THEORY, PRACTICE, POLICY, RESEARCH: CONCEPTS AND CRITERIA FOR 'LITERACY' IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1920 TO 1940

by

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ABSTRACT

Claims of falling standards of literacy have proliferated in media, scholarly, professional, government, and public dialogue. Such claims are premised on the assumption that a body of research exists which adequately describes historical standards of literacy. This thesis addresses the necessity for a more substantial research base on the attainment of literacy in British Columbia. First, a selected survey of evolving theories, practices, and policies which influenced literacy instruction, curriculum, and evaluation is undertaken. Second, assumptions underlying the conventionally-accepted definitions, practices, and social uses of literacy are considered. The focus is on the B. C. educational system from 1920 to 1940.

The analysis presented assumes that evolving historical 'paradigms' or dominant models of thought influence educational pedagogy and practice in identifiable patterns. Distinct paradigms of literacy which explicitly and implicitly stipulated conventional educational practices in late 19th and early 20th century B. C. are identified.

The influence of English and American educational theory on B. C. policy and practice is examined in an attempt to contextualize literacy-related schooling practices. Two definite historical paradigms of literacy are identified:

1. The paradigm of literacy as a 'high cultural' mode of intrinsic worth is detailed in the Classical model of education articulated by Matthew Arnold in England from 1851 to 1880.

2. The evolution of a paradigm of literacy as a set of socially utilizable skills is traced from its inception by proponants of a 'scientific', as opposed to Classical, educational model, to its subsumption by the Progressive educational model derived from the pedagogy of Dewey and others in the early 20th century United States.

The influence of 'Progressive' educational pedagogy on B. C. schools is related to the emergence of a group of educational 'practitioners' which initiated a 'modernization' of B. C. schools between the World Wars.

The institutional acceptance of Progressive tenets and the correlative paradigm of functional literacy is discussed in the contexts of the 1925 Survey of the School System, by J. H. Putman and G. Weir, the 1935 School Finance in British Columbia, by H. B. King, the 1937 New Programme of Studies for the Junior High Schools of B. C., the 1938 Survey of the Schools of the Greater Victoria Area, and contemporaneous public and educational dialogue within the educational system.

In order to demonstrate the historical polarization of 'traditional' and Progressive educators regarding legitimate literacy standards and practices in B. C., it is shown that, in recognition of the continued resistance to modernization by teachers and administrators, the Department of Education by 1938 was evaluating instruction in literacy and student per-

formance according to standards and criteria defined by the Progressive paradigm of literacy.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

I. THEORY AND RESEARCH:

PARADIGMS OF EDUCATIONAL LITERACY

INTRODUCTION

In B. C. and Canada, during the 1970's and 1980's, educators and the general public have premised dialogue on various media and government reports of a contemporary 'literacy crisis'. Pronouncements by public figures, like Canadian Chamber of Commerce chairman Hal Wyatt's comment that "Canadian schools have produced a generation of semi-literates", [1] are commonly based on a single survey or set of test results. Governmental reports like Labour Canada's Education and Working Canadians (1979), the O.E.C.D. Review of National Policies of Education (1976), and the B.C. Ministry of Education statement (1976) on performance in the B.C. educational system, allegedly provide descriptive information on the existing status of 'literacy' in Canada and British Columbia.

The Labour Canada report's claims that 20% of Canadians are 'functionally illiterate' are based on the reexamination of census figures in terms of the five years of schooling criterion noted by Verner (1964). The O.E.C.D. report stated that Canada had by far the highest percentage of its population engaged in full-time education of the countries studied, yet has five million "functional illiterates".

In B.C. in 1976, Minister of Education P. McGeer claimed that "many youngsters, some schools, and even some school

districts...have fallen below expectations" and that "weaknesses are revealed in the way students deal with the mechanics of writing", were based on the results of the 1976 Language B.C. Assessment, part of the ongoing Provincial Learning Assessment Program. McGeer concluded that this information "substantiates some of the fears that have been expressed to me regarding the direction that education has been taking in recent years. It indicates that the schools of the Province must give renewed emphasis to the teaching of basic skills." [2] As evidenced in McGeer's 1976 statement, falling levels of literacy and basic skill acquisition are a fundamental concern of those who have called for a re-mediation of present policies and practices in B.C. schools. In various educational controversies of the last decade, like the Surrey Value School debate of 1976, the development and implementation of the Core Curriculum in the mid 1970's, and the ongoing debate over the legitimacy of standardized testing, claims of 'falling standards' were premised on a belief in the capacity of researchers to explain what was considered to constitute legitimate performance in various historical periods. In fact, the necessary historical grounds and definitions for comparison are absent.

On the one hand, with respect to the data base, studies on changing literacy period over a given period of time (Copperman, 1980; Farr, Tuinman and Rowls, 1974) or, on changing literacy conventions and practices (Hogarth, 1958), have not

been undertaken in Canada.

What is considered 'literacy' now, on the other hand, is often taken as a foregone critical conclusion, as a truism like 'basic skills'. In essence, then what was considered 'literate' in educational history has not been systematically documented in Canadian educational research, other than indirectly through general (Johnson, 1964) and curricular (MacLaurin, 1935; Green, 1944; Thomson, 1972) histories. Too often this lack of research has generated a reliance on subjective sentimentalization of literacy standards of the past.

The purpose of this analysis is to identify historical contexts of literacy standards and achievement in British Columbia, and to show how these influenced both the conceptualization of 'literacy' and expectations of 'literate performance' in specific periods of B.C. educational history.

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CHAPTER 1

THE HISTORICAL BASIS OF LITERACY EVALUATION

History: Contextualizing the Assessment of Literacy

The lack of a substantial theoretical and historical frame to contextualize contemporary research confounds any attempt by educators, public officials and media to generate any coherent dialogue on the subject of an alleged literacy crisis. The central premise of the present analysis is that a comprehensive detailing of historical paradigms of literacy is necessary for the contextualization of current empirical, sociological and ethnographic studies on changing literacy performance in British Columbia and Canada. Only by attending closely to the historically generated concepts and intents of literacy instruction, can we render significant the available data on historical literacy achievement. Actual changes in student performance can then be reconsidered in terms of the changing instruction, curriculum, and evaluation of literacy.

All evaluations which claim to describe literacy performance levels operate from stated and implicit assumptions on the nature, acquisition, evaluation and use of literacy; these assumptions are evidenced in data selection criteria used by researchers/practitioners and in the interpretations of that data. The

epistemological and methodological presuppositions of these inquiries into literacy performance determine resultant data and interpretations thereof.

Although standardized tests themselves are sources of descriptive empirical information on students (objects), then, they also articulate and enforce prescriptive parameters of the domain of knowledge which the educational system (as subject) acknowledges as literate behavior. We cannot merely accept these testing instruments as verifications of their own efficiency on statistical grounds (as 'quality data'), but must critically examine the historical generation and use of the 'instrument' in terms of implicit and stated assumptions on the nature of the performance tested.

Evaluations must be viewed, that is to say, as products of given historical sensibilities which constrain and stipulate their form and content. To interpret historical data we must ascertain what was defined as legitimate means by which literacy as educational knowledge was transmitted by the school, acquired by the learner and utilized in the social domain.

The literacy criteria of the educational system are codified in the evaluational instruments with which that system evaluates itself and its students.

Concepts of literacy which claim universality and atemporality, like historical explanations of literacy as decorum in literature and language or 'correct' grammatical expression,

are, in fact, representative moments in an ongoing history of the conceptualization and transmission of literacy; because such definitions are static they deny their own historical basis. Consensually derived definitions on the nature of literacy that the 'average', 'cultured' or 'functional' individual should acquire, fail to address the control and stipulation of acceptable levels of literacy in the class and social codes of schooling (Bernstein, 1972; Apple and Wexler, 1978). That which practitioners (educators, administrators, researchers, psychologists) acknowledge as legitimated 'literate behavior' has varied according to historical context and social determinants.

Research on literacy in a Canadian social and historical context, however, has focused on specialized concerns of adult basic education (Thomas, 1976; Dickenson, 1978; Cairns, 1979; Verner, 1964) and Canadian participation in the advancement of international literacy (the Canadian educational journal Convergence). The conventional tendency is to define levels of literacy in terms of "median years of school completed for various population groups". [1] Yet grade-level achievement is an inadequately framed concept of literacy; the nature and quality of literacy that the learner in a given grade-level could be expected to possess is only meaningful if correlated with changes in historical practices and expectations of the school and society. The significant differences in schooling practices, theory and policy regarding literacy between, for example, 1920

and 1940, call into question any longitudinally based conclusions on changing student literacy which are drawn from grade-level achievement statistics. Consequently, it is imperative to reexamine literacy in terms of the standards and expectations set out in practical schooling documents and apparatuses.

Recent articles have attempted to theoretically frame the issue of literacy as a Canadian educational concern (Tuinman, 1979; deCastell, et al., 1980) and, thereby, provide a conceptual basis and practical agenda for literacy-related research in Canada. The intent of this work has been to reconsider literacy criteria and performance as context-dependent, and to assert that it is impossible to view literacy in a Canadian cultural and economic context if literacy is assumed to be an ahistorical, static, consensually shared goal. The conception of literacy as of universal value, in-and-for itself, fails to acknowledge historical change in the institutional structures developed for the conceptualization (theory, policy), transmission and use (practice) of literacy. In these studies, literacy has been defined as "contextual" and "situational" in an effort to explicate the necessary relationship of literacy to the specific social and historical matrix within which it occurs.

Proposed in this analysis, then, is the identification of two distinct types of educational literacy: the high cultural and the functional.

This analysis identifies the criteria and standards utilized by the educational system to evaluate: a) the quality of student literacy and, b) the existing capacity of schools and teachers to transmit that literacy. Various institutional mechanisms which articulate these evaluative expectations are discussed (i.e. test instruments, accreditation reports, school inspections, formal examinations). Specific professional sub-groups (counsellors, educational psychologists, school accreditors, Departmental inspectors, examination markers) will be shown to play a major role in validating and legitimating these standards and criteria into enforced codes and rule systems.

To demonstrate the existence of two distinct types of educational literacy will require also the analysis of evaluational instruments (Provincial Surveys, District Accreditations and assessments of student performance) to show how these embody conventionally accepted assumptions on: the nature and standards of literacy and, the efficiency of historical genres of tests and examinations in measuring literate performance.

The analysis of selected documents from B.C. educational history undertaken here, moreover identifies and explains a paradigm shift from the Classical to the Progressive educational model, during the period from 1920-1940. This shift informed and influenced the history of literacy-related instruction and evaluation in B.C. The change in educational theory, policy and practice will be seen to have occurred in three distinct

stages: 1) the acceptance of the use of psychologically based measurement as the principal means of meeting pedagogical ends, 2) the subsequent scientific refutation of 'high cultural' educational practices and, 3) the resulting modern reconstruction of literacy and education as scientifically mediated 'experiences'.

Method: Contextualizing Educational History

In the foregoing discussion, the need to historically contextualize concepts and criteria of literacy was stressed. But this contextualization presupposes a definite view of historical educational change. The educational historian, like the educational practitioner, is confronted with a variety of foundational 'world views' with which to select, and methodology with which to interpret historical data.

The writing of educational history is dependent, therefore, upon the presuppositions of the inquirer regarding: 1) the nature of the object of inquiry (education, schooling), 2) the relationship of that object to the macrocosmic system within which it exists (society), and 3) the appropriate method with which to apprehend the object and its relationships.

In "The Writing of British Columbia History", Allan Smith (1980) explains that B.C. historians frequently neglected to frame their research methodologically because of their historical and geographical proximity to the object of inquiry. The

twenty year period of British Columbia educational history between the World Wars has been examined by several historians (Green, 1944; Johnson, 1964; Thomson, 1972). These inquirers tacitly created 'neutral' educational history, treating schooling as an entity which developed autonomously from social and historical contexts. A parallel criticism of methodological naivete in educational history writing is made by Alison Prentice (1977) who comments that in dealing with the history of public schools, the tendency of historians has been "to take what might be called an 'evolutionary' approach to the subject... (which)...has sometimes obscured our understanding of the events in question". [2]

The avoidance of these two methodological pitfalls in the writing of educational history, therefore, is of major concern in the present work. The study of education as a 'closed' disciplinary field denies the necessary relationship of that field to the social macrocosm. In the present inquiry, philosophic,scientific, literary, social and political history have been integrated to identify cross-temporal mutually informing historical events and discourses.

The study of educational change as 'cumulative process' or as 'evolutionary' blinds us to the possible operation of qualitatively different concepts and criteria of literacy in B.C. educational history. In this inquiry, distinctive differences between two substantive educational phenomena are explicated:

testing as an evaluative mechanism within the educational system, and literacy as an educational objective, practice, and issue. In this analysis, the phenomenon of change within the structure of the educational system -- as well as the relationship of that structure to social and disciplinary histories -- will be analyzed using Thomas Kuhn's conception of evolving disciplinary paradigms.

In The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (1962), Kuhn argues that scientific knowledge and method develop according to definitive historical patterns; each 'innovation' undergoes a pattern of institutional acceptance and regeneration -- ultimately stipulating methodological, epistemological, and teleological assumptions for a community of inquirers. Kuhn describes the process by which a new scientific theory evolves into a world view, 'capturing' groups of practitioners and reconstructing attendant disciplinary discourses and institutional apparatuses.

In the two decades since the publication of The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, Kuhn's theory has become a paradigmatic explanation in itself, selectively modified to explain historical change in the social sciences and humanities. Several educational sociologists (Whitty, 1977; Young, 1972; Esland, 1972) have outlined both the limitations and advantages of the use of Kuhn's theory of the evolution of the 'normal' (biological and natural) sciences for the explanation of

educational change.

For Kuhn's intention was to explain the process of innovation within the physical sciences -- neither to explain institutional (sociological) change nor to outline the definitive relationship of the individual to institutional or disciplinary change. His intent was to detail the structure of change within a particular group of sciences rather than to focus on relationships of such change to macrocosmic social or institutional reality.

If indeed changes in educational theory and practice are necessarily related to social and disciplinary contexts, as has been argued here, Kuhn's explanation of internal structural change in the normal sciences itself inadequately addresses the issue of cross-disciplinary or social determinants of educational change.

While Kuhn provides invaluable language and concepts for a concrete analysis of educational change, his theory would require comprehensive modifications in order to explain transformations in a necessarily socially constrained field of educational theory, policy and practice.

Such modification extends beyond the scope of this thesis, however -- paradigm theory is employed here as a useful heuristic for explaining the assimilation and transformation of methodological innovation by groups of practitioners bound by disciplinary codes and institutional relationships. Kuhn's

concept of a structural disciplinary paradigm elucidates the manner in which educational theoretical models come to regulate and legitimate educational policies and practices. The introduction of methodologies into a disciplinary corpus of knowledge involves the comprehensive reframing of legitimated discourses, practices and concepts in accordance with a dominant or preeminent overview. According to Kuhn, paradigms (like educational models) restructure the conception of aims, methods and apparatuses, providing an integrative world view (sensibility) consensually shared by a group of practitioners/inquirers.

Consequently, Kuhnian theory, in spite of its inability to account for the problematic relationship of the individual human subject or event to explicitly social circumstances of generation which give rise to change in social (as opposed to normal) sciences -- enables us to frame the structure of educational change in terms of the institutional transformation of aims, methods, and content. This inquiry, therefore, is premised on the 'transfer' of aspects of paradigm theory from the explanation of scientific change to the analysis of educational change. Insofar as education embodies a "plausibility structure" (Berger, 1970) which controls and regulates practitioners' assumptions, methods and discourses, the structure of educational change is at least partially analogous to the structure of scientific change.

For the present, then, I have selected those aspects of

Kuhnian paradigm theory which help to explain the institutionalization and formal codification of theoretical models. Part I of this analysis establishes two historically dominant educational paradigms, the Classical and the Progressive, which influenced 19th and 20th century B.C. schooling. It is contended that early 20th century socio-economic reorganization undermined the legitimacy of the traditional educational model. It is shown how scientific method established itself as a preeminent mode of thought, necessitating reconsideration and eventual supersession of the prior paradigm of Classical education.

Part II of this study outlines the development of a 'modern' paradigm of educational literacy in the early 20th century. A survey of changing policies and practices regarding the evaluation and instruction of literacy is undertaken, and the historical bases of contemporary literacy instruction and evaluation are identified.

Educational 'Paradigms'

The development of measurement of the individual from a 'psychological' method into an educational practice began in late 19th century England and the United States. Testing became a central component of a new educational paradigm. The development of intelligence and achievement measurement from a psychological disciplinary methodology into a cross disciplinary 'world view' reflected an historical reconsideration

of the individual as a distinct measurable object. The acceptance of scientific methodology as the most 'appropriate' and credible means of assessing the individual will be shown to be related to the redefinition of concepts of literacy corresponding to the 'Progressive' paradigm of language acquisition and use.

The historical evolution of testing and of literacy concepts thus reflects changes in disciplinary 'paradigms'. The growth of the mental measurement model from Galton's preliminary 19th century theories to its current status as a corporate industry[3] indicates a gradual, yet total, acceptance of testing as a diagnostic method and evaluative criterion for institutional policy and practice. The attitude towards literacy implicit in the human measurement model -- that aspects or modes of literate behavior can be quantitatively measured towards the end of qualitative judgement -- directly contradicted the critical mode of intrinsic evaluation which characterized the 'high literacy' Classical educational paradigm.

Yet how do historical events, like the institutionalization of modern scientific pedagogy in schooling, redefine the schematic models with which practitioner organize and mediate knowledge? In order for us to understand the influence of a shift in methodological paradigms of schooling practice, history must be assessed as more than a linear accumulative repository for anecdote and chronology.

Frederic Jameson (1972) writes that the accumulative view of history emphasizes "the individual fact or item at the expense of the network of relationships in which the item may be embedded". [4] Such a view is conducive to the formation of judgements about objects and events in isolation from their historical and social contexts. If historical developments in psychological and pedagogical 'fields' are to be understood as a system of intercorrelations rather than of causal relationships, an adequate explanation of the structure of cross-disciplinary change is necessary. Kuhn's explanation of change as a succession of historically evolving models frames the manner in which one pedagogical model replaces a prior 'world view'.

According to this explanation, a historical paradigm is characterized by a set of assumptions on the nature of what exists, and the methods and criteria for obtaining a systematic knowledge of that which exists. Paradigms evolve standards or legitimated codes, shared by a body of inquirers, which set parameters of acceptability for discourse, concept, theory, method, and instrument. Kuhn suggests that rules "derive from paradigms, but paradigms can guide research even in the absence of rules." [5] Paradigms are shared bodies of implicit rules, assumptions, and points of view, aspects of which Polanyi (1958) has identified as "tacit" knowledge derived unconsciously from practice. [6] Thus, paradigms are coded bodies of knowledge which explicitly and implicitly constitute 'normal' science by

specifying parameters of acceptability and validity of method in research.

As a paradigm emerges, practitioner concern with appropriateness of method generates reconsideration of prior disciplinary epistemological assumptions:

> Effective research scarcely begins before a scientific community thinks it has acquired firm answers to questions like the following: What are the fundamental entities of which the universe is composed? How do these interact with each other and the senses? What questions may legitimately be asked about such entities and what techniques employed in seeking solutions? [7]

Paradigms may determine world view on this rudimentary epistemic level, influencing the very manner in which an historical group of practitioners sees and organizes reality. R.C. Anderson (1977), in his work on schema theory and reading comprehension, hypothesizes that the collective paradigm, the historical Zeitgeist, is utilized in the organization and interpretation of perception and knowledge by the human subject.

Kuhn explains that "personal and historical accident" [8] may determine the emergence of a paradigm. Indeed, much of the history of the introduction of standardized testing on a universal basis in B.C. schools from 1946 to 1973 could be analyzed as a series of individualistic decisions on the part of one man, C.B. Conway, Director of Research and Standards for the Department of Education. Yet paradigms both prescribe and subsume individual action. Methodologies evolve from their application to a recognized disciplinary problem into universal means for

determining the choice of subject and problem (ontology and epistemology), and for determining the ends of inquiry itself (teleology).

'New' paradigms historically emerge as methodological or theoretical means towards the solution of a given conventional anomaly, which, framed by and for the previous paradigm, defies the customary methodology. In this sense, paradigms gain pre-eminent status because "they are more successful than their competitors in solving a few problems that the group of practitioners has come to recognize as acute." [9]

Kuhn explains that in the seminal stage of its development from method into world view, a paradigm must embody an 'openness': "The success of a paradigm -- whether Aristotle's analysis of motion...or Maxwell's mathematization of the electromagnetic field -- is at the start largely a promise of success discoverable in selected and still incomplete examples." [10] The aforementioned solution of a scientific disciplinary anomaly must be sufficiently conventional to attract a body of adherents of the existing disciplinary code, yet also must be sufficiently radical in methodology to "leave all sorts of problems for the redefined group of practitioners to resolve." [11] According to this pattern, a 'successful' paradigm supersedes simple methodological status -- transforming it into its own object -- and, thereby, generates questions about its perfectibility and refinement as methodology. Simultaneously, the

paradigmatic method legitimates the study of objects previously considered illegitimate, or not considered at all. In this manner, a paradigm must embody a structural openendedness in order to establish its preeminence and to continually reformulate and reproduce a "synthesis able to attract the next generation of practitioners." [12]

In order to continually reformulate its disciplinary body of knowledge and to survive as a set of legitimate institutional/academic apparatuses, a given paradigm must maintain structurally and pragmatically the ability to rennovate its codes of 'acceptibility' for inquiry and method. 'Closure' of the system can occur with the formation of a monopoly on epistemology and methodology. Like its predecessor, the paradigm (qua preeminent formal discipline) can select against inquiries and problems as "metaphysical, as the concern of another discipline, or sometimes as just too problematic to be worth the time." [13] Consequently, a paradigm can effectively isolate its practitioners from "those socially important problems that are not reducible to the puzzle form, because they cannot be stated in terms of the conceptual and instrumental tools the paradigm supplies." [14] (my underline) To habitually impose the paradigm's solutions to a range of conventional anomalies can result in the disconfirmation of existent (social) elements of these anomalies. The present analysis explains how the historical application of an empirical/scientific methodology to a set of social and educational problems legitimated and prescribed a methodological template ("puzzle form") to solve and interpret educational problems.

With the redefinition of contemporary discourses and methods, a paradigm asserts an initially innovative yet progressively more rigid definition of the field. Herein is the necessary structural quality which ossifies the paradigm itself. The initial burst of disciplinary activity generated by the new paradigm is codified into a body of acceptable disciplinary knowledge -- a set of thresholds, parameters, and limitations which legitimates some discourses and practices, and supersedes and rejects others. Thus, the boundaries of paradigmatic knowledge can generate constraining and prescriptive limits rather than the continued extension and reformulation of knowledge of the 'normal science' in question. This evolution of methodological innovation into methodological convention forces "those unwilling and unable to accomodate their work to it... (to) proceed in isolation or attach themselves to some other group." [15]

Thus, historical paradigms which were founded on their own divergence from convention can become conventional upon loss of initial divergence, re-mediating disciplinary codes of legitimation. Subsequently, Kuhn suggests that paradigms are invalidated and may be superseded by "one of the pre-paradigm schools which, because, of its own characteristic beliefs and preconceptions, emphasized only some special part of the too sizeable and incohate pool of information". [16] It is the 'particularity' of methodological focus on an existing disciplinary problem that

gives rise to the paradigm. Yet once the paradigm acquires the ontological status of universally applicable theory and methodology, it is, in turn, superseded by other models. As in its own genesis, a paradigm is subsumed when it is unable to resolve anomalies generated from within that paradigm's own theoretical framework.

A paradigmatic methodology, then, legitimates and potentially monopolizes a given field. Several contemporary sociologists, Bernstein (1972), Rose (1979), Young (1972), recognize that the very standards and boundaries which legitimate institutional disciplinary knowledge (scientific and non-scientific) are implied in linguistic and socio-cultural codes; a disciplinary paradigm can alter these codes, generating a reconsideration of traditional methodological assumptions and codes of other disciplines. Frederic Jameson (1972), explains this cross-disciplinary influence:

> The history of thought is the history of its models...Some of the objects or systems which, first used to organize our understanding of the natural world, have then been called upon to illuminate human reality.
>
> The lifetime of any given model knows a fairly predictable rhythm. Initially, the new concept releases quantities of new energies, permits hosts of new perceptions and discoveries, causes a whole dimension of new problems to come into view, which result in...new work and research. Throughout this initial stage the model itself remains stable, for the most part serving as a medium through which a new view of the universe may be obtained and catalogued. In the declining years of the model's history, a proportionately greater amount of time in bringing it back into line with the object of

> study...finding itself vexed by the false problems and dilemmas into which the inadequacy of the model seems increasingly to lead it.
>
> At length the model is exchanged for a new one. This momentous event has been described as ...a kind of 'mutation' (itself an excellent example of the metaphoric application of one model to a wholly different field of study). [17]

For Jameson, the evolution of a model into a paradigmatic world view restipulates the boundaries of disciplinary knowledge. The historical influence of psychology (qua foundational discipline) upon educational theory and practice exemplifies this process whereby a scientific paradigm binds and rennovates previously differentiated disciplinary codes. As Jameson notes, the application of a disciplinary methodology to a previously segregated 'other' disciplinary anomaly initially involves a "metaphoric" explanation. If the existing disciplinary problem is adequately solved, this metaphor can begin to inform a distinct cross-disciplinary method. For example, B.C. Minister of Education G. Weir's 1938 mandate for a scientific "examination", "remediation", and "diagnosis" of the Greater Victoria schools (Gray, Mackenzie; 1938) was a self-conscious cross-disciplinary application of metaphor/methodology. The application of the code of one paradigmatic model to a previously distinct 'field' was thus exemplified in the introduction of modern sciences of psychology and pedagogy into the British Columbia educational system during the 1920's and 1930's.

In summary, a dominant paradigm (e.g. the Classical or

Progressive educational models) can, for a finite historical period, stipulate virtually all educational theory, policy and practice; a legitimated theory is operationalized, objectified, and identified in institutional codes and rule systems, as well as in tacit or unacknowledged systemic constraints.

In early 20th century Canada and the United States, the paradigm of psychological sciences redefined education and other 'social' fields as scientific, rather than ethical or aesthetic domains. Canadian institutional structure underwent 'scientific' reconstruction of methods and practices (Lowe, 1980). Canadian schools gradually implemented the policies and practices of scientific pedagogy; literacy curriculum, instruction and evaluation in B.C. reflected a major paradigm shift from the Classical to the Progressive/Scientific models. A 'paradigm of literacy' emerged to redefine educational aims in terms of the acquisition of 'functional' work and life skills. In essence, the advent of scientific pedagogy (i.e. efficient management and instruction, standardized testing for selection and guidance) historically coincided with the redefinition of literacy in terms of social use.

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CHAPTER 2

CLASSICISM AND SCIENTICSM IN 19th CENTURY ENGLAND

Within an educational paradigm, a dominant foundational methodology may stipulate a 'conventional' sense of shared ends. The paradigm shift occurring in the 1930's in British Columbia pedagogy polarized prior and contemporary standards and criteria of educational practice. The 'high cultural' literacy of traditional schooling was superseded by a socially purposive educational literacy based upon assumptions regarding 1) the validity of individual experience and, 2) the capacity of scientific methodology to facilitate the assessment and instruction of the individual.

In 19th and early 20th century Canada, England and the United States, proponents of Classical and scientific pedagogies debated the nature and aims of education. As early as 1861,defenders of Classical curriculum and traditional instruction objected to specific schooling practices which assumed that educational knowledge, and human development itself, were the scientific objects of empirical inquiry. Classicists Matthew Arnold and John Henry Newman considered literacy (qua literary text) a phenomenon of intrinsic value, of inherent cultural worth. Critics of the Classical model, like T. H. Huxley and J. S. Mill, subjected educational practice to systematic scientific scrutiny; they conceived of education (and literacy) as

entities of extrinsic social and scientific value. T. H. Huxley's skepticism of the pursuit of literary, cultural, and aesthetic worth in-and-for itself would be shared by Dewey and other 20th century North American Progressive pedagogues. While Classicists did not altogether disavow the social worth of literacy -- they subordinated the 'practical function' of literacy to the recognition of intrinsic worth.

In Victorian England, the Revised Code of 1861 proposed the introduction of universal testing of students to assure the acquisition of minimum skills. Subjective by modern standards (E.L. Thorndike, 1910), these minimum competency instruments usurped the authority and expertise of the archetypal school inspector, transforming the inspector's role from that of conoisseur/expert to that of administrator/marker (and later, statistician, manager, and psychologist). Practitioner labour was redivided and redefined. In light of the Victoria legitimation of senior (accumulated) knowledge as institutional authority, this use of a 'mechanical' evaluation (the exam/test) to determine the continued financial existence of the school and teacher, redefined basic relationships of educational 'power'.

These competency examinations resulted from the perceived inability of an operational yet "blurred" (Kuhn, 1962) Classical educational paradigm to address social needs (increased 'functional' skill levels). The 1861 Revised Code was known as "payment by results" because it was a component of a system whereby

the funding of schools would be contingent on the capacity of elementary students to demonstrate basic skills competencies in the 3 R's. This legislation was a response to political and economic pressures for increased accountability for rapidly increasing expenditures in educational financing (Glass, 1978).

The Code prescribed minimum literacy skills: six and seven-year olds, for instance, were expected to read a "narrative in monosyllables", and to "form on blackboard or slate, from dictation, letters, capital, and small manuscipt." A twelve-year old was required to exercise practical skills: "To read a short ordinary paragraph in a newspaper or other modern narrative", and "to transcribe a paragraph slowly dictated once by a few words at a time." [1] As with present day minimum competency and criterion-referenced tests (e.g. the B.C. 1977 Provincial Reading Assessment, the Florida 1977-80 Basic Skills Tests), Victorian students were tested on the exercise of practical skills such as "bills of parcels".

The intent of the Code was to refocus instruction on the acquisition of socially useful basic skills, as well as to eliminate institutional 'inefficiency'. Robert Lowe promoted the bill in Parliament, stating: "We know that there will be a loss (of finances) where the teaching is inefficient. That is our principle -- that where the teaching is inefficient the schools should lose." [2] The testing of basic skills was allied with the Utilitarian concern with producing socially efficient

individual students who would 'enrich' society; educational equality was equated with pedagogical efficiency in the transmission of practical skills. The Code redefined the role of the school inspectors; inspectors found themselves supervising the marking of the tests which had appropriated and objectified their personal control over standards and criteria. While the 'science' of the test construction and marking procedure was fallible, the tests initiated an historical trend towards more 'objective' (and objectified) appraisal of school efficiency through the mass testing of student performance.

Between 1851 and 1886, poet and critic Arnold was an inspector in the English school system. Although Arnold considered the tests a threat to his autonomy of judgement as an inspector, claiming that "the mass of minute detail" eliminated the "free play for the inspector", [3] he principally objected to the degradation of the educational process which he perceived resulted from the administration of such tests. Arnold saw the tests as "mechanical contrivances".

In 1874 he explained that the mastery of socially utilizable skill obscured the true goals of schooling, to operate "as a civilizing agent, even prior to its interest as an instructing agent". [4] Arnold perceived schools as agencies of holistic "high cultural' development as opposed to agencies for the transmission of basic skills.

Arnold sensed that reading literacy was being reduced to "a mechanical art, nor will the most elaborate drill enable

dullness and ignorance to wear the appearance of intelligence."[5] In the mechanistic reduction of literacy, he noted that the tests (and the resultant reorientation of instruction) fragmented reading into componmentalized/mechanistic processes. In an essay entitled "Twice Revised Codes", Arnold wrote:

> Intelligent reading -- reading such as to give pleasure to the reader himself and to his hearers -- is a very considerable acquirement; it is not very common even among the children of the rich and educated class. When children in this class possess it, they owe it not to the assiduity with which they have been taught reading and nothing but reading, but partly to natural aptitude, far more to the civilizing and refining influences, the current of older and educated people's ideas and knowledge in the midst of which they have been brought up. [6]

Arnold considered reading a holistic process engendered by the civilizing influences more likely found in the 'educated' upper classes. He sensed that the basic skills instructional emphasis on "operations which occur in the ordinary business of life" [7] created within classrooms a "deadness, a slackness, and a discouragement which are not the signs and accompaniment of progress." [8]

Arnold's attack on the 1861 testing system was wholly consistent with his conceptualization of the nature and purpose of literacy as it related to education and culture. Regarding the content, mode of transmission, and purpose of 'contemporary' education, Arnold and his contemporary Newman defended the Classical model against the emerging movement "for outlasting letters from their old predominance in education and for transferring the predominance in education to the natural sciences."[9]

Among the major advocates of 'scientific' educational reform was biologist T. H. Huxley who was conviced that the Classical educational model was an impediment to the advance of the natural sciences. Huxley's demand for the curricular integration of natural science was paralleled by the Utilitarian redefinition of social life as an appropriate domain of normal science. In the 1880's, Arnold and Huxley's scholarly repartee on content, method, and use of educational knowledge framed this historical polarization.

For Arnold, Greek and Roman literature and philosophy, and subsequent historical works of 'quality' formed a body of knowledge for the learner (curriculum), a prescriptive set of methods (instruction), and the criteria for aesthetic and social criticism (evaluation/application).

Classical antiquity was the idealized state of man -- the epoch "when society was in the fullest measure, permeated by fresh thought, intelligent and alive." [10] This archetypal cultural environment, or the reduplication thereof, would foster the exercise of creativity, "the highest function of man", and criticism, the recognition and evaluation of that creativity. Responding to Huxley's demand for the replacement of Greek and Latin with modern 'useful' languages and for the substitution of more English literature for the existing curriculum, Arnold wrote:

> If the instinct for beauty is served by Greek literature and art as it is served by no other literature and art, we may trust to the instinct of self-preservation in humanity for keeping Greek as

> part of our culture. We may trust to it for even making the study of Greek more prevalent than it is now. Greek will come .... to be studied more rationally than at present. [11]

In terms of the 'appropriate' curriculum, the 'humane letters' educational model equated literacy with the capacity to create, appreciate, and criticize literature. In "Literature and Science" (1883), a lecture delivered in the United States, Arnold defended Plato's hierarchical educational model on the grounds that the stated definition of education and studies is universal, "fitted for all sorts and conditions of man", and will be valued by the "intelligent" regardless of historical epoch. Yet the late 19th century industrial realignment of social class and labor forced Arnold to acknowledge that "his (Plato's) scorn of trade and handicraft is fantastic, and that he had no conception of a great industrial community as that of the United States, and that such a community must and will shape its education to suit its own needs. If the usual education handed down to it from the past does not suit it, it will certainly drop it and try another." [12] Arnold's comments anticipated the early 20th century American rejection of the Classical model.

Nonetheless, Arnold maintained that Plato's view of education was valuable "whether we are preparing ourselves for a hereditary seat in the English House of Lords or for the pork trade in Chicago." Although he defended the continuation of an academically-oriented, hierarchical educational system, Arnold

anticipated popular discontent with any system of education, American or English, which perpetuated class and aristocratic values and failed to address the needs of those "cultivators of the ground, handicraftsmen, men of trade and business, men of the working professions." [13]

Arnold refuted the claim of the diminishing social utility of Classical literacy with his argument that literacy, an ontological state of 'being cultured', was of value in-and-for itself. In the Function of Criticism at the Present Time, he wrote "that the aim of culture" -- and consequently of education -- was "to learn and propagate the best that is known and thought in the world." [14] By asserting that ideas and art were valuable in-and-for themselves, Arnold generated a doctrine of intrinsic worth: that a text, a classic, a work of art, and implicitly education itself, could be evaluated in terms of "laws of poetic truth and beauty". Arnold argued against doctrines of extrinsic social utility by proposing a dichotomy of theory and practice. He stated: "Ideas cannot be too much prized in and for themselves ... but to transport them abruptly into the world of politics and practice, violently to revolutionize this world to their bidding, this is quite another thing." [15] Thus poetry and art provided the basis for a 'criticism of life'.

The Classical model became its own object -- justifying itself on its internal criteria rather than the criteria of extrinsic social utility generated by its disciplinary or social

Other. In Arnold's critique of education, the Classical curriculum was proposed as a defense against the abuse and erosion of its own status as arbiter of worth by the "Philistines" of popular culture as well as by the advocates of the 'new science'. The Classics were perceived as 1) a body of curricular knowledge, as 2) an implicit set of traditional educational practices which had developed to transmit and perpetuate this body of knowledge, and as 3) a set of evaluative criteria and standards of intrinsic value. Literacy as literature was its own end and enabled the 'cultured' and the 'civilized' to transcend immediate limitations of social context. The end of Classical education was not to transform concrete social reality, nor even to accept that which was 'mundane' or Philistine -- but to apprehend that social reality in idealized categories.

While Arnold adamantly claimed that man is moved towards the Good and the Beautiful, he recognized that in an age of the cross-disciplinary application of methods and the realignment of social classes, "men of culture and poetry ... are again and again failing, and failing conspicuously, in the necessary first stage to a harmonious perfection, in the subduing of the great obvious faults of our animality." [16]

It was this very "animality" that Darwin, Galton, Huxley and others were viewing from a different methodological paradigm -- that of the natural and empirical sciences. The inability of the Classical paradigm to accomodate the socio-

economic transformation of late 19th century England and North America gave rise to a contending paradigm, which embraced the principle of utility dismissed in the Classical argument. As Kuhn suggested, the capacity of a paradigm to continue to exist is contingent on the continual reformulation of theory and practice relationships. When theory and practice disintegrate, and the system becomes methodologically closed, a contending paradigm, which more practically addresses contemporary problems, will supersede the former.

In the 1870's, Huxley argued for increased instruction in the natural sciences and shared with Mill the belief that scientific thinking could be applied to 'Brahman' cultural domains of religion, morals, and education. Furthermore, Huxley proposed the extrinsic social and scientific application of educational knowledge. Huxley conceived of education as "the instruction of the intellect in the laws of nature, under which I include not merely things and their forces, but men and their ways", [17] reconceptualizing human learning and behavior as domains of empirical knowledge.

Huxley's definition of education stated that scientific methodology could be applied to social, economic and cultural contexts which had previously been exclusively legitimated by Classical disciplines of literature, philosophy, aesthetics, and religion. Huxley perceived the Classicists' denial of scientific methodology and social utility as consistent with

their dogmatic control over academic knowledge; "modern Humanists" possessed a "monopoly of culture" which was premised on claims of the "exclusive inheritance of the spirit of antiquity."[18] Huxley's critique of the dominant educational paradigm was premised on his perception that the Classical organization of knowledge and inquiry had invalidated social and scientific questions which did not conform to its "puzzle form".

In his 1876 address at John Hopkins University, Huxley noted the "encouragement of research" which was proliferating in the American universities. Huxley criticized Arnold as "our chief apostle of culture" who proposed that "a criticism of life is the essence of culture", and that "literature contains the materials which suffice for the construction of such criticism." He juxtaposed the two contending paradigms:

> How often have we not been told that the study of physical science is incompetent to confer culture; that it touches none of the higher problems of life; and, what is worse, that the continued devotion to scientific studies tends to generate a narrow and bigoted belief in the applicability of scientific methods and search after truth of all kinds? ... I hold very strongly by two convictions: The first is that neither the discipline nor the subject matter of classical education is of direct value to the student of the physical as to justify the expenditure of valuable time upon either; and the second is that for the purpose of attaining real culture, an exclusively scientific education is at least as effectual as an exclusively literary education.[19]

Huxley explained the relationship of the sciences and scientific education to the existing educational structure, suggesting that

1) natural science as a curricular domain should be introduced on a larger scale and, implicitly that, 2) education as one such social concern was a potential object of scientific method and inquiry. Huxley recognized the necessary relationship of the scientific reform of education practice with the emerging economic necessities for industrial/scientific expertise and skilled labor. He wrote that, "the diffusion of scientific education is an absolutely essential condition of industrial worth."

A doctrine of the social applicability of education also was articulated by Mill and Utilitarian social philosophers/scientists. Mill conceived of the "individual vigor and manifold diversity" of individual experience as legitimate purposes of educational training. In On Liberty he explained that the existing pedagogical emphasis on the acquisition of the finished 'products' of human experience (as embodied in the Classical reverence of rote knowledge of past works of quality) obscured the recognition of the individual's developmental necessity "to use and interpret experience in his own way." The value of education was contingent on the individual's use and application of that training: "it is for him to find out what part of recorded experience is properly applicable to his own circumstances and character." [20] Mill proposed the reformulation of educational pedagogy which had failed to recognize the necessity for the individual to operationalize educationally acquired knowledge in social experience. His demand for the scientialization of edu-

cation was matched by a doctrine of individualism.

It is this demand for 'social utility', scientific reform, and industrial functionality which Cardinal Newman reacted so strongly to. In The Idea of a University (1852, 1874), Newman described the proponents of science and practicality in education:

> They insist that Education should be confined to some particular and narrow end, and should issue in some definite work, which can be weighed and measured. They argue as if everything, as well as every person, had its price; and that where there has been a great outlay, they have a right to expect a return in kind. This they call making Educatiion and Instruction "usefully", and "Utility" becomes their watchword. [21]

Here Newman criticized the explicit equation of literacy/education to quantifiable skils which could, in turn, be assigned a recognizable 'market value'. Newman astutely recognized that the evaluation of educational process in terms of socially utilizable product would lead to the reduction of educational endeavor to an extrinsic 'market value' within a macrocosmic system of economic exchange.

Newman believed that the redefinition of utility and application as 'appropriate' educational ends would result in the correlative objectification of educational endeavor to measurable categories (of marketable expertise) which ascribed "real worth in the market of the article". He opposed this redefinition of education as one which redivided holistic Classical knowledge into distinguishable and, thereby, measurable units

which, in turn, could be used to assign economic value. Indeed, the Utilitarian concern with social use purported to "advance our manufactures" and "better our civil economy." [22]

In Kuhnian terminology, any (educational) paradigm which claims contemporary preeminence must contend with recognizable problems of social praxis. The dichotomy between the Classical holistic vision of society (derived from idealized historical epochs) and a progressively more stratified late 19th century economic and social milieu, implicated the traditional paradigm as increasingly incapable and inconsistent in addressing 'new' social problems inherent in a restructured economy.

As revealed by the subsequent 20th century innovation of vocationally and 'experientially' oriented basic skills education in Canada, England and the U.S., a newly conceptualized paradigm of educational literacy as a socially utilizable set of measurable components, was emerging to supersede the traditional paradigmatic definition of the intrinsic worth of high literacy and literature. The demand for scientific method in educational pedagogy redefined educational (and literacy) practices in terms of their 'use' for the advancement of 'normal sciences' and for the maintenance of economic/institutional structures which modern science had given rise to.

Thus, two identifiable 19th century contending theories on the content and structure of schooling developed distinct assumptions regarding 'appropriate' social structure and 'ade-

quate' educational means for reinforcing that structure. Utilitarian theory proposed the scientific reform of society, the conceptual reorganization of society into a set of institutional structures geared towards the achievement of Mill's idealized "Greatest Happiness" and towards the simultaneous protection of the individual from the "tyranny of the majority". Classicism maintained traditional 'cultured' values, beliefs, and behaviors through the continued self-legitimation of its (institutional) mechanisms and (schooling) codes.

Arnold was as convinced as Mill and Huxley of the socially reproductive relationship of macrocosmic social structure to microcosmic institutional (schooling) structure. For Arnold, education should be prescriptively noumenal; the 'cultured' or the 'literate' could acquire an idealized knowledge of the Good and Beautiful. For Mill and Huxley, the level of reproduction was more 'scientifically' precise -- the Utilitarian concern with the transmission of socially applicable skills redefined educational knowledge in terms of pragmatic 'market value'. Educational knowledge became an overt form of 'cultural capital' or 'linguistic exchange' (Bordieu, 1973). Within the paradigm of social utility, the educational environment, by definition, reproduced the economic relationships of the greater socio-economic system. Therefore, the relationship of social macrocosm to educational microcosm can be identified in terms of the varying degrees of pedagogical acceptance, subsumption and de-

nial of the radical economic and social changes occuring in late 19th and early 20th century society.

The 1861 emergence of a modern method for the evaluation of students and schools, mandatory basic skills competency testing, was opposed by proponants of 'high literacy'. The conflict between contending paradigms of 'high' and 'utilizable' literacy' subsequently informs the 1920-1940 development of a reformulated set of criteria and practices regarding the transmission of literacy in British Columbia schools (Part II).

In late 19th and early 20th century England, scientific methodology was increasingly seen to be an efficacious means for dealing with modern 'social' problems, surpassing its initial disciplinary boundaries and generating the reconsideration of the methods of knowledge of 'other' disciplines. Consequently, educational literacy would be reconceptualized in terms of the 'objective' evaluation of the transmission of utilizable skills.

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CHAPTER 3

JOHN DEWEY: PROGRESSIVISM AND SCIENTISM

Late 19th century psychologists like Galton and Binet conceived of their theory and research on mental measurement as leading to the description and explanation of human mind and nature as domains of positivist knowledge independent of Classical disciplinary explanatons of logic, philosophy, and literature (Rose, 1979). Cyril Burt (1925), who pioneered the early 20th century utilization of mental measurement in English educational psychology, stated,

> Like so many advances in theoretical science, the annexation of this new field (of individual psychology) may be traced to ... practical needs. The psychology of education, of industry, and of war, the study of the criminal, the defective and the insane, all depend for their development upon a sound analysis of individual differences ... it aims at almost mathematical precision, and proposes nothing less than the measurement of mental powers. [1]

Burt recognized that the necessity to address practical, conventionally defined problems would result in the "annexation" of psychological methodology by social sciences and institutions (i.e. schools, hospitals, and government). G. Esland (1972) writes that the emergence of this psychological model marked the beginning of the "dominance of structural functionalist explanations of the sociology of education." The psychological

model's cross-disciplinary influences were considered, by Esland, as being "fostered by the search of psychologists for a professional identity". [2]

By 1939, psychometrics claimed valid theory and practices for virtually all aspects of social behavior, including morals and ethics (Karier, 1972; Henderson, 1976). E.L. Thorndike, developer of the first reading and handwriting achievement scales in the United States, stated in 1939 that "It is the great good fortune of mankind that there is a substantial positive correlation between intelligence and morality, including good will towards ones' fellows." [3] The "annexation" of moral and social being by psycho/scientific methodology, then, marked the expansion of psychology beyond conventional disciplinary boundaries.

Psychological practitioners, by establishing the cross-disciplinary utility of their method, influenced early 20th century Canadian institutional discourses and procedures (Lowe, 1980). Rose (1979) notes the concurrent supersession of logic and philosophy in British and U.S. universities by the development of departments, facilities, and separate institutions for the provision of psychological services. This development of a 'technical' scientific apparatus was accompanied by the professionalization of a "scientifically psychological community with its own rules and traditions for designating who is competent to speak, what objects are to be spoken of." [4]

Schooling was deemed an appropriate object for the operationalization of emerging paradigmatic methodology. The codes, practices, and rule systems generated by psychology had the potential for the radical recodification and redefinition of evaluative criteria for assessing educational performances. Yet these apparatuses and methods would not displace traditional evaluational mechanisms until they were subsumed by a comprehensive pedagogy which redefined all existing schooling codes and practices.

Early 20th century educators in Canada and British Columbia were polarized into groups of practitioners aligned with traditional and scientific paradigms (Wilson, et al., 1970). Yet, while the Classical paradigm was being questioned regarding its capacity to maintain a reproductive semblance of society, and regarding its monopoly on curricular content, 'traditional values' retained control over instituional evaluative criteria and mechanisms.

The scientific paradigm had yet to develop from a cross-disciplinary methodology into a comprehensive educational apparatus. Scientific 'techniques' (standardized measurement, systematic selection and 'modern' management) necessitated a greater pedagogical scheme to attract practitioners and to solve problems articulated by, yet resistant to, the prior paradigm.

Scientific methodology would assert minimal influence on

educational praxis until it constituted an exhaustive assumptive base for the generation of tacit and stated institutional codes of control (rule systems in schools). An educational paradigm must re-legitimate valid criteria for the evaluation of educational practice and performance. Only then is a model able to 'select' in favor of itself and its structure and, thereby, militate against the methodologies and codes of the contending paradigm.

Many Canadian educators, dissatisfied with the authoritarianism of the disciplinary, instructional and administrative practices of the traditional model, were attracted by the emphasis on 'freedom of the individual' and 'scientific methodology' expressed in the philosophy of John Dewey (Phillips, 1937; Johnson, 1968). Thus, the premise that science could adequately differentiate, observe and measure the individual, would be subsumed into a comprehensive 'democratic' educational pedagogy. A scientific 'reconstructions' of the content, methods and use of literacy instruction in terms of the individual's acquisition of educationally acquired 'skills' would be proposed.

Dewey's systematic redefinition of educational theory and his proposals for the reform of existing educational practice were the basis of subsequent Progressive reform. The following elements of Dewey's philosophy will be reviewed:

1. Dewey's reconceptualization of educational 'experience as the domain of scientific method.

2. His critique of Classical 'high literacy' and traditional '3 R's' educational practices.

3. The reconceptualization of language and literacy as socially (vocationally) utilizable skills.

4. The extrapolation of Deweyian theory into concrete schemes for educational reform by Progressive 'scientists' like Charters, Bobbitt, and E.L. Thorndike.

The 'democratic' definition of the integrative role of the individual in the social order and the correlative concern with the maintenance of industrial technology, were reflected in the emerging educational philosophy of Dewey. The Pragmatist philosophy and psychology of Dewey, Mead, Bentley, Tufts, James and others was premised on the recognition that the changes wrought by industrial and urban transformation were irrevocable (Bottomore, 1969) and, thereby, could not be compensatively corrected or redressed by a regression to traditional criteria and criticism. Consequently, Dewey's educational pedagogy was a conscious attempt to subsume and reconcile the antitheses of economic/social reorganization and traditional social ideals. In his epistemological speculations formulated with Bentley and Mead, Dewey was insistent on the reciprocally transactive nature of all apparent opposites (knower/known, subject/object). Similarly, his theory of education attempted to reconcile the conventionally recognized antithetical domains of art and science, of the individual and society; Deweyian philosophy was directed at the resolution of conventionally articulated dualistic ano-

malies.

Dewey proposed scientific 'objective' method as the most effective educational means for ensuring the freedom of the individual from subjective teacher authority and closed curriculum. In direct conflict with Arnold's claim that science would dehumanize educational knowledge and the educated, Dewey felt that the 'objectivity' of (pragmatically redefined) scientific method would protect the individual from overt traditional systems of constraints.

Within the Progressive educational scheme, scientific methodology was a principal means towards the recognition of individual difference. In an 1899 address to the American Psychological Association, Dewey explicitly argued for a closer relationship of education with "psycho-physical" methodology (Hamilton, 1978). He stated that:

> Command of scientific methods and systematized subject matter liberates indivduals, it enables them to see new problems, devise new procedures, and, in general, makes for diversification rather than for set uniformity. But at the same time these diversifications have a cumulative effect in an advance shared by all workers in the field. [5]

Dewey, like Mill and the Utilitarians, advocated the use of scientific methodology and apparatuses towards socially ethical ends (Rucker, 1962).

The contemporary psychology that Dewey advocated redefined the school as a pragmatic field of social experience, as an "interchange between pupil and teacher and among pupils." [6]

Psychology, then, would provide foundational insights and methods for the reconceptualization of the social interaction which occured in schools. G.H. Mead worked with Dewey on the formation of psychologically-grounded educational pedagogy. Mead wrote:

> Our psychology forbids use the use of a discipline that comes back generally to the appeal in one form or another to the comfort or discomfort of the child, his pleasure or pain. [7]

Both Dewey and Mead viewed psycho-scientific method as the means for reconstructing educational pedagogy.

Central to this pedagogical reconstruction was Dewey's notion of the organism/environment relationship. He reconceptualized the epistemic relationship of subject and object (teacher and child) as one involving shifting patterns of harmony and disequilibrium. Dewey theorized that the individual's experiential interaction entailed a process of the overcoming of those 'obstacles' and 'problems' which opposed the (re) establishment of organism/environment balance.

The organism (student) applies "social tools" [8] in this process of experiential 'problem solving'. This learner's 'reconstructing' of the organism/environment relationship was conceived of as both a creative and scientific experience. By applying social tools to reality the human object would become the human subject and remediate his or her "incohate" contact with the environment into a "cohate" experience. [9]

Dewey's portrayal of the pragmatic field of social relationships redefined the content, methods, and aims of education in terms of experiential integration. The value of education was not to be drawn from "conformity to rule or habit" or from the transmission of "bodies of information and skills worked out in the past", [10] but from the application by the organism of instrumental skills and tools in social environment.

Dewey's recognition of the inapplicability of Classical education was based on his skepticism of the traditional equation of literature ('literary content') with literacy. Discussing Classical education, he wrote:

> If we turn to Greek schooling, we find that from the earliest years, the acquisition of skill was subordinated as much as possible to acquisition of literary content possessed of aesthetic and moral significance. Not getting a tool for subsequent use but present subject matter was the emphasized practical application, their reduction to purely symbolic devices, represents the survival of the idea of a liberal training divorced from utility. [11]

Questioning the utility and transferability of the Classical education Dewey, instead, proposed an education of immediate use: "A thorough adoption of the idea of utility would have led to instruction which tied up the studies to situations within which they were directly needed and where they were rendered immediately and not remotely helpful." [12]

The scientific field of psychology had generated empirical evidence of the non-transferability and non-utilizability of Classical training to other disciplinary fields and the realm

of social experience. In 1893, at a conference chaired by Dewey, E. L. Thorndike claimed that there was limited empirical evidence for transfer of training from the Classical disciplines to other curriculum (Hamilton, 1978). Thorndike's psychological research became the actual grounds for the refutation of Classicism, marking the emergence of the 'code' of scientific knowledge as a legitimate basis for educational theory/philosophy. The debate over educational pedagogy was no longer limited to scholarly and philosophical discourse for and against traditional practices.

Each paradigm rationalized itself by reproducing (and exemplifying) its disciplinary discourse in its criticism of the other. Arnold's critiques of scientific education were literary in form (poetry, criticism, inspectorial report qua text); Thorndike was applying psychological methodology (empirical inquiry, standardized instrumentation) to 'select' against the prior paradigm.

Thorndike and Dewey conceived of education as a body of instrumental skills, which transferred not only across subject and disciplinary boundaries but, moreover, from institutional reality (schooling) to extrinsic social reality. To ensure the pragmatic transferability of educational to social experience, Dewey claimed that schools should (intentionally) convey "the kind of education which the social environment gives unconsciously." [13] Dewey was calling for a verisimilitudinous educational

system which consciously reproduced (mimed) the perceived needs and situations of the social environment. Such a system would ensure the pragmatic utility of transmitted knowledge and skill competencies.

To this end, a closed authoritarian pedagogical structure within which "a premium is put on physical quietude; on silence, on rigid uniformity of posture and movement; upon a machine-like simulation of the attitudes of intelligent interest", and which tended, "to punish the inevitable deviations" and to reward those who kept "their instincts and active tendencies suppressed" [14] was wholly inadequate.

In its place, Dewey proposed a "child-centered" classroom which was premised on acknowledgement and encouragement of individual difference and a curriculum of organized subject matter which represented "the ripe fruitage of experience like theirs (the students'), experience involving the same world, and powers and needs similar to theirs." [15]

To alter this static curriculum and rigid classroom interactional frame -- a reconceptualization of language and literacy practices was necessary. Dewey recognized the necessity to restructure the pragmatics of educational experience (symbolic relationships). Dewey conceived of language as contextual and experiential -- arising from and existing within the same rudimentary structures of experience which define all human activity. Dewey explained:

> Language is a natural function of human association; and its consequences react upon other events, physical and human, giving them meaning or significance. Events that are objects or significant exist in a context where they acquire new ways of operation and new properties. [16]

Dewey recognized that 'meaning' is gained through the necessary social and physical interrelations which substantiate the human 'use' of language. Language, thereby, was seen to derive meaning and significance from its experiential 'field' and social context.

Dewey recognized that language is a form of symbolic exchange (capital), embodying actual transactional and market value. He (metaphorically) described language as 'money':

> Words are spoken of as coins and money. Now gold, silver, and instrumentalities of credit are first of all, prior to being money, physical things with their own immediate and final qualities. But as money they are substitutes, respresentations, and surrogates, which embody relationships. As a substitute, money not merely facilitates exchange of such commodities as existed prior to its use, but it revolutionizes as well production and consumption of commodities, because it brings into being new transactions, forming new histories and affairs. [17]

This language/capital equation informs his redefinition of literacy; within the Progressive scheme, language is conceived of as a means towards social/economic (industrial) ends. Within the pedagogical orientation towards efficiency, language was reconceptualized as a valued "commodity" in a social medium of "production and consumption".

Dewey argued that the traditionalists' reduction of skills to an exclusive body of content precluded the selection of methodologies for efficient transmission of literate skills. He

wrote:

> That a person can learn efficiently to read and yet not form a taste for reading good literature, or without having curiosities aroused that will lead him to apply his ability to read to explore fields outside what is conventionally termed good reading matter, are sad facts of experience. Learning to read may develop book-worms, children who read omnivorously, but at the expense of development of social and executive abilities. The question of what one learns to read is thus inextricably bound up with the question of how one learns to read." [18]

In this argument Dewey subsumed the contradictory claims of 'high literacy' and 3 R's literacy; the Classical preoccupation with 'quality' of content and, the Utilitarian reduction of utilizable skills to a content transmitted in traditional rote form, were said to impede the operationalization of experientially grounded methods ("how") for reading instruction. The 'high literacy' instruction evolved from the literary content of the Classics; the Utilitarians accepted traditional instructional and disciplinary methods as a means to transmit 'skills'. Dewey maintained that content must be secondarily generated from a reconceptualization of method along more scientific and humane tenets. Greater attention to method, Dewey claimed, would reconcile the ends of both paradigms, insuring the formation of a "taste for reading good literature", as well as "the development of executive abilities and skills."

While Classicism had generated a 'monopoly' of content over method, Dewey's emphasis will be seen to generate a tyranny of method over content. Curricular content was contingent on

social 'skills' and 'experiences' and the methods to instruct those skills. Dewey's reluctance to specify a literal body of content evoked a variety of scientific pedagogical means which, in turn, historically stipulated non-traditional content. Deweyian pedagogical emphasis on method, as opposed to the prior historical preoccupation with reform of content, demanded a comprehensive restructuring of the 'experience' of schooling; Dewey recognized that the pragmatic sphere of social interaction (and not curricular content) was the principal constitutive element of learning.

The initial stages of late 19th century reform involved the augmentation of traditional curriculum by vocational/commercial programs for students unable to effectively 'achieve' within the traditional system. Dewey was skeptical of the 'token' addition of vocational programs and curriculum to existing schooling structure which might further perpetrate the social stratification generated by the traditional system.

Consequently, he outlined the structure of a vocational curriculum that would best insure socially utilizable literacy, calling for the subordination of knowledge qua literature to knowledge qua social experience. Dewey explained:

> The key to the present educational situation lies in a gradual reconstruction of school materials and methods so as to utilize various forms of occupation typifying social callings, and to bring out their intellectual and moral content. This reconstruction must relegate purely literary methods -- including textbooks -- and dialectical methods to the position of necessary auxiliary tools in cumulative activities. [19]

In theory, vocational education epitomized the Deweyian concern with the acquisition of skills for the enhancement of social efficiency; Dewey's critique of existing vocational education foreshadows the subsequent historical application of 'Progressive' innovations for the decidedly non-Progressive purposes of generating a class system different only in name from prior Classical hierarchical stratification.

> Any scheme for vocational education which takes its point of departure from the industrial regime that now exists, is likely to assume, and to perpetuate its divisions and weaknesses and thus become an instrument in accomplishing feudal dogma of social predestination." [20]

Dewey's pedagogical concern with 'social utilizability' was tempered by an anticipation of the potential misuse of that doctrine to legitimate the same hierarchical determinants imposed on individual experience and social mobility by the 'high cultural' educational system.

Dewey's call for Progressive reform according to scientific 'objectivity' must be considered in relation to his summary rejection of mechanistic empiricism as non-pragmatic. As such, Dewey warned educators of the potentially irresponsible utilization of foundational methodologies in his newly defined "science of education." He wrote

> The assumption, if only tacit, that educational science has its own peculiar subject-matter results in an isolation which makes the latter a "mystery" in the sense in which higher crafts were once mysteries. A superficial token of this isolation is found in the development of that particular terminology that has been called "pedageese". Segregation also accounts for the tenden-

> cy, already mentioned, to go at educational affairs without a sufficient grounding in the non-educational disciplines that must be drawn upon, and hence to exaggerate minor points in an absurdly one-sided way, and to grasp at some special scientific technique as if its use were a magical guarantee of a scientific product. [21]

Dewey was explicitly 'blaming' the traditional exclusion of 'normal' sciences for the present misuse of 'scientific' method. He noted that untrained practitioners considered science as a panacea for the conventional anomalies of educational practice. In this manner Dewey anticipated the misrepresentation of 'other' disciplinary methods and knowledge in the educational field.

Yet this misrepresentation of innovative methodology as a "magical guarantee of a scientific product" is indicative of the manner in which paradigmatic innovations reshape the practitioners' world view. Kuhn explains the effect of a new paradigmatic method upon the practitioner:

> Rather than being an interpreter, the scientist who embraces a new paradigm is like the man wearing inverted lenses. Confronting the same constellation of objects as before and knowing that he does so, he nevertheless finds them transformed through and through in many of their details. [22]

The development of a foundational educational methodology into a "pedageese" (a methodological jargon) cannot be exclusively attributed to the prior paradigm's insulation of educational practitioners from 'other' disciplinary knowledge. Kuhn's description of the manner in which a paradigmatic method becomes a prescriptive world view indicates that paradigmatic methodology, by its very subsumptive and self-selective nature, generates a

pedagogical code (Aristotelian 'codex') which, in time, becomes habituated and repeated.

It is ironic, then, that Dewey should anticipate the compulsive misapplication of newly introduced methodologies; subsequently, a variety of scientific codes and practices would be instituted, legitimated and justified under Progressive auspices. For while Dewey noted the transformation of scientific method into habituated practice, he failed to perceive that (initiated) practitioners could just as readily transform valid methodology into institutionalized dogma.

Dewey 'reconstructed' educational ends in terms of 'social efficiency'. Yet, within the Deweyian dual conception of education as an art as well as a science, social efficiency was not reduced to the individual's uncritical capacity to operationalize skills in the workplace; it involved the ability of individuals to 'experience' their environment in a coherent manner. Dewey recognized that:

> Translated into specific aims, social efficiency indicates the importance of industrial competency. Persons cannot live without means of subsistence; the ways in which these means are employed and consumed have a profound influence upon all the relationships of persons to one another. If an individual is not able to earn his own living and that of the children dependent upon him, he is a drag or parasite upon the activities of others. He misses for himself one of the most educative experiences of life. [23]

His recognition of the necessary social efficiency of educational experience exemplifies his tendency to consider

polarities as mutually co-existent; for while he recognized that individual experience was primarily a question of economic viability, Dewey anticipated that the transmission of this 'efficiency' could lead to further deprivation of 'democratic' equality of educational and economic opportunity.

> New industries spring up, and old ones are revolutionized. Consequently, an attempt to train for too specific a mode of efficiency defeats its own purpose. When the occupation changes its methods, such individuals are left behind with even less ability to readjust themselves than if they had less definite training. But, most of all, the present industrial constitution of our society is, like every society which has ever existed, full of inequities. It is the aim of progressive education to take part in correcting unfair privilege and unfair deprivation, not to perpetuate them. Whenever social control means subordination of individuals to class authority, there is the danger that industrial education will be dominated by the status quo. [24]

The logic of Dewey's social efficiency argument was contradictory. He claimed that overly specialized forms of instrumental (vocational) education subordinated individual mobility to the social 'status quo', precluding the individual's appropriate adaptation to changes in the industrial/occupational market. Yet Deweyian 'social efficiency' was premised on the necessity to adjust the laborer's training to fluctuating demands of industry (and potential obsolescence). By creating a more 'mobile' and retrainable labour force, the Deweyian scheme of (pluralistic) 'less' specific training was as much in the service of existing industrial/societal structure as 'overly' specified vocational training.

Premised on tenets of utility, function, and social efficiency, Progressive educational theory was only valid insofar as it was existent in educational praxis. Tufts, Charters, Bobbitt, and Thorndike were among those Progressive practitioners who had undertaken the research which would lead to the practical instrumentation and implementation of Deweyian pedagogy. J. H. Tufts, who sought to reform Chicago-area secondary schools according to Deweyian principles, viewed scientific method as the most efficient means towards the recognition and correction of 'defects' in learners. As Rucker (1962) explains, "Presumably, the specific application of the methods of science to moral questions grew out of the study of social-individual relations that he recommended for high school. But in all of this, Tufts was just making concrete proposals in line with the functional view of ethics and of education." [25] (my underline)

The attempt to translate the principle of social efficiency into concrete institutional and educational reform was evident in the work of F. W. Taylor (The Principles of Scientific Management, 1911), W. W. Charters (Curriculum Construction, 1923) and F. Bobbitt (How to Make a Curriculum, 1924). Charters had been a graduate student of Dewey's and Bobbitt was a professor at the University of Chicago (Hamilton, 1978). In their work on administrative organization and curriculum development, the Deweyian theory of social efficiency was reified in a systematic "conveyor-belt" approach to education (Hamilton, 1978).

Callahan (1962) has viewed the synthetic interpolation of Deweyian philosophy into management methods as the genesis of a "cult of efficiency" which totally restructured the institutional codes and rule systems of schooling.

The practical application of Dewey's pedagogy resulted in a scientific apparatus of social efficiency. Hamilton (1978) notes a variety of resultant innovations in American schools: individualization, the compilation of age-grade statistics for the measurement of the productive quality of school systems, the use of examinations in lieu of school accreditation and as a means of selecting students, the utilization of mental tests to categorize school children and the advent of more comprehensive vocational schooling.[26] Progressive school superintendents and principals began to see themselves more as business executives than as scholars and statesmen (Callahan, 1962). In sum, Dewey's fears of an educational pedagogy administered by agents of the existing "industrial regime" were realized in the evolution of a managerial administrative group of professional executives recruited from expanding graduate institutions like Columbia Teachers' College, the University of Chicago, and Stanford University. In Canada:

> The majority of leading Canadian educational reformers of the period had some educational experience at centers such as Columbia, Chicago, and Stanford. Canadian periodicals frequently drew from American sources to describe new developments in education.[27]

The consensual dictum of the administrative Progressives

"was that streamlined efficiency would be achieved in all spheres of education through a more rigorous application of scientific method." The universal effect of this influx of Progressive management (methodology) into American schools was the increased influence of a "business ethic", which "spoke for the captains of industry, and their lieutenants, the superintendents, and not for the below decks personnel such as parents and students." [28]

Thus, in educational praxis, the primacy of social efficiency wholly subsumed Dewey's principal concern for the integrity of individual difference; the primary effect of this 'new' school of scientific management was the sumsumption of individual teachers and students by a 'cult of efficiency' based on the measurability of student performance.

The managerial Progressives scientifically accomodated individual difference by the increased utilization of standardized 'objective' measurement instruments as a means of selecting and categorizing students in a 'modern' manner. By the mid-1930's Charters and Bobbitt's reconceptualization of curriculum development had generated Tyler's system of pre/post test curricular design and evaluation (Popham, 1975). The advent of this managerial methodology restructured student evaluation in a fundamental manner; teacher subjectivity (Classical conoisseurship) was superseded by Psychometrics. Psychologists like Thorndike, McCall, Terman, and Gates developed and designed

systematic psychometric methodology which was instituted as a primary evaluational mode for appraisal of educational practice and performance.

Thorndike's research on reading comprehension provided the theoretical basis and practical apparatus for the transmission and evaluation of literacy as a set of socially utilizable skills. Thorndike's theory that reading (and general learning) was a complex set of responses to a given set of stimuli, delineated measurable and identifiable literate sub-responses. The subsequently derived 'domains', or 'levels' of reading could similarly be identified as utilizable gradated components of a social literacy. In sum, Thorndike componmentalized a literacy process which had previously been considered holistic in nature. Reading (qua identifiable responses) could in turn be quantified and evaluated through the administration of stimulus instruments like the Thorndike-McCall Reading Scale.

In 1917 Thorndike provided the first scientific analysis of reading comprehension. Frederick B. Davis (1972) describes Thorndike's preliminary findings:

> He presented short paragraphs to elementary school students and asked them to write answers to simple questions based on those paragraphs. The pupils were given unlimited time and allowed to refer to the paragraphs as often as they wished while they were composing or writing their response...The resulting data led him to conclude that the pupils were unable to fit together the separate ideas expressed in a paragraph and to give individual words or separate word groups the proper amount of emphasis in relation to one another. [29]

his experiment was the prototype for modern reading research, instruction, and evaluation; shortly thereafter, Thorndike constructed the standardized reading scales (stimuli) to evaluate student reading performance (response).

Thorndike's research provided the scientific basis for the curricular subdivisions of lessons in reading into identifiable 'units' which facilitated systematic instruction and evaluation. Thorndike's initial experiment and the resultant instruments required that the reader examine paragraphs of other unitized literate expressions in lieu of an entire text. Thorndike's sense of language was more mathematical/scientific than aesthetic/cultural. Explicating the results of the 1917 experiments, he wrote:

> The successful response to a question or to a paragraph's meaning implies the restraint of tendencies of many words to be over potent and the special weighting of other tendencies. This task is quite beyond the power of weak minds and is of the same selective and coordinating nature as the more obvious forms of reasoning in mathematics or science. [30]

The scientific redefinition of literacy as a set of analytic, rather than literary, skills was Thorndike's conceptual and practical contribution to the emerging Progressive paradigm of literacy. A matrix of methods -- evaluative instruments and corresponding curricula -- would be generated from this historical re-appropriation of literacy from the aesthetic/cultural domain into the field of psychological inquiry.

The scientific measurement procedures developed by Thorndike, Binet, Gates, and others were utilized to 1) ascertain those skills for social functionality, and also to 2) evaluate students and schools' progress towards the efficient transmission and acquisition of those skills. Consequently, the emergence of an apparatus for the unitization and measurment of student literacy, in concert with the rise of scientific 'management' and curriculum development, made possible the 'objective' appraisal of literacy and literacy instruction.

By the 1920's, the non-prescriptive method and content of literacy instruction suggested by Dewey was being specified and legitimated into curricular domains and objectives. This specification was premised on the capacity of scientific methodology to identify and measure skills which were socially and experientially utilizable. No sooner had Dewey posited an extrinsically contingent definition of education/literacy -- then the openendedness of his definition was reified into a more 'functional' definition of literacy as specific components, taxonomic levels, behavioral objectives, and quantifiable types.

In conclusion, Dewey articulated a set of educational theories and practices for curriculum which addressed the issue of 'social utility'. Dewey's pedagogy prescribed a literacy of social, extrinsic value. Consequently, 'Progressive' curricular content was contingent on the newly evolved scientific redefinition of methods and on the recognition of individual use

of literacy in the vocational or social domain. Far from espousing specific 'Great Books', Dewey conceived of curriculum as ideally non-dogmatic and flexible, to be determined according to the scientifically assessed experiential necessities of the individual, and according to systematized methods of instruction.

His innovation of scientific methodology legitimated the supersession of literacy as a 'high cultural' domain of intrinsic value by a new paradigm of literacy as a body of scientifically identifiable and transmittible skills to be operationalized in the social milieu. The emergence of a set of psychologically-oriented concepts, methods, inquiries, and apparatuses was historically aligned with the managerial efficiency model advoacated by Taylor, Charters, Bobbitt, and Tyler; both orientations on the nature of social/individual interaction and organization informed the reconstruction of 'literacy'.

Dewey's pedagogical emphasis on method implied that as human experience changes, so should the content and method of educational practice; in this manner, Dewey historicized the concept of literacy as educational knowledge. Dewey explicitly linked educational practice and policy regarding literacy to the requirements and transactions of the given social context rather than to an uncritically accepted static body of knowledge. Yet, Dewey thereby unwittingly placed the task of contemporary 'definition' of literacy within the disciplinary domain of objective scientific methodology.

The efficiency orientation of the work by Charters and Bobbitt, and the objective methods and instruments developed by Thorndike were opposed by the traditional practitioners who had dominated late 19th century Canadian and American education. The Classical paradigm was negated by Dewey's managerial class. Dewey had anticipated the usurpation of Progressive pedagogy by the "industrial regime" -- yet his pedagogy ultimately would be superseded by the evolution of its own scientific methodology into a dominant educational paradigm in-and-for itself.

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II. POLICY AND PRACTICE: TRADITIONAL AND PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1920-1940

CHAPTER 4

B. C. EDUCATION BEFORE 1920: TRADITIONAL LITERACY PRACTICES

An Historical Overview

Until World War I, B. C. educational practice was dominated by the 3 R's pedagogy in elementary schools and traditional 'high literacy' pedagogy at the secondary levels. The Survey of the School System (1925), by J. H. Putman and G. M. Weir, proposed the reformation of the policies and practices of the B. C. educational system according to the Progressive theoretical model. The primary elements of this model were:

1. a 'New Curriculum' emphasizing a literacy of socially utilizable skills,
2. a reconstruction of instructional methods and classroom interaction as 'child centered', and
3. the replacement of the traditional examination system by standardized aptitude and achievement tests.

Yet the Department of Education only selectively adopted the recommendations of this document before the 1933 appointment of Dr. Weir (Liberal-Point Grey) to the position of Minister of Education in the government of T. D. Pattullo. The restructuring of the curriculum according to scientific pedagogy was initially impeded but ultimately made necessary by Depression era economic constraints upon education during the tenure of Minister J. Hinchliffe (1928-1933). In 1933, Weir was confronted with

the necessity of establishing the viability of an outmoded B. C. educational system.

Weir and Dr. H. B. King introduced a 'functional efficiency' model which explicitly invoked the Progressive management principles espoused by F. W. Taylor (1911), W. W. Charters (1923), F. Bobbitt (1924), and R. Tyler (1935) in the United States. Thus, while Putman and Weir initially had proposed reform of curriculum, instruction, and evaluation -- in the 1930's King completed the task of aligning B. C. schools with Progressive theory by instituting curricular and administrative 'efficiency'.

The analyses of the Putman Weir Report (1925) and the King Report (1935) outline theory, policy, and practice correlations. Both reports were commissioned for the subsequent practical implementation of 'modern' pedagogical and managerial practices in British Columbia schools. Putman, Weir and King articulated policy based on the legitimated Progressive model.

This theory and policy was operationalized in the New Programme of Studies for the Junior High School (1936), written by a 'scientifically' structured curriculum development team managed by D. L. MacLaurin and H. B. King. The resulting curriculum, emphasizing educational efficiency, wholly reconceptualized and redesigned the instructional and evaluative program; the aim of English language instruction became the transmission of a socially and experientially 'functional' literacy.

The Survey of the Greater Victoria Area Schools (1938), by W. Gray and H. H. Mackenzie, was a comprehensive 'lower

echelon' evaluation of Victoria schools, an implementation and enforcement of the New Programme and related Departmental policies. The Gray Mackenzie Survey exercised direct and consequential influence on a local group of schools, teachers, and students, legitimating Progressive theory in B. C. educational practice.

The transformation of B. C. education during this period from 1920 to 1940 involved a shift in educational paradigms from the Classical to the Progressive. This fundamental change in educational pedagogy and literacy necessitated the embodiment of paradigmatic standards and criteria in instructional codes of control. Acceptance of Progressive reform occurred at various insititutional levels of the educational system at differing historical points in time.

The structural organization of the present analysis, then, is based on the movement from educational theory to institutional policy and practice. In Part I of this analysis, the historically antithetical models of educational theory proposed in 19th century England were traced to their synthesis in the Progressive pedagogy of John Dewey. Part II examines the institutional ratification of Progressive philosophy by B. C. practitioners. (see Tables 1 and 2)

TABLE 1

MINISTERS OF EDUCATION AND PREMIERS: 1920-1940

Minister	Premier
Dr. J. D. MacLean (1919-1928)	J. Oliver (Lib.)
	J. D. MacLean (Lib.)
Rev. J. Hinchliffe (1928-1933)	S. F. Tolmie (Con.)
Dr. G. M. Weir (1933-1941)	T. D. Pattullo (Lib.)

TABLE 2

A SELECTED CHRONOLOGY OF

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

1920-1940

LEVEL OF REFORM	DOCUMENT	AUTHOR
theory/policy	Survey of the School System (1925)	H. Putman G. Weir P. Sandiford
theory/policy	School Finance in B. C. (1935)	H. B. King
curricular implementation of theory/policy	New Programme of Studies for the Junior High Schools of B. C. (1936)	D. L. MacLaurin H. B. King
practical local enforcement of theory/policy/ curriculum	Survey of the Greater Victoria Area Schools (1938)	W. Gray H. H. Mackenzie R. Straight

Literacy in B. C. Schools: 1872 to 1920

Prior to the 1925 Putman Weir Report the policies and practices of British Columbia education retained a traditional character. If the period from 1920 to 1940 marked a fundamental paradigm shift in B. C. education, it is necessary to describe the B. C. schools under the prior set of Classical and traditional assumptions, methods and practices. A survey of the Public School Reports from 1883 to 1917 indicates that while 'modernization' occurred during the early 20th century, the educational system continued to operate under the methods and practices of a prior era. The entrenchment of traditional practices was evident in: 1) the pragmatic structure of the classroom, 2) curricular content, and 3) evaluative methods.

John Jessop, Superintendent of B. C. Education from 1872 to 1878, E. Ryerson, and other late 19th century Canadian educators selectively reformed practices and materials of the existing 'tradtional' schools; 3 R's instruction was instituted at the elementary level throughout Canada (Johnson, 1968). Yet the disciplinary and authoritarian modes of Classical education continued to determine the pragmatic structure of Canadian classrooms well into the new century.

The 3 R's were "generally well taught from the fact that

there were no other studies to occupy the mind and distract the attention" (Bannister, 1926). On the secondary level, 'quality' literature continued as the principal mode of English language instruction (Wilson, et al., 1970).

The 3 R's high literacy dichotomy between elementary and secondary instruction legitimated secondary education as the exclusive domain of culture. The elementary schools, on the other hand, operated from a minimalist view of curriculum, assuming that the exclusivity of the 3 R's would insure their transmission. All non-fundamental materials were considered extraneous.

Regardless of the curricular content at elementary and secondary levels -- the codes and rule systems which determined teacher/student interaction were universally authoritarian. Consequently, while the Classical paradigm no longer determined the subject and textual content of elementary education to the extent that it had in the early and mid-19th century, the totality of the 'experience' of schooling, the network of social and linguistic relationships within the school, remained traditional.

In Canadian schools, these codes and rule systems were dependent on the exercise of senior (teacher and inspector) authority for their institutional articulation and enforcement. While the stated curriculum could be made to (repressively) tolerate more 'useful' content espoused by Huxley and Mill, the essential nature of the hidden curriculum continued to be con-

trolled by mechanisms based on habituated standards and criteria.

During the late 19th century limited vocational and commercial secondary courses and 3 R's instruction in elementary schools were introduced by Jessop. Yet, the ethic of social utility continued to be opposed from within the educational system.

Principal Stamford of the New Westminister School, one of the larger schools in the Province, defended the traditional exclusivity of 'humane letters' against proponents of social utility:

> There are still, however, many of our citizens who think that High Schools should partake more of the character of commercial colleges, and their chief aim should be to furnish the young with a convenient stock of knowledge that may be afterwards turned to profitable account in the every-day business of life. Children are not slow to accept the opinions of their parents in educational matters; and I have found that when once a pupil becomes obsessed of these crude and mischievous notions, very little can be done with him till he is convinced that many subjects must be studied for the internal discipline they afford, without regard to any direct or practical use they may be in the matter of earning a livelihood. [1]

Stamford recognized the 'intrinsic value' of the traditional curricula, claiming that such study was of 'worth' because of the mental (and physical) discipline it generated rather than by virtue of extrinsic vocational application.

While science and bookkeeping courses were gradually integrated into the secondary curriculum in B.C., the schools still retained a conventional set of expectations that students (and

prospective teachers) be versed in the 'humane letters'. Critics like A.P. Knight (1883) questioned the continued defense of Classical letters. Knight claimed that the archetypal educational system was unable to meet the increasing labor demands of Canadian industry. He wrote that: "Skilled labour is one of the great wants of our country and yet it seems to have been assumed by those who shaped our educational policy that no special training was needed by those intending to become artisans." [2] Yet the claims made by Knight and others for a more utilizable and functional educational system were directed to an audience of practitioners that rarely perused the sorts of 'professional' and 'scientific' journals that published articles like his on educational reform.

The continued preeminence of the traditional system was exemplified in the prescribed content and methods of literacy instruction and curriculum. The curriculum of the B.C. schools in the late 19th century evidenced two levels of traditional content: elementary 3 R's materials and secondary Classical literature emphasis. In 1885, the elementary English program consisted of : "Reading, writing, spelling, dictation, English Grammar, Composition, and Letter writing." [3] To gain admission to high school the Junior Matriculation Examination required these literate performances:

1. Spelling -- To be able to spell correctly the ordinary words in the Fourth Reader and Spelling Book.

2. Reading -- To read correctly and intelligently any passage in the Fourth Reader.

3. Writing -- To write neatly and legibly.....

4. Grammar -- To know the principal grammatical forms and definitions, and to be able to analyze and parse any ordinary sentence.

5. Composition -- To be able to write a letter correctly as to form and punctuation, and to write a brief composition on any simple subject. [4]

Yet the 1885 elementary curriculum did not explicitly outline the literate competencies expected of the student. The lack of detail may be indicative of a continued reliance on 'readers' for elementary instruction to set objectives, as well as a continued dependency on the individual teacher/critic's capacity to instruct and evaluate according to (consensual) traditional standards.

While the elementary objectives were broadly stated, the secondary course of study specified texts, procedures, and specific modes of literate performance. For instance, the "Junior Division" students at Victoria High School were required to undertake the following course of study:

> Review of elementary work in orthography, etymology, syntax, and analysis of sentences; derivation of words; rendering of poetry into prose; composition, including the framing of sentences, familiar and business letters, and abstracts of passages in readers, themes, and generally the formulation of a good English style; reading, dictation, and elocution, including the learning by heart and recitation of selected passages from standard authors. [5]

This junior level of review of mechanics and formal style would enable the student to subsequently function in the Senior Division English Language course, which emphasized "derivation of words, composition, rendering of poetry into prose, abstracts of selected passages, critical reading of portions of works of standard authors, themes, and generally the formation of a good English style". The critical emphasis on literature evidenced in the later grades was paralleled by the inclusion of Classics like "Xenophon, Homer, Horace and Virgil" in required Greek and Latin courses, as well as thorough study of British, Roman and Greek history.

The literate performances required in B. C. in 1885, then, were ordered hierarchically. Each performance demanded of the student was resynthesized at the next curricular level of instruction. The 3 R's were instilled at the elementary level and subsequently refined into literary critical perception and 'taste' in the secondary program. If the student reached Senior Level High School, the formal language skills acquired in Common and Graded (elementary) schools (i.e. sentence parsing, recitation, formal prose genres) were exercised as means towards the study of Classical and 'standard' literature. This 19th century instructional/curricular hierarchy replicated the social (class) stratification of cultural 'tastes'; 'common' levels of literate behavior were subsumed by the higher analysis and appreciation of literature.

By 1892, the elementary curriculum offered a more detailed specification of literate performances in reading and composition. The course of study specified traditional methods of literacy instruction:

> Special attention should be given to correct pronunciation, distinct articulation, and proper expression. Declamation of selections from prose and poetry committed to memory tends to awaken a taste for good language, as well as aids in the development of a natural and easy delivery. [6]

The principal instructional methods for reading were rote recitation and oral reading, aiming at the acquisition of critical decorum in literate behavior. The elementary curriculum featured the recitation of passages provided in the Primer to Fifth Reader series to the exclusion of virtually all other types of oral literacy. All classroom discourse during language instruction was highly codified by traditional rule structures.

The elementary course of studies in "Composition and Letter Writing" evidenced an initial concern with the potential practical applicability of language, as well as a recognition of individuality in written expression:

> Composition and Letter Writing -- Reproduction as an occasional exercise may used profitably, but the bringing out of originality is of most permanent value. Instruction should be given as to the proper method of opening, closing, folding, and addressing a letter. A good knowledge of the forms used in general correspondence should be given. [7]

The inclusion of a practical set of skills and procedures in lieu of "reproduction" exercise indicates a preliminary alteration of assumptions on 'individuality' and 'social utility' of written literacy.

The practical orientation in the elementary curriculum was paralleled by three major alterations in the 1892 High School Course of Study:

1. the inclusion of a 'commercial course' to augment existing Classical and English courses of study,
2. the increased prescription of English literature to augment existing Greek and Latin texts,
3. the introduction of extensive new courses in the natural and mathematical sciences.

Yet the late 19th century reform did not involve a structural alteration of the pragmatics of classroom interaction; well into the 20th century, archetypal exercises like rote recitation, oral reading, and mechanical handwriting instruction dominated literacy instruction (and thereby controlled the communicational 'field' generated in all 'other' instruction).

By 1908 the content of the English course of study had changed. The 'classics' of English literature had superseded the Classics of antiquity as prescribed readings, and the integration of the natural sciences had been completed. Most traditional practices were retained in 'modernized' formats; the 1908 curriculum represented more of a repackaging than substantive change. In fact, 1909 reading lists were more highly specified, and therefore prescriptive, than 19th century

curricula. Students in the "Junior" course were to read Scott's Ivanhoe, in addition to the Fifth Reader text.

Students in the "Advanced High School Course" focused their reading and writing performances on the analysis of these prescribed works:

> Goldsmith's The Deserted Village; Byron's Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, Canto IV.; Wordsworth's Upon Westminster Bridge, The Green Linnet, To the Cuckoo, She was a Phantom of Delight, Thought of a Briton on the Subjugation of Switzerland; Scott's Rosabelle, The Outlaw, The Rover, Jock of Hazeldean; Shelley's Oxymandias of Egypt, To a Skylark; Keat's On First Looking into Chapman's Homer, The Terror of Death, Ode to a Nightingale, Ode to Autumn, The Human Seasons (Select Poems, ed. Alexander, 1897). [8]

The specific prescription of English texts was paralleled by the relegation of Greek and Latin works to anthology texts like Henderson and Fletcher's First Latin Book and Reader. Yet, of note is a historical change in sensibility within the Classical 'high literacy' study; the Classics of antiquity had been superseded by the works of late 18th and 19th century Romantic poets. Critics of a Classical monopoly on criteria and standards would have lauded any attempts to design more contemporary curriculum; yet the continued literary focus of the course of studies and the resultant subjugation of literate performances to literary content, reflected the institutional legitimation of the Classical paradigm of 'high literacy'.

The 1909 courses of study fostered the more complete integration of varied genres and epochs of English literature into

the high school curriculum, as well as a greater integration of different types of English language study into the elementary curriculum. The secondary curriculum included, at all levels, works by English authors like Pope, Spencer, Shakespeare, Ruskin, Dryden, and Carlyle, and French and German literature by Voltaire, Moliere, and others.

The instructional methodology required that students apply most non-literary literate performances (handwriting, spelling, themes) to the criticism of this altered body of 'quality' literature.

On the elementary level, a number of curricular and instructional innovations indicated altered assumptions regarding the transmission and acquistion of literate skills. In the lower elementary grades the continued reading and language emphasis on oral recitation was augmented by the "Phonic Drill". The 1909 specifications for literacy-related curriculum were as follows:

> 1. Reading: First and Second Primers, First Reader and Second Reader. Recitation and Supplementary Reading. Phonic drill to be continued to the end of the Second Reader.
>
> 2. Language: Language study as indicated in Readers. Phonic drill for correct pronunciation. Transcription and dictation. Simple oral and written description of narratives. [9]

In this curriculum, paraphrase ("description of narratives") was substituted for the previously described performances of the writing of formal abstracts, essays, and written reproduction of memorized texts. The introduction of paraphrase was a tacit curricular recognition of the learner's capacity to linguistically process textual content as well as to uncritically

reproduce it.

The elementary language curriculum required literate performances of 'other' disciplinary content, including: "oral and written reproduction of substance of geography, history, and nature lessons." [10] The recognition that materials from disciplines other than the formal study of literature have an appropriate place in language instruction was indicative of the aforementioned Utilitarian and Progressive concern with the 'transfer of training' of skills and knowledge.

A reconsideration of the continued emphasis on formal grammar instruction is evident in the 1911 curriculum. At the senior high school level, teachers were instructed to omit from the study of Syke's Elementary Composition textbook "the memorization exercise; loose periodic and compromise sentences; balanced sentences, explicit reference, parallel construction, transition, proportion, rhythm, climax and sentence stress." [11]

The period from 1880 to 1920 marked the gradual curricular reconsideration of the exclusive study of Classical literature as the primary content of literacy instruction. Yet the change was only on the ostensible level of content -- the introduction of natural sciences and vocational/commerical programs, the replacement of Classics by more contemporary English and Canadian works of 'quality', and the integration of materials from other subjects into literacy instruction did not fundamentally alter the pragmatic frame of literacy instruction. Well into the new

century, the ambiance of language instruction was determined by the continuation of oral reading, recitation, and literature study as the principal instructional and evaluative method.

While the Classics' control over the curriculum had been eroded on the level of content, traditional instructional methodology continued to stipulate the principal schooling codes of linguistic and behavioral control which mediated the transmission of virtually all curricular knowledge. Subjective 'literary criticism' evaluation of student literacy continued in late 19th and early 20th century schooling; the formal Provincial Examination system remained the primary mode of student evaluation.

The evaluation of student, teacher and institutional performances assumed the form of subjective connoisseurship, legitimated by teacher/inspector authority. Jessop had introduced the 'modern' grading system for evaluating student performance. Most B. C. schoolmasters and teachers had previously instructed and evaluated students on traditional criteria; each student had been given an individual assignment for subsequent 'recitation' which was, in turn, valued by the teacher/critic. [12] In 1872, Jessop introduced in B. C. schools the Toronto Normal School system of first to fifth class grading (Johnson, 1964). With this model, Jessop restructured teacher-centered evaluation of student performance. A preliminary introduction of a more defensibly 'objective' mode of evaluation, the system categorically

and numerically legitimated subjective teacher judgement. In this respect, the imposition of a modern grading system changed the format but not the individualistic nature of connoisseurship evaluation.

In traditional schooling, transmission and evaluation of knowledge was a 'monological' exercise within which the student was constrained by discipline, decorum, and thus altogether 'acted upon' (Freire, 1973). The teacher's decisions on the value of student performance were habitually justified as the consequence of the application of immutable, traditional rule systems. Bernstein (1972) has theorized that the traditional system created a 'high barrier' environment within which systems of constraint formalize and codify all student responses and cognition.

During his tenure as Superintendent, Jessop introduced the system of formal year end oral (and later, written) examinations which Ryerson had instituted in Ontario (Putman, Weir 1925). The method and criteria utilized to evaluate students who were seeking teacher certification or high school entrance, reinforced the traditional literacy instructional methodology and curricular content.

Standardized testing would not begin in B. C. until 1923 (see Chapter 6). Connoisseur examinations were first administered in July 31, 1872 on a limited basis for certifying teachers. [13] These first examinations consisted of oral and

written sections; students gave recitations, wrote papers and answered oral questions. The first formal examination of students in various grades on a provincial basis occurred in 1872 when the guidelines required that teachers "have at the end of each half year -- public examinations of his school, of which he shall give due notice to the trustees of the school, and through his pupils to the parents, guardians." [14] The examination system was initiated as a means for: a) the certification of practitioner competence and, b) educational accountability, as well as, c) the grading of student (and future practitioner) performance.

The 1896 examinations required oral student responses to teacher questions before congregated trustees, parents and visitors. [15] Regardless of how 'subjective' such a system may appear now, the evaluation instrument was clearly devised as a means for the teacher to represent the performative capacities of the students. The trustee or parent would then be able to form judgements about both the instruction (teacher) and the product of that instruction (pupil).

The 1884 examinations had been administered in subjects such as Ancient History, Euclid, Education and the Art of Teaching, Spelling, English Literature, Latin and other subjects. [16] Qualifying candidates for "second" and "third class" certificates (which enabled them to teach at the elementary level) were required to perform basic literacy skills like expressive oral

reading, legible handwriting, sentence parsing, letter writing and prose composition. Yet to be entitled to a "First Class Grade A Certificate", and, thereby, to teach at the Secondary Level, the prospective teacher had to demonstrate a knowledge of Greek and Latin by translating Caesar, Horace, Homer and Xenophon. All normal school applicants for teaching certification, regardless of level, were required to be acquainted with the curriculum, modes of discipline and the School Act. [17] The traditional educational paradigm demanded that a prospective practitioner acquire expertise in Classical 'high literacy.

By 1900, written and oral responses were required on the Examination. Yet the grading of written examination essays involved subjective analysis of the student's literate proficiency by the teacher/critic. Furthermore, the numerical scaling of examination marks was inconsistent and erratic. In 1900, The Board of Examiners Minutes noted that:

> On July 23rd, the question of the reading marks awarded by the Examiner in charge of the Kamloops Centre was brought forward by the Superintendent. It was resolved that all marks in reading under 25 be raised to 25. This was accordingly done by all the examiners who had charge of examination centres. [18]

This event exemplifies the subjectivity and unreliability of 'local' exam marking and scaling in spite of efforts by the Department to remediate such subjectivity.

By 1911, the various Provincial inspectors were appointed to administer and mark examinations at the regional centers.

Among the inspectors sent into the field on January 27th, were J.S. Gordon, Inspector Sullivan, S.J. Willis and G.E. Robinson.[19] These men (of 23 inspectors, one woman and one reverend were included) were the first itinerant examiners; the Department recognized that, particularly in light of the innovation of vocational programs, the local examination of all students must be centrally controlled by Inspectors.

In the previous century, as mentioned, the role of the inspector had involved the subjective evaluation of schools and teachers. By 1910, as their predecessor Arnold in 1851, B.C. Inspectors were summoned to administer and mark written and oral examinations in the field. Yet the typical criteria and methods for school evaluation remained subjective and individualistic in nature and thus tended to reinforce, rather than question, the system of senior connoisseurship.

'High culture' evaluation itself was dependent upon the capacity of the senior critic (legitimate authority by virtue of accumulated acquisition of knowledge and experience) to 'value' whole literate performances like formal discourse, recitation by rote, forensics, formal compositional criticism as well as the actual creative writing. The teacher appraised student literate performance (which itself frequently included literary criticism) on the basis of the interaction of the critic's personal expertise with consensually accepted codes and rule systems.

The inspectorship system of Canada and England was premised

on the responsibility of the individual inspector to the next level of hierarchical connoisseurship. The credibility and viability of this paradigmatic classical mechanism was dependent upon the acceptance of the legitimated authority of the evaluators (school inspectors, administrators, teacher/grader, exam marker/critic of the student text) as much as upon the appropriateness, validity or quality of the method and criteria utilized by that evaluator.

In conclusion, turn of the century B.C. education reflected changes in the content of literacy related schooling practices on a topical and nominal level. Major structural changes in the codes of instruction and evaluation of literate performance had yet to occur. While the traditional curriculum itself was altered in literal content, the hidden curriculum of the traditional classroom continued to mediate and stipulate codes of acceptability of language and behavior. The hidden curriculum of the traditional classroom was embodied in the constraints and limitations placed on the expressive use of language. The modalities of literate expression 'allowed' and sanctioned by the teacher/critic in the traditional environment -- recitation, oral reading, uniform handwriting, formal composition, dictation, paraphrase, epistes, transposition, parsing -- formed sets of linguistic and social limitations, imposing rigid systems of worth, validity, taste, and decorum. on student and teacher lexical choice and syntactical structure.

These constraints on symbolic interaction of the classroom (in speech and text) were reinforced by the imposition of social and physical order upon the student by the threat of physical, moral, and literary critical retribution for overt deviation from formally acknowledge rule systems. The result was a form of student mutism, being "benumbed" as Putman and Weir (1925) put it, a logical outcome from an environment characterized by the complete monopoly of control of language by the teacher. Various observers attested to this communicational lassitude, 'deadness', in the 19th and early 20th century classroom.

Therefore, the systematic codes of traditional education successfully weathered even the gradual deemphasis of the corpus of literal knowledge (the Classics) upon which they were initially premised. In this manner, the Classical paradigm's methodology would outlast its disciplinary content; ironically, the dogmatic methodology generated to instruct and evaluate Classics qua curricular content habitually reproduced itself. Classicism/Traditionalism was able to maintain structural control over schooling by controlling the interactional frame of the classroom. In this respect, rote recitation was an appropriate metaphor for itself; on the eve of Putman and Weir's proposals for Progressive reform, student oral recitation as an instructional and evaluative mode, continued to be uncritically repeated by traditional practitioners.

CHAPTER 4: REFERENCES

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CHAPTER 5

1920-1925: THE DEMAND FOR REFORM

The 1923 Public Schools Report noted that the secondary school population of 4,841 did not record any increases during the war years of 1916 and 1917. At war's end, the influx of veterans into the school system increased secondary school enrollement to a total of 8,624 students. [1] As Ormsby (1972) writes: "By 1919, the classroom of the Old Fairview Shacks, still University buildings, were crowded by young men from all parts of Canada, returned soldiers who were old in experience but inspired by a youthful eagerness for knowledge." [2] While the increase in student enrollment strained the existing financial and administrative structure of the educational system, it simultaneously provided the opportunity for a comprehensive reformulation of that system utilizing the increased funding allocated to education. Returning veterans would, in part, comprise a group of post-war educators who would 'modernize' B.C. education through an increasingly influential Teachers Federation and, eventually, within the Department of Education. A 'managerial' group of practitioners, imbued with post-war concerns for technological and financial efficiency, and the democratic social integration of the individual, would alter the policy and practice of the B.C. educational system over a twenty year period.

Yet the displacement of the traditional educational model by a Progressive paradigm which emphasized individualism, scientific methodology, social utility and instructional/administrative efficiency, was not the consequence of a single precedent setting report like The Survey of the School System by Putman and Weir in 1925.

This discussion of the school system, during the period between the conclusion of the war and the commissioning of the Putman Weir Report, will identify increasing B.C. practitioner awareness of Progressive tenets. Although traditional methodologies continued to dominate schooling structure, a variety of identifiably 'Progressive' innovations foreshadowed the impending Departmental prescription of Progressive pedagogy.

The 1923 Programme of Studies reorganized the high school system into grade levels: Grade IX, X, XI, and Senior Matriculation, eliminating the aforementioned junior/senior grade structure. This curriculum provided a systematic set of course substitutions which enabled the student to select from various "programmes of study". Two identifiably innovative course options were Canadian History (replacing the conventional Civics course) and Science (as an equivalent to the foreign language course).[3]

In 1921, T.J. Trapp Technical School (New Westminster) and Vancouver Technical School had officially opened.[4] During this period, the secondary curriculum offered 'streams' (of studies)

from which students could chose. Yet the 'selection' procedure which determined secondary entrance still required that all entrants write the formal Junior Matriculation Examination at the end of Grade XII.

In the 1923 elementary English curriculum, The Canadian Readers, replaced the 20th Century Readers at the beginning of the school year and were favorably received by teachers and their pupils." The elementary and secondary curriculum in English and Language Study called for the introduction of the MacLean Method of Muscular Writing (for instruction) and the Ayres Scale for Handwriting (for evaluation) to improve the quality of student penmanship. [5] The introduction of this method lent a 'scientific' systematization to continued Classical intensive handwriting instruction.

The 1921 Provincial Penmanship Examination (senior matriculation) required that the student complete five exercies in one hour. The first four exam questions were:

1. Write one page of General Movement Exercises, including the Left Oval, Right Oval, and Drive-and-Return (Push-and-Pull). One space and two space exercies should be shown. Use your own judgement as to selection and arrangement.

2. Write one set of capital letters, one set of small letters and two sets of figures.

3. Write the following addresses as you would write them on business envelopes . . . . . .

4. Write the following invoice . . . . . [6]

The imposition of a more 'modern' method, in this case the General Movement Exercises, perpetuated and (covertly) legitimated a traditional literacy performance. Yet, the content of this examination also emphasized utilizable skills such as invoice writing and addressing envelopes; in this respect, the examination elaborated content to some degree of social utility.

Question 5 of the examination required the student to make a copy of a printed passage, "Individuality in Writing." In this passage, the student is asked to recopy the following phrase: "The term 'individuality' has been very carelessly used in regard to Writing and is used to describe what really be termed illegible or merely writing. "Muscular Movement Writing" can be distinguished from Finger Movement writing by its legibility, freedom and grace." The didactic effect of having the student copy a passage about handwriting on a handwriting examination is total; the explicit disavowal of 'individuality' in writing as expressed in this passage, indicates and exemplifies the truly traditional intent of the Muscular Movement Writing instruction, the coopting of individual difference to a uniform quasi-scientific standard.

In this manner, ostensible innovations like the MacLean instructional method and the Ayres Handwriting Scale were, in fact, means of legitimating 'high literacy' emphasis on conformity and correctness of written expression. Appearing Progressive and modern, these instructional and evaluative instruments re-

inforced the traditional curricular system.

Regarding the textual content of student writing, the 1921 English Composition Senior Matriculation Examination conveyed less explicit literary content. The questions on this two hour, 100 point written exam were:

1. A classmate of yours is going to visit a relative in another city in which you have a friend. Write a letter introducing this classmate to your friend. (10 points)

2. Explain unity and coherence as applied to the paragraph.

3. Correct the following sentences . . . . .

4. Punctuate the following . . . . . .

5. Write an essay one one of the following subjects:
   a) Life in Cluny's Cage (Kidnapped)
   b) Protection of Bird Life (The Birds of Killingworth)
   c) Country Life: Its advantages and disadvantages

[7]

This examination deemphasized the explicit literary content of previous examinations. In contrast, the 1976 formal examination embodied an explicitly literary content. The 19th century secondary student was asked to "Define a Relative Pronoun" and "Rewrite correctly: 'Nowfaid the flimring lanskip on the site and all the air a sollem stilnes holds.' " [8] Like the Handwriting Examination, composition examination demanded a functional skill, the writing of a letter for social purposes. Regardless of changes in content, the composition examination system remained an exercise in marker connoisseurship; 79% of the mark was dependent on the teacher/critic evaluation of

students' written texts. In 1921, the student remained the 'object' of a subjective critic.

In this period, prior to the Putman Weir Report, the subjectivity of teacher grading and the existing Provincial Examination system were being questioned by proponents of more 'objective' evaluation of literacy related performance. In the 1923 Public Schools Report, Inspector Mackenzie argued that: "It ought to be possible for the high schools of Vancouver to adopt uniform standards of grading." [9] This concern for more "objectivity' of evaluational standards reflected increasing awareness that the Examination system was being utilized for the evaluation of teachers as well as their students. In 1923, Jim Patterson, Inspector of schools for Victoria, indicated that:

> While the result of the Departmental Examination for entrance to high school is not the sole criterion by which to judge the work of the schools, it is still a very important factor in determining the efficiency of teaching and few will seriously contend that failure to pass the test augers as well for the future prospects of the child. [10]

The critique of a subjective connoisseurship model was articulated by those who preferred objective scientific evaluation. In 1923, H.H. Mackenzie, municipal Inspector of Schools, stated that:

> Classroom procedure is being modernized along the lines of socializing the recitation of introducing the 'project', and achievement results are being measured objectively by the use of standardized tests. [11]

Mackenzie was suggesting that the redefinition of evaluation according to the "psychology and pedagogy of modern education"

best facilitate the assessment of school and student performance. Mackenzie was one of a post-war group of practitioners with background in the 'new' (Deweyian) pedagogy. In an inspired inspectorial report, he wrote:

> One of the most encouraging features of the work in the schools is the number of young University graduates who are taking up the work of teaching as their chosen profession. "Caed Mill Failthe" to them, one and all. Fortified by a sound university training, imbued with the spirit of scientific research, and intolerant of ancient and worn-out shibboleths, these young graduates display rare enthusiasm and genuine readiness to make themselves familiar with the newer movements in education. Such keen champions of progress and truth are bound to wield the most wholesome influence upon the educational forces of the present day. [12]

Yet Mackenzie also recognized that existing schools continued to be characterized by traditional 'teacher-centered' instruction. He explained that:

> In rural schools generally and in many city classrooms about 90% of all recognized talking is done by the teacher. Under such conditions it is futile to expect any real development of language power on the part of the pupils. Of a writing of tests, and especially compositions, there is no end. These compositions in most cases are diligently and scientiously re-inked, sometimes beyond all recognition. But there is an end of the matter. The errors are not brought home to the offenders against the rules of the fame of writing English, and as a consequence there is a repetition of errors ad infinitum. Within the exception of the more experienced teachers, very few have any definite plan or scheme for teaching English in the grades. [13]

The remediation of this pedagogical anomaly was seen to require teacher re-education in modern ideas of education and modern methods. The 1923 Public Schools Report, one local in-

spector states that: "Modern methods of classroom procedure and standardized tests for measuring achievement as well as intelligence have been devised. No teacher can afford to be in ignorance of these achievements." [14] Consequently, J.M. Patterson, Inspector of the Victoria Area Schools mentioned that "many teachers have availed themselves to the opportunity to increasing their efficiency by attending the Summer Courses at Vancouver, Victoria and elsewhere, and as a consequence are bringing into their schools a new freshness and vigor." [15] The movement to acquaint practitioners with 'new' (paradigmatic) methodology had been initiated.

Clearly, a general movement towards a Progressive modernization of pedagogy was beginning in B.C. in 1923, prior to the Putman Weir Report. Furthermore, the evidence here suggests that School Inspectors like Patterson, Mackenzie and Gordon, who had practiced under the traditional system of individualistic, subjective judgement, were accepting Progressive criteria and standards.

Departmental acceptance of more scientifically oriented methodology was best exemplified by the January, 1923 administration of the Indiana University Mental Survey Tests or the Illinois General Intelligence Scale to Vancouver students from grades I to X. Apparently, the tests had been administered occasionally for the previous few years in Vancouver; Inspector Gordon reported that the district-wide test scores were used on

an experimental basis to corroborate subjective teacher ranking of their students' intelligences. He explained:

> As most of those tested had been with their teachers for at least a term, the teachers naturally had formed their own opinions as to their comparative intelligence. To test the accuracy of their judgements...it was agreed that each teacher should arrange the members of her class in order of merit before giving them the standard tests and ranking them according to scores obtained... The general impression, however, seemed to be that, where a very great difference occured between the teacher's first ranking of a pupil and her second, with the aid of the tests, the latter was more reliable if the tests were properly given and the scores properly reckoned. It is therefore highly probable that standardized tests may be used more commonly in future as an aid in the classification of pupils. [16]

Thus, the purpose of this revolutionary application of standardized instruments on a district-wide basis was to test the accuracy of subjective teacher judgement of student intelligence. In fact, the administration of tests in B.C. was the first step towards a reappropriation of that subjective inspector/teacher evaluative authority by an apparatus of 'objective' scientific validity. The advent of standardized testing in B.C. gains even greater importance when viewed in relation to the continued recognition by Inspectors in the early 1920's of widespread practitioner adherence to 'unacceptable' traditional methods; a polarization of 'modern' vs. 'traditional' opinion was occurring in B.C.

It was in this transitional period that the Putman Weir Report of 1924-25 was commissioned. Despite the advent of modern methods and curriculum, B.C. schools continued to operate

under traditional standards and criteria. Only eight of the sixty-seven high schools were large enough to offer vocational programs; all secondary entrants were still required to write the Junior Matriculation Examination (Johnson, 1964), which demanded proficiency at a variety of traditional literary skills. While the movement towards a socially utilizable curriculum in literacy-related subject had begun prior to 1925, the instructional and evaluational frame remained teacher-centered and authoritarian. While curricular content reflected a reconsideration of the 'social utility' question, recitation, oral reading, formal grammar and composition based on literature study continued to prescribe and transmit a 'high literacy'.

Polarization of attitudes about education in B.C. was evident as early as 1922 -- when the B.C. Teachers Federation passed a unanimous resolution requesting a comprehensive evaluation of the Provincial educational system (Johnson, 1964). J.D. MacLean, Minister of Education from 1916 to 1927, indicated in 1923 that he would commission such a survey once the necessity was established. By 1924, virtually all politically interested groups in B.C., both Progressives and traditionalists, were demanding a comprehensive survey (qua evaluational judgement) of B.C. educational practices and policies. A survey of the public and political dialogue of 1923 and 1924 reveals that, although they held conflicting perceptions of the 'defects' of the existing system, traditionalists and Progressives saw the

survey as the principal means for educational reform. On April 17th, 1923, Rev. J. Hinchliffe, Conservative MLA for Victoria, stated in a public meeting that:

> There is dissatisfaction from one end of the province to the other on the part of many people of our educational system. It costs too much and the results are too small. There should be an educational survey to find out whether that dissatisfaction has any real basis or not. Some of these defects seem to me so serious as to justify an inquiry. [17]

Hinchliffe's anxieties about the state of the educational system were based on his Conservative beliefs in the preservation of traditional practices and values embodied in the British educational system.

In November of 1923, Hinchliffe reiterated the necessity for a comprehensive survey and, also, commented on the apparent erosion of "British Teachings" at the University of B.C. Rev. Hinchliffe condemned the satirizing and lampooning of British poet Sir Henry Newgate in the student paper Ubyssey, and stated that this incident was representative of the inadequate teaching of patriotism. In the same speech, "Poetry and Patriotism", Hinchliffe restated his call for a comprehensive survey of education. He explained that such a survey should operate from a well-articulated definition of the role of school and society:

> What should be the nature of such a survey? First, it should determine the Government's responsibility. The ideal education is that which sends young people out into the world physically, mentally, morally, and spiritually fitted to make their way as good citizens. At present religious education in the schools is forbidden and so apparently the Govern-

ment is not responsible for the students' spiritual health. [18]

Hinchliffe, in his defense of traditional, 'British' values, saw the proposed survey as a means towards more traditional, Conservative practices in the schools. Yet even Hinchliffe, opposed to any 'radical' reform scheme, assented to the contemporary recognition of schooling as an instrumental means towards preparing students for the economic and political milieu.

On the other hand, Progressive educators in the province, like H.B. King, argued that any summary survey of the school system could improve the prospects of modernization. When Hinchliffe represented his Conservative Victoria constituency's concern with the erosion of English tradition, many Lower Mainland and Vancouver (where mass testing had been accepted) demanded more 'modern', and American criteria and methods in schooling.

Consequently, in 1923, a delegation of teachers, trustees, administrators, ratepayers and city council members from the Lower Mainland met with MacLean in Victoria. In November, H.B. King, formally a Major in the War and then principal of General Gordon School in Vancouver, led the commission; he outlined the necessity, cost and structure for a commission of inquiry.

MacLean and King's meeting was documented in a Victoria Colonist article under the headline, "Say School System is Now Out of Date." The article reported that King "pointed out that there was a general demand for this survey, which was sufficient

proof that there was something that required adjusting. The delegation was representing people that felt there was something wrong." [19]

King proposed a budget of $30,000 to $40,000 for the survey. Yet, significantly, he and MacLean differed over the criteria of selection of the commissioners. The Colonist reported that:

> The name of Dr. Weir of the University of British Columbia was mentioned as one who might be suitable for the post, but Major King did not think that he would be suitable under all circumstances. This was something that required special qualifications and he did not know of any men in Canada who had the necessary qualifications for it.

Consequently, King suggested that, "If they desired an unprejudiced report that an outsider should be obtained," then "he favored going to the United States for a man to take this survey." More specifically, King further suggested that the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation's "permanent body of experts in this work connected with that board", would best qualify to undertake such a survey.

That King should have proposed the Rockefeller Foundation's experts for B.C. evaluation is evidence of the greater influence of corporate philanthropy upon the emerging scientific apparatus of curriculum, test and evaluation design.

In the early 20th century the modern evaluators, test and curriculum developers, and educational psychologists, were subsumed by their economic dependency on the dominant corporate interests of the era, subsidized and thus made responsible to a

'minority' sector which asserted economic control over virtually all levels of institutional life (Bowles, Gintis, 1971).

> The 'early work' on testing was financed by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and both Thorndike and Terman received substantial foundation grants....In 1930 Rockefeller's General Education Board gave a half a million dollars for the foundation of Corporation Test Services (itself established by Rockefeller and Carnegie money 1918); Rockefeller and Carnegie money supported the Education Records Bureau, the Graduate Records Office, the National Committee on Teacher's Examination, and the College Entrance Examination Board. In the first half of the century these organizations alone received over seven million from the Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations (Marks, 1974) [20]

Marks (1974), Bowles and Gintis (1971) and Hamilton (1978) discuss the influence of corporate managerial structures upon the early 20th century Progressive redesign of the American educational system. In Canada, 'functionalist' assumptions of Progressive vocational educational schemes dictated the upgrading of the educational basic skills level of the working populations to serve the manpower and consumption needs of modern industrial society. Friedenberg (1976), Lowe (1980) and Porter (1979) have noted the direct influence of these American organization and managerial structures upon the development of early 20th century Canadian institutional domains like public schools, civil services, banks, university graduate schools and all attendant industries. Thus, King's 1924 call for an American evaluation of B.C. schools, based on a modern industrial efficiency model, was not as great a apostasy as it might have seemed to Conservatives and Canadian nationalists like Hinchliffe.

Lowe (1980) notes a tenfold increase in Canadian manufacturing production between 1900 and 1929, much of which can be attributed to the growing number of U.S. branch plants dominating the Canadian economy. Management expert F.W. Taylor had published several articles in the journal Canadian Industry which had informed the integration of 'efficiency oriented' systems into Canadian industry and institutions throughout the early part of the century (Lowe ,1980).

In 1924, King reasoned that a similar efficiency model proposed by a 'neutral' group of 'professional' experts, like the Rockefeller Foundation researchers, could best prescribe reform of B.C. schools. Thus, in 1924, Hinchliffe and King demanded the comprehensive survey of the school system for the remediation of an unacceptable status quo. Hinchliffe favored the report as a means for increasing efficiency for the maintenance of British, traditional standards and practices; King and 'modernist' educators saw the survey as a means for restructuring the educational system based on tenets of Progressive, identifiably American, pedagogy.

On November 28th, 1923, Dr. J.D. MacLean, Minister under Liberal Premier John Oliver, assured King's delegation that "we have absolutely nothing to fear from an educational survey and if we felt that such a survey would be of material benefit and had the public behind the idea we would be very glad indeed to have it." [21]

Represented in King's delegation were Vancouver teachers, Vancouver City Council representatives (Liberal G.G. McGeer was Mayor at the time), Provincial Parent Teacher Association and Trustee Association representatives. Their presence had directly indicated to MacLean that practitioners and public, at least in the Lower Mainland, favored such a survey. MacLean intended to turn the prospect of a critical survey to the political advantage of his Ministry. He stated:

> Any survey made would, however, rebound to the credit of the Department of Education, I believe. I have instigated many systems of education and I think we can safely say we have absolutely nothing to fear from a survey. Any criticism that might follow a survey, would be a small matter compared to the value that might accrue to the mass of 100,000 children who are being educated in this Province. The possibility of criticism is not to be weighted in the balance against the welfare of those children for one moment. [22]

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CHAPTER 6

THE 1925 PUTMAN WEIR REPORT AND PROGRESSIVE POLICY

Several comprehensive studies of Canadian educational history have recognized the Putman Weir Report as the earliest and preeminent statement of Progressive educational thought in Canada (Heyman et al., 1972; Lawr and Gidney, 1973). The Survey of The School System, by J.H. Putman and G.M. Weir was published in 1925 by the Department of Education. The report was a purposive synthesis of theory and practice, a systematic evaluation of the school system which proceeded from a base of identifiable and intentional pedagogical assumptions.

As a 'scientific' evaluation instrument, the Putman Weir Report was an allegedly descriptive statement on the educational system. Yet, insofar as it provided the basis for public and Departmental appraisal of the quality of that school system, the report became an instrument of administratively legitimated power with direct prescriptive effects on schooling practice.

The Deweyian critique saw the school as necessarily responsive to changes in contemporary social, economic, and political structure -- Putman and Weir directly acknowledged the relationship of schooling policy and practice to the structure of B.C. society. The report exceeded its designated (educational) function and elaborated a comprehensive Progressive overview on B.C. social and political structure.

The methodology utilized by the Commission was a coherent representation of the educational model that the document proposed, Progressively defined scientific inquiry. The philosophy and criteria of the document were scientifically instantiated and verified by a program of standardized testing. The test results were augmented by school population figures, charts, and financial statistics.

As mentioned, nominal and token innovations in literacy related curriculum and instruction had occured in the 1920's. While curricular content had accomodated scientifically and socially utilizable courses and programs, the pragmatic frame of the school and classroom remained traditional in system and structure. The transmission and determination of student literacy by the instructional and evaluative authoritarianism of the Classical model resisted institutional disestablishment. Insofar as the Putman Weir Report redefined all educationally transmitted knowledge as sets of measurable, socially utilizable skills, it indirectly informed subsequent changes in literacy conceptualization and practices.

Curricular (content) reform in itself is a partial indicator of actual alteration of 'mundane' educational praxis. Consequently, this analysis of the Putman Weir Report will focus upon the elements of Progressive reform which directly influenced schooling practices -- those proposals regarding the evaluative criteria, methods, and apparatuses for judging school, teacher,

and student performance. Previous historical studies of B.C. education (Johnson, 1964; Green, 1974; Thomson, 1972) have emphasized the report's authorial focus on curricular reform; this section will document Putman and Weir's conceptualization of student and school evaluation according to a scientific model. This practical restipulation of the codes of legitimation over instruction and interaction would be a necessary condition for the rejection of Classical literacy instructional practices.

Putman and Weir explicitly acknowledged the school as a 'functional' (socially reproductive) agency for the production of economically and socially viable individuals; such individuals would gain their social function (status) and integration as the result of institutional individuation and "treatment". The emerging sciences of developmental psychology, psychometrics and reading psychology were advocated as appropriate foundational means for the provision of democratic "equality of educational opportunity" for the individual.

Both Putman and Weir were Progressives in stated educational philosophy (Johnson, 1968; Wilson, et al. 1970). Dr. Weir had attended McGill University and was head of the Department of Education at the University of British Columbia. Weir was known in B.C. as a Liberal reformer (Ormsby, 1972) and would hold influential public office. Dr. Putman was a former Ontario Normal School instructor in Psychology and English, and in 1924 was Inspector for the Ottawa public system (Johnson, 1968). Apparently , Putman was less vociferously reform oriented than Weir.

Putman and Weir gathered a team of eastern/western Canadian (and American) educational scientists including Dr. Peter Sandiford of the University of Toronto, the recognized leader in Canadian educational psychology, and Dr. F.C. Ayer, exponant of Progressive management/administration from the University of Washington, and A.W. Cocks, an "expert in statistics."

Putman and Weir recognized the political nature of their report. In the preface to their report they wrote that:

> The attitude of the Teacher's Federation was not one of hostility towards, or dissatisfaction with, the departmental administration of the school system, but was based on the grounds that 'the common business practice of occasionally taking complete stock in order to keep up to date and progressive would be beneficial and applied to the tremendously important business of education. (PW, v.)

In spite of this disclaimer of malicious intent, Putman and Weir recognized that their Commission had been formed because of practitioner and public skepticism of existing practices in B.C. The authors framed their task with commercial metaphors ("business practice") and culminated with the pedagogical pun of "keeping up to date and progressive". Far from being politically naive or neutral academic inquirers, Putman and Weir were conscious of the political and educational controversy generated by the report.

Hearings held by the Putman Weir Commission opened in July 1923 and the press reports indicate that these first Vancouver meetings began in the same tone of political accusation and

rhetoric which had initiated the survey in 1922.

The July 8th Vancouver Evening Sun ran a page one banner headline which read:

PARENTS TO TESTIFY IN QUIZ
Schools will be probed

The Sun indicated that the Putman Weir commission "has not been idle in the past few weeks.....conducting classroom tests in Vancouver and Victoria. The purpose of the series of public meetings was to give all public organizations, interested in education, the opportunity to attend and present their points of view." [1]

On August 6th, the commission heard from school trustees who claimed that school boards were determining policy regarding the selection of teachers "behind closed doors" (Evening Sun, Aug.6, p. 1). During the hearings a group of teachers "took strong stands against the present examination system, demanding that it militated against the best day in and day out work and failed to cultivate a love for study and for knowledge." [2] At the same session, the Provincial President of the W.C.T.U. called for more scientific temperance education.

In September, the commission held similar hearings in Victoria; local MLA Hinchliffe led a series of speakers on the deficiencies of the existing educational system. In a brief speech, Rev. Hinchliffe linked his demand for more religious instruction with the dictum that schools should respect the individual;

> We want to have more individual instruction. It is impossible that every child should be forced into the same mould. [3]

In this respect, Hinchliffe's conservative defense of religious training was corroborated by the Progressive call for individual difference. Various schemes for the improvement of "national efficiency" were forwarded at the Victoria hearings; physical labor must be taught and dignified; political economy, business, and patriotism must be taught in the schools. Other speakers demanded increased cost efficiency and public accountability. Navy representatives called for more military train-in in schools. The next morning's Victoria Daily Colonist headline read: "Say School Curricula Should be More Practical".[4] During the public meetings of 1924, virtually all segments of the B.C. population seemed to be asserting dissatisfaction with the educational 'status quo'; Conservatives joined Progressives to demand educational efficiency and practicality.

In the report, Putman and Weir addressed this polarization of B.C. educators and public, condemning the "inherent Conservatism in the minds of educators and schoolmen that shows itself in a reluctance to depart from cherished theories and practices in the education field even when these have been scientifically disproved." (PW, p.4)

In the section entitled "Traditional Aims Manifest in the B.C. School System", Putman and Weir were critical of practitioners who continued to perpetuate the "constant immersion in benumbing class-room practices". As an alternative, they proposed that education reassert a (practical) relationship to the society within which it existed: "The needs of life are constantly

changing and educational practice must undergo a process of adjustment to the demands and needs of an ever evolving social background." (PW p,40) Thus, in the specification of the "measurable objectives" of education, Putman and Weir advocated a pedagogy of social efficiency which would enable the indvidual learner to acquire the measurable skills with which he or she would be able to develop, integrate, and function within their specific social milieu.

The fundamental obstacle to the attainment of the stated Progressive objectives of the Putman Weir Report (equality of educational opportunity, individualism, scientific selection, social and institutional efficiency) was the continued authoritarianism of student/teacher interaction and subjective evaluation retained from 19th century pedagogy. Consequently, Putman and Weir felt that remediation of traditional inequalities depended on the installation of modernized scientific methodology. A comprehensive renovation of the interactional structure of schooling in accordance with 'objective' scientific (and, thereby, 'fair' and 'equal') methods and practices was proposed.

The Deweyian theoretical basis underlying the Putman Weir Report suggested scientific methodology (psychometrics, statistics, developmental psychology) as the appropriate means towards egalitarian and democratic 'new' pedagogical ends. Dr. Sandiford was called upon to scientifically legitimate the Putman Weir inquiry; that is, Sandiford's contribution of

scientific discourses and apparatuses would generate a "state of the art" data base for the formation and justification of evaluative conclusions about the 'efficiency' of B.C. schools. Sandiford's work enforced a 'scientific objectivity' and, therefore, lent credibility to an intentionally polemical document.

Yet Sandiford's test administrations and reports simultaneously functioned as 'exemplary' operational standardized testing models which Putman and Weir would recommend for the evaluation of students and school performance. Putman and Weir's plan for educational reform necessitated the use of standardized test instruments (instead of Provincial Examinations) to select and categorize students and schools.

Within the Progressive theoretical schema, standardization of evaluative judgement would insure the recognition (diagnosis, evaluation) of individual difference, and would enable the practitioner to make correlative provision for that difference (streaming, treatment, remediation).

In 1925, the Provincial Examination system was the principal mode for the explicit and tacit evaluation of teachers and schools, as well as the primary 'quantifier' of student performance. Putman and Weir criticized this 'outmoded' system as an impediment to 'objectivity' of evaluation, relating their skepticism of subjective examinations to the more general condemnation of 'traditional' practitioners;

> Rigidity and formalism in school organization, undue emphasis on the curriculum, Gradgrind methods of instruction, and the tendency to estimate educational results by terms such as marks, percentages, or proportions of 'passes' are the besetting sins of those schoolmen who consider examination results to be the chief criterion of the teacher's success in the class-

> room or the most reliable measure of the school's efficience. The provincial examinations are the outgrowth of an educational system essentially Prussian, rather than British in spirit. (PW, p.259)

The existing examination system's function was seen as one of central control. Putman and Weir wrote: "The attainment of definite and uniform provincial standards on uniform examination papers is the most convenient, if not the most scientific method of rating the efficiency of the large number of schools that come under departmental supervision." (PW, p.259) Thus, Putman and Weir recognized that student and school examination results were the criteria with which the Department of Education (and area boards/trustees) determined efficiency of schooling.

If, as I have proposed, the essential character of the Examinations remained 'traditional' in content, criteria and subjective method, it could be hypothesized that the utilization of results on these Examinations for Departmental policy decisions 'selected' in favor of the continuation of high literacy practices. The Putman Weir Report recognized that "ratepayers estimate the efficiency of their schools in terms of examination results." (PW, p.260) It follows, then, that the public had been quantifying efficiency of the educational system in terms of its capacity to transmit 'high literacy' rather than the practical efficiency that Putman and Weir claimed the public wanted.

Putman and Weir asserted that the examination encouraged traditional "formal discipline" in instruction and classroom organization. They stated that "the examinations are based al-

most exclusively on the traditional formal disciplinary doctrine" (PW, p1262). Recognizing that teachers must teach towards the examination for their own and their school's institutional survival, Putman and Weir deduced that the time and emphasis devoted to preparation for year-end examinations is "largely ineffective because of the lack of definite objectives and scientific standards." (PW, p263)

Therefore the report claimed that the Examinations, through the paradigmatic 'standards' they legitimated, brought schooling and classroom practice into alignment with traditional curriculum which the examinations were initially created to evaluate. The resulting subjugation of institutional practices by the evaluative expectations of the examination assured the perpetuation of traditional codes of control (senior critical authority and judgement) over knowledge and behavior.

In the section of the Putman Weir Report, entitled the "Unreliability of the Traditional Examination", Thorndike was quoted to outline the inadequacies of the subjective model used in the marking and scaling of Examination papers:

> Moreover, even when we (examiners/markers) did know fairly well what we were measuring, the mark or grade given by any one examiner might correspond only by a shockingly wide margin with the reality...It may be thought that such variations as this, 28 to 90, are largely due to a general severity or leniency in the judge, in which case deans, scholarship committees, and even students, might allow for them by multiplying each instructor's marks by some quality representing his personal equation. The more important factors in causing such variations are, however, variations in the importance assigned to different qualities and

> a sheer inability to judge educational products accurately. Allowance for personal severity or leniency fails to eliminate the variation or greatly to reduce it. (PW, p.261)

Thorndike called the examinations a system of "alleged measures" and was explicitly critical of literacy criticism marking which was inherently unreliable and non-standardized (and therefore prejudicial).

The report proposed that "until this system is discarded, and its abolition cannot occur too soon "the Examinations must be made more 'objective' and less traditional in structure." (PW, p.269) Consequently, the report recommended the introduction of more objectively marked test questions and statistical modes of scaling. The utilization of teachers to mark tests was also encouraged, questioning the continued domination of marking/criticism by Professors and Inspectors.

The other major proposal regarding evaluational practices was for the elimination of Junior Matriculation Examinations, then administered to all grade VIII students (PW, p.269). This traditional evaluation had functioned as a high school entrance examination; students unable to perform to high literacy standards (formal composition, literary analysis, formal grammar, muscular movement handwriting) were precluded from pursuing education past grade VIII.

This continued recognition of the Provincial Examinations as the primary scale for judging student and school efficiency was inimical to the Progressive goals of equality of opportunity

and access to (high school) education for non-academically (non-literarily) oriented students. In essence, the domination of 'selection' practices exercised by the traditional model had enabled that model (and its practitioners) to select in favor of itself, legitimated student performance according to the authoritarian exercise of traditional rule systems.

The regulatory function of the Junior Matriculation Examination restricted access to high school and thereby to teaching and 'professional' occupations. A further implication of Putman and Weir's critique was that, by sanctioning traditional evaluation methods, the Department legitimated the continued instruction in 'high literacy' and precluded the modernization of literacy instruction. In this sense, the examinations were precluding the transmission of socially utilizable (and measureable) skills.

Sandiford, Putman and Weir explicitly recommended the abolition of the system because of its non-scientific subjectivity, stating that,

> if the traditional written examinations were an accurate test of intelligence or of educational attainment, a strong defence for retaining them as an integral part of the Provincial school system could be offered. (PW, p.260)

Scientifically researched and developed evaluation was proposed for student diagnosis; scientific instruction and curriculum were regarded as the alternative to traditional practices.

The Putman Weir Report systematically criticized traditional

literacy practices; a general criticism of traditional reading instruction was outlined, recommending that 'high literacy' practices be replaced by more child-centered and scientific methods. Putman and Weir explained that:

> Outside of the cities very little systematic instruction in silent reading was found in the elementary schools of British Columbia. At the normal schools the majority of teachers obtain an elementary knowledge of the psychology of the reading process, including such points as the work of the eye in reading, pauses, movements, inner utterance, and how meaning dawns...With this theoretical perspective the majority of students should not find it difficult to gain a mastery over the technique of silent reading sufficient for actual classroom needs. The majority of teachers state, however, that they were given no instruction whatever in this very important subject while they were taking their professional instruction. (PW, p.146)

Referring to the 1924 Year Book of the National Society of Education, they condemned the use of the 3 R's and Classical methods in reading instruction. The existing situation in B. C. schools was interpreted as:

> a serious indictment of the present school regime in the teaching of reading with its grotesquely misplaced emphasis on oral reading and its utter neglect of reading in the true sense of the term -- silent interpretation of the printed symbols. (PW, p.146)

The practices of oral reading were considered repressive of the domains, types, or taxonomic levels of reading that modern reading psychologists like Thorndike and Sandiford had identified (e.g. comprehension levels, decoding skills). Sandiford related his claims of the validity of silent reading to the improvement of other modalities of literate behavior. He

explained that, "Thought comprehension is basic to thought expression."

Thus, Putman and Weir noted that the supersession of existing "formal discipline" could only be achieved by the complete modernization of instruction and evaluation of literacy practices. In 1925, the major innovative methodologies for literacy instruction included textbooks of scientifically gradated difficulty, unit lesson plans, silent and remedial reading programs, and standardized reading achievement and intellectual aptitude (I.Q.) tests.

Sandiford, Putman and Weir recommended the utilization of standardized tests in lieu of the Provincial Examination system as 1) the criteria for assessments of student performance and achievement, and 2. the criteria for public and governmental judgements about educational efficiency. Thus, tests were introduced, primarily, as a more 'objective' means for accountability.

The format of the Putman Weir Report methodologically embodied its primary stated objectives; scientific methods were used as the primary method of appraising student and school performance. In July, 1924 Sandiford administered a set of preliminary arithmetic and spelling tests to sample groups of students in British Columbia and Ontario (PW, p.360). The purpose of these tests was to provide the Putman Weir Commission with comparative data on the performance of B. C. and Ontario students.

Sandiford was piloting test methodology for the major evaluative component of the 1925 report: the province-wide administration of standardized tests to 17,000 students. It could be speculated that the 1924 administration of preliminary tests was Sandiford's attempt to familiarize himself with the statistical characteristics of the B. C. student population relative to a familiar Ontario 'control group', prior to undertaking the most comprehensive administration of standardized aptitude and achievement tests to date in Canada. (see Table 3)

TABLE 3

THE TESTING PROGRAM:

THE 1925 PUTMAN WEIR REPORT

High Schools and Normal Schools	Grade
1. B. C. Test in General Intelligence	IX-XII and Normal
2. B. C. Test in History	IX-XII and Normal
3. B. C. Test in Geography	IX-XII and Normal
4. B. C. Test of General Science	X-XII and Normal
5. Ruch-Popenoe Test in General Science	X-XII and Normal
6. Hotz Algebra Test	X-XII and Normal
7. Henmon Latin Tests	X-XII and Normal
8. Henmon French Test I	X-XII and Normal

Elementary Schools	
1. Pinter-Cunningham Primary Mental Test	I-II
2. National Intelligence Test	III-VIII
3. B. C. Spelling Test	II-VIII
4. Ayres Burgess Silent Reading	III-V
5. Thorndike-McCall Reading Scale	VI-VIII
6. Woody-McCall Mixed Fundamentals in Arithmetic	III-VIII
7. B. C. Test of Fundamentals in Arithmetic	III-VIII
8. B. C. Test in Geography	VI-VIII
9. B. C. Test in History	VIII

Supplementary Testing	
1. Ayres Scale for Handwriting	II-VIII
2. Pinter-Patterson Scale for Performance	*
3. B. C. General Intelligence Test	1st year U.B.C.

*Japanese and Chinese students only.

source: Putman Weir Report (1925)

A total of 20 standardized instruments comprised the testing program; the tests varied from locally modified, scaled or developed achievement batteries to standardized American and Canadian instruments. All of the intelligence and reading tests fall into the latter category. Four instruments explicitly evaluated literate behaviors: 1) The B.C. Spelling Test (II-VII) 2) The Ayres Gettysberg Scale for Handwriting (II-VII), 3) The Ayres-Burgess Scale for Measuring Ability in Silent Reading (III-V), and 4) The Thorndike McCall Reading Scale. The instruments themselves will be described in terms of the literate responses they required. A detailed analysis of the statistical data base will not be attempted, although Sandiford's interpretations and data analysis methods will be selectively reviewed.

The B. C. Spelling Test was administered to all students from grades II to VIII. The average student required twenty minutes to complete the forty response instrument (PW, p.438). Twenty words were dictated orally in "part one"; the words for Grade VII were:

assure	suggest
occupy	respectfully
probably	agreement
foreign	elaborate
expense	divide
application	really
science	celebration
circumstance	folks
issue	association
height	career

(PW, p.440)

These words had been selected from the Ayres Standardized Spelling Scale "in such a fashion that the norm from the grade

was 73%."

The second section of the test required that the student spell words dictated in whole sentences. One sentence orally read to the students was: "His EARLIEST MATERIAL was MERE nonsense." (PW, p. 440) The capitalized words were to be emphasized by the teacher when the sentence was read aloud.

The scores were reported in comparison to American norms and B. C. students were found, on the average, to be superior spellers to their American counterparts (PW, p.484). Scores were reported by grade, sex, municipality, and school district:

> In every grade girls spell better than boys... City pupils spell better than those in school districts, but not so well as those in municipalities. Finally, pupils find it easier to spell words in columns than in sentences. (PW, p.488)

Student handwriting samples on the B. C. Spelling Test were subsequently evaluated by another marking team who used the Ayres-Gettysburg Scale for Handwriting to determine the quality of student pensmanship. Because he recognized the inherently subjective nature of the marking procedure, Sandiford listed this instrument as a supplementary part of the testing program.

The Ayres Scale was used in B. C. from 1921 until 1952 (see Appendix 1). The scale required that the marker compare the given student handwriting 'response' with eight models arranged on a chart; each model provided an exemplary script against which the marker was to compare the student sample. The marker was confronted with six boxes arranged left to right in ascending

order, from the 'poor' writer (30 points) to models of progressively more 'perfect' script (90 points). The instructions to the marker stated, "to score samples slide each specimen along the scale until a writing of the same sample is found." [5] The marking process, then, was dependent upon the visual matching of student work with 'ideal' models; pupil deviation resulted in loss of points and 'lower' achievement. The scale had been published in 1912, and sold 62,000 copies before its last application in B. C. in 1952 (Conway, 1952).

The administration and marking of the scale was supervised by Inspector Daniels in Victoria (PW, p.441). Because the essential consistency of the marking depended upon the visual judgement of the markers, 27 years later, C. B. Conway would contact the remaining members of the Putman Weir marking team to aid in the 1952 readministration of the Ayres Scale; Dr. Conway felt that this would increase the validity of a 1925 vs. 1952 historical comparison.

The 1925 results indicated that "in every grade B. C. handwriting was superior to that of the United States." Yet these test results were not interpreted as positive indicators of literacy instruction in B. C. Putman, Weir, and Sandiford construed the high achievement levels in handwriting as indicative of instructional overemphasis on formal pensmanship instruction. They asked:

> Is B. C. not overemphasizing the teaching of handwriting? Such results can be achieved only by persistent effort on the part of the teacher. They indicate that time is being spent on handwriting that could very well be devoted to other subjects. After all, handwriting is not an end in itself, but a tool of learning. (PW, p.496)

Thus, the test results were utilized to condemn the continued instructional emphasis of a literate skill which had been perceived as a fundamental component of Classical/traditional education at both elementary and secondary levels. Critical of the prior definition of handwriting as of intrinsic worth, Putman and Weir reconceptualized this particular literate competence as a "tool of learning".

In this respect, the Putman Weir Report's interpretation of the handwriting performance of B. C. students reflected a shift in the assumptions governing value and worth of literate performance. The Progressive paradigm was providing an increasingly broad basis for the total scientific reconsideration of literacy instruction. Consequently, quality student performance on a high literacy modality, like handwriting, was interpreted as indicative of an instructional neglect of more utilizable literacies. Literacy itself was redefined as an instrumental agent to enhance 'other' literate performances.

Perhaps the actual results of the two silent reading test, the Ayres-Burgess Scale for Measuring Ability in Silent Reading and the Thorndike-McCall Reading Scale are of less historical importance than the fact of their administration. The institution

of more objective measures of literacy were evidence of the reconsideration of prior Departmental sanction of the high literacy paradigm.

In their recommendations for curricular reform, Putman and Weir proposed the replacement of oral reading by silent reading in instruction and evaluation. Psychologists like Thorndike and McCall were renovating contemporary literacy instruction by introducing evaluative instruments which measured student levels of performance. Paradigms of literacy assert logical congruency between the defined 'literacy' to be instructed and the 'literacy' to be evaluated. The 'high literacy' model had controlled both instructional and evaluational praxes; similarly, psychologically defined literacy would establish a congruency between proposed instructional methods and evaluative criteria and instrumentation.

Thorndike had totally reconceptualized the reading process according to scientific principles, identifying sets of measurable cognitive and physiological responses. Consequently, assumptions regarding aesthetic worth and 'beauty' were being subordinated to the concept of reading as a complex process involving textual stimuli, eye movement, subvocalization, rate, and comprehension levels.

In a 1926 article in the Teachers College Record, Sandiford outlined the behavioral redefinition of the reading process. He explained:

> The behaviourist uses stimulus as it is used in physiology, as a relatively simple factor (e.g. light waves of different length influencing the response of organisms). When these factors are more complex (as in the environment of the social world) they are called situations. Situations therefore are the total mass of stimulating factors which lead organisms, including man, to react as a whole. Response is similarly to be understood. The response may be simple or complex. [6]

While Sandiford echoed Dewey's explanations of the complex social stimuli experienced by the individual, he posited a causal relationship between stimuli (environment) and response (organism); such dichotomization contradicted the Pragmatists' argument for the necessarily interactive nature of human learning (Dewey, Bentley; 1935). In Dewey's philosophy, the child was not exclusively acted upon, but reciprocally interactive with the stimuli. In this central respect, the behavioral presuppositions underlying Thorndike and Sandiford's reconceptualization of the reading process as a stimulus/response interaction, were incongruent with the pragmatic redefinition of the reciprocal organism/environment relationship.

Thus, Progressive reform of traditional practices of literacy instruction and evaluation was historically based on research which prescribed that the control of stimulus (text/test item) could be used to measure levels and types of student response.

The Ayres-Burgess Scale was administered to grades III to V to test the capacity of students to 'read silently'; the test con-

sisted of "twenty paragraphs surmounted by twenty drawings". The paragraphs described "what is to be done to the drawing (usually simple strokes are needed) and they are arranged so that they must be read through before the procedures can be understood." (PW, p.441) Sandiford had chosen a test that provided a stimulus (paragraphs and instructions) and required student response ('correct' strokes on a picture).

The format of the Ayres-Burgess Scale required that the student comprehend the text in one literate modality (silent reading) and demonstrate that comprehension by performing a different type of communicational literacy (strokes, drawing). Regardless of the simplicity of the response task, at least two variables enter into the student's measured reading performance: the test evaluated 1) the student's capacity to 'stroke' the picture and, 2) the student's behavioral skill of apprehending and acquiescing to a prescribed rule system (instructional directions).

Sandiford recognized that "the pictures add a feature that can hardly be described as reading". Nonetheless, he defended the structure of this test by explaining that it functionally reproduced literacy as it was operationalized in social context. He explained that:

> Silent reading tests were employed....because 1) they are entirely more workable than oral reading tests and 2) they test a capacity that is more universally applied. After all, most of the reading that is done in the world is silent reading. (PW, p.488)

The emphasis on silent reading in instruction and evaluation, then, was justified because of its greater frequency of use in social contexts. Implicitly, Sandiford assumed that a silent reading test instrument embodied a capacity to approximate socially 'real' literacy.

The Thorndike-McCall Reading Scale, described in the Putman Weir Report as "the best silent reading test that has yet been constructed", required the exercise of a different literate response than the Ayres-Burgess Scale. Grade VII and VIII students read a short (paragraph or except) passages and responded to (informational) content questions; the 'correctness' of response indicated the student's performance at silently extracting and comprehending information from the text.

The first question set from the test exemplified the stimulus/response format:

> On Monday Dick saw a red fox, a grey squirrel, and a black snake in the woods. The next day he saw a brown rabbit and five brown mice in the field. He killed the fox and all the mice and let the others live.
>
> 1. What was the name of the boy who saw the mice?
> 2. On what day did he see the mice?
> 3. What colour was the fox? (PW, p.441)

The structure of the test corroborated 'appropriate' modern instruction. Not only did the structure of the test verify the instructional emphasis on silent reading, but also required a literal comprehension (informational recall) altogether different from the critical connoisseurship and qualitative taste (literary criticism) required of students on the Provincial

Examinations.

Thorndike and McCall's test items were informed by two basic assumptions that directly conflicted with the Arnoldian view of reading as aesthetic and cultural appreciation:

1) that the passage, rather than a literary whole, can have an independent existence and validity as the object of student reading, and

2) that 'comprehension' in reading involved the recognition and processing of information rather than the exercise of 'higher' critical facilities of taste and judgement.

Both assumptions facilitate the redefinition of the reading process as a measurable and identifiable utility; the extraction of information from short simulus passages, as Sandiford explained was a more commonly occurring (functional) type of literate behavior in the world than formal composition, oral reading, and literary criticism.

These paradigmatic suppositions on the nature of literacy were embodied in the test instruments; it was not surprising, then, that B.C. schools scored below U.S. norms on the Ayres instrument. In rural areas the pronounced quality of performance was extremely low, "at least 10% below normal." (PW, p.49) Sandiford interpreted these results: "silent reading in rural schools in these grades is much poorer than it might be...". In effect, the results were used to select against remaining traditional literacy practices.

On the Thorndike-McCall Reading Scale, the results were interpreted as follows:

> In the urban areas, "Reading is found to be very well taught in Grade VI and VII"; while in rural areas, "in the teaching of reading in all grades in the school districts is very poor indeed....It is useless talking about equality of opportunity for all children in the Province while such a state of affairs is allowed to persist. (PW, p493)

The test results indicated that urban students in B.C., where silent reading instruction had been instituted on a mass basis, scored markedly superior to students in rural (school district) areas where traditional oral methods prevailed. (PW, p.493) The universal institution of modern reading instruction and evaluation was considered prerequisite to the achievement of equality of educational opportunity, both between urban and rural students and within the classroom.

These interpretations of the test results logically follow from the nature of the tests themselves. The instruments measured 'modern' modes of literacy -- consequently, students instructed according to a set of prior paradigmatic practices performed poorly. The paradigmatic content and structure of the inquiry (instrument) significantly determined the results and findings of that inquiry. These test interpretations were used to corroborate the Progressive assumptions upon which the administration of the scientific instruments had been initially premised. Modern practices were selected for by the administration of modern test instruments.

The possibilities for 'selection' functions were expanded by the utilization of several 'state of the art' statistical

methods for the analysis of the data yielded by the Thorndike-McCall Reading Scale, 1) the calculation of T score units of students, 2) the calculation of Accomplishment Quotients in Reading, 3) the calculation of Reading Quotients of students. With these scientific analytical methods, Sandiford was able to draw inferences on the relationship of reading with chronological age, and reading with intellectual aptitude (IQ).

The 'T score units' were a means of determining student ability in relation to the standard deviation of the norm group (Popham, 1975). This "new measure of ability" enabled Sandiford to make group vs. group and individual vs. group comparisons. The 'Reading Quotient' was computed in the following manner:

$$\text{READING QUOTIENT} = \frac{\text{READING AGE}}{\text{CHRONOLOGICAL AGE}}$$

(PW, p.491)

Using this measure, Sandiford analyzed student performance in relation to student age levels. The compilation of 'Accomplishment Quotients in Reading' was considerably more complex; a systematic formula (PW, p.892) was used for the analysis of the relationship of reading age, chronological age and mental age (derived from I.Q. tests). The use of this scoring method enabled Sandiford to explain the relationship of students' intellectual ability with the relative achievement in silent reading. Sandiford's interpretation of the Thorndike-McCall results is premised on all three statistical methods:

> In grade VII although the reading quotients were above 100, the superior mentality of the pupils reduces the accomplishment quotients to amounts considerable below 100. This phenomenon, instead of being the usual one, is very familiar in school work. The brighter pupils are not taught up to the limits of their ability, chiefly because their records are superior to those of average children of the same age and with these results the teachers are well satisfied. The best taught pupils in all school systems are the slightly duller ones. It is these who are urged and prodded along incessantly by teachers anxious to secure good examination records. (PW, p.493)

The implication of Sandiford's analysis was that the student performance and teacher efficiency could not be judged on the absolute terms of a universally applied scale (like Provincial Examination scores); instead, the computation of an accomplishment quotient in reading enabled the teacher to judge student achievement (progress) relative to student ability. Sandiford was practically implementing a central tenet of Progressive pedagogy; the recognition of individual difference (and provision for equality) through the statistical quantification of 'relative' rather than 'absolute' achievement. These measures enabled Sandiford to draw conclusions about the 'quality' of instructional treatment relative to the capabilities of the student (I.Q.).

The use of standardized intelligence tests to verify achievement levels was part of the more general Progressive philosophy of testing for the assurance of individual difference. As demonstrated in his comments on the Thorndike-McCall results regarding

"equality of educational opportunity", Sandiford saw the achievement of equitable and humane educational goals as best facilitated by the use of standardized intelligence and achievement tests. In this respect, he was in direct historical agreement with those early 20th century American pedagogues who saw I. Q. testing as the principal means for achieving systematic equality (Aronowitz, 1976; Blum, 1978).

Putman and Weir anticipated that the institutionalization of psychological testing would be criticized from conventional perspectives. They explained that, "The criticisms made in British Columbia of the reliability of intelligence tests may be summed up under two heads; Moral and Vocational...As a preliminary statement it may be said that these criticism are largely based on a misconception of what intelligence tests are designed to measure." (PW, p.357)

Yet Putman and Weir defended the tests as "indirect" measures of vocational aptitudes. Quoting Dr. McCall's text, How to Measure in Education, the report explained the basic assumption of the underlying Progressive use of testing for 'streaming':

> The first principle is that to guide a pupil into a highly specialized occupation requires a specialized series of tests. Certain traits such as mathematical ability, ability in drawing...may be so specific as to require a special diagnosis. It is fairly well established that a general intelligence measure will not reveal whether an individual possesses the peculiar combination of traits requisite for success in certain occupations...Thorndike's series of tests for clerical workers, and Seashore's tests of musical capacity...are all attempts to measure the degree of presence of certain specialized abilities. (PW, p.358)

Thus, intelligence tests were to be used in conjunction with

standardized achievement tests (Thorndike's tests for clerical workers) to scientifically ground educational decisions.

In conclusion, the Progressive theoretical concerns of Deweyian pedagogy unified the practical perspective on B. C. schools expressed in the 1925 Putman Weir Report; the replacement of 'high cultural' practices with socially utilizable orientation of curriculum and instruction was accepted as the best means for facilitating equality of educational opportunity, the recogniton of individual difference, and increased efficiency on all levels of the educational system.

Putman and Weir were aware that their proposed reformation of B. C. schools would be opposed by specific socio-economic and political groups within the province. They recognized that certain classes within the community were dogmatically aligned with either traditional or Progressive "schools of thought" about education. They outlined the principal paradigmatic views on education in 1925:

a. Reactionary and Ultra-Conservative
b. The Conservative Class
c. The Moderate Class of Educational Opinion
d. Progressivism
e. Radicalism (PW, p.26)

By degree, each of these groups was said to oppose or advocate educational change.

Putman and Weir explained that 'Progressivism' advocated a systematic program for educational change:

> Vocational guidance, the adoption of platoon and junior high schools, greater facilities for technical education for girls as well as for boys, the general and systematic use of achievement tests in evaluating the quality of the human material in the classroom, and the efficiency of instruction -- such are probably the chief planks in their educational platform. The more moderate school of thought (classic) also sanctions some of the above innovations in our schools, but within more restricted limits. (PW, p.27)

Recognizing that "adherents of Class (C) apparently constitute a majority of the citizens of the province", Putman and Weir opted for an ostensibly 'restricted' Progressive educational scheme. Putman and Weir were consciously aligning themselves with gradual and controlled (moderate) Progressive reform, which they perceived as acceptable to a majority of the B. C. population. Their advocacy of scientific methods, curriculum, instruction, and evaluation towards 'Democratic' ends conflicted with the educational aims of the "Conservative", "Reactionary", and "Ultra-Conservative" classes who favored the continuation of 3 R's elementary and high literacy secondary programs.

In sum, the Putman Weir Report was an evaluative selection which militated against traditional practices in favor of Progressive reform. However, the educational paradigm shift was not exclusive to curricular reform; in fact, the curricular revisions proposed by Putman and Weir would not materialize for a decade hence. The proposed redefinition of evaluative method, as being

necessarily scientific and 'objective', was correlated with changes in the methods of literacy instruction. The report proposed the total reformulation of the aims and concepts of literacy instruction.

Testing of achievement and aptitude had evolved from a disciplinary (psychological) method into a primary mode of assessing and verifying 'worth' of educational phenomena. Method was beginning to embody and prescribe 'world view'. Putman and Weir's findings opted against existing traditional practices at all levels of the educational system. They proposed the scientific redesign of evaluation and instruction to insure the transmission of educational knowledge (literacy) qua utilizable skills, implicitly redefining the schooling experience and individual status of the learner.

In June, 1925, the commission submitted the report, consisting of twenty-five chapters, appendices, and tables, to the Department of Education. The Putman Weir Report was the most comprehensive school survey in Canadian educational history. While the report would not be formally tabled in the legislature until October, both Putman and Weir released public statements prior to the actual publication date. Resuming his duties in Ottawa, Putman indicated to a Victoria reporter the nature of his findings:

> Dr. Putman said there was still a number of people in British Columbia with very conservative ideas as to education and who retained the old idea that individual parents should pay for the teaching of their

own children. [7]

Dr. Weir had returned to his position as head of the U. B. C. Faculty of Education. In July, he stated:

> It is no breach of trust, however, to say that the report will be found to be comprehensive, frank, and objective analysis of the educational conditions in British Columbia. [8]

Discussing the report with the press, Weir indicated that financing of a comprehensive Junior High School system was recommended as a means of encouraging students who whould otherwise leave school after elementary training, to pursue secondary studies.

Several Provincial newspapers published summaries and reviews of the Putman Weir Report after its October publication. Under the headline "RECOMMEND ABOLITION OF EXAMS", the Vancouver Province reported that:

> The abolition of public school examinations bugbear of students and teachers alike, is urged by the educational survey ... recently issued ... The traditional written examinations are found unreliable as an accurate test of intelligence of educational attainment...It is even claimed in some schools that there is a tendency to make life miserable for weaker students who are likely to fail on the final examinations and thus lower the proportion of successful candidates for the schools. Cases of pupils who withdraw from school rather than submit to such treatment have occurred and, the survey says, teachers guilty of such reprehensible practices should be banished from the profession. They might be encouraged to obtain employment as wardens, in penitentiaries. [9]

The Putman Weir Report's rejection of traditional Conservative and Ultra-Conservative practices had minimal immediate effect upon schooling practices. Public debate, between pro-

ponents of the report and defenders of the educational status quo, continued until 1928. Liberal Minister of Education MacLean and Conservative education critic Hinchliffe continued a highly politicized legislative and media dialogue on the standards and practices of public schools. MacLean continued to claim that B.C. schools maintained the highest (traditional) standards while Hinchliffe continued to pursue the issues of Examinations, American textbooks, lack of religious training, and non-viable financial practices which continued to plague the educational system.

In October, the public response to the report was immediate and, once again, polarized. This letter appeared in the Vancouver Province, October 24th, 1925:

> In my humble opinion, the minister of education made a very bad selection. For two sessions in Vancouver I heard the two commissioners. One of them seemed to have the word "Prussian" on his tongue at all times. I do not admire Prussians or Prussianism but this I must declare that a little more of the German discipline should be inculcated among our young people. Had any country but Germany suffered the defeat and humiliation, well deserved as they were, we should have seen them in the throes of Communism today...I urge the people of this province to regard this report with caution; not to believe that the majority of their teachers and officials are incapable; to not allow any 'infallible' doctors of pedagogics to undermine their esteem of the good work being done. [10]
>
> (signed, an ex-teacher)

By association, those parties that Putman and Weir described as being reactionarily/radically opposed to any change in the existing system were attacking the report as potentially

dangerous to the stability of Canadian political structure.

Hinchliffe continued his critique against the examination system; in December 1925, Hinchliffe reported in the legislature instances of "serious discrepancies in the marking of candidates for the Junior Matriculation Normal Entrance Examination." [11]

MacLean, less than a month after the Putman Weir Report was released, was citing his own body of information claiming that B.C. pupils performed better than their American counterparts. In a Vancouver article, headline "B.C. Pupils are Better than American", MacLean is reported to have answered critics in the legislature by reporting that "Results, as shown by the work of teachers, had demonstrated that in spelling, writing, silent reading and arithmetic, B.C. pupils were superior to those in corresponding grades in U.S. schools." [12]

In this case MacLean was claiming that (here unspecified) statistics regarding teacher Normal School training were indicative of the performance of B.C. students; his statement contradicts the statistical or interpretive evidence provided in the Putman Weir Report, released just one month prior.

MacLean was continuing his political pattern of "tiresome reiteration of threadbare boasts of his government's record," [13] as Ormsby (1958) suggests. The post Putman Weir Report dialogue in the legislature and media was characterized by the continued polarization of those segments of the B.C. population who favored or opposed educational change in the schools. Poised between

those who favored more conservative reform, (i.e. Hinchliffe and Conservative MLA's) and, those who favored more Progressive reform (i.e. King, B.C.T.F.), was Minister MacLean; until the termination of his tenure in 1928, MacLean continued to defend the existing state of affairs which the Putman Weir Report had demonstrated as 'outmoded', inefficient and 'Prussian'.

In 1928, Dr. S. Fraser Tolmie and an inexperienced group of Conservative MLA's defended MacLean's Liberals. Rev. Hinchliffe was appointed Minister of Education much to the dismay of Liberals who viewed that Government and education would have been more open to Conservative, traditional influences.

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CHAPTER 7

1925-1935: POLICY INTO PRACTICE

In The History of Public Education in British Columbia, Johnson noted that selected Putman and Weir recommendations, such as the establishment of a junior secondary system, were readily adopted; "others were implemented slowly or only in part." [1] The influence of the Putman Weir Report's recommendations was forestalled by Minister MacLean's reluctance to admit to existing pedagogical deficiencies. Putman and Weir's reform would not be implemented as part of identifiably Progressive department policy until Weir's appointment as Minister of Education in 1933. As part of the 'wages and labour' mid-Depression Liberal reform government, Weir would succeed in reconstructing educational practice in B.C.

From 1925 to 1935 the B.C. curriculum was revised in ostensible accordance with the pedagogical models recommended by Putman and Weir. The Public Schools Reports of the era indicate that the 'new scientific' and 'new pedagogical' criteria and standards were beginning to inform Department legitimation of teacher and student performance. The selective adoption of Progressive practices continued throughout the Ministerial tenures of Hinchliffe (1928-33) and Weir (1933-41). Yet post-crash economic and political constraints upon major Progressive reform led to a comprehensive reiteration of Progressive

managerial tenets in 1935, when Dr. H. B. (Major) King was commissioned by Weir to restructure the administrative and financial organization of B. C. schools.

In the 1926 Public Schools Report, Inspector W. H. May reported that administration of "about a thousand standardized Intelligence and Achievement tests." [2] In 1926, other practitioners were showing signs of responding to the Putman-Weir recommendations; North Vancouver and West Vancouver teachers, "united for the purpose of securing a course on Mental Measurement and Standardized Tests. This course did much to enable teachers to interpret correctly the results of tests and measurements that they were then conducting and others administered later in their term." [3]

Signs of modernization of literacy instruction were in evidence in Prince Rupert, Prince George, Ocean Falls, and Smithers. One rural Inspector noted that "there many teachers on the waiting list for books on 'silent reading', particularly for B. H. Smith's One Hundred Ways of Teaching Silent Reading for All Grades." [4]

Whether the Inspectors' observations were altogether reliable and descriptive is a secondary consideration to the fact that such commendations of districts and teachers legitimated scientific methods of literacy instruction and evaluation. These inspectorial reports were Departmental enforcements of Putman and Weir's pedagogical model. The 1926 reports

prescribed criteria and methods for evaluation of student and practitioner performance.

The Public Schools Reports of 1925 and 1926 also reported a number of substantial changes in the structure of the Provincial Examinations. In 1925, for the first time, candidates for Junior Matriculation and Normal Entrance were granted privilege of writing the examination in parts and were given standing in all papers on which they scored 50%. [5] On February 27, 1926, the Board of Examiners adopted regulations that set the Junior Matriculation passing mark between 40 and 50%.

In essence, changes in the (high cultural) Provincial Examination system were minimal, consisting of the lowering of the percentage level score on an individual paper that could be termed acceptable for secondary (vocation, normal, or senior) admission. Instead of increasing objectivity, or mitigating its promotional/selective power -- the Board of Examiners was altering scaling procedures, seeking to increase the scientific accountability of the Examination without restructuring that system. Literary criticism marking and subjective scaling were preserved in spite of the increased district level use of standardized tests.

Thus, although Putman and Weir were able to generate an increased utilization of scientific evaluational and instructional methodologies, criteria and concepts for educational practice remained the critical domain of the Provincial Examinations.

Previously, the 1924 High School Course of Studies had been the most recent curricular revision. Between 1927 and 1932, a New Programme of Studies was introduced in B. C. schools. It representated a partial reformulation of the curriculum to address the necessity of social practice and individual difference described by Putman and Weir. Yet, as the King Report (1935) and the Gray-MacKenzie Survey (1938) suggest, the acceptance of Putman Weir curricular philosophy by practitioners in various areas of the province was marginal. After a change in Ministerial tenure from Hinchliffe to Weir in 1933, the 1927-32 'innovative' curricular revisions would be criticized retrospectively as superficial.

In 1927, MacLean became Premier (concurrently holding the Education portfolio) and continued to defend the existing situation against claims by Conservative MLA's Hinchliffe (Victoria), W. Mackenzie (Similkameen), and Coventry (Saanich), that U. S. textbooks and pedagogy insidiously dominated B. C. schooling.

On February 18, 1928 W. A. Mackenzie,

> attacked several school books used in B. C. schools and caused a mild sensation in the legislature. Mackenzie read aloud from a technical (stream) text bought by B. C. schools from a U. S. publisher... He asked if out of the hundreds of teachers and professors in B. C. there were none capable of writing such technical books as the one he had just quoted them. [6]

MacLean responded with the claim that traditional ideals of Canadian and British content were, indeed, being continued in B. C. schooling. MacLean explained "how Canadian and British

ideals are being stressed in every department of B. C.'s educational system." [7] The period of B. C. educational history immediately after the Putman Weir Report was one of increasingly vociferous opposition to American influence on schooling practice.

Rev. Hinchliffe became Minister of Education in 1928 and would direct the first period of post-Putman Weir modernization. In a 1930 speech to the Vancouver Canadian Club, Hinchliffe outlined his objectives for education:

> Education, insofar as the individual is concerned may be defined as the sum total of this training, knowledge, and experience. Every child, as soon as he is able to observe or, as we say, take notice, begins his actual individual education. He goes on acquiring knowledge and experience, and if it were possible for him to acquire such training, knowledge, and experience as would fit him and compel him to make the most of life, he would have obtained the ideal or perfect education. [8]

In the midst of economic Depression, Hinchliffe recognized the need for vocational training for the unemployed.

By 1930, Hinchliffe had reconciled 'social efficiency' of the individual with his more Conservative beliefs in patriotism and English values. Creating a hybrid Conservative/Progressive social rhetoric, Hinchliffe sanctioned vocational education as in the national interest. He explained:

> From what I have said it is apparent, therefore, that whatever else a government might contribute to the education of the youth of its country it should see that its young people receive such training and instruction as will help them to make their living in the ordinary vocations and walks of life that exist in their own land. [9]

Although Hinchliffe had aligned himself with fiscal and political Conservatism, calling for a 43% cut in the U. B. C. budget in 1932 (Ormsby, 1958), his statements evidenced an acceptance of Progressive social efficiency as an appropriate aim for the educational system. As Minister of Education, Hinchliffe indicated to his Conservative constituency that proposed (egalitarian) vocational and commercial training programs would address the economic problems of Canadian society. A consensual acceptance of the socially reproductive relationship of schooling to industrial economic reality was emerging during the Depression. Hinchliffe indicated to those who had opposed American (Progressive) reform of schooling, that such reform was necessary to create a functional work force and thereby upgrade the industrial sector.

The first curricular revision had been undertaken during MacLean's tenure as Minister. Until he was defeated in 1928 by the Conservatives of Dr. S. Tolmie, Maclean continued to defend his governments record in education. In 1928, Maclean maintained that, "at present we are contributing more generously to the municipalities of the Province for education than is any other Province in Canada." [10]

The 1927 Programme of Studies for the Junior High Schools of British Columbia, stated overall goals which reflected Putman and Weir's emphasis on the necessity for accomodating individual difference and offering a practical, utilizable education. The curricula emulated the existing junior high school system in the

United States; scientific methodology informed such objectives as: "integration of subjects" and "individual diagnosis, leading to educational and vocational guidance." [11] The Progressive concerns with 'efficiency' were seen as the appropriate means towards an egalitarian educational system; financial efficiency and democratic equality were conceived of as synnonymous. The curriculum explained that "elimination of waste.. ..should come from the adoption of a reformed and better adjusted curriculum as well as the equality of educational opportunity which will result." [12] This concern with equality is apparent in the redefinition of the objectives for high school education. Between 1928 and 1929 the high school curriculum reconsidered the prior emphasis on the needs of students of "superior mental endowment" and attempted to better facilitate the needs of the "student body as a whole" (Thomson, 1972). [13]

A similar high school revision was introduced by Hinchliffe's ministry from 1929 to 1932; Thomson (1972) explains that "consequently in the Programme of Studies from 1929 to 1930, changes were listed in only the grade IX courses. In this grade, the changes consisted chiefly in the re-allottment of the same work which had been prescribed before." [14] In spite of the suggestion that the 1927-30 curricular changes were ostensible rather than essential, many historians (Green, Thomson and Johnson) accept the curriculum's stated 'radical' departure from prior curricula on face value. Green (1944),

for instance, analyzes the 1929-32 curriculum as a historical change from an undemocratic obsolete system to a humane, democratic, scientific, and fiscally sound model.[15]

Yet indicators for a paradigmatic shift are not reducible to the veneration of a single set of innovations. A review of the 1929 literacy related curriculum, and the status of the Provincial Examination system, reveals that the suppositions of the high literacy paradigm continued to control secondary language curriculum, instruction, and evaluation throughout the period after the Putman Weir Report.

The Grade IX English Literature course prescribed several anthologies of prose and poetry, but also demanded that students choose from four novels for examination purposes. Of note is the encouragement of oral and written reports on books read outside of class.

Green (1972) describes the composition course for grade X students:

> The text to be used was the same as for the subject of composition, namely, "Composition Through Reading" -- introductory course. This volume contained many selections of poetry and prose which might be read primarily for the pleasure they might give, but in addition it was well stocked with exercises which could be used in the teaching of both grammar and composition. In grammar special attention was given to: the phrase; the sentence; analysis (general and particular); parts of speech; parsing. The subject was to be approached from the functional, practical point of view rather than the purely academic. In composition teachers were asked to emphasize the following points: punctuation; the sentence (classification of the sentence and the principle of unity as applied to the sentence); simple paragraph forms; personal letter; oral composition; word study;

and the use of the dictionary for the increasing of vocabulary. [16]

The allegedly 'reform' oriented curriculum was, in fact, a combination of practices of two paradigms of literacy. The 1929 Senior High School course of studies involved a transformation of traditional literacy methods in terms of stated Progressive intents.

The traditional emphasis on the formal compositional interpretation of literature was retained, augmented by occasional pleasure and leisure reading. This recognition of different types of reading was complemented by the prescription of textbooks containing exercises and instructional units. The unit, a 'project-centered' emphasis of Dewey's pedagogy, was part of this preliminary attempt to systematize literacy instruction.

A similar reformation of traditional practices occurred in the language usage instruction on the senior levels. The classical emphasis on grammar instruction was present (parsing, parts of speech, analysis of sentences, etc.), yet was to be approached "from the functional practical point of view rather than the purely academic." [17]

Consequently, the 1929 curriculum was an attempt to synthesize divergent literacy paradigms; this practical synthesis was paralleled by Hinchliffe's theoretical 'blurring' of two dichotomous educational philosophies. During this period of transition, traditional practices were retained in a pedagogically redefined frame. Traditional practices were being re-

structured in terms of social function and practicality.

Furthermore, Progressive reform conflicted with the continued utilization of traditional methods of evaluation. Despite Hinchliffe's aforementioned skepticism of the Examination system (Chapter 7), he was unable or unwilling to mitigate, much less "abolish", the existing Provincial Examination system. A review of the Board of Examiners' minutes from the period 1926 to 1934 reveals that, while various structural changes were introduced to increase apparent reliability and objectivity, the subjective influence of the examiners and markers over public and departmental evaluative assessment of school and student performance continued.

On December 6th, 1930, Hinchliffe made a brief address to the Board of Examiners, explaining, "the importance of exercising great care in the preparation of examination papers." That same year, the question setting the passing mark at 60% or 50% was referred to the B.C.T.F. [18] This move, proposed by Dean Buchanan and seconded by D.L. MacLaurin, was an attempt by the Board to introduce teacher participation in marking and scaling as proposed five years earlier by Putman and Weir.

In an attempt to increase the credibility of the examinations as an indicator of student and school performance, the Board of Examiners was increasingly aware of the practitioner and public distrust of the marking and scaling system (Conway, 1956). Furthermore, Junior Matriculation examinations were

still required for entrance to academic and Normal Schools. The minutes of the Board of Examiners indicate a primary concern with the discussion of 'academic' Junior and Senior Matriculation papers.

In conclusion, during the period after the Putman Weir Report, reform was more visible and ostensible than substantial. As shown, MacLean continued to defend the educational status quo against Progressive reform of the educational system until 1928. Beginning in 1928, Hinchliffe accelerated the adoption of Putman Weir recommendations, successfully placating more conservative critics of educational reform by indicating that reform itself was the only reasonable means towards the increase of social efficiency and national stability.

The curricular changes which occurred from 1927 to 1932 were more a restatement and augmentation of traditional practices as means towards the ends of social utility and individual difference. Furthermore, the formal examination system remained the principal mode of educational evaluation. While the Classical paradigm had been publically questioned, curricular and evaluational systems from the 'high cultural' model remained.

Yet Hinchliffe's Conservative political legitimation of Progressive educational theory, and his partial reform between 1928 and 1933 in a period of economic disintegration, anticipated a more explicit and comprehensive rejection of traditional educational practices which began in 1933. G. Weir was appointed

by 'new deal' Premier T. Pattullo as Minister of Education and Provincial Secretary (1933-41).

Weir would institute reform at all levels of the educational system, providing for handicapped and remedial students, unit and project-style instructional organization, increased adult educational programs, professional retraining courses, and the increased use of standardized tests. The recommendations of the Putman Weir Report would be belatedly operationalized in the mid and late 1930's by Weir, H.B. King and a generation of 'new scientists' like C.B. Conway and Robert Straight.

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CHAPTER 8

THE 1935 KING REPORT: EFFICIENCY IN FINANCE AND PEDAGOGY

In spite of H.B. King's 1924 skepticism of Weir's appointment to the survey team, the 1934 appointment of King as 'Technical Advisor' and his subsequent 1939 promotion to Chief Inspector, were logical philosophical and political selections by Weir. King and Weir shared Liberal political backgrounds and Progressive educational philosophy. King was initially commissioned to draft an evaluational report on school financing -- to generate managerial solutions for the financial problems of the school system. Weir and King would introduce the managerial/pedagogical efficiency model, by that time widespread throughout Canadian industry and civil institutions (Lowe, 1980). In recognition of the limited actual reform since 1925, King's preliminary work on financial and administrative structure would complement the scientific plan for proposed curricular change. King and Weir, and the inspectors and professional evaluators who aided them throughout the 1930's were instituting and legitimating those Progressive policy recommendations first proposed in 1925.

The review of School Finance in British Columbia by Dr. King, focuses on Progressive philosophy which mediated his actual recommendations for reform. King, like Putman and Weir before

him, understood the necessity for comprehensively stated educational theory to unify and rationalize practical schooling changes. King's initial framing of his task interrelated his concerns with social utility and financial efficiency (K, p.27).

King considered high cultural pedagogy responsible for the state of the (educational) economy; that is, he sensed that the present economic inefficiency was, in fact, the consequence of traditional practioners' unwillingness to accept scientific change. King claimed that Canadian economic and political efficiency necessitated the upgrading of the educational system's capacity to produce a functional labour force:

> It may at this date be reasonably hoped that the human mind and human intelligence are going to prove adequate for the solution of our social and economic ailments without collapse and social disintegration. It may fairly be claimed that education is entitled to a large share of the credit for this. It can also hardly be denied that business and industry, in their organized technical complexities, would be helpless without the continued supply of young recruits furnished by the schools. (K, p.27)

In King's estimation, the inability of the educational sytem in B.C. to adequately address mid-Depression economic and social 'needs' of Canadian society was the responsibility of Conservative and Reactionary opponants to reform of educational theory and practice.

> While it cannot be established that education has failed, it may be conceded that it has done less than might have been done and this from a number of causes. There have been no clearly defined objectives, no well-thought-out philosophy of education. There has been implied conceptions of what education means, based up-

> on tradition, and these conceptions have largely determined practices. The schools have gone on repeating educational processes which it hoped would have certain results. But there has been no adequate analysis of what it was hoped to do, and there has been a failure to measure in any scientific way what has been done and to discover whether or not our presumed objectives were being realized. In other words, we have had neither an adequate philosophy of education, nor have we applied science to the educational programme. (K, p.27)

King blamed the habituated repetition of traditional practices for the failure of the educational system in B.C.; one such traditional practice was the continued acceptance of non-scientific (subjective) traditional performance goals. In the U.S., Charters and Tyler, at Ohio State were "commissioned at the height of the Great Depression by the Progressive Education Association (honorary president, John Dewey) and supported by private funds from the Carnegie Foundation and the Rockefeller initiated General Education Board," (Hamilton, 1978) to develop systematic managerial structures for curriculum development and evaluation.

King's belief that B.C. schools lacked the articulated educational theory prerequisite to the stipulation of pedagogical aims, echoes the Tylerian managerial concern with program and behavioral objectives. In 1935, the B.C. educational system lacked the comprehensive integration of theories and research (i.e. Taylor, Charters, Bobbitt, Thorndike) with policy and practice. King held that the scientifically and philosophically 'naive' political and practitioner critics of modern-

ization were responsible for the entrenchment of traditional practices. He wrote:

> This has been partly the fault of educational leaders of former times. It has also been due to the fact that the administrative structure of education has been such as to be an obstacle to the realizing of the objectives of education, even if these were or had been clearly conceived. It has not been recognized that education is a peculiarly difficult professional task, involving, as has been said above, a social philosophy and a practical science, including the science of administration. The educationists in English speaking countries have been hampered by the fact that the actual machinery of education has been in the control largely of laymen, not infrequently guided, until recent times, by professional advisors who were excessively conservative and reactionary. It has been as though an army was controlled by elected Municipal Councils. (K, p.27)

King proposed an institutional (industrial) model for education. In his chapter on "Fundamental Conceptions", King structured the proposed scientific reform; a comprehensive philosophy of education would generate the scientific (statistical/analytical) determination of objectives and programs. This process of ascertaining objectives and programs (Tylerian curriculum development) and the operationalization of the resultant curriculum would require that "laymen" and "reactionary" professionals relinquish control over the "actual machinery of education" to a group of administrators and specialist practitioners familiar with scientific and Progressive methods.

King's reconstruction of the school system necessitated a group of practitioner/adherents to the Progressive paradigm. He explicitly attacked traditional administrators, school boards,

and inept Departmental leadership, while encouraging younger teachers. In Kuhnian terms, King was attempting to coopt and enfranchise practitioners necessary for the operationalization of the 'New Curriculum' (which he would scientifically redesign in the late 1930's). He wrote;

> The harm which has come from this lack of professional direction and control has been marked in the field of the selection and appointment of teachers...If teachers are not properly selected in the first place, and not assigned to their proper tasks thereafter, there is obviously great educational and money waste. If the most gifted of the incoming teachers are not given positions appropriate to their abilities and training, but these positions are given to mediocrities with local influence, it is obvious that only an injustice done to people of merit. but that the youth of the Province are dealt with unjustly. If localism and favouritism count more than qualification, it is clearly that an educational system will never rise to a high level... An examination of the distribution of teachers throughout the Province will show that young teachers are graduating from the training institutions with the highest standing have had to accept obscure positions which make no proper demands upon them (K, p.28)

Younger educators had been excluded from the teaching ranks and institutional positions of power by outmoded selection mechanism (localism, favoritism). Instead of a scientifically established criteria of quality (Progressive meritocracy), the local board/trustee system continued to select in favor of traditional practitioners. Institutional rule systems had to be modified to encourage and reward acquiescence to the new pedagogy and to include younger practitioners.

As a result, Weir and King totally revised teacher in-ser-

vice training throughout the Province to encourage practitioner acceptance of the new pedagogy. Between 1933 and 1940, Victoria and Vancouver colleges offered comprehensive teacher retraining programs which featured psychology instruction for administrators, visiting American and Canadian professors of psychology and management; by 1936 such training would be compulsory for some teachers.[1]

King felt that the last major curricular reforms (of MacLean and Hinchliffe) had been 'cosmetic' alterations of content -- the result of a lack of finances, Progressive theory, and scientific method. Thus, he was critical of the 1927-32 curriculum which appeared Progressive but was, in essence, a conservative legitimation of the status quo. His report stated that the existing curriculum was "Partly the result of accident, of temporary adjustments and concessions and the fitting in of the programme to the time that was available." (K, p.28)

In sum, the post Putman Weir curriculum reforms (and the conservative/Progressive theoretical hybrid) had failed to effect the social utility that Hinchliffe had publically aimed for. The traditional power structure of school boards, inspectors and the Board of Examiners had retained control over schooling in spite of selected Departmental intervention to increase efficiency. King's critique was consistent with the B.C. Liberal government's stand on the state of the economy; Patullo and Weir claimed that the administrative and financial efficiency of

Tolmie's Conservative government had failed to increase social efficiency in the mid-Depression economic crisis. Thus, King criticized the failure of the curricular reform administrated by Hinchliffe because of its inability to scientifically organize the economic and social structure of schooling.

In terms of the existing educational situation, King stated that:

> The curriculum itself has not been adequately studied, in this country at least, from a scientific point of view. It tends to be maladjusted both to the individual and to the needs of society. Whatever changes are made in it under committees appointed for the purpose, the last needs that are thought of are the needs of the individual and the needs of society. More potent than these needs are the desire of those who teach or control the subjects comprising the curriculum. The curriculum tends to become, in the academic subjects at any rate, what professors in the dominant university or universities believe they would like the student to know when they come to them. It is surely obvious that what a university professor thinks he would like the student to know when he comes to him is no criterion for determing what a boy or girl should be doing or should be learning throughout some twelve years of elementary and secondary school life.....Here again the application of science to education is required. The science is available. We do know sound principles of curriculum construction. (K, p.28)

This critique specifically noted the influence of university professors on curriculum development teams. The literary criticism model, operationalized by the Board of Examiners (Departmental Inspectors and University professors) propagated high cultural instruction and curriculum.

King's anti-traditionalism (anti-intellectualism) was also reflected in his skepticism of the British tradition of school-

ing. He wrote that English separate school systems had "fitted in very well with the English social tradition", yet recognized that it perpetuated an elitism of academic value:

> In English-speaking countries the academic secondary school appears to be more desirable socially, and people who are not too well convinced of their social position seek assurance by sending their offspring to the type of school which has the greatest social prestige. Moreover, people who are ambitious that their children rise in the social scale observe that those prominent persons whom they most admire have a certain culture usually associated with academic education. They conclude that academic education will bring to their offspring the qualities and the success which they believe it has brought to others. In consequence of this seeking for social position through education, much wrong guidance is due. (K, p.28)

In the English system, 'separate but equal' status had not been achieved by vocational/technical training schools; elitism of the class system had consensually equated 'high cultural' education with social prestige and position.

Such elitism conflicted with King's egalitarian vision of the necessity of integrated (vocational and academic) Canadian secondary schools. In Canada, he suggested, the continued domination by a high cultural educational model had lead to a state wherein "the academic and/or matriculation courses are sought, for social reasons, by persons of no marked capacity for them. Individual needs and capacities are not properly considered." (K, p.28)

Instead, King offered a vision of an educational system which was justified by its ability to synthesize doctrines of individualism and social efficiency/welfare. In sum, King

suggested that the creation of a "well organized, well integrated, well adjusted personality" would simultaneously benefit the individual and society by increasing (industrial) productivity. When this occurs, "the schools begin to bridge the gap; there will be little trouble about the financing .....partly because the public will be readier to pay, partly because society itself will become richer and will be able to pay. To bridge this gap, to modernize education -- is the present-day challenge to the school man." (K, p.30) In this manner, King created a tautology of financial and ontological justification; the school justified itself by producing students who enriched society. An 'enriched' society would be more willing and be better able to afford schooling costs.

In this respect, his critique of traditionalism was matched by his recognition that, in order to 'pay' their own way, schools had to produce students (products) who were capable of meeting the labor needs of industry, business, armed/civil services and government. Social utility and financial viability of an institutional system were interrelated; efficiency/accountability and theory/practice were synthesized in King's educational scheme.

The replacement of the prior paradigm was dependent upon the exercise of scientific criteria and standards -- scientific classification was seen as the primary grounds for educational judgement. King consistently demanded the replacement of traditional connoisseurship selection by scientifically standard-

ized ('fair') selection. This reconceptualized selection (or classification) process would generate total institutional reorganization for the hiring of teachers, objective evaluation of merit and qualifications was proposed to eliminate favoritism exercised by local boards. For the evaluation of schooling practices and administrative structures, King sought the cost-accounting of all expenditures. To facilitate the humane 'scientific' principles of managing teachers and students, he advocated the utilization of standardized testing and evaluation which would guarantee efficiency of student and institutional performance. The data base derived from standardized tests would provide the basis for a range of classificatory decisions regarding institutional efficiency. In a section entitled "Selectivity and Secondary Education", King discussed the unsuitability of the examination system to determine who was fit for advanced education.

King distinguished the Classical paradigm's criteria for the selection of students (and maintenance of an academic elite) from Progressive selection methods which were geared towards the inclusion of all students regardless of individual ability. King perceived that the continued exclusion of low achievers from secondary education resulted from an evaluative mode referenced to Classical criteria. He noted: "It is held that there should be a rigorous system of examinations to exclude these students and to retain only those who are 'fit' for more advanced

education." (K. p.141) Yet King explicitly stated that the exclusion from "advanced education" was not in harmony with the findings of psychological research:

> People do not fall into these distinct 'classes', but they vary by very slight amounts through all degrees of ability from the mental defectives to those of the higher intellectual capacities. There are not gaps in this distribution of abilites, although the bulk of the population clusters about the point of central tendency or the median. (K, p.141)

As claimed by psychological research, difference (variance) between individuals was dependent upon measurable intellectual capacities, rather than class background (Karier, 1976; Blum, 1980). King noted that the conceptualized "Probability curve", or normal curve of distribution, scientifically explained the differences in achievement/aptitude among individuals in a group. The theoretical distribution of abilities was said to naturally fall along "a normal curve of distribution".

King recognized that the existing domination of non-scientific high cultural selection was the basis for a variety of elitist suppositions about 'proper' schooling. He stated that:

> It seems often to be implied that the traditional high school courses represent the best selection of subject matter for all students, and that if students are unable to master this material they are unfit for education beyond the elementary years. This theory ... is in conflict with the findings of psychology. (K, p.142)

To address the needs of non-academic programs was proposed. Such programs would better provide for innate differences in intellectual capacity. King explained that it would "be

difficult to establish that the student well-fitted by nature for the traditional academic subjects had a more valid claim to education than has the type of student who is capable of instruction in other subjects." (K, p.142) King was using the same probability curve to justify and explain the distribution of abilities in any group of learners. The implication of his refutation of traditional domination of curriculum and evaluation was that a proper understanding of differences of student aptitude and achievement would enable the practitioner to better facilitate the equality necessary for the stated Progressive goal of social (industrial) efficiency.

King, with Dewey and Thorndike, held that the provision for individual differences was fundamentally in conflict with the exclusivity of academic knowledge; the procedure of selection would involve the scientific recognition (diagnosis) and provision (treatment) for individual difference. This system of testing, guidance, and streaming would replace the traditional examination system with "a more scientific system for the classification of students and for their guidance into those subjects for which their interests and capacities fit them." (K, p.142)

Calling for the installation of scientific codes which explained learner performance and achievement in terms of cost-efficiency, probability curves, and standardized instrument scores, King sought to replace "a machine of such demonstrated inefficiency" that "destroys good material in great abundance

(and) cannot be depended upon as a means of achieving economy in any genuine sense of the term".

King shared Putman and Weir's reservations on the exclusive use of I.Q. tests to prognosticate social and education inclination and correlative performance. King proposed the use of multiple standardized tests to construct a whole assessment of the learner that I.Q. tests alone could not provide. Like Putman and Weir, he accepted the efficiency of I.Q. tests in measuring intelligence, while realizing that "intelligence is only one part of the total personality."

King speculated on the relationship of I.Q. to social (class) status:

> Students with Intelligence Quotients of 100 or over constitute at least one half of the population, and these are all, or almost all, capable of profiting indefinitely throughout the secondary school course; the top 40 per cent of the adolescent population is not intellectually contemptible. Many men holding prominant positions in public life, including men who advocate these restrictions in educational opportunity, would not, if tested, prove superior to those in the lower ranks of the top 40 per cent. We should, in fact, all of us be very humble in respect of our intellectual powers and not be too ready to suggest that other peoples' children are not educable. (K, p.35)

While he recognized that I.Q. was not a totally reliable indicator of social rank, King did not question the accuracy of these tests in adequately measuring what they purported to measure -- innate intelligence. As part of a total regimen of scientific study of the individual learner, I.Q. and achievement tests were proposed for the individuation of the learner for

egalitarian grouping and instruction according to verified 'natural predispositions'.

Like Dewey, King was critical of streaming mechanisms which might constrain or misdirect the student towards an 'immobile' place in the social and economic hierarchy. In stated intent, King saw his 'managerial model' as a means of superseding the elitism, favoritism, and academicism of the existing B.C. system. Yet by redefining the telos of the educational process in accordance with the Progressive doctrine of financial efficiency, King premised the institutional survivial of the B.C. school system to its capacity to produce students capable of demonstrably enhancing the B.C. economy.

King's proposals for financial and administrative reform were based on his stated objective of the institution of 'democratic' yet economical programs. King proposed the division of the Province into locally administered districts which were centrally financed and accountable. (K, p.12) Proposing the abolition of local school boards, King recommended the appointment of teachers by the Department in Victoria rather than local boards. Putman and Weir had criticized board hiring and policy decisions; King proposed the centralization of control over educational practitioners.

B.C.T.F. general secretary, Harry Charlesworth, chairman of the Commission which supervised King's preparation of the report, sanctioned this proposed restructuring of hiring procedures

(Johnson, 1964). The total effect of such a move would be the reshaping of practitioner ranks by a Progressive Departmental hierarchy. If Progressive managers like King were able to regulate admission and placement of teachers, as well as pre and in-service training, groups of practitioners could be encouraged to align schooling practices with the new paradigm.

In conclusion, King's 1935 report had direct influence on the educational system in B.C. While Putman and Weir had provided a theoretical base and practical policy recommendations for B.C. in 1925, their capacity as 'neutral', external evaluators precluded them from implementing any of the proposed reforms. It was not until Weir's 1933-1940 tenure as Minister that an 'internal' evaluation was performed.

This internal evaluation on school financing would generate more concrete reform in five years, than Putman and Weir's report had asserted in over a decade. The political and economic situation in the Province enabled King and Weir to institute reforms immediately. By defining reform in terms of financial accountability and efficiency, they were able to alter the prior codes of legitimation.

By 1936, King's first scientifically derived (Tylerian) curriculum was operationalized. By 1937, the Provincial Examination was abolished as a high school prerequisite, and by 1938 legitimated standardized tests and methods were being used in inspectorial evaluation of schools. King and Weir were requiring

that B.C. educational practice conform to changes in theory and policy.

It is slightly ironic, then, that Putman and Weir's 1925 report was considered the catalyst for Progressive revision of B.C. curriculum. Retrospectively, it was more of an articulation of Progressive theory. King's 1935 School Finance in B.C. has been historically viewed as a document for the restructuring of finance and administration. Yet, in sum, it was proposed for the reorganization of instruction, curriculum and evaluation according to scientific management theory. The equation of financial (industrial) efficiency with educational efficiency equated effective learning with economical instruction. King had yet to relegate the educational system to the influence of the "industrial regime" as Dewey had anticipated. Yet by re-defining the criteria and apparatuses for determining worth and validity within the system, School Finance in B.C. replaced the Classical paradigm with a legitimating model of Progressive scientism. From 1935 to 1940, the reform of the educational system would be designed, implemented and enforced by a newly legitimated group of practitioners: psychologists, curriculum developers, trained evaluators, statisticians, and managerial administrators.

CHAPTER 8: REFERENCES

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CHAPTER 9

1936 TO 1937

CURRICULAR REVISION AND FUNCTIONAL LITERACY

In School Finance in B.C., H.B. King had exceeded his mandate to propose managerial restructuring of the existing school system; a managerial reconstruction (i.e. Charters and Tyler's schemata) required the comprehensive pedagogical reconsideration of existing practice. In 1935, a scientific curriculum development was initiated under King's personal supervision. The plan called for the gradual redesign of elementary, junior and senior high school, and technical school curricula. King held the position of Central Revision Committee Curriculum Advisor; that is, he acted as the final mediator of any proposed curricular changes. The management system of the Curriculum plan was the first revision that involved Departmental and school personnel to the virtual exclusion of university professors.

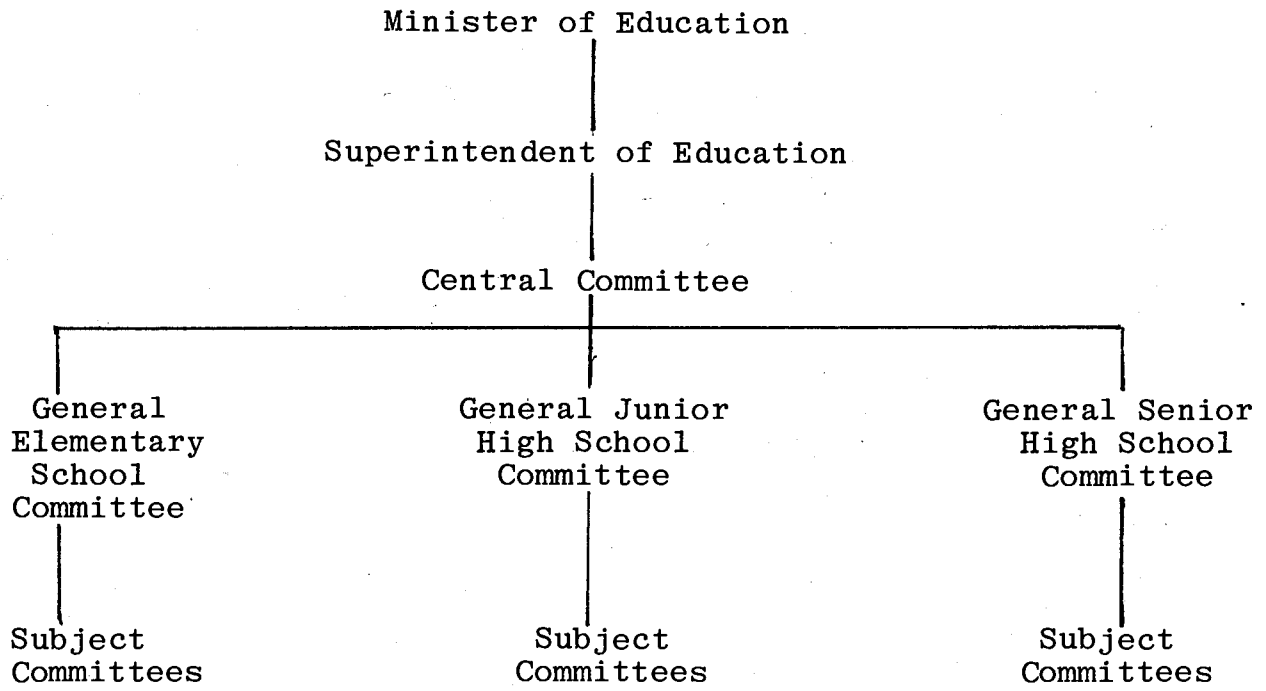
(SEE TABLE 4)

The general committees were composed of principals, Departmental Inspectors, and the occasional teacher or professor. The subject-area committees consisted of over 250 teachers, normal school instructors, and inspectors. All committees began their work "by study of literature upon curriculum building and and examination of modern curricula produced elsewhere."[1]

King personally chaired the Junior Secondary General

TABLE 4

THE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM FOR CURRICULUM REVISION - 1935



Source: 1935-36 Public Schools Report

Committee and simultaneously held the controlling position of General Advisor. Within the management structure, Superintendent of Schools, D. L. MacLaurin, who had authored a history of B. C. curricula and school structure while finishing his graduate training at the University of Washington (MacLaurin, 1935), and

Weir held hierarchically senior positions.

The explicit utilization of a modern American prototype for curriculum development evidenced King's attempt to reclaim curriculum from the high cultural connoisseurship of university professors; the management structure was engineered and controlled by a 'professional' group of educational scientists with graduate-level training. Yet the continued exclusion of teachers from the General committees indicated that power was merely being shifted from external (university) expertise to an 'internal' Departmentally legitimated group of professionals.

The Programme of Studies for the Junior High Schools of British Columbia (1936) provided the clear statement of (philosophic and behavioral) objectives, methods, and content that King had claimed all previous curricula had failed to provide. While the previous curriculum (1927-31) had attempted to reconcile traditional practices with Progressive objectives, the 1936 Programme of Studies outlined changes in the literacy related curriculum which were designed to eliminate 'high literacy' practices and assumptions.

The 1936 "New Curriculum" defined the instruction of reading, writing, and speaking in terms of functional applicability within social experience. The proposed curricular reform provided for practical reading materials, the recognition of non-academic types of literate behavior, the separation of literate performances into identifiable and measurable bodies of skills.

The concurrent exclusion or reduction of traditional literacy methods and practices thematically unified the prescribed instruction. King and the committees of 'modern' curriculum developers were reifying a 'functional' paradigm of educational literacy.

The comprehensive Deweyian and Thorndikian doctrines of human nature, education, and scientific method were, by this period, conventionally accepted educational rhetoric. Nonetheless, the curriculum is the first B.C. curricular implementation of the emerging doctrine of Progressive Functionalism. The acquisition of (functional) social tools and skills by the individual was seen as the principal purpose of the educational system (Banks, 1976). Consequently, methods, practices, and materials used within the educational system were redefined in terms of the production of a 'functional' product/student.

The 1936 curriculum explained the (organism) student's existence in a complex social environment. Education was envisioned as the means towards the reconciliation of the disequilibrium and conflict which had inherently characterized human development:

> From the point of view of the individual the schools exist to aid him in his own growth or self-realization, in making adjustments to this environment, and, it may be, in modifying this environment which is at once a social and physical environment. These two processes, of adjustment and of growth, are largely complementary, but at times they involve conflict. From their reconciliation comes individual social balance and the development of an integrated personality, socially efficient and capable of further growth than progressive adjustment. (1936 C, p.7)

In order to efficiently instruct and evaluate a 'skill' or 'tool' applicable to the social environment, the New Curriculum demanded that the school should more accurately approximate the public social environment. The environment within which knowledge was acquired, performed and evaluated necessarily should reproduce that environment within which the given performance would be functionally operationalized. Consequently, any curriculum based on the criteria of social function had to refute prior assumptions on the separation of schooling reality from social reality, theory from practice, becoming (childhood) and being (adulthood). The curriculum stated:

> There is no essential opposition between the demands of social living and in adult life. The best and most meaningful social experience at his own age level is the best preparation for the child's later life....The makers of the school programme, therefore, should select content and experiences which are important for life, including adult life, and should assign them to the years of childhood in which they will have the greatest immediate significance. (1936 C, p.7)

Following this argument, the new curriculum reflected the recognition that authenticity to adult life was necessary to create socially functional individuals. The educated 'disengagement' from social praxis, described by the Classicists, directly conflicted with the demand for pragmatic verisimilitude;

> The pupils should not regard school life as an artificial existence unconnected with normal living. The activities of the school should derive their meaning, in the main, from their relation to the world outside. The teacher not only should interpret subject matter by means of examples from the pupil's experience, but should make actual contacts with the life and work of the community, partly through well planned visits and

> excursions and partly by the introduction of real things into the classroom. (1936 C, p.6)

Thus, the philosophic assumptions on which curricular reform would be based, reflected a practical perspective. Consequently, the curriculum aligned curricular knowledge with scientific method; disciplinary and methodological boundaries and rule structures which determined who taught what, and in what manner, were being wholly reconsidered.

Tyler and Charters advocated the setting of clearly stated program objectives as prerequisite to curricular development and evaluation (Popham, 1975). This curricular theory informed classroom procedure by mandating daily systematic lesson plans with clearly stated behavioral objectives. Lessons were to be taught according to sequential unit plans that determined time allotment and classroom interactional frames. In 1936, these practical reforms reflected the greater redefinition of educational knowledge in terms of skills, components, and measurable units. While the Classical paradigm had conceived of educational knowledge as disciplinary (Aristotelian) and transcendent (Platonic) whole entities, the Progressive (practical) paradigm systematically stratified educational knowledge into individuated elements.

This trend in educational research and experimentation towards the differentiation of educational components influenced the curricular proposals regarding the literate modalities of oral speaking, writing, reading, spelling, vocabulary, and

literature. The Junior High School Curriculum in English was concerned with the transmission of functional social skills. Literacy was reconceptualized as a set of instrumental behaviors applicable in verifiably existent social environments.

Each section of the Junior High School English curriculum (VII-IX) was similarly patterned. Philosophic and behavioral objectives were stated; sets of appropriate methods and texts were divided into units and topics. Methods of evaluation were listed and sample lesson plans were outlined. Incidentally, the 1937 curriculum resembles the contemporary B.C. curriculum of the 1970's and 80's both in format and intent.

The general introduction to the grades VII-IX English curriculum defined literacy as a functional set of social skills:

> No matter what his sphere of life, the individual is constantly making use of English to meet his vocational, social, and cultural needs. The increasing complexity of the industrial world necessitates an increasing command over speech and writing. Since speech is social in origin and purpose, it follows that English is a subject of great social utility, providing through conversation and expression, a vital means of contact between individuals. (1936 C, p.135)

This general definition of literacy as a socially communicative modality required "vocational, cultural, and social application." The question of the transfer of literate modalities was resolved in terms of the greater doctrine of social practicality -- social skills would, by their very nature, be integrated into institutional contexts like schools and work environments. The following discussion of the various sub-sections of the Junior

High School curriculum will note the instantiation of this paradigm of 'functional literacy' in the prescribed curriculum.

The curriculum was subdivided into literate behaviors which were conceived of as components of the English program: oral expression, written composition, grammar, spelling and word study, handwriting, reading, and literature. As will be shown, the differentiation of these particular sub-divisions of the English curriculum was a partial reaffirmation of the prior paradigm's domain specification.

The inclusion of handwriting, spelling and word study, and grammar, as separate curricular categories, were part of a greater attempt to re-mediate traditional (attitudinal) precepts regarding the intrinsic value of grammar, handwriting and spelling instruction. Also of note was the curricular differentiation of reading and literature as separate sub-divisions of the English program. The Classical equation of reading with the reading of literature was no longer uncritically accepted.

The 1936 curriculum recognized the social need for effective oral communication and cited technological innovations such as the telephone, sound film, and radio as evidence for the increasing necessity for effective oral expression. King and the management team claimed that time should be allotted to the study of oral expression as a separate subject, and that "it is closely related to written expression and in manner of teaching, (should) preceed it." The instruction of oral expression placed a high

priority upon the social use of language and was to be encouraged in a flexible and non-threatening classroom environment. (1936 C, p. 136)

Subsequently, the specific objectives of the Junior Secondary oral expression curriculum were as follows:

1. To develop appreciation of an enjoyment in oral expression.
2. To develop self-confidence and poise.
3. To develop erect, easy, and unconstrained posture.
4. To develop the power of organizing ideas.
5. To develop the ability to think quickly and logically while on one's feet.
6. To develop skill in the selection and adaptation of reference material.
7. To develop the habit of using clear effective sentences.
8. To increase the range and effectiveness of the speaking vocabulary.
9. To develop proper enunciation and pronunciation.
10. To develop voice control and tone quality.
11. To develop a sense of responsibility for listening courteously and sympathetically, and for offering fair criticism.
12. To develop esprit de corps without disparagement of other groups.
13. To develop the habit of seeking group success rather than personal distinction. (1936 C, p.138)

These objectives formed a set of literate competences which which could be functionally operationalized in social contexts.

They required that the individual integrate various skills into a comprehensive 'social' literacy, which prescribed egalitarian relationships and discourses.

Towards these curricular objectives the oral expression curriculum was subcategorized into various 'types' of oral literacy which, in turn, were relegated to various formats of social use and applicability. In this regard, the literate performance of oral expression was sectioned into applicable skills according to identifiable situations and realms of social use. The sub-divisions excluded formal, correct, and rote genres of literate expression which had formally dominated oral literacy instruction. The curriculum listed: Conversation (general, social formalities), Discussion, Debate, Explanation, Story Telling, Description, Dramatization, Conducting Meetings, Auditorium and Platform Work (1936 C, p.138).

Each of these 'units' of instruction attempted to replicate some of the school, familial and occupational social experiences which demanded a particular literate behavior. For instance, the emphasis in conversation was on a variety of socially functional skills varying from "Exchanging ideas and opinions with less familiar acquaintances or in larger groups on more formal topics; e.g. music, books, current events, who's who," to "using the proper procedure in placing various types of calls," and "using appropriate conversation for the various types of calls." (1936 C, p. 138) Lessons in job applications, soliciting for political or charitable causes, as well as various media related oral ex-

pressions "like the analysis and description of pictures, books, magazines, sign boards" were prescribed. The archetypal cultural mode of oral story telling was juxtaposed to 'modern' literate expressions like telephone skills, radio broadcasts, mock trials and explanation of "touchdowns." Popular culture coexisted with and eventually superseded 'high culture' in the 'new' literacy.

These various levels of functional applications of oral literacy were instructed using "drills on the following techniques" which "should be given in connection with any or all of the units." (1936 C, p.143) The techniques (skills) for the achievement of functional competencies in a social task like "Persuading others to purchase tickets for the school concert," or "identifying an article which has been lost", included behavioral skill acquisition in the conscious control of: posture, gestures, voice, enunciation, pronunciation, language. (1936 C, p. 143)

In essence, the 1936 curriculum reconceptualized oral literacy as a set of functional social performances which could be adequately instructed by the transmission of identifiable skills. The skill components varied in ambiance and emphasis depending upon the type of function perceived as socially legitimate.

The model lesson provided the teacher with activities, methods and instructional aids necessary to meet the desired objectives. "Conversational skills" were the subject of a

lesson plan; the teacher was encouraged to use "the conversational experience" of the pupils during school for instructional aids. Oral expression was seen as a means for the social integration of the individual through the acquisition of social, academic and vocational oral literacy skills of applicable worth. The traditional modes of classroom oral expression had been superseded; the new curriculum claimed implicitly that oral literacy subsumed the other literate modalities; the operationalization of oral literacy as 'language skills' was necessary. Therefore, in this new curriculum oral expression was not merely redefined but given a preeminent position in the literacy of social use.

The similarities between the 1930's redefinition of oral expression (functional/social utility) and the current B.C. Secondary Curriculum Guide (Revised, 1978) are indicative of the influence of this early reformulation of literacy instruction upon current practices. Virtually all of the subgenres of oral expression listed in the 1936 Junior High School verbal expression curriculum are enumerated in the present B.C. curriculum of 1978. For example, the grade IX objectives include:

> Teach systematic idea presentation through such activities as: interviewing and introduction techniques; the short prepared address. [2]

Yet contemporary social situations which require oral expression are not as exhaustively or specifically detailed in the 1978 B.C. curriculum. For example, while the grade XI student is en-

couraged to learn "the role of the democratic leader", explicit objectives are not as specifically enumerated as in 1936.

Communicational and psychological theories of interpersonal relationships are the current 'techniques' for the creation of a socially functional literacy. The 1978 curriculum lists a different set of techniques "to stimulate small group discussion"; theories like "buzz sessions", "brainstorming", "feedback", "problem census", "role reversal", "case method" and "expert testimony" are taught in the grade XI speaking curriculum. [3]

The modern curriculum reflects a contemporary paradigmatic emphasis of oral communication qua literacy as a preeminent functional necessity; and, furthermore, replicates the social and vocational needs of a society that communicates less formally in a (historically) different structure of social interaction. 1936 instructional objectives (posture, gesture, pronunciation, etc.) have been subsumed by psychologically based group dynamics (verbal group interaction).

In the introduction to the section on Junior High School written composition, King and the other curriculum developers redefined written composition as a functional mode of social experience as opposed to the prior Classical emphasis on formal composition study. The curriculum stated:

> Too often English composition has been a formal and artificial study. Two factors have contributed to this: first, the pupils have been required to write upon topics far removed from their interests and experience; second they have learned by rote the niceties of construction without becoming aware of their application. (1936 C, p.145)

The methods by which written expression would be transmitted

were explained; like oral expression, the curriculum on written expression was unified by specific overall objectives:

1. To develop accuracy in the sentence as a unit of expression.
2. To connect the study of functional grammar with the writing of composition.
3. To develop the power to arrange ideas in a short paragraph.
4. To develop the ability to write short but interesting friendly letters.
5. To establish the habit of preparing a theme in the form approved by the school or the teacher.
6. To develop the ability to write an interesting narrative of three or four paragraphs.
7. To develop the ability to use punctuation as a means of clarifying thought.
8. To enlarge the vocabulary.
9. To develop the ability to write a clear explanation in one paragraph.
10. To develop an interest in creative writing.

(1936 C, p.146)

Obviously, King and his committee saw writing as an integrative process, characterized by a variety of instrumental means (grammatical efficiency, organization). Like oral literacy, written literacy was subdivided into a variety of units and types. Units were differentiated according to the types of social, academic, and vocational function which required written literacy:

explanation
friendly letters
reports
creative writing
practical description
artistic description
business letters
Journalism
summary and precis
reviews

(1936 C, p.146)

These various 'types' were detailed in terms of their applicability to social contexts. The unit on business letters, for example, lists the suggested activities of "writing letters of inquiry", "writing a letter of application". Under the categorized reports, "minutes of Club meetings are listed". "Informal notes of hospitality" are mentioned as possible activities for teaching "friendly letters".

The historical assumption underlying this curriculum was that literate expression, regardless of genre, required a variety of contextually applied sub-skills; and that these techniques and sub-skills, like grammar, sentence building, punctuation rules, should "be taught in connection with the units to which they belong". As the curriculum stated, "some conditions, such as sentence building, will be studied through the year; others need less emphasis and require less repetition. Pupils should not be required to memorize lists of punctuation rules, but to acquire mastery over their use." (1936 C, p.146)

The curriculum was operating from a set of assumptions that language was valuable as an instrumental entity, as a mode of social use. The prior paradigmatic veneration of intrinsic quality was wholly inimical to the ethic of 'function'. All components of literate behavior were reconceptualized as parts of a socially functional literacy.

The illustrative unit presented for written composition in the 1936 curriculum for grade VIII was entitled "Artistic Description". The general stated objective was effective written description. This basic objective was translated into

four specific objectives, which were to be facilitated by prescribed activities, procedures, and materials. Newspapers, magazines and billboards, current popular books were recommended as appropriate curricular materials for written description exercises. The exemplary lesson, therefore, predicated the transmission of written literacy on a set of textual stimuli commonly encountered in 'mundane' social reality. Like oral literacy, written literacy was reconceptualized as a set of discrete socially instrumental tasks for specific social ends. Academic, commercial, vocational and civic functionality were prescribed.

The various subgenres of written expression were an exhaustive listing of all necessary social and academic writing formats. In this respect, the function of the curriculum does not differ from the enumerated 'types' of written expression in modern curricula. The 1978 B. C. Provincial Assessment of Written Expression lists typical writing genres according to social function, referring to "the writer as worker", "citizen", "creative adult", and "student". In its noted emphasis on socially functional written literacy other than formal composition, the 1936 curriculum was the prototype of modern functional literacy curriculum.

The 1936 New Programme prescribed 'functional grammar' instruction in lieu of the 'formal grammar' emphasis. Previously considered a system of intrinsic and formal value, grammar was

reconceptualized as a component of oral and written expression. The curriculum stated:

> In this course the major emphasis is upon the functional aspects of grammar. Functional grammar is the grammar of function as contrasted with formal grammar, the grammar of form and structure, considered apart from use or function. The distinction is largely one of language. Function cannot really be considered apart from form or structure. In order to understand the functional aspect of language its structure must be understood, just as an understanding of the functioning of the human body involves a knowledge of the structure of that body. (1936 C, p.158)

Grammar was reconceptualized as a set of rules informing functional literate expression. Grammar instruction was only useful insofar as it 'transferred'. Furthermore, in recognition of individual difference, the curriculum prescribed that grammar instruction "may be taught to the more academic courses but omitted in others." (1936 C, p.138)

In evidence, then, was a seminal proposal for the contextual instruction of grammar. Teachers were encouraged to focus on commonly occurring error structures in written and spoken expression, rather than to teach grammar in isolation from literate expression.

The curriculum prescribed a Canadian grammar text and cited the appropriate sets of grammatical rules to be expected at different grade levels, but intentionally neglected to outline an exemplary lesson plan. Separate grammar instruction was in direct contradiction to the proposed lesson/unit/objectives

orientation of the New Curriculum. Thus, two critiques of conventionally accepted grammatical lessons, parsing and analysis, were detailed:

> Parsing should not be taught as a specific art. Parsing is a useful device for reviewing and applying principles for grammar. For this purpose straightforward sentences involving no subtleties should be used...The purpose of analyzing a sentence is to analyze the thought, so that the separate elements of the thought, or of the sentence may be seen in relation to the whole. The analysis of over-involved sentences defeats this purpose and is wasteful of time... (1936 C, p.138)

Perhaps the curriculum developers were aware that parsing, sentence analysis, and the uncritical memorization of formal grammatical rules would continue in spite of new curricular dictates. Yet the change from formal grammar to functional grammar typified the shift in paradigms of literacy. In the 19th century Principal Stamford of New Westminster (Chapter 5) had claimed that the formal internalization of rule systems was its own end, and would transfer into other disciplinary subject areas and social practices by virtue of its effect upon the moral and ethical character of the student. The 1936 functional literacy curriculum called into question whether existing grammatical instruction, the decontextualized internalization of formal rule systems by <u>all</u> students, was a legitimate (transferable) method of literacy instruction.

Spelling and vocabulary building (word study) were conceived of in the 1936 curriculum as a "tool necessary in all written

The 1936 Junior High School curriculum stated that:

> Every teacher in the junior high school should feel responsibility for the teaching of this subject. This does not mean, however, that spelling instruction should be incidental to the pupils' written work, without any systematic plan for eliminating his errors or increasing his vocabulary. Rather, definite provision must be made for teaching spelling, and a high standard of achievement should be required. (1936 C, p.164)

Spelling and vocabulary (lexical choice and construction) were to be taught autonomously from instruction in written and oral expression.

Yet traditional methods and content (e.g. 'bees', and the memorization of literary and philosophic terminology) were to be subordinated to "the ability to spell correctly words in common use" (1936 C, p.165). This central objective informed the spelling and word study curriculum; traditional performance goals of clear enunciation, prefix and suffix study were to be deemphasized. Instead, the curriculum prescribed the transmission of a functional vocabulary which reflected the necessities (and banalities) of everyday use.

This demand for social transfer of word skills was paralleled by the objective that the student "establish a spelling conscience that will insure carryover to all writing activities." (1936 C p. 165) The transfer of word skills to other disciplinary and social contexts was also referred to as "vocabulary consciousness" and "the dictionary habit" (1936 C, p.165).

The redefined curriculum for spelling instruction prescribed the classroom use of standardized 'scientifically' gradated spelling scales to determine levels of spelling proficiency. The teacher was encouraged to use contemporary spelling word banks, like the Ayres Spelling Scale and One Hundred Spelling Demons to choose hierarchically ordered vocabulary compiled according to grade level normative expectations. Such scales were to be used in concert with the aforementioned "Test and Study" method -- a classroom level replication of the Tylerian pre/post test procedure.

A thematic study of the sample Grade VII spelling list reveals the degree to which lexical choice of the curriculum reflected Progressive social philosophy. The content, as well as the modes of evaluation and instruction, evidenced an identifiably ideological interpretation of the "language of common use". Words of explicit ideational content were selected from the 160 word sample grade VIII spelling lesson and classified according to broad thematic categories; more ideationally 'neutral' words (like prepositions and conjunctions) are not listed. (see Table 5)

As noted, the stated curricular objective of the list was to replicate a vocabulary structure which would enable the student to function in an identifiable contemporary social context. Yet that context was characterized by Progressively informed

TABLE 5

SELECTED THEMATIC CATEGORIZATION:

1936 GRADE VII SPELLING LESSON

1. Commerce and Business

secretary	application	distribution
acknowledgement	prices	remit
envelope	returned	vacation
credited	purchases	loss
receipts	invoices	annual
agreement	articles	parcel post
shipping	estimate	
customers	etc.	

2. Social Organization

society	general	president
success	psychology	individual
difference	university	assistant
principles	hospital	semester
practical	campaign	instructions
character	Dept.	speech
organization	faculty	

3. Interpersonal Relations

inconvenienced	accomodate	regretting
appears	disappoint	advisable
agreement	accepted	endeavor
acceptable	using	advice

4. Philosophic and Religious Concepts

existence
soul
heart
conscience

5. General Use

pa
oh
good-bye

6. Literary Terms

quote

Source: 1936 Jr. High School Curriculum (my categories)

social roles and relationships which reflected an idealized 'efficient' (well-managed) economic environment. The languages of non-institutional and non-financial realms of common use (including that of 'high' culture) were deemphasized.

Obviously, the lexical content of instruction and evaluation is determined by the perceived aims of a given paradigm of literacy. In the 1921 Provincial Handwriting Examination (Chapter 6), the literal and thematic content of the examination text was seen to mirror the desired outcomes of the instruction (conformity in handwriting). Similarly, as late as 1960 the Provincial Examinations demanded that students exhibit proficiency at high cultural vocabulary. The Language 40 Examination (1960), for instance, required grade XII students to define the following words:

solicitous	metaphysical	munificent
behest	regimen	engrossing
precept	equable	entity
poignant	manifold	
aphorism	anecdote	

In direct contrast to the prescribed 'functional' emphasis on socially utilizable word study evidenced in the 1936 curriculum, the 1960 English language course for grade XII students required proficiency at 'cultured' language use. By prescribing a vocabulary for social use, each set of evaluative and instructional word study objectives implicitly defined the realm of social use.

In 1936, the adjectival and nominal terms introduced as referents to social roles and relationships prescribed the

student's experience in terms of society, success, individual difference, practice, psychology and organization. The temporal universe of the student was mediated by semesters, annuals, and months within a physical environment of dormitories, and Departments, libraries, and universities. Society was portrayed as a reality of economic transactions and correlative institutional roles.

In summation, spelling and word study instruction were modernized; both the curricular content and the instructional format were altered. The lexical content of the new literacy instruction, as well as the instructional organization (progress charts, pre/post testing), transmitted the reconceptualized social function of the individual to 'survive' within an institutionalized economic environment. Standardized lists like the Ayres Scale were to be used for curricular choice of vocabulary and spelling words; the exemplary lists embodied (American) Progressive social theory and the ethic of success, mobility through individuation by efficient institutional management.

The handwriting curriculum deemphasized what was previously an integral component of the 'high literacy' curriculum. The authors of the 1936 curriculum maintained that "most pupils will have acquired these habits before they enter the Junior High School. The secondary teacher's work is to see that the standard is maintained and improved." (1936 C, p.170)

This process of maintenance and improvement involved the

application of standardized performance criteria. The curriculum set 60% to 70% on the Ayres Scale (see Chapter 7) as the acceptable normative standard and prescribed use of the scale in the classroom:

> Standardized scales should be used to determine the pupil's proficiency and those who have attained the grade norm should be excused from regular class exercises. As an incentive to better work, a writing scale should be placed in a prominant position in the classroom, so that all students will have before them definite standards of attainment. (1936 C, p. 171)

The Ayres Scale, then, was the prototype for modern classroom handwriting wall charts. The qualitatively differentiated model scripts scientifically objectified teacher judgement on handwriting; this normative system provided remediation for those students who fell below grade level expectations.

The utilization of a scientific standard for the evaluation of handwriting in a meritocratic classroom structure did not alter the traditionalist assumptions regarding handwriting.

While the Ayres and MacLean methods of scientific objectivity appeared as a modernization of a traditional literate subskill, they were, in fact, the imposition of an equally rigid code of conformity upon written literacy. Although the rigidity of standardization contradicted the stated egalitarian theory of the new literacy curriculum, the writing curriculum redefined handwriting instruction in terms of its 'integration' and 'transfer' to other subjects. (1936 C, p.171)

In handwriting instruction, the standardization of literate

expression was part of an institutional 'tracking' system (normative, remedial) premised upon the efficacy of an allegedly scientific criteria to segregate students into groups of 'acceptable' and 'unacceptable' performance levels. Even in handwriting instruction, a traditional domain, standardization was seen as the best means towards an equitable and efficient instructional meritocracy.

In its proposed specification for the theory, objectives, materials, and methods for reading instruction, the 1936 Curriculum comprehensively redefined reading as 'functional'. The curriculum focused on the transmission of functional reading skills as prerequisite for social integration, systematically refuting the principles and methods of the high literacy paradigm.

The separation of Reading and Literature into discrete curricular 'fields' was a radical innovation; 'reading' as a distinct instructional mode, as opposed to reading as critical and aesthetic appreciation, concurred with the scientific redefinition of reading as basic skills. The curriculum explained the distinction:

> Reading and literature are here treated as two distinct branches of English; the one, reading, dealing chiefly with the development of basic skills; the other, literature, concerning itself with getting from the printed page information, enjoyment, and a wider understanding of human life and character. Each of these has its own special techniques, special problems to be solved, special objectives to be attained....Separate treatment is felt to be more effective than an attempt to combine the two. (1936 C, p. 173)

In this statement, the extraction of "basic skills" from "understanding, information, and enjoyment" reflected a correlative deemphasis of literary content in reading instruction. The 1936 curriculum proposed that basic skills should be necessarily imparted as a precursor to cognitive/informational and critical/aesthetic ends. Literature study, the remaining domain of traditional instruction, was wholly transformed into an elective subject of the English (literacy) program. The scientific transmission of functional skills had superseded the traditional transmission of a static body of disciplinary knowledge as the legitimated end of educational literacy practices.

The 1936 curriculum reconceptualized basic skills qua mechanics:

> Mastery of the mechanics of reading is of basic importance and Junior High School teachers should not assume that such mastery has been fully achieved in the elementary schools. Investigation has shown that large numbers of high school students are deficient in reading ability, and consequently fail, not in English alone, but in all academic subjects.
> (1936 C, p.173)

Falling levels of achievement in the 'mechanics' of reading, undoubtedly ascertained through the administration of standardized instrument, informed the development of a 'minor' literacy crisis; the identification of this 'crisis' by means of scientific inquiry, legitimated its validity -- the scientific paradigm verified its own worth, its pragmatic applicability.

The definition of reading, as a set of basic and functional

skills, necessitated the segmentation of the reading process into identifiable and evaluable components: skills, types, purposes, and levels and rates. Consequently, specific objectives of the curriculum cited the necessity for the student to develop "skill in the use of tools (texts) of reading". The objectives were divided into verifiable "mechanical" skills to be exercised upon a set of "tools", (e.g. dictionaries, instructional manuals, cookbooks).

Reading was categorized into separate forms of social utility; various types of literacy were identified on the basis of the contexts of social applicability. The scientific division of literacy into skills corresponded with the Progressive division of literacy into applicable social types:

> Scientific studies and research suggest that reading activities may be grouped into two main types. These are work-type reading and recreational reading. In the case of much material a complete separation between these types cannot be made....Many selections will be read by different readers for different purposes.
>
> 1936 C, p.173)

The (pluralistic) division of literacy into types of social use was dependent on a historical world view of social reality. By recognizing that literacy is contingent upon stratified spheres of social life, the 1936 curriculum prescribed a literacy of greater individual equality/difference. Yet, by creating prescriptive 'types' of reading, the scientific paradigm of functional literacy created a set of categories which legitimated, prescribed, and, thereby, constrained the variability and use of

literacy. In this respect, the creation of scientific components and types of reading prescribed the use of literacy in a variety of categorically (scientifically) defined and measured structures of literate interaction. In the quest for a literacy of social relevance, the functional literacy curriculum prescribed a normative set of social and institutional patterns for reading behavior.

"Work-type" reading was defined as reading "to gather information, to solve problems, to understand precise directions, and to note detail. In socialized procedures, where material from textbooks in History, Geography, Civics are to be used, this type of reading is required." Thus, work-type reading involved information and detail gathering, following directions, and problem solving skills, all of which embodied the dominant production values, essential for integration and function in the occupational market.

Conversely, recreational reading was defined as "the wholesome enjoyment of leisure". The concept of 'leisure' reading differed from the aesthetic, critical, and mental discipline of the traditional reading of literature. Canadian leisure itself was being redefined relative to the efficiency ethic of institutional work.

Leisure reading, and the use of libraries to encourage pleasure reading, were part of the proliferation of modern popular culture. Arnold, in Culture and Anarchy, had identified the tastes and reading habits of the general populus as a threat

to the continuation of canons of taste and validity. In contrast, Deweyian recognition of library/public leisure reading in the schooling curriculum was associated with the egalitarian goal of universal literacy. Simultaneously, reading was recognized as valid 'gratuitous' entertainment, independent of overt moral didacticism.

Dewey (and the 1936 curriculum) explictly refers to sports and social 'games' as metaphors for interaction and as examples for experiential lessons. While leisure reading ostensibly served no greater social purpose than ephemeral pleasure and recreation for the participants, the game qua social event (i.e. sports) became a functional social mechanism. In this respect, 'leisure reading', like institutionalized sports, became a legitimated social practice.

The Deweyian library structure allowed greater reader 'freedom' from the prior Classical monopoly on culture and aesthetic taste (and the text) for the majority of readers. Yet the library system itself, symbolized by the Dewey Decimal catalogue code, became a primary public institution and, by its incorporation into public schools, legitimated and regulated reading as a socially acceptable and utilizable 'leisure' acitivity.

Thus, two fundamental types of reading proposed in the 1936 curriculum are forms of functional literacy: the 'work-type' reading is similar to today's concept of functional literacy as the necessary provision of vocational and academic skills;

the concept of leisure reading, ostensibly a non-puposive mode of literacy, served a distinct social and psychological function. Both work and recreational reading were overt and covert forms of social efficiency and control.

The reconceptualization of the process of reading according to social applicability corresponded to the technical componmentalization of rates and levels of the reading process; the curriculum explained that "each type of reading should be applied to the rate of reading most appropriate to it. This formative conceptual link related the socially functional genres of reading to the scientifically individuated 'rates' of reading. Functional reading required the parcelling of reading into skills, types, and measurable temporal units. The systematicization and componmentalization of reading literacy facilitated greater instructional efficiency and quantifiability.

The rates of reading described in the 1936 curriculum were:

1. Skimming (Used for)
   a. Getting the general idea of an article.
   b. Finding data or particular references, as in using an index, or reading chapter or paragraph headings.
   c. Getting an idea of organization of an article, in order to summarize.
   d. Browsing through books with a feeling of general interest, but not definite purpose.

2. Rapid Reading (To be used for newspapers, magazines, and light fiction, or for informational books for general trends, not details)
   a. Reviewing material already familiar.
   b. Accomplishing most possible under pressure of time.
   c. Getting main thought without particular attention to detail.

3. Normal Reading (Determined by type of material, by purpose in reading, and by efficiency of reader in basic skills)
   a. Most types of recreational reading.
   b. Factual reading of ordinary difficulty.
   c. Answering simple questions and problems.
   d. Mastering simple details as well as the main thought of the article.
   e. Finding whether material contains any ideas new to the reader.

4. Careful Reading (Rate may be one-third to one-half of rapid reading)
   a. Assimilating new and difficult material.
   b. Analyzing and solving intricate problems.
   c. Weighing value of ideas in solution of problems.
   d. Comparing in detail, style, diction, etc. different selections.
   e. Appreciating the full beauty of thought and word in a selection.

(1936 C, p.174)

These categories of reading behavior are 'rate' indicators to aid instruction and evaluation; yet they also portray distinct modalities of reading literacy, segregated according to the reader's (social) intent and textual object. In this respect, the componmentalization of reading into types with correlative rates created a system whereby rates could be designated as 'appropriate' to particular texts; the student utilized learned behavior contingent upon the nature of the textual 'stimulus'. Newspapers, magazines, and popular fiction were ascribed equal, if not greater, significance than classical texts in the transmission of reading skills. Rates of reading described in the curriculum (skimming, rapid reading, etc.) were explicit recognitions of the necessity for training in the critical appre-

hension of functional, 'everyday' materials.

The hierarchy of rates implied a reversal of the former traditional priority of high literature. Ostensibly, the list introduced lower types of reading as prerequisite skills towards the higher type of reading. "The Careful Reading" category was a modern version of traditional literary appreciation of "the full beauty of the truth and word in a selection".

Yet the apparent hierarchical subsumption of lower types of reading literacy by 'high cultural' literacy was precluded by the functionalist reconstruction of literacy upon which the curriculum was based. The aesthetically edifying text was not considered the most 'appropriate' literacy to modern social life. The 1936 curriculum critiqued the over-utilization of high literacy "careful reading": "Immature students use this last type (high literacy) far too much. They plod when they should skim, and it is important too that their attention be directed to the first two types so that they may use them where the situation is appropriate." (1936 C, p. 174) What appeared as a hierarchy domina ted by 'high cultural' literacy was, in fact, reversed in the 1936 curriculum; 'high literacy' was relegated to a lower or less universally appropriate curricular and instructional necessity.

These 'scientific' categories, rates and types, of reading were premised on the reconceptualization of reading literacy as the acquisition and processing of information. The four categories were conceived of as levels of organization of informa-

tion (data). This emphasis on (Thorndikian) informational processing was paralleled by the deemphasis of literary questions of style, quality, tone and form. Within the "Careful Reading" (high literacy) category, scientific critical processes of "assimilating", "weighing", "analyzing", and "solving" had replaced the terminology of literary criticism.

Thus, reading had been wholly redefined as involving identifiable types and rates. Yet to accept this reconceptualized curriculum as an adequate Progressive recognition of individual difference would deny the apparent 'dogmatism' and 'exclusivity' of the proposed New Curriculum. The curriculum stated:

> Teaching should be directed to establishing right attitudes, habits, and tastes in reading, so that children will read readily for pleasure and for information, habitually turning to books for answers to many of their problems and using intelligent books and reference materials of all kinds.
> (1936 C, p. 175)

The establishment of types of socially utilizable reading literacy, and the provision for school libraries appeared to open curricular content and method and consequently better provide for individual difference. Nonetheless, the enforcement of "habitually turning to books for answers" as part of the Progressive concern for universal literacy did not differ in reasoning from the Arnoldian imperative of the study of literature. An equally binding set of practices and materials were being prescribed towards reconsidered ends; the Progressive paradigm of literacy was equally concerned as its predecessor with

establishing right attitudes, habits and tastes in reading. While both content (from poetry to newspapers) and method (from oral to silent reading) had been altered, the new paradigm asserted normative constraints on literacy practices.

The primary domination of evaluative and instructional processes by the literary criticism model was superseded by the systematic procedures of testing, grouping, and remedial work. (1936 C, p.175) The "Suggested Procedure for Improving Reading" outlined a four phase classroom process involving: 1) testing, 2) time allottment, 3) remedial materials, and 4) remedial activities. As such, it reflected the ability tracking methodology which proliferated thoughout Canada and the United States in the 1930's and 40's (Bleasdale, 1976; Bowles and Gintis, 1976).

Testing was explicated as the classroom methodology for ensuring the acquisition of the types and rates of functional reading. The standardized test (and the resultant recognition of individual difference) was proposed as the preliminary step to any reading instruction in the junior secondary grades. The explanation on the use of testing for improving reading is as follows:

> Attention should be given to individual differences and needs. Early in the school year the teacher should discover each pupil's reading ability, using for the purpose standardized diagnostic tests. Such tests reveal specific weaknesses, and indicate where the pupil ranks in relation to acceptable standards for his age and grade. Pupils whose rating is considerably below standards should be placed in remedial groups and given drill to improve rate of speed and comprehension. Specific disabilites found in only a few pupils will of

> course be dealt with individually, perhaps when the rest of the class is busy with assignments of the extensive reading programme.
>
> (1936 C, p.175)

The preliminary diagnostic phase of 'functional' reading instruction was prescribed as necessitating the early use of "classification" reading tests (i.e. Thorndike/McCall) and the matching of the individual student's score with 'acceptable standards', presumably grade/level (U.S., B.C., Canada) norms. These prognostic results would consequently be used to 'stream' lower students into remedial groups while a systematic unitized reading instruction (which proceeded according to conventional grade level expectations and readability) would continue on schedule with the non-remedial group.

The diagnosis/procedure phase also involved the practitioner recognition of scientifically ascertained causes of reading deficiencies. "Some of the most common causes of retardation in reading (other than defective eye sight) are poor word recognition, scanty vocabulary, short eye span, regressive eye movements, and lip movements. Suggestions for correction of these common errors may be in any good work on silent reading." (1936 C, p.175)

As stated, deficiencies were diagnosed by the standardized experiments and tests which had been developed to measure 'rates' of newly conceived types and levels of reading (i.e. comprehension, recall). Consequently, testing was the catalyst and apparatus for operationalizing an entire 'treatment' procedure

for the remediation of ascertainably deficient readers -- those who were unable to perform adequately on standardized instruments. The "time allottment" section which followed testing patterned and planned a systematic treatment for the provision of individual and group difference in reading ability. A combination of 'pleasure reading' was recommended for the heterogenous class groups. The homogenously grouped "backward reader" would continue in small and special remedial groups (1936 C, p.175)

> There are many excellent books of the 'information' type that will be found useful in remedial work, since the definiteness of their content lends itself to testing, and since the motive for reading them is not immediate pleasure, but usually a desire to make practical use of their content. Reading done for such purposes had a hold on the interest which is not destroyed by minute attention to detail.
>
> (1936 C, p.175)

This description of the legitimated curricular procedure for remedial students typified the notion of a functional literacy. The utilization of books of the "informational type" for instruction in (functional) 'lower' levels of informational processing, was prescribed for those students classified as remedial. The stated supposition behind this pedagogical structure was that the attention, motivation, and interest engendered by the reading of 'practical' texts enhanced the transmission of 'basic skills' of processing which would improve "retardation" and "deficiency" in reading rate and level. The resultant social implications, generated by the acquisition of 'practical' skills, was seen as the most 'beneficial' and appropriate for 'lower'

achievers. The 1936 curriculum recognized a minimum level of 'functional' basic skills acquisition as the standard for classroom performance.

The informational type of reading here prescribed for remedial materials was, by definition, quantifiable. The experiments and tests of reading psychologists had led to the scientific redefinition of literacy and reading as composite bodies of skills at the processing of information. Recall and comprehension of details, facts, procedures, and names were specifiable and testable by instruments conceived of upon the stimulus/response model.

Yet the redefinition of literacy along functional terms was not solely occurring at 'remedial stream' level. A review of the proposed literature curriculum indicates that even those students who tested at grade level or above, would undertake a wholly redefined literature study, emphasizing non-traditional procedures and content.

The 1936 literature curriculum for the Junior High Schools articulated selected traditional objectives of literature study mentioning the appreciation, interpretation and familiarity with "our best standard and contemporary authors". Yet literature study was refocused on the social effects upon the learner's life. The curriculum contrasts this sort of social 'enrichment' with the 'functional' emphasis of the reading curriculum: "The preceding section dealt with reading as a technical skill; this

section deals with it as a means of acquiring vicarious experience. One of the great aims in teaching literature is the interpretation and understanding of life. Acquaintance with literature helps the child to live, and to live more abundantly. " (1936 C, p.177)

Literature study (appreciation, evaluation, interpretation) was a means towards Deweyian 'vicarious experience'. In this manner, the Progressive rennovation of literature study militated against high cultural standards and practices.

The literature course prescribed texts for both the English X and English XI courses: the content of the curriculum reveals standard English literature, and to a lesser extent, Canadian and American literature of several genres. Yet of note on the following list was the proposed deletion of virtually half of the required 'whole' (not anthologies or textbooks) texts and the substitution of more extensive library readings and "texts which will be specified in the 1937 school year." (See table 6)

The actual content of the Junior High School literature course was conventional when contrasted to the radical revision of procedures and methods proposed in the new literature curriculum. Literature study was divided into five broad subcategories. Excepting the unprecedented technological emphasis of radio and "moving picture" study, the other categories of literature study were redefinitions of prior practices.

TABLE 6

PRESCRIBED TEXTS:

ENGLISH X, ENGLISH XI
1936 JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM

ENGLISH X

The Canadian Book of Prose and Verse, Book I (Ryerson)

Two of the following:

1. Dickens: A Christmas Carol; and Rusking: King of the Golden River, (Copp, Clark & Co.)
2. Stevenson: Treasure Island
3. Four Room Plays, Junior Book (Dent)
4. Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare (Blackie)
5. McArthur: Familiar Fields (Dent)

Note: Items #3, 4, & 5 to be discontinued after June, 1937.

Supplementary Reading:
See Library lists. It is recommended that at least five books be read during the year.

ENGLISH XI

The Canadian Book of Prose and Verse, Book I (Ryerson)

Two of the following:

1. Scott: Lady of the Lake
2. Stevenson: Black Arrow
3. Scott: Ivanhoe
4. Selections from Irving and Hawthorne (Copp, Clark & Co.)
5. Dickens: Cricket on the Hearth

Note: Item #4 & 5 will be discontinued after June, 1937.

The actual content of the Junior High School literature course was conventional when contrasted to the radical revision in procedures and methods proposed in the new literature curriculum. Literature study was divided into five broad subcategories, including media study. Excepting the unprecedented technological emphasis of radio and "moving picture" discussion and critique, other sub-types of literature study were radically redefined versions of prior practices.

Intensive reading (1936 C, p.178) was conceived of as that reading which occupied the attention of the entire class for extended periods of time; extensive reading was characterized as "all those reading activities either within the classroom or without, in which the individuals or groups may be engaged, but which do not necessarily occupy the attention of the whole class at one time". With a curricular focus on extensive reading, the Progressive educational model was able to instantiate its concerns with function and individualism. The recognition of the value of different "reading activities, within the classroom and without" and the individualization of texts and instruction, evidenced a Progressive reorientation of instruction towards individual social utility.

The recommendation for extensive reading in literature study reflected a direct criticism of existing traditional practices. The curriculum emphasized that, "much of the teaching of literature has been too intensive -- weeks even months, being

spent upon a single classic. Today there is a movement towards extensive reading. This does not mean that intensive study is to be abandoned, but that it is limited in its application..." (1936 C, p.178)

The Classical concentration on memorization was explicitly critiqued; "this latter is a bi-product of the literature lesson rather than an end definitely sought." In terms of student competence, the 1936 curriculum stated that achievements in intensive literature study "are not to be judged by formal testing of subject matter, but by the way in which literature functions in the pupils' daily life." (1936 C, p.179) The examination system was not an adequate evaluation of the daily functional utility of literature study.

In lieu of traditional practices of intensive reading -- formal examination -- the use of non-literary texts was proposed. Extensive reading involved the use of texts of "graded difficulty to meet the needs of varying reading abilities". The implication was that the individualized reading of texts (library books, textbooks, anthologies, magazines, periodicals) would better facilitate individual needs. Texts that had been rated for grade level 'readability' were prescribed.

In this regard, the 'new' literature study evidenced flexibility of curriculum; stimulus (texts) could be altered and selected according to the scientifically perceived needs of the reader. In intensive study, the text had been static, of

accepted worth and unquestioned readability; the 'functional' paradigm of literature instruction recommended books like biographies, travel books and "books on aviation, radio, science and invention, public service and industry." (1936 C, p. 179)

It was recognized that "such books have appeal for those pupils who only with difficulty can be induced to read works of a purely literary style." (1936 C, p.179) The fact that such students should even be considered for inclusion in a secondary literature course, evidenced the institutional change in attitudes regarding the exclusivity of 'elective' literature courses.

The procedures for extensive reading were described: "Some of this extensive reading will be carried out in the classroom, some in the library, but a large part of it at home." (1936 C, p.175). The study of literature was recognized as occurring outside the structures of formal schooling control and monitoring. The curriculum also prescribed the loosening of codes of control upon reading literacy asserted by traditional literature instruction:

> Provision should be made for 'free reading' periods within the classroom. The teacher should keep a record of what is being read in such periods, and as far as possible on out of school reading, but should not ordinarily look for formal reports upon it.
> (1936 C, p.179)

The modern system of 'Uninterrupted Sustained Silent Reading' began as part of the total intent of the Progressive curriculum to relate literature study to 'outside' social

experience.

The most major innovation in the procedures for literature (extensive) reading instruction was the introduction of various genres of popular reading:

> About nine-tenths of adult reading is of newspapers and magazines. Pupils should be trained to read them most economically, and to evaluate their worth. Much of this reading is of the skimming type. Special emphasis should be upon the development of a permanent interest in current affairs, and upon the exercise of discrimination in the choice of periodicals, and upon the habit or reading at a good rate. (1936 C, p.180)

Periodical and newspaper reading was proposed not only for purposes of informational processing in the reading curriculum but also as part of the literature curriculum.

By 1936, radio programs, movies, newspapers, and magazines were introduced as curriculum for English I and II literature courses. The juxtaposition of free reading of popular literature and the discussion of moving pictures, and traditional literary instructional modes (i.e. choral and unison reading, formal criticism, memorization) must have offended and repelled traditionally oriented teachers of literature. The curriculum proposed the scientific restructuring of reading, handwriting, written and oral language instruction in alignment with a pedagogy of social function.

The Junior High School course in literature, technically the remaining institutional realm of high culture, suffered a curricular integration of popular culture and scientific

methodology. Withdrawal in 1937 of Tales from Shakespeare from the Junior High School literature curriculum, and the provision for the discussion of the latest "moving picture" exemplified the historical supercession of the Classical paradigm of literacy.

In 1937, Weir and King began the gradual reconstruction of the Provincial Examination system and introduced more comprehensive standardized testing on class, school, and district levels. The Departmental policy regarding curriculum, instruction, and evaluation of literacy was based on the paradigmatic redefinition of literacy as a set of functional skills most adequately transmitted in systematized modes. Functional literacy was formulated as the principal aim of Progressively oriented language instruction.

As a result, the educational system was geared, in philosophy and policy, towards the maximization of the production of socially functional individuals. A comprehensive reformulation of the content, means, and ends of literacy instruction had occurred. If enforced and implemented by practitioners, the very nature of the literacy transmitted by the educational system would change.

CHAPTER 9: REFERENCES

1. P.S. Report, 1935.

2. British Columbia Ministry of Education, Secondary Curriculum Guide - English (VIII-IX), 1978, p.25.

3. Ibid., p.47.

CHAPTER 10

THE 1938 GRAY MACKENZIE SURVEY: LOCAL IMPLEMENTATION OF PROGRESSIVE PRACTICES

Departmental curriculum and policy are only effective agents of educational change insofar as they are enforced as evaluative criteria for appraisals of students, teachers, and schools. In sum, the development of Progressive theory into concrete administrative, curricular and instructional procedures would only occur when that theory was enforced through evaluative codes of 'accountability' with which the Department determined efficiency of its various institutional components (students, practitioners, schools, municipalities, districts, programs). With a formal codification of reform philosophy, the Department could sanction practitioner acceptance of the New Programme and select against continued adherence to the practices of the prior educational model.

The enforcement of King's Progressive curriculum was assured when Weir appointed King Chief Inspector of Schools in 1939. In an atmosphere of increasing Departmental skepticism towards local administrative favoritism in the management of teachers and schools, the Inspectors retained a major degree of Departmental power.

The evaluative apparatuses for the measurement of efficiency

were in stages of transition, evidencing a period of paradigmatic shift. The authority and power of the Provincial Examination had diminished, and the Department had yet to administer province-wide tests on a regular basis. Thus, during the late 1930's the evaluative criteria and apparatuses of the prior paradigm had blurred; the mechanisms of the scientific paradigm had yet to be comprehensively operationalized. As a result, both traditional and scientific indicators of efficiency were precluded from asserting control over Provincial schooling. Power over criteria and standards reverted to the Inspectors and their Departmental superiors, many of whom had advocated the new pedagogy and psychology since the 1920's. Inspectorial observation remained the primary basis for decisions on the viability of the existing system.

Evaluation of districts and schools are judgements on performance. Like test instruments designed to evaluate student performance, local accreditation evaluations appraise practitioner performance according to prestipulated criteria and standards. As direct descriptions of and prescriptions for daily classroom reality, these reports reflect existing educational praxis at a given point in time more exactly than the policy and curricular statements previously analyzed. The following discussion of the Survey of the Greater Victoria Area Schools (1938), by W. Gray and H. H. Mackenzie, notes a historical disjunction of Departmental policy and existing practices in local schools.

The conflict between policy and practice constituted an educational 'anomaly' -- the resolution of this perceived deficiency of existing practice would enable the new paradigm to diversify and consolidate its educational interests. The application of Progressive methods and discourses would be proposed for the corrective reconciliation of this disjunction between stated Departmental philosophy/policy and schooling practices. To implement new curricular programs on a practical classroom level necessitated the evaluative appraisal of the Victoria area schools. This discussion of the resulting report focuses on the evaluative expectations and methods of the two inspectors (inquirers).

In 1937, Weir appointed William Gray, Inspector of Schools for North and West Vancouver, and H. H. Mackenzie, Inspector in Vancouver, to conduct a systematic evaluation of the Victoria area schools. The study would be similar in nature to a "general inspection of the schools" yet would operate "in a more comprehensive manner and on a larger scale than usual" (GM, p.7). The inspection was to be conducted "largely by the existing staff with assistance from other Governmental officials." In this respect, the report was an 'internal' evaluation; 'outside' or 'impartial' expertise was considered unnecessary.

In 1938, Greater Victoria (Southern Vancouver Island) schools were divided into four jurisdictions: Victoria City, Oak Bay, Esquimalt and Saanich. The northernmost school covered

by the survey was Saanichton Elementary (33 students), 17 kilometers north of Victoria. The largest schools surveyed were in Victoria City, Victoria High School (1146 students) and Central Junior High School (539 students). Obviously, the Victoria area schools were of particular importance to legislators whose children attended local institutions. It could be hypothesized that this comprehensive Departmental inspection was a purposive sampling of practitioner reaction to the 1936 curricular revisions. Staffed by and directly responsible to the Department, the commission logically assumed Departmental interests, criteria and standards.

Work began early in November, 1937; field work in the Victoria schools was undertaken from December, 1937, to January, 1938. The systematic 'scientific' approach which King had advocated was prescribed by Weir in the reference points outlined to the inspectors. Efficiency of all aspects of schooling practice was to be appraised in a "total picture of the educational programme" (GM, p.5). The study was structured similarly to Tylerian curricular evaluation; Weir intended to ascertain to what extent his modernization had altered educational practice and performance.

Dr. Weir articulated the metaphoric description of educational evaluation which by this time was fully legitimated; he called for the "detailed diagnosis" of the system to be followed by a "vigorous policy of remedial treatment with the main

objective of corrected weakness." (GM, p.5) Thus, as an object of Departmental scrutiny, the Victoria area schools were undergoing the same didactic 'treatment' of diagnosis (grouping and remediation) which the 1936 curriculum had prescribed for remedial readers.

The structural parallel between the evaluation of students and the evaluation of larger units of the system (students, teachers, administrators) indicates the 'reproduction' of the scientific evaluation model on all levels of educational judgement. Progressive educators in 1938 were no longer combating educational rule systems; they were stipulating and enforcing such systems. Mackenzie was the originator of the term "socialized recitations"; [1] he had attacked traditionalists as "Shibboleths" in his poetic exposition on the new pedagogy and testing (see Chapter 6).

Mackenzie taught courses in psychology and modern reading instruction at the Victoria summer school for teachers from 1922 until the late 1930's. In this respect, he would be in the position not only to diagnose, but to remediate practitioner incompetence in scientific and Progressive methods. His substantial academic credentials probably led to his appointment as vice-chairman of the inspectorial team under William Gray, who the 1930's inspectorial reports reveal as a less vociferous but equally ardent proponent of Progressive reform.

Mackenzie and Gray summoned Robert Straight, a trained

statistician. Straight simultaneously was serving as a consultant for the Board of Examiners, redesigning scaling procedures along statistically reliable and valid principles.[2] With Straight's aid and the B.C.T.F.'s consultation, the influence and scope of the examinations were minimized and restructured to include more 'objective test items' and statistical scaling procedures. Straight would continue to serve as district statistician for Vancouver and work for C.B. Conway and H. Evans, Assistant Registrar of Examinations, throughout the 1940's and 50's on the construction and analysis of standardized tests and provincial examinations. Straight's data base of test scores, age-grade census information generated evaluational judgements, and furthermore legitimated other (traditionally) subjective observational judgements made by Gray and Mackenzie.

The Gray Mackenzie Survey was a detailed inquiry on the degree of influence and extent to which the paradigm of a 'new' education and literacy had been operationalized in a number of recognizably 'conservative' B.C. schools. All of these categories of inquiry relating to schooling practices: staffing, certification, funding, testing, grading, equipment, texts, physical plant, instructional environment, were subsumed by the overall intent of the inquiry to detail "the extent to which the school system surveyed has responded to the advances in educational science". (GM, p.7)

As established in the previous section, the Progressive

reform of H.B. King implicitly equated effective 'learning' and 'knowledge' with administrative/managerial instructional efficiency. As in Dewey's pedagogical statements, the link between institutional efficiency and industrial productivity was a logical form of social reproduction. The issue of accountability became a question of both economic and pedagogical efficiency.

In the 1938 document, scientific inquiry into matters of cost efficiency and student performance were not only a means towards the remediation of any perceived practical and pedagogical inadequacies, but also as a means towards accountability of the educational system as a whole to the B.C. public. Scientific measurement of student and institutional performance was incorporated with Inspectorial connoisseurship as the basis of Departmental policy decisions.

The historical structure and sensibility of the Gray Mackenzie Survey reflects the assumptions on methods and criteria of the new educational paradigm. The extent to which the methodology and pedagogical assumptions of the 1938 report dictated its findings, will be outlined in this discussion. The analysis will focus on the Gray Mackenzie findings regarding:

1. Practitioner acceptance and institutional integration of the New Programme.
2. Standardized testing results.
3. Literacy instruction, curriculum and performance.
4. Remediation of the existing situation.

The survey condemned Victoria area teachers who "have failed to translate into practice the New Programme of studies" and were habituated "in the use of traditional methods". The report claimed that "most of the teachers, however, either have not made any attempt to study the bulletins of the New Programme, or having done so, have failed to understand them." (GM, p. 24)

Gray and Mackenzie held explicit misgivings about existing instructional methods; the report cited general lack of willingness on the part of Victoria teachers to alter traditional methods. The survey juxtaposed 'child-centered' practitioners and "teachers (who) were trained under the traditional plan". The report bluntly stated that "traditional methods of instruction do not fit in with the philosophy of the New Curriculum." (GM, p.19) King had reiterated Dewey's initial claim that the individual and social group were ideally conceived of in democratic harmony -- synonyms rather than antonyms.

This 1938 evaluation acknowledged learners' difference in "intellectual", "physical", and "emotional" dispositions. Gray and Mackenzie explained that "some methods of instruction suitable to one group of children may be quite unsuited to others." (GM, p.20) The aim was to accomodate various levels and capacities for behavior and performance to a greater extent than was allowed within traditional classrooms. The Progressive program, therefore, attempted to generate a 'functional pluralism' -- a system which provided for individual difference by

the creation of streams and tracking groups.

To provide for equality of individual opportunity, the 1938 accreditation evaluation recommended the utilization of standardized tests as the principal instructional method and evaluational means for teacher selection for 'pluralistic' treatments (programs). Gray and Mackenzie wrote:

> If these individual differences are to be provided for, the modern teacher must use scientific methods of measuring abilities, of measuring progress, of diagnosing weaknesses and failure in growth, and of applying remedial treatment where needed. The teacher must know how to use and interpret the results of intelligence tests, of standardized tests, and of the informal diagnostic classroom test. Methods of testing have changed considerably since first they were introduced into our schools, and the teacher must study and understand these changes if the new programme is to be effectively carried out.
>
> (GM, p.20)

Tests were prescribed for use as part of a comprehensive guidance program within which students would be grouped according to assessed academic or vocational abilities. Tests of aptitude and achievement were recommended; standardized testing was an integral component for the determination of 'treatment'.

Straight administered 14 standardized instruments to Victoria area schools (see Table 7); the test administration was intended to provide a data base on student performance for use as an interpretive indicator of instructional efficiency and modernization.

Similar tests were administered in January and April in Vancouver (Straight's jurisdiction) and North and West Vancouver

TABLE 7

TESTING PROGRAM:

VICTORIA AREA SCHOOLS - 1938

Intelligence Tests

1. Otis Self-Administering Tests of Mental Ability, Intermediate, (VI)
2. Terman and Kuhlmann-Anderson Tests, (VIII)
3. Otis Self-Administering Tests of Mental Ability, Higher, (XII)

Subject Achievement Tests

1. Vancouver Tests: Reasoning in Arithmetic, Form B, (VI)
2. Woody-McCall Mixed Fundamentals in Arithmetic, Form II, (VI)
3. Dominion Group Achievement Tests, Form A, Arithmetic Subtests, (VIII)
4. Hotz First Year Algebra Scales, Series B, (IX, XII)
5. Henmon French Test, (XII)
6. White Latin Test, Form A, (XII)
7. Ruch-Popenoe General Science Test, Form B, (IX, XII)

Literacy-related Achievement Tests

1. Thorndike-McCall Reading Scale, Form 2, (VI)
2. Dominion Group Achievement Tests, Form A, Spelling, Usage, Reading Subtests, (VIII)
3. Van Wagenen Unit Scales of Achievement in Reading, Division 2, Form B, (IX, XII)
4. Inglis Test of English Vocabulary, Form C, (XII)

Source: Gray Mackenzie Survey, 1938

(Gray's jurisdiction), for purposes of comparative study. Scores of the greater Victoria area (Victoria and other municipalities) were listed on comparative graphs against scores from Victoria city and the three Lower Mainland municipalities.

Straight compared his I.Q. norms on Victoria and Vancouver performance with the similar historical comparison undertaken by Sandiford as part of the Putman Weir Survey. (See Tables 8 & 9)

TABLE 8

MEDIAN I. Q. SCORES
VANCOUVER AND VICTORIA
1925

GRADE VI NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE TEST

Vancouver	106,22
Victoria	103,24

GRADE VII NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE TEST

Vancouver	148,44
Victoria	143,07

GRADE X-XI B.C. INTELLIGENCE TEST

Vancouver	105,83
Victoria	103,72

Source:
Putman Weir Report
(1925)
P. Sandiford

TABLE 9

MEDIAN I. Q. SCORES
VANCOUVER AND VICTORIA
1938

GRADE VI OTIS SELF-ADMINISTERING TEST (INTERMEDIATE)

Vancouver	106.5
Victoria	100.0

GRADE VIII TERMAN AND KUHLMANN-ANDERSON

Vancouver	108.8
Victoria	101.6

GRADE XII OTIS SELF-ADMINISTERING TEST (HIGHER)

Vancouver	115.0
Victoria	112.2

Source:

Gray Mackenzie Survey
(1938)
R. Straight

Sandiford's 1925 results (table 8) indicated that Victoria students scored higher in mean I. Q. than their Vancouver counterparts. Straight quoted Sandiford's 1925 commentary:

> On comparing the median scores of Grade IX, X, and XII, the Victoria urban area pupils are found to make slightly higher rating than those of the Vancouver urban area. The differences, however slight, are probably significant and indicate a permanent difference in the general intelligence of the high school population. Sex differences are more marked in Vancouver than they are in Victoria. This also was to be expected because of the differences in two classes of population. (GM, p.63; emphasis added)

By comparison, Straight's 1938 results (table 9) indicated that Victoria students had fallen behind in mean I. Q. Despite the obvious reverse over a thirteen year period, Straight was unwilling to assert any explicit judgement; he wrote, "there is not enough data available to explain the apparent change in intelligence testing standing in the two surveys." (GM, p.63)

Retrospectively, Straight's 1938 interpretations of the test results were, in general, less polemical and speculative than Sandiford's. It could be hypothesized that changes in statistical and psychometric method influenced the nature of his interpretations. Yet the Gray Mackenzie Survey does not outline the statistical methodologies employed in the testing program.

Straight derived specific inferences from the results of the standardized reading instruments which were administered;

explaining the results of the Thorndike-McCall Reading Scale (VI), Straight wrote:

> The Thorndike-McCall reading scale has been carefully standardized and widely used. Realiable norms are available. Oak Bay makes the best showing, having a mean reading quotient of 112.3. This is slightly higher than the Vancouver mean reading quotient. Victoria has the lowest mean reading quotient. The Margaret Jenkins School, which makes the best showing of the Victoria schools, does not reach the Vancouver mean. It would seem that either Victoria Grade VI pupils are unaccustomed to this type of reading test or the teaching of the lower grades in Victoria is somewhat inferior to that in Vancouver. The shortage of supplementary readers and library books in the Victoria schools undoubtedly contributes to their lower reading scores.
>
> (GM, p. 64)

The criticism of specific Victoria elementary schools on the basis of low standardized test performance is apparent. Yet virtually no interpretive comment was made on the Dominion Group Achievement Test (VIII) and the Van Wagenen Unit Scales (IX-XII) results. On the other hand, Straight inferred the direct relationship between the Inglis Test of English Vocabulary (XII) and existing classroom practices, detailing which aspects of the New Programme literacy programs were reflected in Inglis test results. Straight was establishing the direct inferential link between testing and the prescriptive body of knowledge tested;

> The ability tested by this test is probably not something which may be developed by intensive study of a few selections in literature. General reading outside of school, use of school library, collateral reading in other subject fields, all contribute to the ability measured by this test. On the vocabulary test the high schools rank in nearly the same order as on the reading test. Apparently a general ability (not innate

capacity) in English is being measured. The score of Greater Victoria does not differ significantly from the Vancouver score.

(GM, p.64)

The Gray Mackenzie Survey used the scores to substantiate their commentary on instructional and practical change. In this manner, Gray, Mackenzie and Straight premised their recommendations more directly upon visible traditional connoisseurship (on-site observation). By avoiding explicit test score based appraisals, the inspectorial team legitimated their senior evaluational expertise in the estimation of an identifiably traditional group of practitioners. It could be hypothesized that the desire of the inspectors to encourage more widespread acceptance of standardized testing precluded the use of such test scores for the rejection of existing practices.

Gray, Mackenzie and Straight critiqued literacy practices independently of the test result section; they premised their criticism of the existing instruction in literacy related subjects on on-site inspectorial analysis of classroom and program practices in the Victoria area schools in 1938 sanctioned the traditional performance goals of "mastery of subject matter". The 1938 document reiterated the modern emphasis on types and modes of reading which could be distinguished according to social context: work, recreation, factual, and subject-area reading were reviewed. (GM, p.26) Teachers were implored to recognize that these non-traditional types of reading necessarily required different instructional "treatment":

> Teachers must recognize the different treatment necessary in dealing with reading material that is purely factual in character and with reading material selected from the field of literature. The success with which the new Programme of Studies may be carried out depends upon the ability of the teacher to instruct her pupils in the various skills and habits incidental to reading.
>
> (GM, p.26)

Following its diagnosis of existing instruction, the report recommended the implementation of diagnosis/classification/remediation systems of reading instruction. Gray and Mackenzie wrote: "The wide range of reading ability previously noted, entails a program of informal tests followed by remedial treatment, yet such a program was seldom found in the schools of this area." (GM, p.26) The Inspectors recommended standardized instructional pre-assessment.

Mackenzie and Gray recognized that schools like Victoria High School retained a basically 'high literacy' set of criteria and standards for student performance. They described their assessment of the teaching of English at the largest school surveyed:

> The teaching of English appears to be developing in a satisfactory manner, an appreciation of literature. On the other hand, the tests in reading, reported elsewhere in this survey, show such a marked variation in reading ability that there is a very definite need for remedial classes to treat reading deficiencies...Since success in most high school subjects depends very largely on the ability to read, it would appear that classes should be organized for remedial treatment for those pupils with a low reading grade.
>
> (GM, p.41)

Apparently, Mackenzie and Gray felt that the continued curricular traditional emphasis of literature study impeded the re-

mediation of the deficiencies it created in the first place. Gray and Mackenzie criticized traditional literacy practices as impediments to the scientific pedagogy of measurement, grouping and remediation. They wrote:

> In the English programme of this school, prose selections seemed to be treated too intensively and were studied as pieces of composition or exposition for critical analysis rather than for the development of pleasure or interest in reading. In many cases, instruction in composition was too formal.
>
> (GM, p.41)

This explicit criticism of the continuation of traditional methods was part of Gray and Mackenzie's sense that "the greater number of teachers did not seem to be aware of the fact that there were more types of reading than merely silent and oral. The methods suggested for work-type reading were not clearly understood, nor were they properly applied." (GM, p.41)

They concluded that "there is little excuse for their (teachers') lack of knowledge of modern practice in reading. Demanding that teachers acquire "specific skills and abilities in reading", knowledge of the "different treatments necessary in dealing with reading", they had diagnosed functional skill deficiencies both of students and teachers of literacy. Effective teaching was seen to necessitate a body of functional competencies for the transmission of equally functional skills to their students.

Gray and Mackenzie, experts at language arts instruction, conducted on-site inspection of student work, a form of con-

noisseurship of 'quality' that reaffirmed their credibility as traditional accreditors. In contrast with Putman and Weir's 1925 observations, Gray and Mackenzie noted a "lack of neatness" in student handwriting (GM, p.27) The implication of their findings in handwriting and spelling was that the instructional efficiency of teachers was deficient when judged both by an objective evaluation model (standardized instruments) and by the connoisseurship model (inspectorial on-site judgement).

The other major recommendations of the section on writing were for increased instruction in self-editing and for increased teacher recognition of individual difference in written expression. These curricular objectives attempted to re-center instructional literate interaction upon the learner's expression. Training students to "diagnose and correct writing defects" (GM, p.27), was essentially the same process as training individuals to exercise the evaluative functions their teachers performed upon their own work. Such an objective in writing implies a greater concern with the students' capacity to operationalize diagnostic and corrective skills to control the quality of their own written product. The self-editing proposal can be viewed as the encouragement of the internalization of the evaluative method, criteria and standards by the students, and as the establishment of the students' literate performance as its own object, rather than as the exclusive object of teacher/critic evaluation.

Thus, the Gray Mackenzie Survey was enforcing Progressive

curricular reform upom the Victoria Area Schools. The functional literacy paradigm's resultant division of reading into sub-skills, types and levels, directly facilitated the transmission and evaluation of these allegedly utilizable skills. This resulting emphasis on a comprehensive 'new psychological' approach to reading as the most systematically transmittable, evaluable and utilizable literate behavior required a deemphasis of writing and literature study as high priority literate skills.

Mackenzie and Gray expressed a concern about the Victoria Area library facilities. In their criticism of specific schools, adequate library facilites were considered prerequisite to the effective implementation of a new program of literacy.

1936-37 statistics provided for Victoria and City libraries revealed trends in library circulation (GM, p.89). The library access was apparently sanctioning and encouraging different types of reading varied genres of popular, as well as Classical volumes. Increased student access to library facilities was seen as a means to accomodate individual difference. Between 1936 and 1937, 28 elementary classes were given instruction in library use at the Victoria Public Library. (GM, p.82) The circulation statistics confirmed that schools were disseminating reading materials other than the 'high cultural' literature of the prior curriculum.

The library, literacy training, reading and the book itself were all seen as valuable means towards social (occupational) application. Revision of the curriculum to included 'useful'

books required the implementation of a comprehensive library science to organize and deliver those materials. The conceptualization of the book as a useful object negated the Classicist supposition that books were entities of ahistorical or intrinsic worth. The book, under the Progressive educational scheme, was objectified as an artifact; texts became tools towards functional application.

Library science, and the resultant universal access to popular books, was an intrinsic aspect of the development of 'functional literacy'. The Progressive school library was founded within a framework of experience and social utility; consequently, books within the school library were conceived of instrumentally, as tools. In their criticism of the English program at Mt. Douglas High School, Mackenzie and Gray wrote:

> The programme in English, as in many of the other subjects, is handicapped by the complete absence of a library. Any attempt to carry out the new Programme of Studies without a library is absolutely futile, since one of the main features of the new curriculum is to train the students in the use of books both for reference and for recreation. As in most schools, there is a wide range of reading ability and this may be remediated only through more and better reading instruction.
>
> (GM, p.50)

Increased leisure and recreational types/rates of reading necessitated the expansion of library facilities to provide students (and public) with access to non-traditional popular and applied material. The relatively unmonitored access to the printed word in schools was the sort of event that reflected in-

creased control by popular culture of the literate 'code' of an era.

Substantial sections of the survey discussed two areas of reform; Mackenzie and Gray proposed a renewed vocational and commercial education. By 1938, Victoria High School, one of the largest high schools in the province, offered 16 different commercial subjects ranging from Accounting to Business English. Total enrollment in these classes was 1,007 pupils. Gray and Mackenzie noted that a total of 20 books on commercial subjects were available in the school library. They also explained that in the remainder of the greater Victoria area, no books on commercial subjects were available. Neither Oak Bay High School, probably because of its traditional literature emphasis, nor Mt. View Secondary, offered a course in Business English to senior students. Gray and Mackenzie noted that: "This is one of the most important subjects offered in the new curriculum; it would be valuable for any secondary school student." (GM, p.38)

Gray and Mackenzie legitimated the necessity for the Business English and attendant bodies of literacy skills as "valuable for any secondary school student." As rudimentary social competencies, business/commercial literate skills were being recognized as universal necessities. The inspectors recognized that the literacy skills learned in Business English had an exchange value (qua cultural capital) different in kind from that of high cultural literacy.

The survey was concerned that commercial and technical courses were being relegated to 'lower' levels of practitioner and educational priority. Like King and Dewey, they redefined such vocational courses as separate, different, yet of equal educational validity as academic courses. (GM, p.61) Their stated concern with the achievement of 'dignity' for all subjects was in alignment with the greater Progressive concern with equality of educational opportunity and worth. Although, as mentioned, 'democratic equality' had been a stated intent of Departmental policy as early as 1925, the practices which allegedly facilitated such equality were missing. Recognition of the equal 'dignity' and 'social value', afforded by vocational/commercial programs had yet to be implemented into schooling structure.

Vocational education was seen as necessary because of the status of the labor market; the unemployed in B.C. were a politically militant group during the 1930's (Ward, 1980). Gray and Mackenzie recommended increased 'holding power' of the educational system through the introduction of more comprehensive vocational education;

> This step was advisable from two main standpoints: a) from an economic standpoint in that no work was available for young people from 15 to 18, owing to the conditions of the labour market, and b) from demand by parents that their children should have more education than they had themselves. Thus, by law, by economic necessity and by popular demand for secondary education, our high schools have opened their doors to all young people of secondary school age who have the capacity for secondary education.
>
> (GM, p.40)

Educational Progressives felt that a discontinuation of the high cultural monopoly on high school education would incorporate a large number of 15 to 18 year olds, who would otherwise be unemployed or unemployable. Simultanenously, the skill level of the labor force could be increased to suit increasingly complex (i.e. specialized) demands of industry. The operant suppositions of early and mid 20th century Canadian vocational education was that the acquisition of increased levels of education would engender social mobility (Lowe , 1980; Porter, 1979). In accordance with this intent, Weir began expanding skill instruction to work camps and adult schools during the middle and late 1930's in alignment with Progressive concerns with social function and utility. (Johnson, 1964)

This emphasis on retraining the unemployed simultaneously increased the enrollment (and growth) of secondary schools. Students who had been previously excluded by traditional evaluation mechanisms, like the Junior Matriculation Examination (abolished in 1937 by Weir) were encouraged to enroll in vocational/technical streams. Gray and Mackenzie's commentary on vocational education indicated that the introduction of extended (non-academic) education to 18 year olds was a direct response to the economic situation in B.C. during the Depression.

The inability of academic and traditionally oriented schools to meet relevant social and occupational needs was particularly evident in Gray and Mackenzie's critique of Mt. View High School in Esquimalt. In an era of increasing awareness that industrial

efficiency was, as Hinchliffe had noted, the only assurance of economic, military and political national strength, the inability of the schools to meet the employment needs of the local ship-building community and naval base are noted:

> The severest criticism concerning secondary education in Esquimalt is that it is too academic, with little provision for those pupils who are not inclined towards purely academic studies. Esquimalt, being the centre of shipyard activities and adjacent to Victoria should lay more stress on technical and commercial education since the interests and inclinations of the pupils would naturally tend towards these pursuits. The recommendations herein made would provide, at little additional cost, a type of secondary education more in line with the needs of the community.
>
> (GM, p.48)

Yet Progressive proposals for reform of educational practice -- the acceptance of the New Programme, the utilization of scientific pedagogy, the redefinition of literacy in terms of its functional value, the increased funding of vocational/commercial programs -- were mitigated by the incapacity of practitioners and schools to reform existing practices.

Mackenzie and Gray noted the verifiably continued resistance by most teachers to the reform of traditional pedagogy. The re-education of teachers along more functional and Progressive principles was a logical remediation. Towards the end of teacher competence at the implementation of new pedagogy, several means were specified: the improvement and increase of professional reading and the attendance of summer school in-service training. Furthermore, the problem in the Victoria area was considered by Gray and Mackenzie, who had more than a passing

knowledge of Lower Mainland teachers, to be representative of a province-wide entrenchment of obsolete practices and assumptions.

In the 1930's an evolving teacher retraining program, designed to effectively introduce the principles and practices of the New Curriculum, as well as the general philosophy of Progressive education, had been introduced. This retraining program, the genesis of modern 'professional development' was part of an overall program to improve 'teacher literacy' -- the capacity of teachers to critically operationalize modern pedagogical methods. Expanded staff libraries of education and psychology journals were recommended. The teacher retraining program was geared towards converting a group of adherents to a prior set of paradigmatic practices to the assumptions, apparatuses, discourses and methods of the new educational mode.

In the 1935 summer school, John Kyle, director, reported that the 1935 summer school:

> No previous summer school with which I have been connected has shown a better spirit...The tennis tournament and golf matches were carried through with spirit and enthusiasm. The Wednesday night dance was especially well attended. Zala's Orchestra provided the music and the company had an opportunity of meeting each other in a social capacity... Arrangements were also made for visits to the Archives...the Observatory....
>
> 3

Thus, the summer school was not merely attempting to coercively force practitioner adherence to Progressive pedagogy; while attendance was compulsory, the atmosphere of the summer

school was one in which the teacher (qua student) was treated with appropriate Dewyian student-centered concern and respect. In 1935, Weir gave "a stimulating address to the students in the Assembly Hall at 8:30 a.m. on the opening day. He gave a vista of the future of educational progress which could not fail to stir the teachers to their best efforts."

A selection of summer school course listings (1935-38) reflected an increasing specification in courses designed to train teachers in the use of systematicized instruction and scientific methods:

1935-1936

Modern Methods of Teaching
Language Arts
Reading and Literature
Commercial Subjects

1936-1937

Principles and Techniques of Teaching
The New Curriculum: Its Objectives and Procedures
Seminar: The School in the Social Order
Educational Psychology
Educational Measurement
Classroom Organization and Management
The Teaching of Reading and Literature

1937-1938

Principles and Techniques of Teaching
The Evolution of Modern Education
Educational Psychology
Measurement in Elementary Education
Principles and Methods of Visual Instruction
Growth and Development of Children
Child Guidance [4]

From 1932 to 1937, H. H. Mackenzie was the senior instructor

of English and Language Arts courses. Teachers were instructed by a staff that consisted of Departmental Inspectors, university professors and school administrators, as well as by visiting lecturers from the University of Toronto, University of Southern California, University of Oregon, and other faculties of education and psychology. In 1938, the inclusion of Dr. George Davidson, a Vancouver psychiatrist, and Dr. C. B. Conway, a Vancouver inspector with training in research, measurement, and standardized testing, indicated 'scientific' orientation of late 1930's teacher training. [5]

The distinct purpose of this program was the retraining of practitioners in those areas that required specialized methodology or curricular content. The implementation of modernized administration and classroom procedures required professional 'specialists' in the areas of remedial reading instruction, commercial and technical course instruction, library sciences, guidance, and administration. Progressive reform necessitated a trained and specialized group of practitioners; the technical apparatuses of the New Programme required groups of teachers able to function in a redefined system of scientific methods.

Yet Gray and Mackenzie noted that in spite of the expanded retraining program, teachers were not making an effort to adopt modern pedagogy. They explained Victoria teachers' reactions to the Summer School:

> Even though specific professional courses were offered during the summer of 1937 both at the Victoria Summer School and at the University of British Columbia, few teachers availed themselves of the opportunity to attend these courses. As a consequence, some difficulty is being experienced by the staff in interpreting the new curriculum and adapting their procedures to realize effectively the aims and objectives of the courses of study. A survey of the teachers' professional library would indicate also that the staff was not sufficiently alive to the necessity of continuous professional growth. Education is a changing process, a fact which places squarely upon the shoulders of a teacher the responsibility of keeping himself conversant with modern educational thought and theory. (GM, p.42)

Yet Gray and Mackenzie also cited local and administrative opposition to teacher professional development. They explained that "the workman cannot be held alone responsible for lack of success if he is not provided with the proper tools with which to work." (GM, p.49)

The metaphor was apt, equating the teacher's retraining with the utilization of tools. Once again, the metaphoric diagnosis of teacher' inability to adopt modern methodology paralleled the diagnosis of student deficiency in functional literacy (skill acquisition). The functional literacy paradigm individuated literacy into stratified skills; traditional teachers were required to reconsider their activity as the skilled application of the modern 'tools' outlined in the New Programmes of Studies. A socially utilizable literacy was conceived of as a body of identifiable skills and performances;

effective pedagogy was conceived of as a body of teacher competencies and skills.

The recommendations of the Survey of the Greater Victoria Area Schools regarding the retraining of Victoria (and Provincial) teachers, subsumed in importance other recommendations for curricular, instruction and administrative reform. The need for extensive reform itself was the result of the continuation of practitioner adherence to traditional schooling practices. Practitioner traditionalism in Victoria area schools had resisted the innovations in curriculum begun by Putman and Weir in 1925 and continuing under King, in financing and administration initiated by King in 1935, and in scientific methods introduced by the Department throughout the 1930's.

Gray and Mackenzie had noted that Departmental bulletins were neither posted nor read by Victoria area teachers. Their report focused on the necessity of teachers to upgrade pedagogical skills through professional reading and retraining. Teachers were asked to reconceptualize their present practices in terms of modern tenets of social function and child-centered experience. As such, teaching itself was redefined in instrumental terms -- the transmission of socially utilizable skills was the principal aim of both teacher and student education.

Thus, the categories and methods of the Gray Mackenzie Survey reflected the Departmental legitimation of Progressive pedagogy; the various 'symptoms' that the evaluators 'observed

for' in the appraisal of the Victoria area schools influenced the substance and nature of the resultant findings. The criteria were clearly aligned with King and Weir's expectations for the institutional negation of traditional practices; educational issues of cost and school accountability and efficiency were paralleled by concerns with the adoption of the 'practical' curriculum. While traditional inspectors had selected in favor of 'appropriate' schooling practices, Progressive Departmental codes were selecting in favor of 'efficient' and 'functional' modern practices.

CHAPTER 10: REFERENCES

1. P.S. Report, 1926, p.24.
2. Board of Examiners Minutes, 1937-1939.
3. P.S. Report, 1936, p.69.
4. P.S. Report, 1938-39, p.42.
5. Ibid., p.42.

CHAPTER 11

PARADIGMS OF LITERACY AND PROGRESSIVE REFORM

Educational philosophy and theory evolve into schooling praxes in historically attenuated yet identifiable patterns. The phenomenon of educational change must be considered in terms of the cross temporal appearance of sets of discourses, practices and apparatuses which reflect fundamental practitioner reconsideration of prevailing criteria and standards.

In British Columbia, the twenty year institutionalization of Progressive philosophy and the attendant new literacy paradigm involved a temporally staggered series of events which reflected specific levels of institutional reform and reaction. Progressive educators, within the B. C. T. F., required three years (1922-25) to translate a Deweyian philosophy of reform into formal Departmental action. Putman and Weir's resultant 1925 recommendations were only minimally instantiated for over a decade until the political and economic climate necessitated actual change. In 1935, King restated Progressive philosophy as a rationale for the financial restructuring of the system. King continued the process of curricular reform until his retirement in 1945. [1]

The 1936 Programme was followed by a completely revised high school (1941) and elementary curricula. From 1920 to 1940

changes in schooling practices did not concur with stated changes in philosophy, theory, policy or curricula; five years after Weir's ministerial appointment and two years after the Departmental implementation of curricular change, existing practices had yet to conform to the 'new' model of education and literacy in B. C. schools.

The Gray Mackenzie Survey was itself a mode through which a major theoretical/policy shift was instantiated into levels of institutional practice; the report legitimated a new set of assumptions on educational pedagogy. Gray and Mackenzie's classification of practices as "purely traditional" and "Progressive" replicated Dewey's theoretical framing of 'types' of pedagogy, and Putman and Weir's 1925 descriptions of "schools of thought". (see Table 10)

The Progressive model made explicit provision for its own scientific self-regulation -- quality (efficiency) control mechanisms were built into the educational system. With the devolution of the Provincial Examination system, and the concurrent emergence of scientific modes of school inspection, traditional criteria had been subsumed. The modes of educational decision making which Dewey had considered random, subjective, and authoritarian were selected against by scientifically legitimated codes of schooling power and control.

The Gray Mackenzie Survey (1938) enforced the reconceptualized literacy practices, initially articulated in the 1936

TABLE 10

EDUCATIONAL CONTINUUMS OF THEORY, POLICY, AND PRACTICE

I. THEORY

Dewey's categories "Experience in Education"

Traditional — Progressives

II. POLICY

Putman/Weir categories re: public opinion about education

Reactionary — Conservative — Moderate — Progressives — Radicalism

III. PRACTICE

Gray/Mackenzie categories for classifying classroom structure

Purely Traditional — Partly Traditional — Progressives

curriculum. In 1938 two contending sets of paradigmatic assumptions on the nature of literacy prevailed in B. C. schooling practice; the polarization of proponants of 'high literacy' and 'functional' literacy continued.

Teachers of English language instruction adhered to traditional methods in spite of Departmental directives and the innovations of systematized and researched instruction and evaluation.

Traditional evaluational criteria, standards, and instruments had evolved to quantify the transmission and acquisition of 'high literacy'' Progressive/scientific tenets reformulated literacy codes and legitimated the ethic of 'functional literacy' as an educational aim. Within the Progressive paradigm, functional literacy was redefined as a body of transmittable, observable, and measurable skills with instrumental value and validity in the social/economic context; (see Table 11)

In North America, education had been 'reinvented' as a scientific and professional field in the early 20th century. Mackenzie, Gray, and King were operating from an identifiable set of consciously shared assumptions. These managerial scientists premised their authority not on seniority or teaching experience, but on scientific expertise acquired at schools like the Ontario School of Education, University of Toronto, U.B.C., McGill, the University of Washington, and Chicago. Robert Straight became head of a separate Vancouver District Bureau of

TABLE 11

TWO PARADIGMS OF LITERACY IN B. C. SCHOOLS

1920-1940

CONCEPT OF LITERACY	TRADITIONAL HIGH LITERACY	PROGRESSIVE FUNCTIONAL LITERACY
CRITERIA/ STANDARDS	-intrinsic worth (aesthetic and cultural value)	-extrinsic worth (social use/utility)
EVALUATIVE METHODS	-subjective criticism by connoisseur/expert -Provincial Examination	-objective/scientific measurement -standardized tests
CURRICULAR CONTENT	-Classics and 'quality' literature -formal grammar study	-popular/useful texts (as well as literature) -media: newspapers, radio, moving pictures, telephones, signs -cross-disciplinary materials -functional grammar study -scientifically designed texts
INSTRUCTIONAL METHODOLOGY	-rote memorization -recitation -formal composition -literary criticism -oral reading -decontextualized study of spelling, handwriting, grammar	-diagnosis/testing -grouping for individual difference -skill acquisition -vocational/commercial -systematic units and progress charts
PRAGMATIC FRAME OF THE CLASSROOM	-teacher-centered -physical and intellectual discipline	-child-centered -approximation of social reality
FOUNDATIONAL DISCIPLINES	-Classics/Humanities	-Normal/Social Sciences

Measurements in 1941. [2] C. B. Conway became director of the Victoria Summer School in 1943, but his expertise at standardized testing eventually led to his appointment as Director of the Research and Standards Branch, [3] a position he would hold from 1946 until 1973. During that period, Conway would administer province-wide standardized tests on a regular basis.

This managerial group of practitioners provided an alternative model to the aristocratic, elitist, local favoritism and disciplinary authoritarianism of traditional schooling structure. The application of objective, scientifically derived information as the basis for educational judgements, was part of a perceived 'democratic' reconstruction of learner classification and selection procedures.

As Kuhn suggested, the supersession of one paradigm by another can mark the evolution of a disciplinary method into a comprehensive binding world view. Once institutionally validated, the paradigm adopts criteria and standards for appraisal and inquiry. The use of standardized achievement and intelligence test instruments to facilitate diagnosis, grouping, and remediation in B. C. education was prescribed as the dominant paradigmatic apparatus for the exercise of legitimate evaluative criteria and standards of literacy.

CHAPTER 11: REFERENCES

1. P.S. Report, 1971, p.100.
2. P.S. Report, 1940-41, d66.
3. P.S. Report, 1971, p.104.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
DIVISION OF TESTS, STANDARDS,
AND RESEARCH
PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS

THE GOVERNMENT OF
THE PROVINCE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

author: C. B. Conway

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
VICTORIA, B.C.

RESEARCH REPORT - DIVISION OF TESTS, STANDARDS AND RESEARCH

Re: Handwriting in Grades V and VII

The handwriting of almost 10,000 B.C. pupils from Grades II to VIII was rated by Inspector E.G. Daniels during the Putman-Weir survey of 1925. At that time, B.C. medians were found to be considerably above the U.S. norms for 1917. The ratings were done by means of the Ayres Handwriting Scale, Gettysburg Edition, on spelling words that had been dictated in connection with a survey of spelling ability.

A similar survey of Spelling during the 1948-49 school year afforded an opportunity to compare the Grade VII handwriting with that of 1924-25. A sample of 467 papers was selected at random from 11,000 tests and each pupil was rated by four persons, including the one who originally had done the work for the Putman-Weir survey. As some variation was noticeable the median of the ratings was accepted as the true rating of the handwriting ability of the pupils. Similar ratings were done by three persons on the answers to a Grade V Reading Comprehension test in 1949, and in March, 1952, ratings were done on a representative sample of compositions written by Grade VII and VIII students who took part in a Willing Composition Scale survey. The results of these surveys and the U.S. norms for 1917 are given in the following Table.

COMPARISON OF RATINGS ON THE AYRES HANDWRITING SCALE

	U.S. Norms for 1917		B.C. Medians		
Grade	Mean	Median	1925	1949	1952
VIII	62	63	66	--	48
VII	58	58	63	47	48
VI	54	54	62	--	--
V	50	50	59	39	--
IV	46	--	53	--	--
III	42	--	49	--	--
II	38	--	42	--	--

49-28/60

The authors of the Putman-Weir Report were quite critical of the handwriting of the B.C. pupils of 1925 - not that it was poor - their criticism was based upon the fact that B.C. pupils were two years ahead of the U.S. norms. This indicated that entirely too much time was being devoted to the practice of handwriting. It was noted that approximately fifteen minutes per day should have been sufficient, but that teachers in many schools were devoting as much as an hour per day to the practice of 'muscular movement'. It also is quite probable that much more time was devoted to handwriting in the U.S. in 1917 than at present and therefore the norms probably are high. In both the United States and Canada the greatest interest in rating handwriting was shown between 1920 and 1930. The number of copies of the Ayres Handwriting Scale printed each year reached a maximum of 47,000 per year about 1927, indicating the emphasis that was then placed on handwriting skill. By 1940, only 4,000 copies a year were necessary.

A similar decrease in interest has taken place in British Columbia and the amount of time devoted to the practice of handwriting as such probably is much less than the fifteen minutes recommended in the Putman-Weir Report. It will be noticed from our recent results that the grade levels of B.C. Grade VII pupils are now more than two grades below the U.S. 1917 norms. This represents a decrease of four years in terms of grade levels since 1925. The medians for 1925 undoubtedly indicated overemphasis. The question arises as to whether or not we have not swung too far and might not devote greater attention to handwriting from the point of view of legibility.

The ease with which handwriting may be read depends to a great extent upon neatness, uniformity and letter form. Letter form has to be taught, but in some schools each pupil seems to be a law unto himself in this respect. Legibility increases when the differences within groups of letters having common characteristics are distinct, e.g. in a, d, g, q, or h, m and n. The importance of the upper loops and lower loops should be reviewed right through to the junior high school level.

The time devoted to the muscular movements of the MacLean system may have been excessive, but it did produce results. Finger movement obviously predominates today.

Papers from some classes showed that the general attitude toward neatness was good. In others, dull, stubby pencils were used, the papers were smudged, and the words were not written in a straight line. The ability to "line things up" is a useful skill in later life situations and general neatness is always worth the effort.

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