may take as an example from another, would then depend on the degree of variables involved. The underlying spiritual driving force, economic provision and the manifold pressure points which may explode within the country, or the external forces outside the country, are factors which might influence it, just as South Africa is now experiencing in Black education.

The future of Canadian education and the nation will be in the hands of the upcoming generation. Their outlook on life and how they view themselves as Canadians, their ethnic heritage and their place in the world, will be greatly influenced by the practices now instigated in Canada, to promote multiculturalism and proficiency in both official languages.

Although much criticism has been leveled at the ways the education system provides for cultural differentiation, one must conclude that recognition has been given to the diversity of cultures.

Maybe that is the elusive Canadian identity everyone is seeking: the pride in their diverse ethnic heritage and its contribution to the Canadian mosaic, with the retention of language as the key to that heritage and identity.

7.8 RECOMMENDATIONS TO FURTHER STUDY

This paper dealt with the education system and educational practices of Canada for the dominant European groups - British and French. The Indian and Inuit education was mentioned, but not specifically dealt with. It would be advisable to research Native education separately. The multicultural diversity of the Native people - their many languages and cultures - is a part of the reality of the Native experience, which covers a particular aspect of Canadian education system. It is felt that they

have been 'neglected' in many ways until recent times, mainly because they are dispersed over a very large country and their numbers are relatively few. The cultural concepts and values of the indigenous people are so different from the outlook of the European settlers, that it caused great misunderstanding.

The Indians are considered the wards of the government; that is why the Federal Government is responsible for their education. Their passive acceptance of their status is now in question. They are making specific demands, such as the return of Native land, which covers thousands of hectares. If they were granted title to the land, they might wish to form self-governing units on this land. The matter has to be handled and resolved with great insight.

They are also questioning the manner in which their children are being taught, as well as the curriculum content. Yet, the Canadians view them as part of the Canadian nation.

To enjoy a degree of autonomy, the Native people consider education necessary for self-determination. Control of their education system, the training of Native teachers, and the teaching of Native languages are considered basic requirements and priorities.

Urbanization is also a fact of life, as well as the necessity to be fluent in either French or English.

When one considers these aspects, one is reminded of South Africa and the many Black tribes who are part of the cultural diversity of this Native experience; their needs and aspirations are also to be considered and met in education.

To pursue such a study as a follow-up to what has been done in this paper, seems a worthwhile proposal for the future.

7.9 AN EVALUATION OF THE SHORT-COMINGS OF THIS STUDY

The aim and purpose of this study was to become acquainted with the Canadian education system, with regards to cultural differentiation, organizational structure and judicial implementation.

In this respect, one has to admit that the research area proved to be of very wide dimensions - just like the country! Generalizations were therefore frequently used to encompass the wide scope of the research subject.

The term 'multicultural education' has obtained no single universally acceptable meaning. In dealing with the subject, several interpretations were recognized to make these school and societal relationships explicit. In espousing these theories on cultural diversity, the paper may lack clarification on specific implications of multicultural education, or the extent to which students have access to programs - but that again depends on the wide spectrum of school policies - therefore only a few examples of implementation were mentioned.

OPSOMMINGDIE ONDERWYSSTELSEL VAN KANADA MET SPESIALE VERWYSING NA
KULTUURDIFFERENSIASIEHOOFSTUK 1PROBLEEMSTELLING, NAVORSINGSDOELSTELLING, METODE EN PROGRAM
VAN ONDERSOEK1. PROBLEEMSTELLING

Die navorsingsprobleem is om vas te stel of die Kanadese onderwysstelsel deur die verskillende kulture van die Kanadese bevolking beïnvloed is. Of anders gestel, bestaan daar die geleentheid tot kultuurdifferensiasie in die Kanadese onderwysstelsel.

Uit hierdie probleemstelling word die volgende probleemvrae afgelei, naamlik:

- * Word die onderwysstelsel van 'n bepaalde bevolkingsgroep deur die kultuur van daardie groep bepaal?
- * Het die kultuurverskille in die Kanadese bevolking in die verlede 'n invloed op die onderwysvoorsiening gehad?
- * Word die onderwysstelselstruktuur in Kanada bepaal deur kultuurverskille?
- * Word spesifieke maatreëls getref om kultuurdifferensiasie te verwerklik?

2. NAVORSINGSDOELSTELLING

Voortvloeiend uit die navorsingsprobleem lei die navorsingsdoelstelling om vas te stel of:

- * die onderwysstelsel se aard kultuur-bepaald is;
- * die kultuurverskille in die Kanadese bevolking in die verlede 'n invloed op die onderwysvoorsiening gehad het;
- * die onderwysstelselstruktuur in Kanada deur kultuurverskille bepaal word; en
- * of daar spesifieke maatreëls getref word om kultuurdifferensiasie in die onderwys moontlik te maak.

3. NAVORSINGSMETODES

'n Literatuurstudie is gevoer deur boeke, tydskrifte en koerante te raadpleeg wat betrekking op die studieveld mag hê. Onderhoude is gevoer met gesaghebbendes op hul gebied in die onderwys om 'n wyer siening te bekom oor die Kanadese onderwys-gemoeidheid.

4. STRUKTUUR VAN DIE VERSLAG

In die opvolgende vyf hoofstukke is gepoog om die navrosingsdoelstellings te staaf.

HOOFSTUK 2

'n Teoretiese begronding van die verband tussen die onderwysstelsel en kultuur word bespreek. Aan die hand van

deeglike ondersoek is daar gevind dat kultuur geen definisie het nie, maar alle aspekte van die mens se lewenswyses insluit soos: tradisie, geskiedenis, ekonomie, politiek, handel, boukuns, landbou, kuns, etiek, taal, gewoontes en gebruike. Omdat die kultuurbegrip so omvattend is, kan gesê word kultuur deursuur die mens, sy gewoontes, sy gebruike, sy taal, sy materiële vooruitgang en sy omgewing.

In die allesomvattende begrip kultuur, word die opvoeding of onderwys ook ingesluit. Derhalwe sal die onderwys van 'n groep noodwendig deur daardie groep beoefen word binne die kultuurgrense wat die groep as belangrik beskou. So word daar dan van 'n Engelse, Franse of Amerikaanse kultuur gepraat, en of onderwys.

Terwyl die onderwys dan verbonde is aan die kultuur van die groep, sal die onderwys bedryf word binne 'n onderwysstelsel. Die onderwysstelsel is die ge-organiseerde struktuur verband waarbinne onderwys bedryf word, en word bepaal deur die kultuur van die bevolkingsgroep.

HOOFSTUK 3 EN 4

Kanada is bespreek aan die hand van natuurlike en kulturele faktore. Aangesien die land so uitgestrek is, 4,000 myl van oos na wes, met 'n klimaat van uiterste, lang koue winters en kort warm somers, het die twee faktore bygedra tot die kommunikasie-probleme wat weer aanleiding gegee het tot

plaaslike ontwikkeling en lojaliteite. Gevolglik berus Kanada se politieke bestel op 'n versameling van provinsies binne 'n federale regering.

Die onderwys-geskiedenis is aangetoon in die lig van kulturele verskille wat betrekking het, eerstens, op die Franse en Engelse en later, op die ander groepe.

Die Franse nedersetting het in die oostelike deel van die land begin. Na die Engelse oornome van die Franse gebied het konflikte ontstaan as gevolg van die Franse se weiering om Engelse gebruike aan te neem, waarvan die onderwys die vernaamste was. Volgens die Franse gebruik was die Katolieke kerk verantwoordelik vir die onderwys, en die Katolieke kerklikes wou geen Engelse staatsinmenging duld nie. Om enigsins vreedsaam te verenig is daar volgens wetgewing bepaal dat onderwys die verantwoordelikheid van die provinsie bly. Daarvolgens is onderwysvoorsiening 'n plaaslike aangeleentheid en val dit nie onder die federale regering se jurisdiksie nie. 'n Spesiale bepaling maak vir kultuurverskille voorsiening, naamlik 'n aparte skoolraad, sodat die Protestante in Quebec en die Katolieke in die ander provinsies die reg behou om aparte skole te hê, en geregtig is op staatshulp.

Kanada is geleidelik bevolk deur immigrante van Europa. In Engelse Kanada, of Kanada-Wes, het die Engelse invloed die onderwysbeplanning gerugsteun. Ryerson, as superintendent van onderwys, het die riglyne vir die onderwysstelsel aangetoon in 1846 tot 1876. Soos die land weswaarts bevolk is, het die onderwysstelsel uitgebrei. Die ontwikkelende provinsies het nie die patroon slaafs nagevolg nie, maar dit aangepas om by die plaaslike gemeenskappe se behoeftes en verskille aan te pas. So, het Britse Kolombië 'n nie-sektariese onderwysstelsel, terwyl Newfoundland se stelsel verbonde is aan vyf denominale stelsels.

In 1876 het Kanada 'n federasie geword met vier provinsies, die ander provinsies het op later datums lede geword. By elke byvoeging is die onderwysvoorsiening wetgewing bekragtig.

In hierdie twee hoofstukke word dan aangetoon dat die geografiese kenmerke van distansie en klimaat die kommunikasie tussen die mense beïnvloed het, sodat daar 'n alles-oorheersende plaaslike lojaliteit ontstaan het. Die historiese patroon van nedersetting, oos en wes met die Franse en Engelse, het die plaaslike groepslojaliteit verder aangehelp. Die gevolg was dat daar 'n gefragmenteerde pluralistiese federasie van mense ontstaan het, met onderwysvoorsiening 'n plaaslike aangeleentheid. Die Franse en Engelse bevolkings het etnies religieus, kultureel en linguïsties te veel verskil om eenvormig te wees.

Die tweede navorsingsdoel is hierby verklaar, naamlik dat die kultuurverskille van die Kanadese bevolking in die verlede 'n invloed op die onderwysvoorsiening gehad het.

HOOFSTUK 5

In hoofstuk vyf het die klem geval op die rol wat die federale en provinsiale regerings speel in onderwysvoorsiening. Alhoewel die federale regering aangewys is op onderwysvoorsiening vir spesiale groepe, soos die Indiane, Eskimo's, Weermag en Gevangenes, het die federale regering geen direkte inspraak op die onderwys van die provinsies nie. Daar is tans 'n debat om die federale regering se rol te probeer verklaar, aangesien die federale regering die onderwys indirek beïnvloed deur finansiële bydraes te maak. Daar word andersins streng gewaak teen direkte federale inspraak op die onderwys van die provinsies.

Die onderwys is derhalwe gedentraliseer tot op plaaslike vlak. In die provinsiale struktuur val onderwysbeheer en -beleid onder die gesag van die departement van onderwys met 'n minister aan die hoof van die departement. Hy/sy is 'n politieke aanstelling terwyl die adjunk-minister 'n staatsdienaar is. Onder die leiding en gesag van die persone resorteer die administrasie, finansiële begroting, onderwysuitvoering, onderwysdienste en onderwysinrigtings.

Verder het die plaaslike skoolrade gedelegeerde gesag sodat skoolstelsels op provinsiale vlak verskil.

Omdat die onderwysstelsel so uiteenlopend is, kon net 'n veralgemening gebruik word ten einde te benadruk dat die onderwysstelselstruktuur kultuur bepaald is. Vervolgens is die derde navorsingsdoelstelling uiteengesit.

HOOFSTUK 6

Binne die hoofstuk word aangedui hoe die beleid van multikulturalisme waarop die federale regering in 1970 besluit het, binne die tweetaligheidsbeginsel toegepas moet word.

Die dominante Engelse groep het die onderwys van al die provinsies beheer behalwe Quebec. Ten einde geassimileer te word moes die immigrante hul by die Engelse beleid van onderwys aanpas. Gedurende die sestigjarige het Quebec 'n etniese oplewing ondervind toe die Franse bevolking hul rol in die ekonomiese samelewing bevraagteken het. Deurgrondige ondersoek is ingestel en na aanleiding van die verslae het die ander etniese groepe in Kanada aangetoon dat hulle erkenning wil hê. Daar is wetgewing ingedien en Kanada volg nou die beginsel van multikulturalisme binne 'n tweetaligheidsraamwerk.

Uiteenlopende denkrigtings/opinies word gehuldig oor die uitvoering van multikulturalisme binne skoolverband. Daar die beleid berus op die vertolking van elke provinsie of skoolraad binne sy kulturele verband of belang, kon net 'n paar voorbeelde genoem word.

Daar is egter opgelet dat spesifieke maatreëls getref word om kultuurdifferensiasie in die onderwys moontlik te maak, wat die vierde navorsingsdoelstelling duidelik maak.

HOOFSTUK 7

Die slotopsomming van die navorsingstudie met sekere bevindings word in die hoofstuk verhaal. Dit is gevind dat die studieveld baie meer behels as wat aanvanklik bereken is, met die gevolg dat die veelomvattendheid van die studie nie genoeg ruimte oorlaat vir 'n in diepte verslag nie.

Die moontlikheid bestaan dus dat 'n opvolg studie die area kan bereik wat nie gedek is nie, te wete die onderwysvoorsiening van die inboorlinge, Indiane en Eskimo's.

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OF EDUCATION

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FIGURE 1: NEW BRUNSWICK: Department of Education
(Munroe, 1974:17)

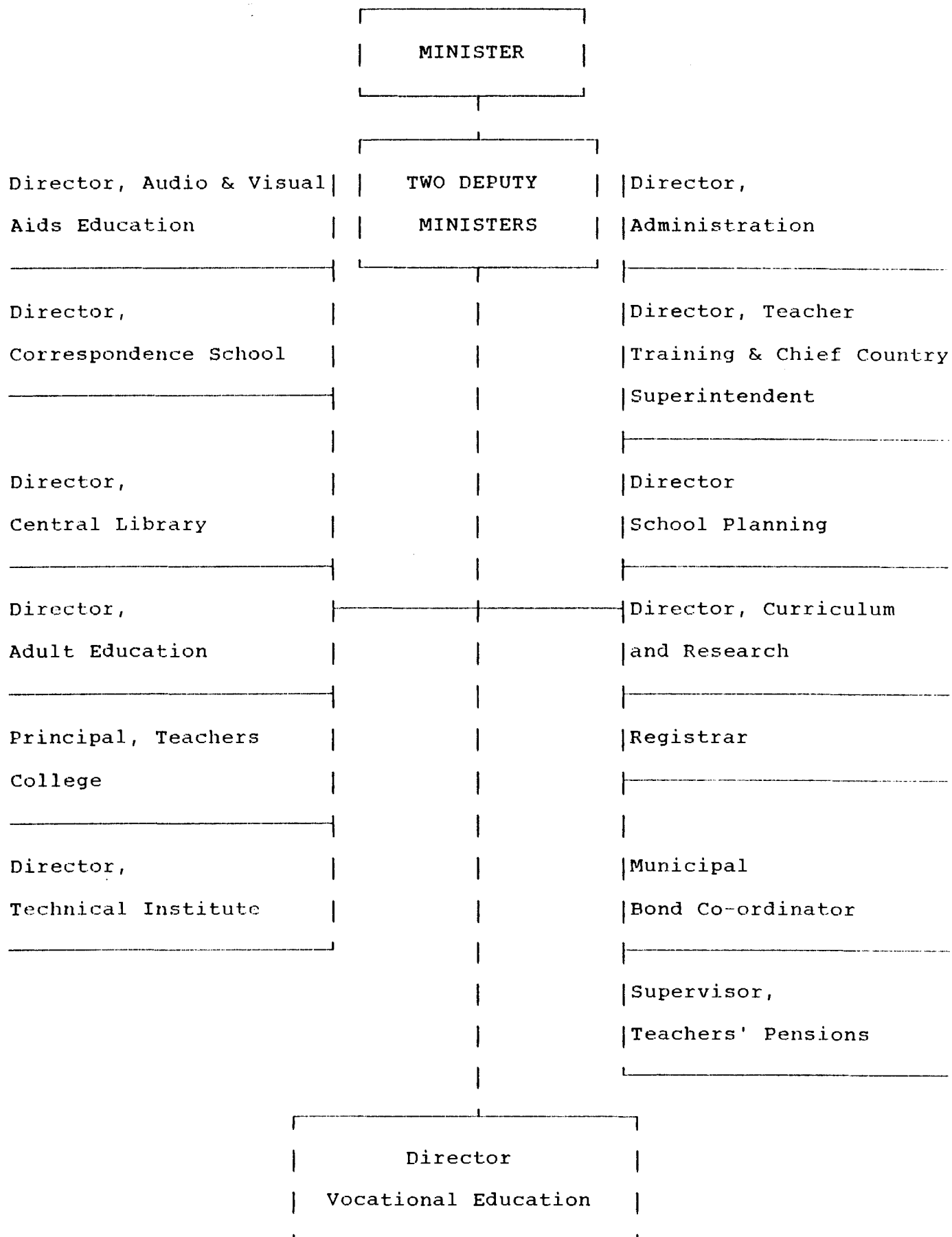


FIGURE 2: NOVA SCOTIA: Department of Education
(Munroe, 1974:31)

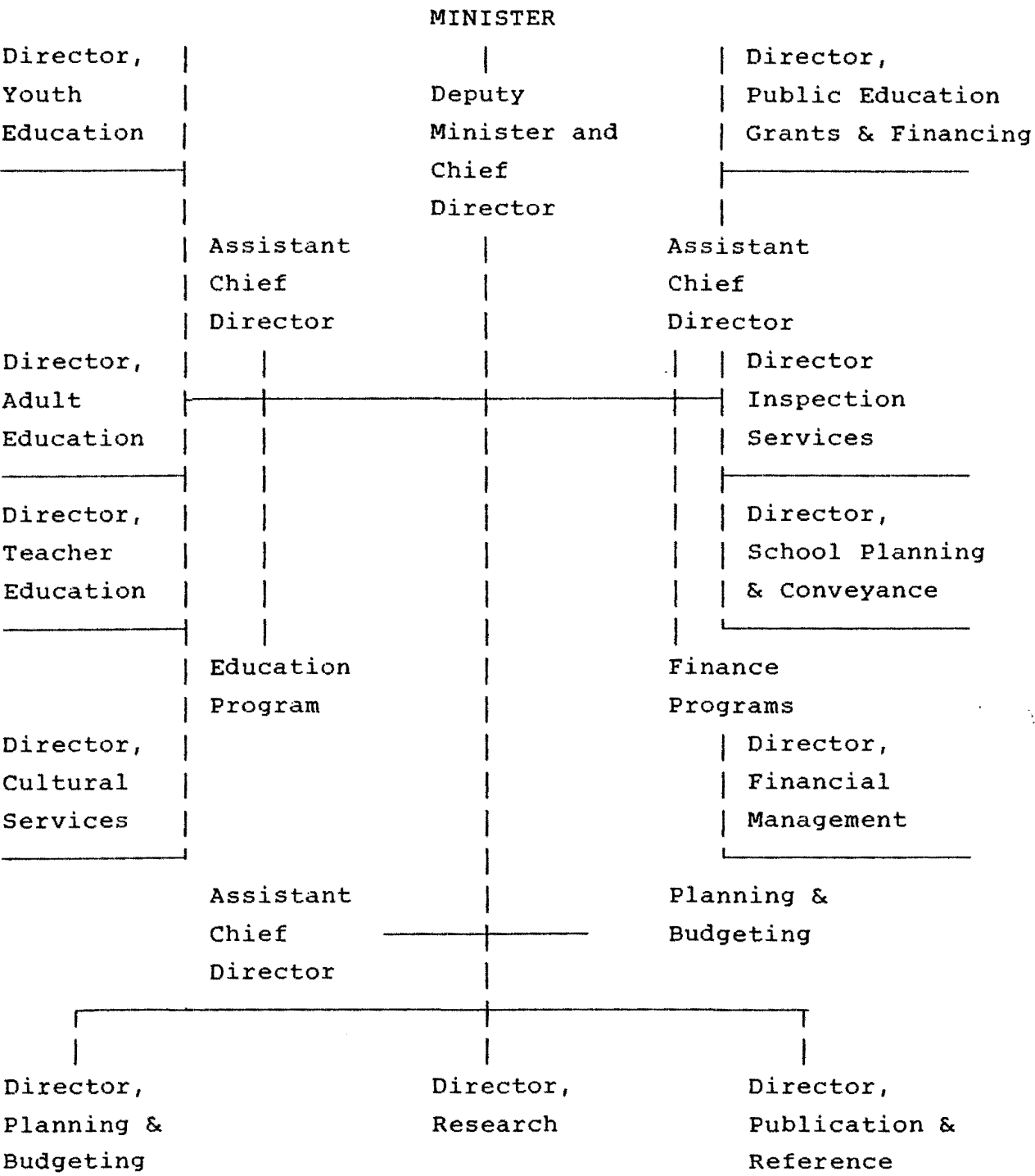


FIGURE 3.1: ONTARIO: Ministry of Education
(Munroe, 1974:49)

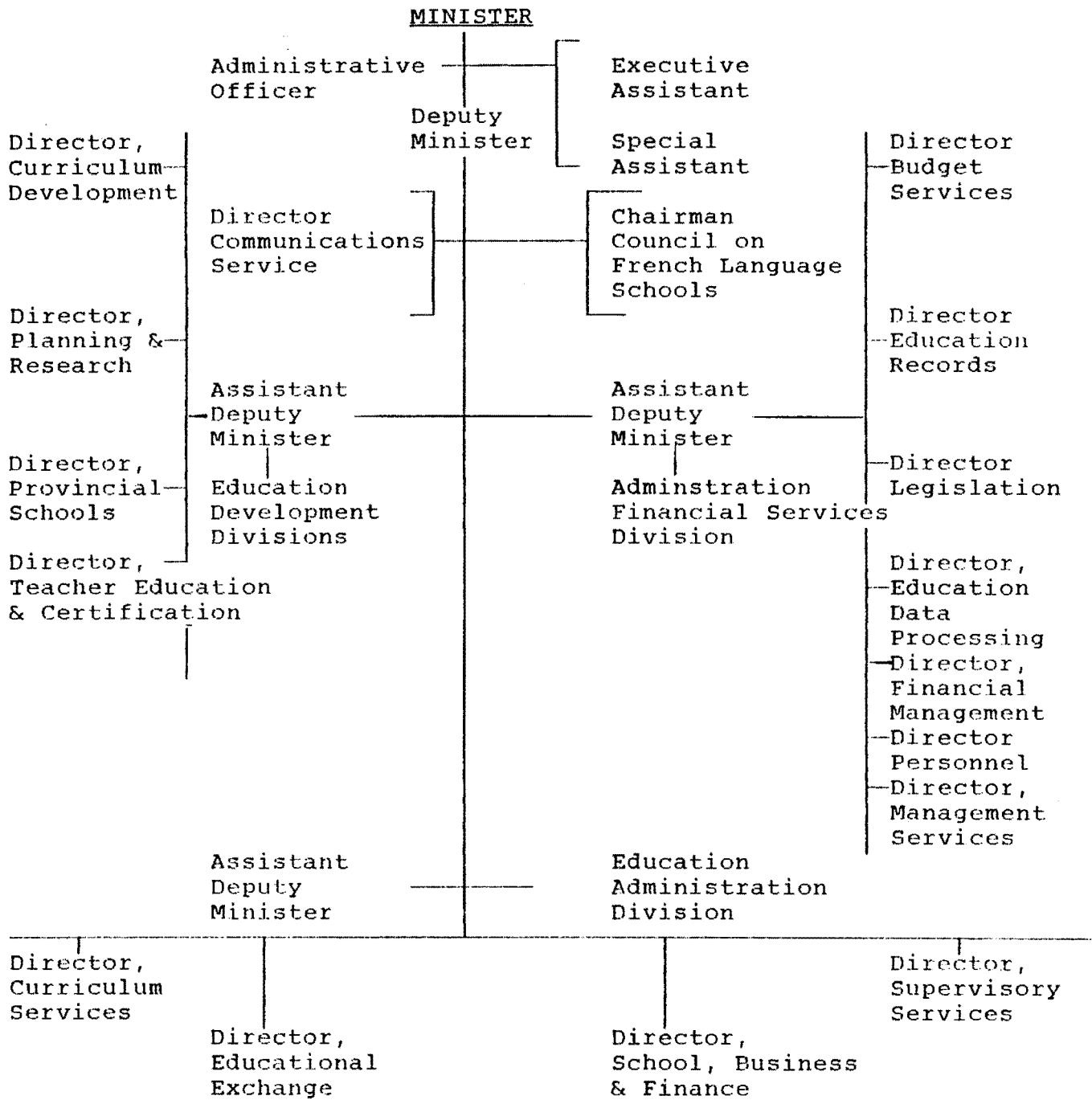


FIGURE 3.2: ONTARIO: Ministry of Colleges and Universities
(Munroe, 1974:51)

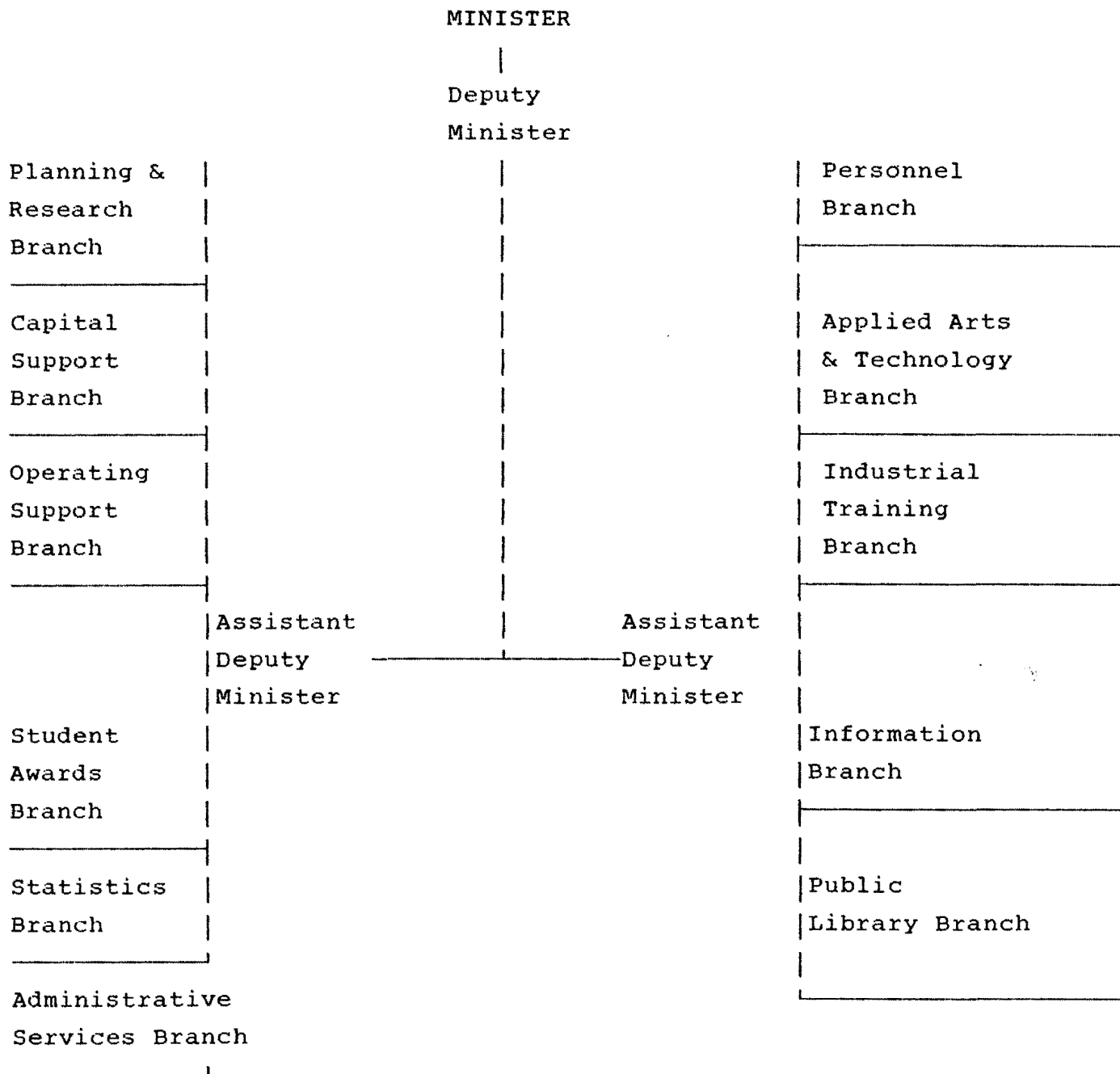


FIGURE 4.1: QUEBEC: Divisions of Responsibilities for Education
(Munroe, 1974:69)

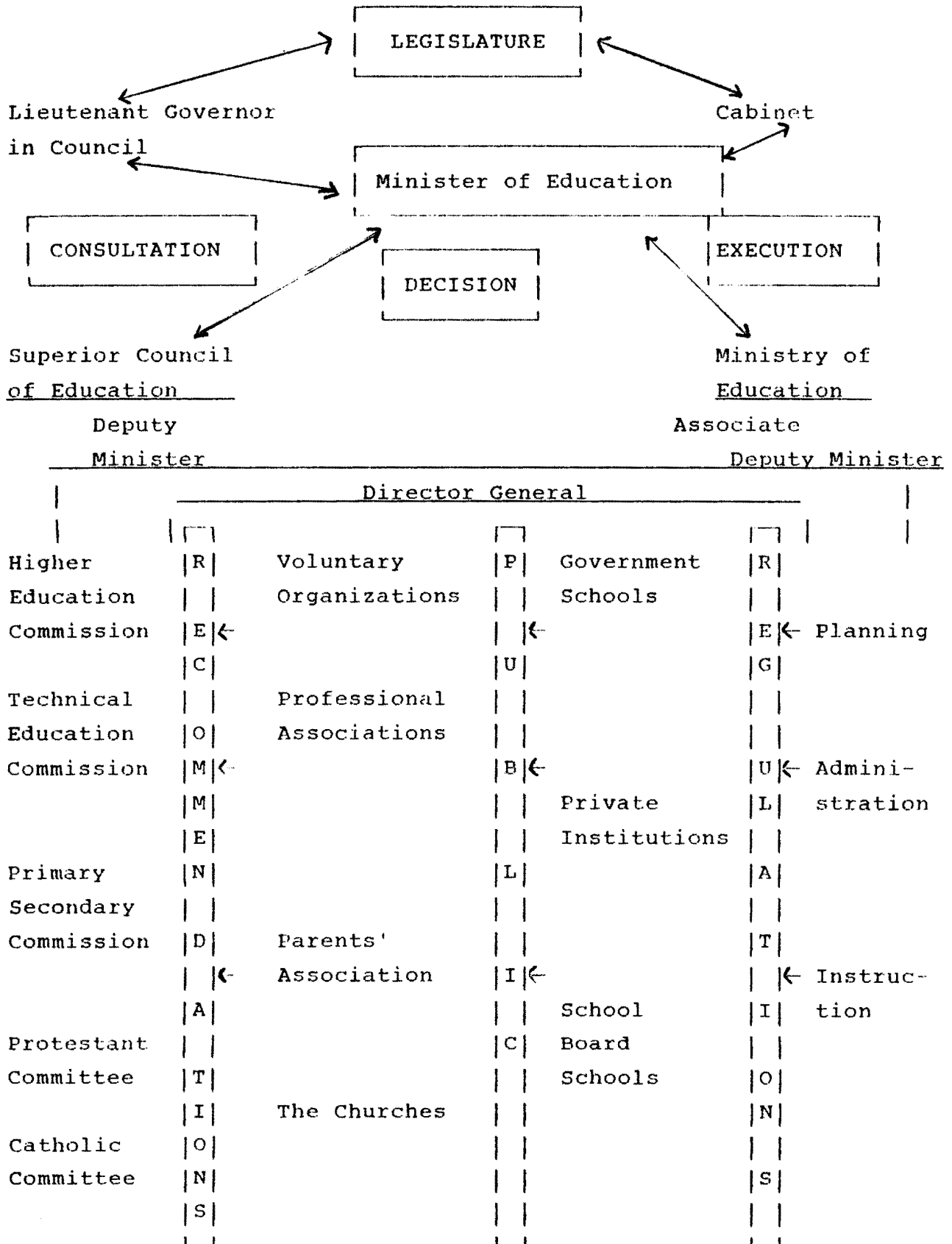


FIGURE 4.2: QUEBEC: Department of Education
(Munroe, 1974:73)

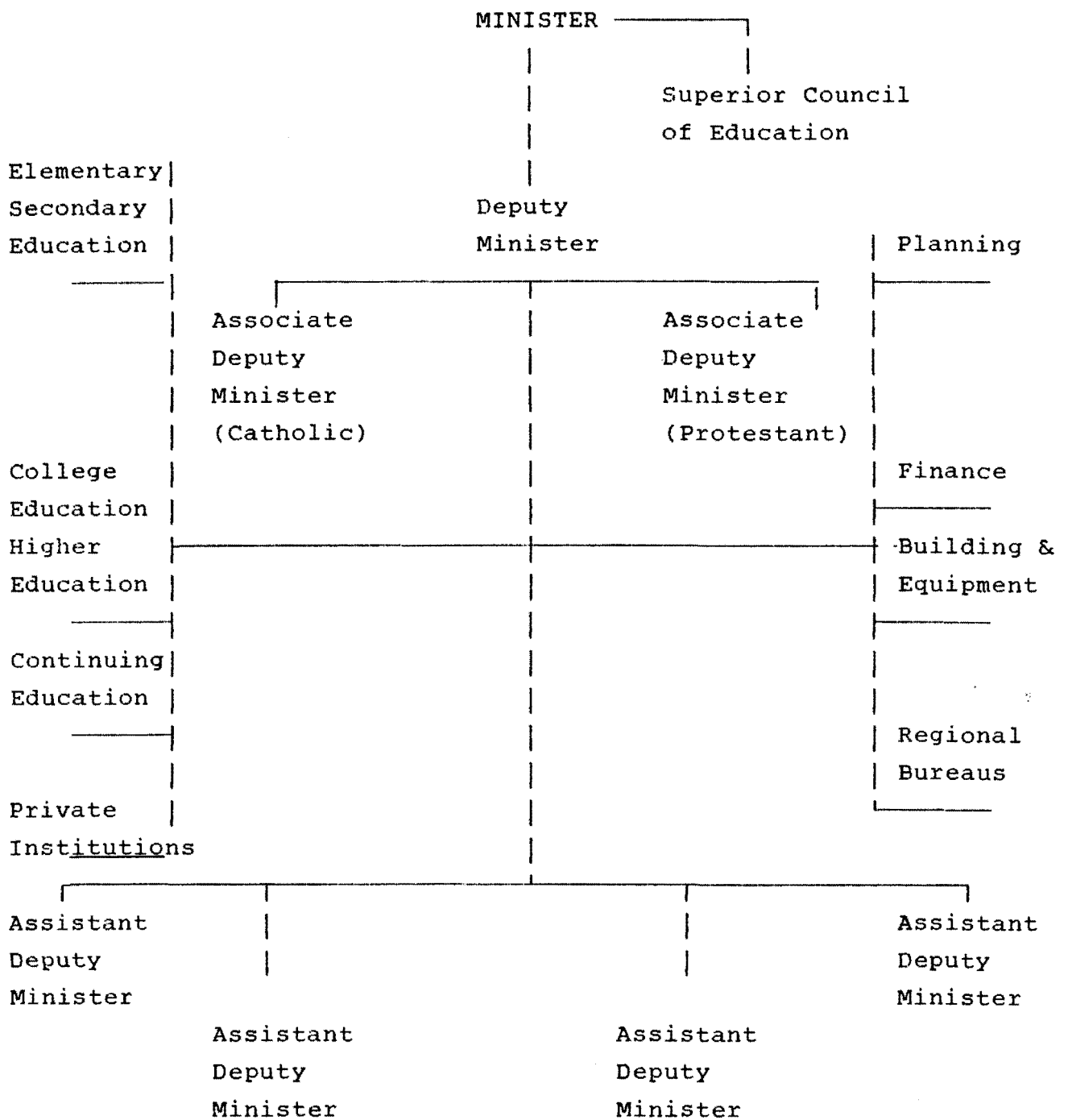


FIGURE 5.1: MANITOBA: Department of Education
(Munroe, 1974:91)

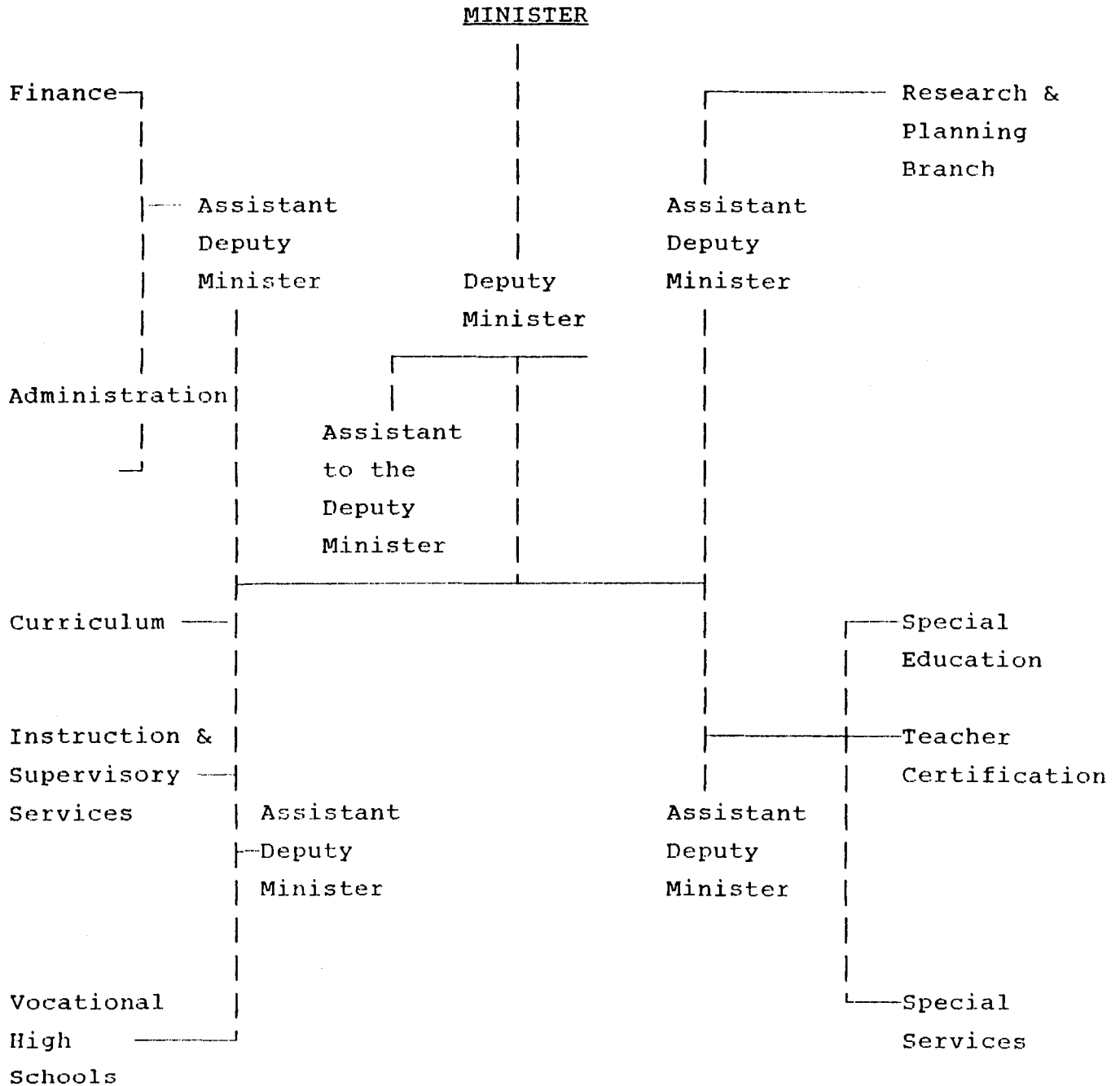


FIGURE 5.2: MANITOBA: Department of Colleges and Universities
Affairs (Munroe, 1974:93)

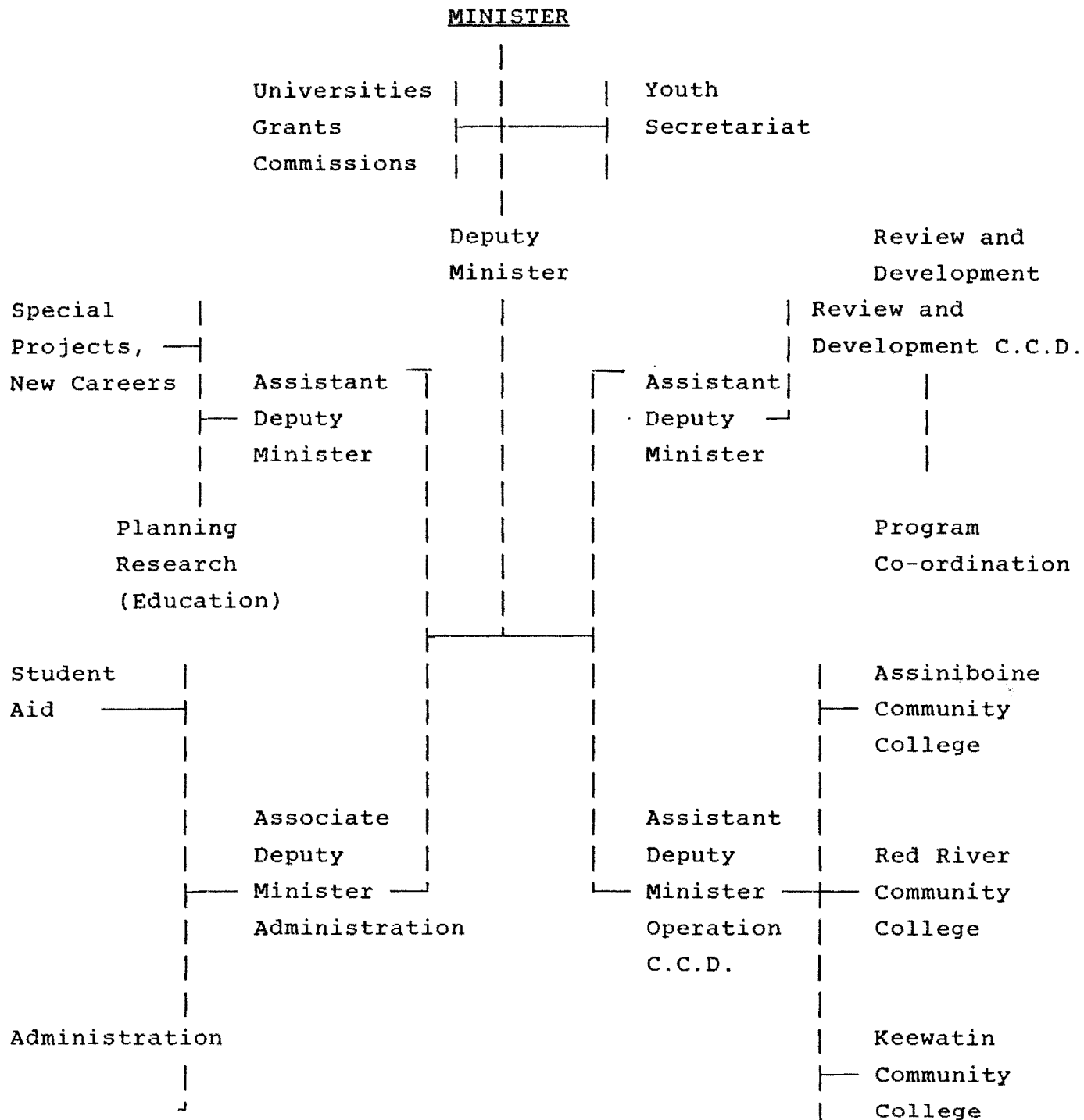


FIGURE 6: BRITISH COLUMBIA: Department of Education
(Munroe, 1974:107)

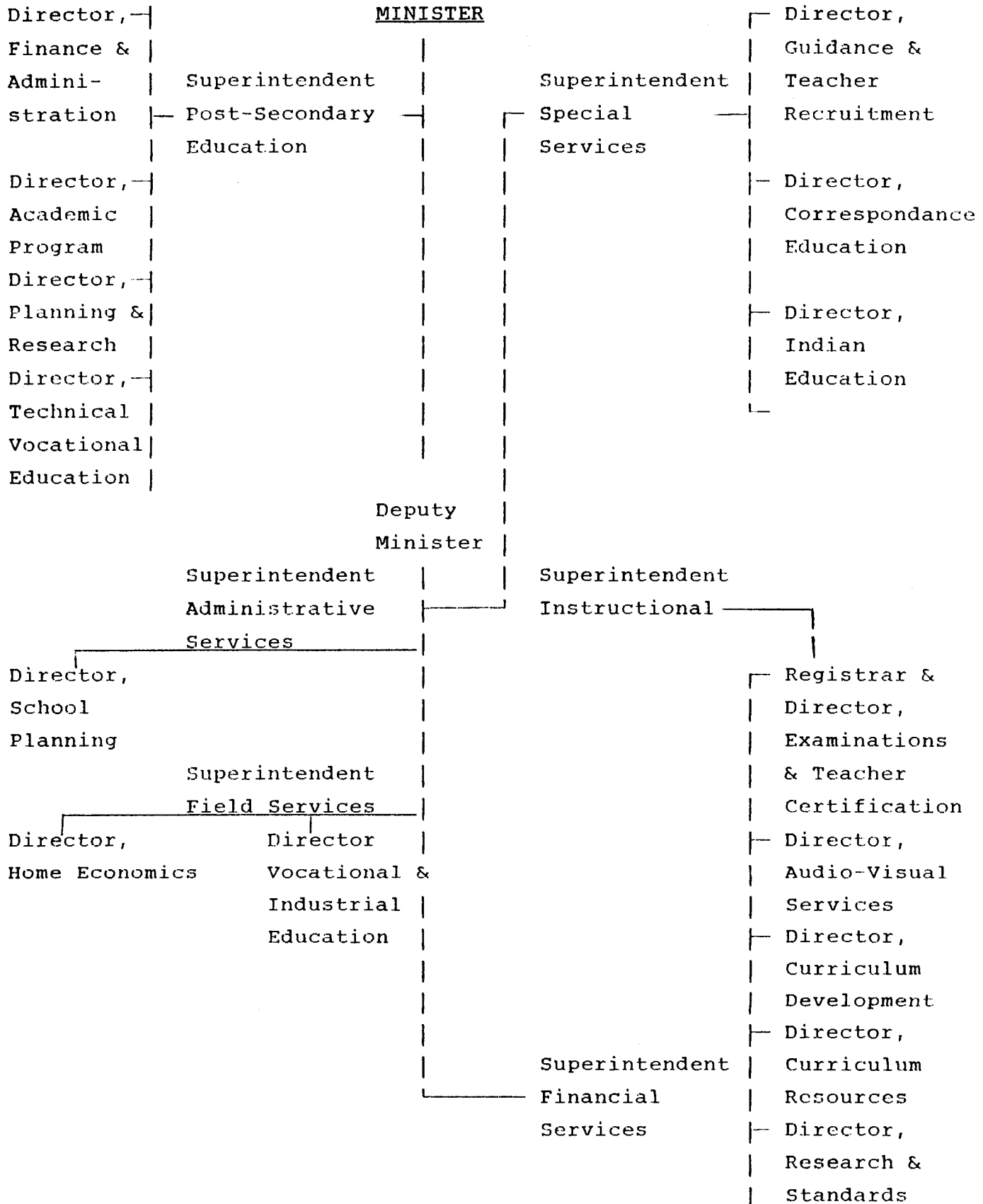


FIGURE 7: PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND: Department of Education
(Munroe, 1974:123)

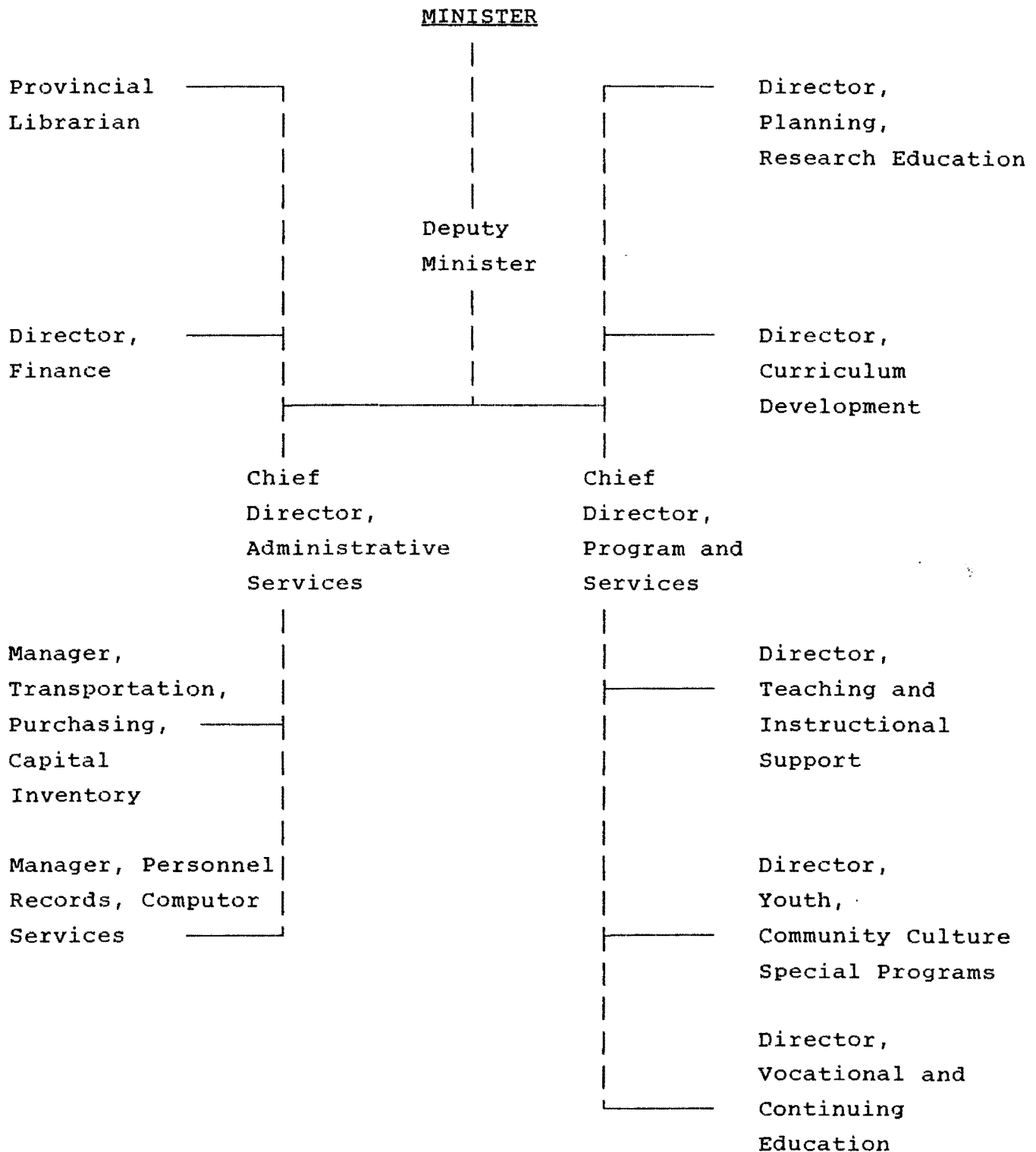


FIGURE 8.1: SASKATCHEWAN: Department of Education
(Munroe, 1974:135)

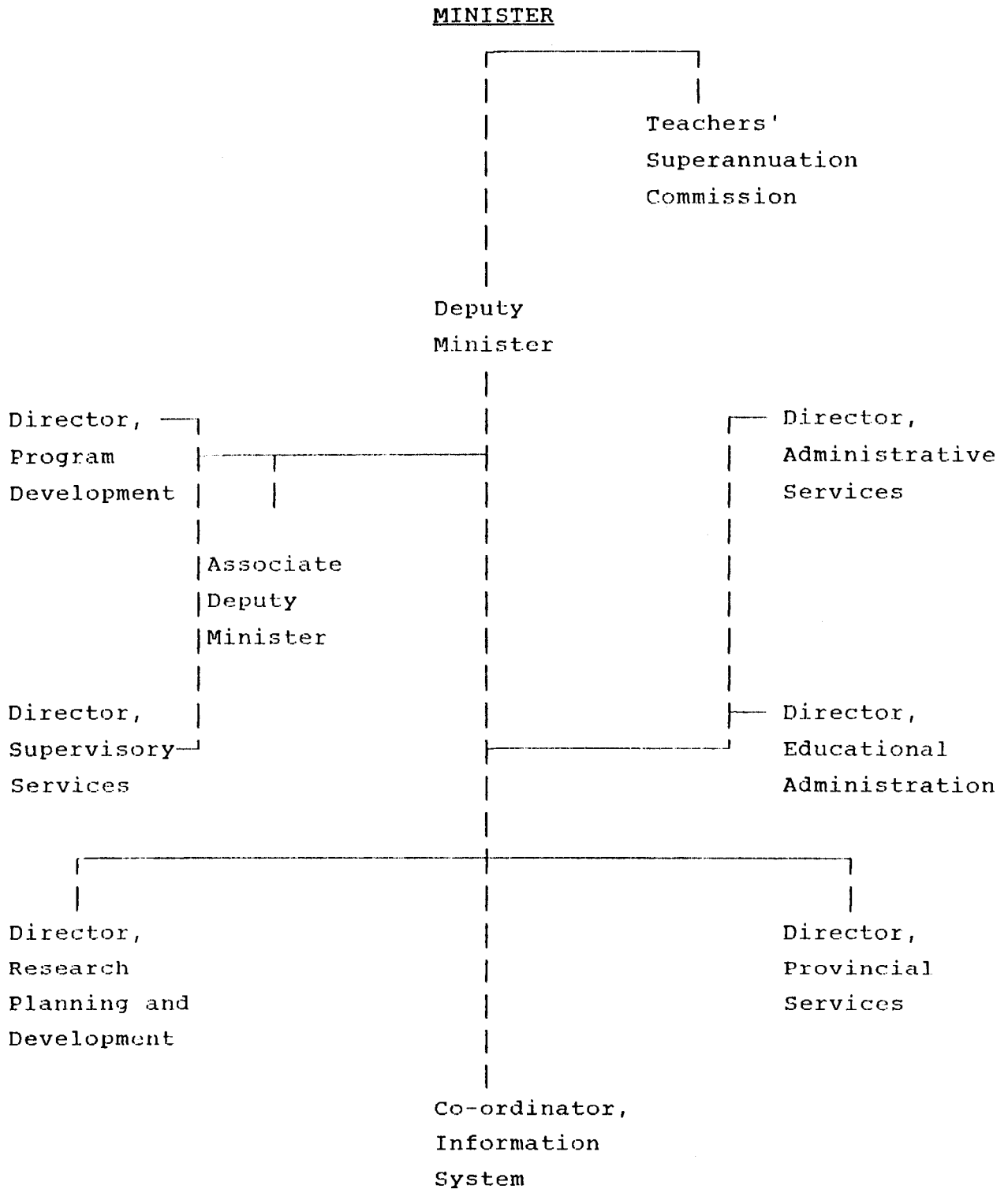


FIGURE 8.2: SASKATCHEWAN: Department of Continuing Education
(Munroe, 1974:139)

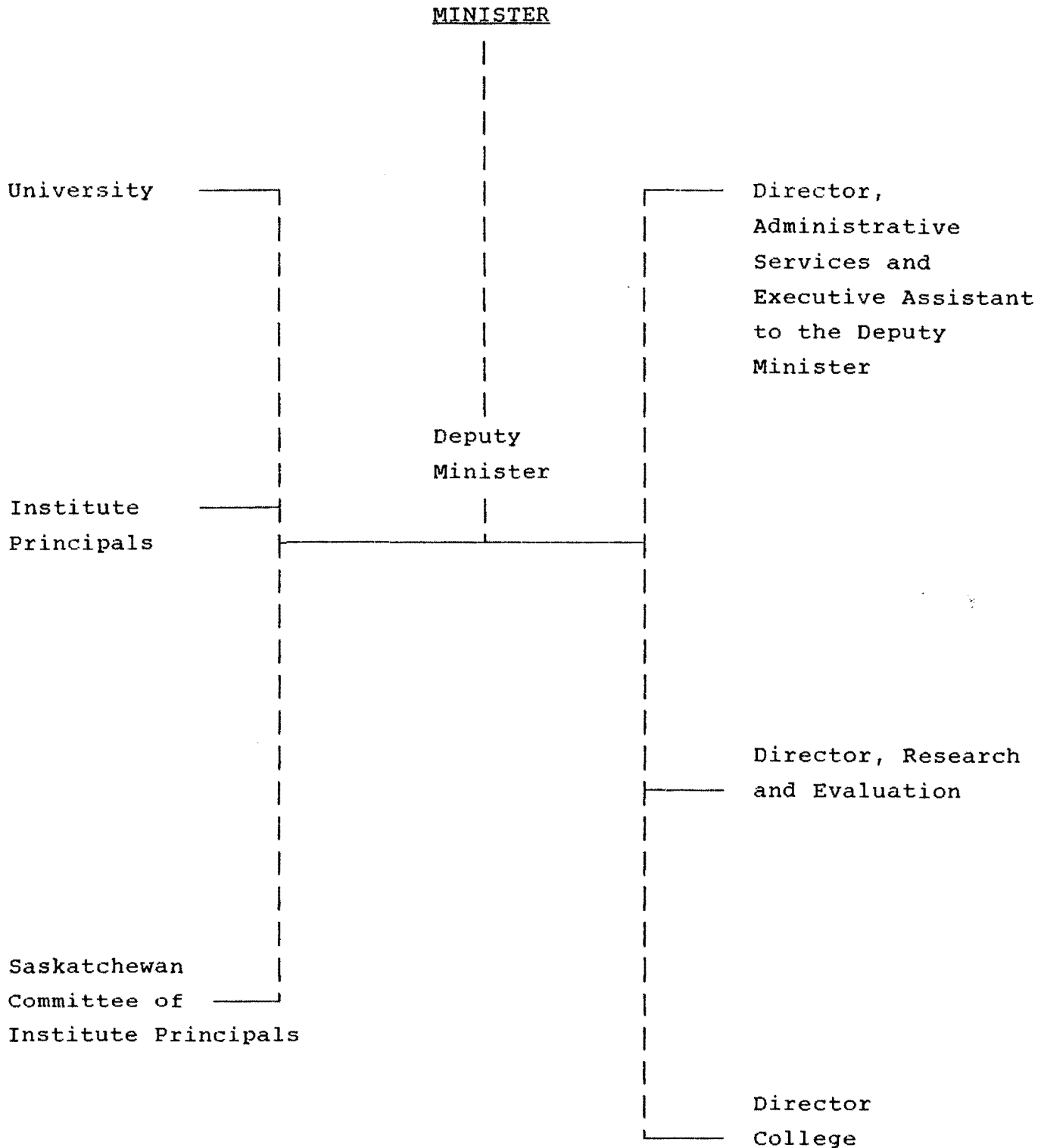


FIGURE 9.1: ALBERTA: Department of Education
(Munroe, 1974:153)

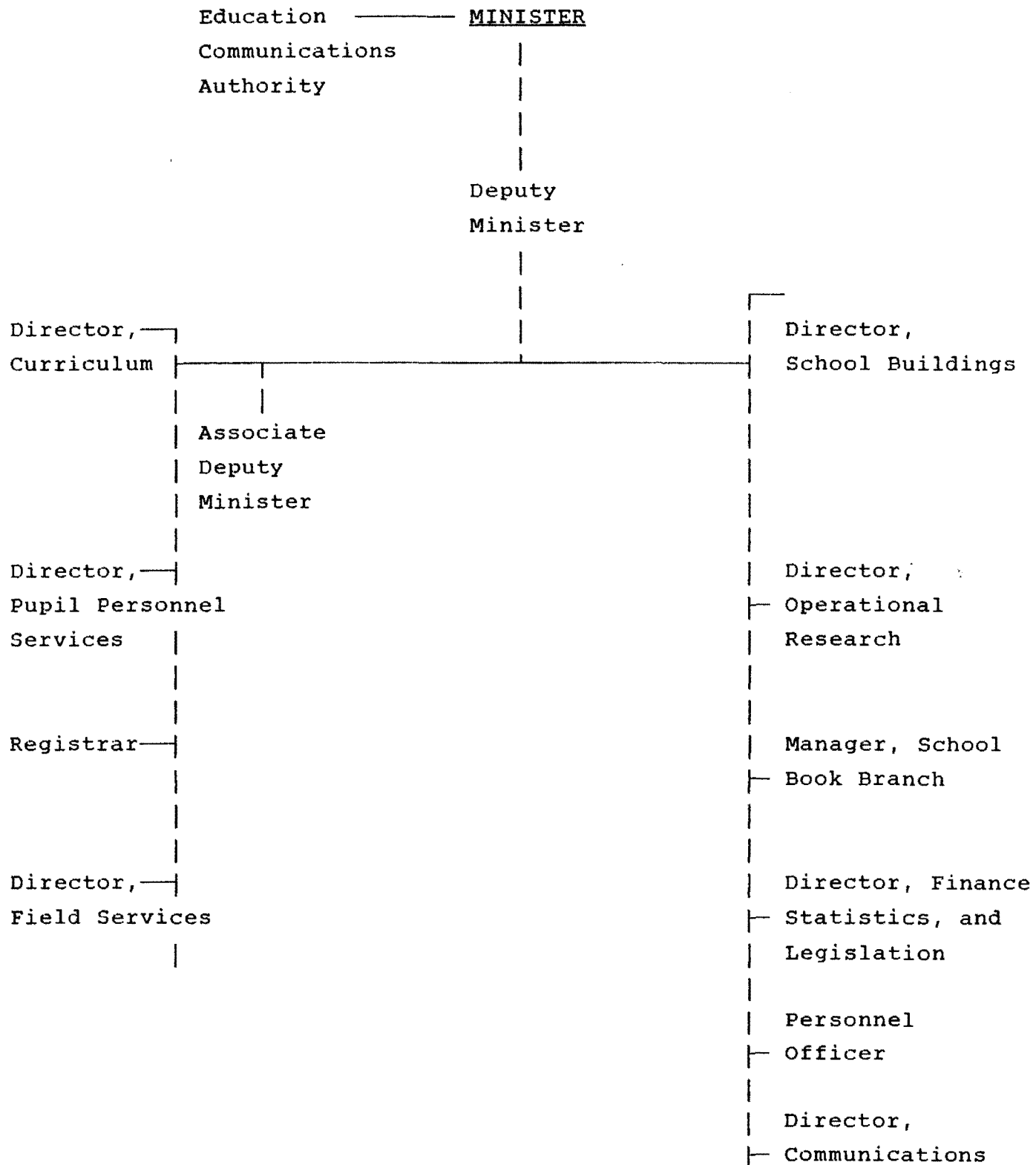


FIGURE 9.2: ALBERTA: Department of Advanced Education
(Munroe, 1974:155)

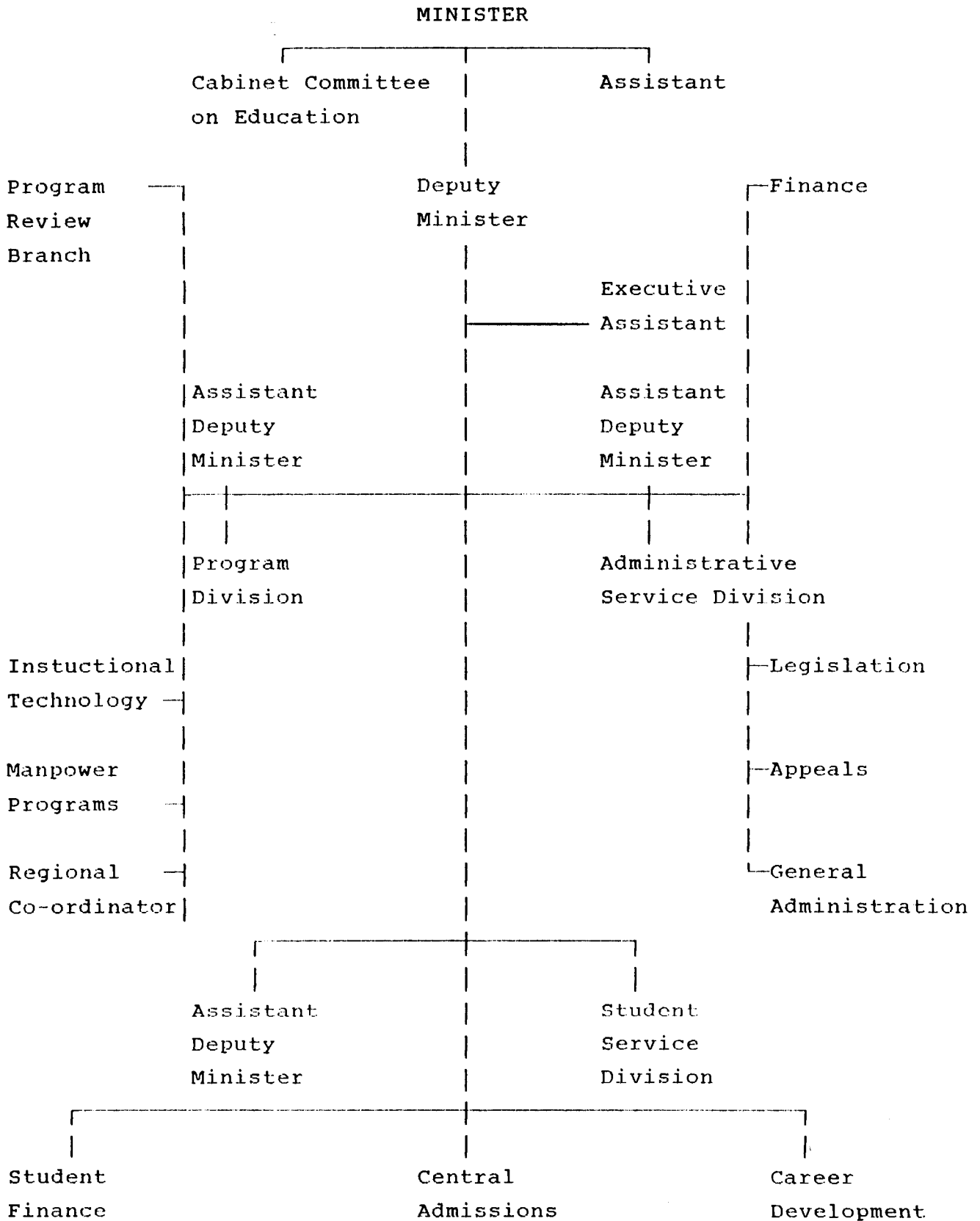
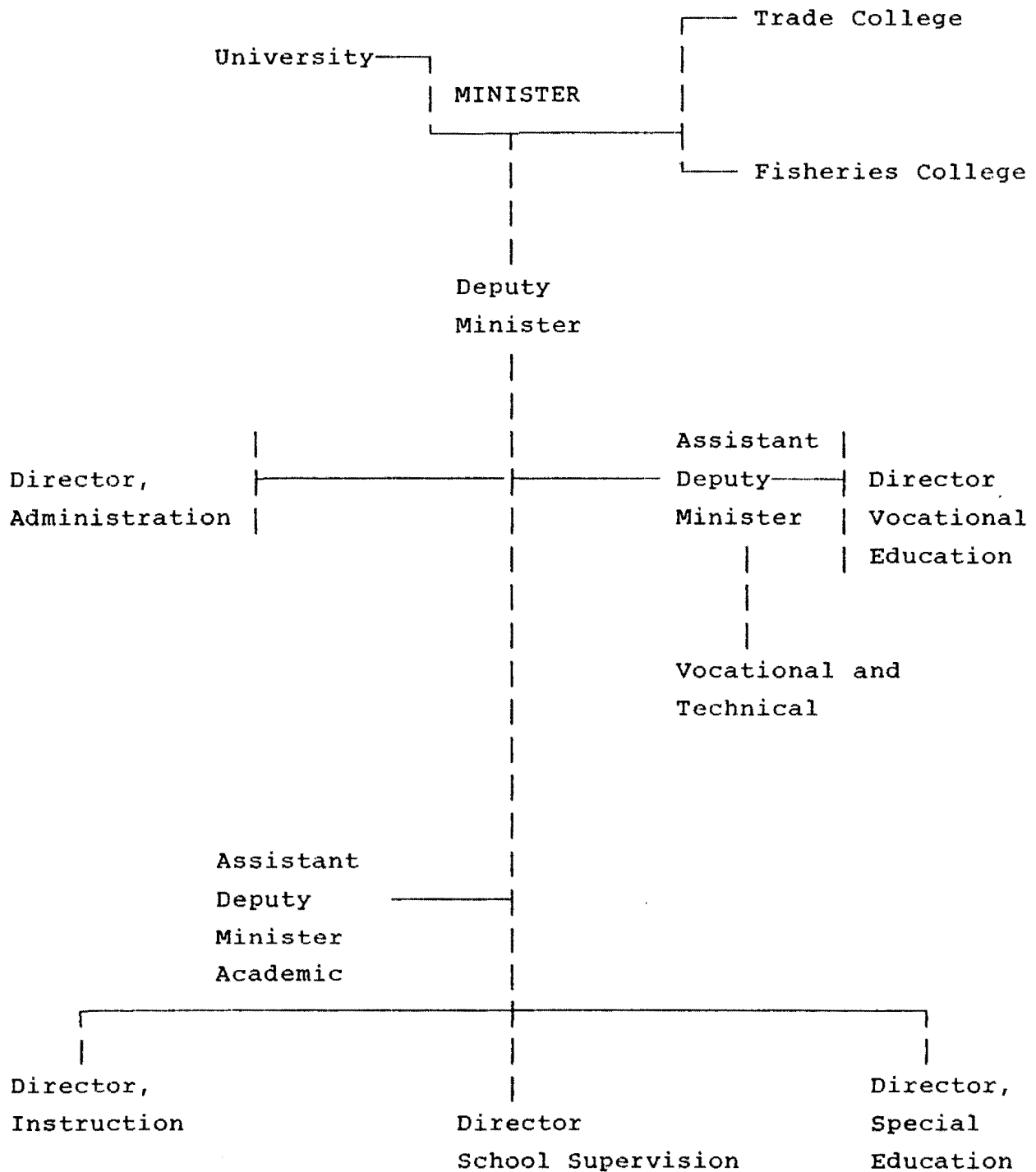


FIGURE 10: NEWFOUNDLAND: Department of Education
(Munroe, 1974:173)



APPENDIX C

SUPPLEMENT 2. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEMS

Figure 1.	Newfoundland	250
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FIGURE 1: NEW BRUNSWICK: Organisation of the School System
(Munroe, 1974:21)

AGE		YEAR OF STUDY
25	Graduate studies	20
24		19
23		18
22		17
21		16
20	Bachelor	15
19		14
18		13
17	Secondary (Senior High)	12
16		11
15		10
14	Secondary (Junior High)	9
13		8
12		7
11	Elementary	6
10		5
9		4
8		3
7		2
6		1

FIGURE 2: NOVA SCOTIA: Organization of School System
(Munroe, 1974:35)

AGE		YEAR OF STUDY
25	Graduate studies	20
24		19
23		18
22		17
21		16
20		15
19		14
18		13
	Bachelor College (Professional terminal)	
17		12
16		11
15		10
14		9
13		8
12	Secondary (Junior High)	7
11		6
10		5
9		4
8		3
7		2
6	Elementary	1
5		
	Primary	

FIGURE 3: ONTARIO: Organization of School System
(Munroe, 1974:35)

AGE		YEAR OF STUDY
25	Graduate studies	20
24		19
23		18
22		17
21		16
20	Bachelor	15
19		14
		College (Professional terminal)
18	Secondary (Senior High)	13
17		12
16		11
15		10
14		9
13	Elementary	8
12		7
11		6
10		5
9		4
8		3
7		2
6	Kindergarten	1
5		
4	Pre-Kindergarten	

FIGURE 4: QUEBEC: Organization of School System
(Munroe, 1974:75)

AGE		YEAR OF STUDY
25	Graduate studies	20
24		19
23		18
22		17
21	Bachelor	16
20		15
19		14
18	College	13
17		12
	General (Professional terminal)	
16	Secondary	11
15		10
14		9
13		8
12		7
	Elementary	
11		6
10		5
9		4
8		3
7		2
6		1
5	Kindergarten	

FIGURE 5: MANITOBA: Organization of School System
(Munroe, 1974:95)

AGE		YEAR OF STUDY
25	Graduate studies	20
24		19
23		18
22		17
21		16
20		15
19		14
18		13
	Bachelor College (Professional terminal)	
17		12
16		11
15		10
14		9
13		8
12	Secondary (Junior High)	7
11		6
10		5
9		4
8		3
7	Elementary	2
6		1
5		
4	Kindergarten	
	Nursery	

FIGURE 6: BRITISH COLUMBIA: Organization of School System
(Munroe, 1974:111)

AGE			YEAR OF STUDY
25	Graduate studies		20
24			19
23			18
22			17
21			16
20	Bachelor		15
19		College	14
18			13
17	Secondary		12
16	(Senior High)		11
15			10
14	Secondary		9
13	(Junior High)		8
12			7
11			6
10			5
9			4
8	Elementary		3
7			2
6			1
5	Kindergarten		

FIGURE 7: PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND: Organization of School System
(Munroe, 1974:125)

AGE			YEAR OF STUDY
25	Graduate studies		20
24			19
23			18
22			17
21			16
20	Bachelor		15
19		College	14
18		(Professional terminal)	13
17	Secondary		12
16			11
15			10
14			9
13	Elementary		8
12			7
11			6
10			5
9			4
8			3
7			2
6			1

FIGURE 8: SASKATCHEWAN: Organization of School System
(Munroe, 1974:141)

AGE		YEAR OF STUDY
25	Graduate studies	20
24		19
23		18
22		17
21		16
20	Bachelor	15
19		14
18		13
17	Secondary (Division 4)	12
16		11
15		10
14	Secondary (Division 3)	9
13		8
12		7
11	Elementary (Division 2)	6
10		5
9	Elementary (Division 1)	4
8		3
7		2
6		1
5	Kindergarten	

FIGURE 9: ALBERTA: Organization of School System
(Munroe, 1974:151)

AGE		YEAR OF STUDY
25	Graduate studies	20
24		19
23		18
22		17
21	Bachelor	16
20		15
19		14
18		13
17	Secondary (Senior High)	12
16		11
15	Secondary (Junior High)	10
14		9
13		8
12		7
11	Elementary	6
10		5
9		4
8		3
7		2
6		1
5	Kindergarten	

FIGURE 10: NEWFOUNDLAND: Organization of School System
(Munroe, 1974:179)

AGE			YEAR OF STUDY
25	Graduate studies		20
24			19
23			18
22			17
21			16
20	Bachelor		15
19		College	14
18		(Professional terminal)	13
17			12
16	Secondary (Senior High)		11
15			10
14			9
13			8
12			7
11	Elementary		6
10			5
9			4
8			3
7			2
6			1
5	Kindergarten		

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