# A HISTORICAL STUDY OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN BRITISH COLUMBIAN SOCIAL STUDIES GUIDES

by

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# Abstract

I analyse Social Studies guides released during the twentieth 20th Century in British Columbia, focusing on their conceptualizations of *good citizens* and associated pedagogies. I study citizenship education, as this has been one of the primary aims of Social Studies since the course was conceptualized in the United States. Further, citizenship education is currently topical, and I was interested in the connections between power and knowledge (Foucault, 1980), as Social Studies curricula (knowledge) are released by Ministry officials (power). My study is historical, for our understanding of the present is deepened by our exploration of the past (Collingwood, 1956). I discover six major revisions to Social Studies curricula in BC. These occurred in 1930/37, 1950, 1968, 1985, 1997, and 2005. I describe each revision in framing historical contexts and compare my findings with those of Evans (2004), Sears and Hughes (1996), and Osborne (1996). I conclude that BC's Ministry of Education aimed, primarily, to mould citizens under Sears' and Hughes' (1996) Conception B (liberal). Ministry officials appear to have held consistent views of the type of citizens they endeavour to foster. I speculate this might be a "schematic narrative template" (Wertsch, 2002). The most substantial changes in curriculum guides centre around how good citizens are to be educated: by the progressivist program in the 1930s and the *New Social Studies* in 1968. I describe a number of contextualizing factors that aim to explore why these two major transformations occurred. After discussing my findings, I draw conclusions. I use these conclusions to make recommendations on how curricula in BC might be developed in the future, in a manner consistent with the spirit of good citizenship.

**Keywords: citizenship education; curriculum revision; history of education**

**Subject Terms: Social Studies; British Columbia History; Curriculum Change History; Education Curricula**

# Dedication

Thank you to my parents and to Spek. Without them, I would not have been able to write this dissertation.

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# Glossary

| | |
|---|---|
| Citizenship education | The attempt to teach students *knowledge* and particular *values* and *attitudes* about the nation in which they are living and to encourage certain types of *behaviour,* particularly those deemed necessary for democratic living. Sears and Hughes (1996) classify citizen types and citizen programs into the following: |
| Conception A citizens | A "passive" form of citizenship education in which students study a common account of the history and government of the country through a nation-building narrative based in political and military history that presents society as continually improving or developing over time. Students learn about governmental procedures in a sequential manner and are tested on factual content. |
| Conception B citizens | A more active approach to teaching citizenship in a liberal democracy. Students learn necessary knowledge of and possible solutions to current issues, often in Social Studies courses. Liberal democracy is presented as ideal in theory but not so perfect in practice. |
| Conception C citizens | Aims to create national and global citizens. Students learn about various countries and problems of worldwide concern with the aim of developing open-mindedness and respect. Values include environmental and cultural awareness, tolerance, and understanding of the connections between actions and results. |
| Conception D citizens | Aims to create citizens who question and attempt to transform their society. Encourages critical questioning of the inherent unfairness of all social structures. Curricula aim at removing biases and unfair treatment of certain groups in society. |

# Chapter 1:

# Citizenship Education and Social Studies

This chapter describes the study, its guiding questions, and its aims and rationale. It illustrates the need for this study, involving a historical examination of Social Studies curriculum guides released by British Columbia's (BC) Ministry of Education with a particular focus on how citizenship education was initially conceptualized and how it evolved over the 20th Century. The study concentrates on junior and high school curricula and includes a description of the pedagogies through which citizenship education was to be achieved. The chapter concludes with an overview of this dissertation.

## Why Citizenship Education?

This study focuses on describing Social Studies curricula, as Social Studies is the major subject through which citizenship education is to be achieved (Sears & Hughes, 1996).[1] Tomkins (1985, 1986) argues for the roots of Social Studies to lie in 19th Century citizenship education programs, which were often integrated into history courses.

The subject of Social Studies was conceptualized early in the 20th Century when mass public schooling was established in the United States (Appendix A describes the development of Social Studies in the United States). The subject was formulated as a result of: pressures resulting from significant changes including urbanization, industrialization, and immigration, new

[1] This study adopts the National Council for the Social Studies' (NCSS) definition of Social Studies: "the integrated study of the social sciences and humanities to promote civic competence" (n.d., ¶ 3). A full definition of the subject is found at their website: www.ncss.org. Note the central role assigned to citizenship education in their definition.

philosophies of education articulated by Dewey (1916) and other scholars at Teacher's College, Columbia, loosely grouped under progressivism; the recommendations of educational reformers such as Bobbitt (1918) and Snedden (Kliebard, 1992), as part of the social efficiency movement; and the rise of the field of psychology. As described in more detail in Chapter 4, the foundational 1916 NEA Report, *The Social Studies,* had as its main aim the creation of *good citizens*:

> from the nature of their content, the Social Studies afford peculiar opportunities for the training of the individual as a member of society...More specifically, the Social Studies of the American high school should have for their conscious and constant purpose the cultivation of good citizenship...[to form]..."the thoroughly efficient member" of that neighbourhood...characterized...by a loyalty and a sense of obligation of his city, State, and Nation. (Nelson, 1994, p. 17)

This aim of creating good citizens has remained a key objective of Social Studies throughout the 20th Century. Following a review of recent BC Ministry of Education curricula in Social Studies, Sears and Hughes (1996) state that "...the curriculum documents are structured so as to give very explicit and significant attention to the notion of citizenship" (p. 4). Cassidy (1999) also writes, "The goal is citizenship, with a dual focus: preparing young people with the necessary knowledge, skills, and values to participate actively in a democratic society; and making the world a better place" (p. 24). She adds that "Social Studies policy and curriculum documents in more recent years reveal the same two primary goals as in the early years" (p. 26).

## The Study

### Purpose

This research study investigates the conceptualizations of, and educational programs for, citizenship found in one Ministry of Education's Social Studies curricula released over the 20th Century. Each revision is described and compared to Osborne's (1996), Sears' and Hughes' (1996), and Evans' (2004) general frameworks. First, the BC's Ministry of Education curricula are scrutinized. Next, the two most significant shifts in the conceptualizations of

citizenship found in the Ministry curricula guides are analysed in detail. Royal Commission reports, other government documents, journals, normal school and university teaching materials, and published books in academia are studied with the aim of exploring why these major shifts may have occurred.[2]

The key questions guiding the study are:

1. *How was citizenship defined in the 1916, American report which created Social Studies? Similarly, how was it defined in BC prior to, and at the time, when the first Social Studies curricula were implemented at middle and high school levels? What pedagogical strategies were recommended to achieve it?*

2. *How did each of the major revisions of Social Studies curricula affect the conceptualization of citizenship and the recommended teaching methods? To what extent did these changes match, or not match, Osborne's (1996), Sears' and Hughes' (1996), and Evans' (2004) frameworks?*

3. *Having identified the two most significant conceptual shifts in citizenship education in BC's Social Studies curriculum guides, what possible factors may have influenced these shifts in conceptualization and pedagogy?*

## Rationale and Aims of this Study

This study is motivated by: (a) a need to contextualize today's vibrant debates over citizenship education in Canada; (b) an acknowledged gap in historical studies of citizenship education in Canada (Osborne, 1996); (c) a desire to clarify how varying conceptualizations of citizenship education have been translated into the curriculum guides and practical teaching suggestions of one Ministry of Education.

The aims are to: (a) add to the literature on the history of education in Canada, particularly focused on Social Studies and citizenship in British Columbia, (b) to analyse how general theoretical frameworks outlined by Osborne (1996) and Sears and Hughes (1996) are found in one particular setting; (c) to see which conceptualizations of citizenship education are found in

[2] The curriculum-as-taught is different to the curriculum-as-designed. This study focuses on describing Ministry curriculum guides and not the curriculum as created by and lived by students in classrooms. It fully acknowledges that these can be quite different.

one government's curriculum documents; and to consider whether those identified more closely match those identified for Canada or for the United States, as articulated by American writer Evans (2004); (d) to deepen our knowledge of what pedagogical strategies were recommended by one Ministry and how these changed or did not change over the century; (e) to provide more historical context for the debates over citizenship education occurring today in the field, in order to understand these in more detail and from a perspective informed by time; (f) to provide suggestions with regard to how current Ministry policies may, or may not, reflect current conceptualizations of and debates over citizenship education; and (g) to explore the links between the citizenship education programs, philosophies, and theories and power—the interplays between theories and articulated practices in the context of power relations.

This study builds on previous knowledge by comparing three general frameworks on citizenship education during the 20th Century (Osborne, 1996; Sears & Hughes, 1996; Evans 2004) to articulated citizenship education and its associated pedagogies in one location—British Columbia—and explains similarities and differences. It further explores the two largest changes in conceptualizations of citizenship in this province in detail, and attempts to provide possible reasons for these.[3] The study provides a deepened understanding of where and when various conceptualizations of citizenship arose or did not arise, in one place and one government department, and how these were to be realized pedagogically. It adds to historical knowledge of Canada's educational past for, as Osborne has mentioned, his study is "a starting point...hope it will be replaced in due course by something more substantial" (Osborne, 1996, p. 31).

This research study also clarifies conflicting accounts of early 20th Century citizenship education programs in the subject of Social Studies. Osborne (1996) has articulated a view of early citizenship education as focused on assimilation and nationalism in which individuals were to be shaped into law-

[3] I decided to focus on explaining the two largest shifts, due to time and space limitations. As two major revisions were found, however, the initial research plan dovetailed well with findings.

abiding citizens. Sears and Hughes (1996) have largely concurred, characterizing early citizenship education in Canada as "passive" and "elitist": "many scholars have argued that, traditionally, citizenship education in Canada has been constructed in more elitist and passive terms than in some other democracies" (¶ 38). They list of a number of scholars to support their argument and go on to argue that recent policy documents have moved toward more activist conceptions:

> Although research indicates that conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education in Canada in the past have been consistent with those outlined in Conception A (Sears, 1994), there has been movement along the continuum toward the more activist conceptions, at least in terms of official policy and mandated curricula. (Sears & Hughes, 1996, ¶ 18)

However, an American writer (Evans, 2004) has described early conceptualizations of citizenship education found in early Social Studies curricula in the United States as aiming to reshape society through education; that is, as "active." As Social Studies was initially conceived in the United States, this study examines whether BC's ministers followed the American pattern of attempting to create active citizens who reshaped society, or passive citizens, as articulated by Osborne (1996) and Sears and Hughes (1996).

By exploring conceptualizations of citizenship articulated in one government's documents, we develop our understanding of today's curricula and of the process of curriculum making. At the same time, the conclusions consider how debated conceptions of citizenship and pedagogy were found in government documents and how these shifted, or not, thus deepening understanding of how conflicting aims, conceptualizations, or procedures were addressed in the past. The latter provides some illumination of how today's Ministries of Education may respond to current trends and issues and leads to recommendations.

## Significance of the Study

Currently, citizenship education is stimulating much discussion and writing in Canada. For example, Herbert's *Citizenship in Transformation* (2004) includes a number of perspectives on the topic of citizenship in Canada. Sears and

Hughes (1996) and Osborne (1996) have both conducted general reviews of citizenship education in Canada, and have written about citizenship education today. Moreover, Canadian journals have included a number of articles on the topic of citizenship education (such as Yagos, 2005; McKay, 1997; Froese-Germain, 2004; Evans, 2003; Kilgour, 1997; and Briley, 1997).

Interest in citizenship education has arisen for several reasons, including work on citizenship education in Europe and America that has resulted in policy initiatives (Evans, 2003). In Canada, in *Who Killed Canadian History?* (1998) Granatstein argues for the teaching of history in order to build a common consciousness and, thus, a sense of national identity—closely related to citizenship education. His book has stimulated much public discussion (Clark, 2004). In addition, during the last election newspapers commented on the low numbers of young adults who voted in the election. The 2004 report, *Citizens,* discusses low voter turnout (Gidengil et al.). This report concludes that voter numbers has dropped and argues that keeping students in school longer could help to increase both the numbers of people who turn out to vote and individuals who contribute actively to society. Consequently, Ministries of Education have become increasingly interested in citizenship education (Osborne, 2005). BC's Ministry of Education (2005) has even released a new course, *Civics 11.*

**A Philosophical Preamble: Setting the Stage**

Attention to citizenship education is not new: The connection between education and citizenship can be traced back at least as far as Ancient Greece. Many Western philosophers have articulated how good citizens (defined in particular ways) can be achieved through distinctive and unique educational programs linked to their philosophies. Plato[4] (1999) argues in *The Republic*, for example, that an education matched to individuals' abilities will create good

[4] Plato (427-347 BC) described his ideal society in the *Republic*, as he found much corruption and injustice in Athens during an age of rocky and unstable democracy, most clearly illustrated by Socrates' suicide in the name of free speech.

citizens.[5] If a person is good with his hands, or made of "bronze," he will be educated to be an artisan through an apprenticeship. If he is made of "silver," that is full of spirit, or courage, he will be trained to become a warrior. These two classes of citizens are to serve as good citizens through passively doing their jobs and respecting the laws.

If an individual is the best of the citizens—if, that is, he is made of "gold"—he will be educated to become a guardian through a process that takes up to 50 years. The process aims to develop in him the ability to move out of the "cave" of human fictions, or illusions, and into the realm of truth in the mind, as illuminating as the brilliant sun of the physical world. If he manages to survive this life-long program and he is seen as fit to serve, he will be forced (as he will not serve voluntarily as ruler having seen the "light," so to speak) to be the ultimate citizen: the philosopher king. Ruling with wisdom, justice, and understanding of the Good, he will govern in the best manner possible.

*The Book of the Courtier* by Castiglione (1959),[6] an Italian courtly diplomat during the Renaissance, also connects education with good citizenship. According to Castiglione, the true courtier is to be a virtuous gentleman of merit (Roeder, 1933). He is to have moral and physical grace and self-respect and to live a life of value—one in which he perfects himself through service (Roeder, 1933). For, despite the evils of the world, those who turn to the good are, therefore, better (Roeder). The courtier is to be socially adept, filled with courage and spirit, skilled at war and sport and, at the same time, moderate, reserved, and humane (Roeder). He is to avoid all affectation and to develop instead, facility, or inward grace (Roeder). He is to be a master of speech, have the

[5] I understand that Plato included women in his educational theme; however, as his focus was on men, I am using the "he" pronoun.

[6] A Renaissance Humanist, Castiglione wrote *The Book of the Courtier* during a quiet interval in his life. He was a courtly diplomat who, when the family he served was pushed out of popularity by politicking in Rome, described what the best courtier would be in a narrative dialogue. Despite the challenges and difficulties of being a prince's ambassador, Castiglione did not become embittered; he did not advocate self-interested politics, as his contemporary Machiavelli did. Rather, he tried to define the ideal courtier, or social man: he was to be like the great Duke Guidobaldo and his court at Urbino, which Castiglione had known in his youth and in which, like a happy family, humanity had reined.

intelligence and knowledge of a scholar, be proficient in music, writing, and art, and have his passions tempered by Aristotelian virtue. This perfect ideal will be shaped by education; it is "the chief means for making a man virtuous and honourable" (Castiglione, 1959, p. 65), for "...the intellectual virtue is perfected by teaching" (p. 66). He will be the universal gentleman, ready to lead a noble, active, and worthy life. Through his intelligence, he will distinguish the false from the true and dissipate evil. With a balanced will and natural instincts, he will have wisdom and guide his prince to be a superior ruler, in order to create good government and an "age of gold" (Castiglione, 1959, p. 59).[7]

Locke (1996)[8] also focuses on moral or character education, as he wants to educate individuals to be freethinking, reason-guided citizens of a liberal state. Education is to "train" students in such virtues as justice, generosity, sobriety, and industry, and to develop reason through a clear progression of studies. As a Realist and an Empiricist, he believes that the child's mind was a *tabula rasa*—a blank slate—formed by sensory impressions. In opposition to Plato, Locke contends that knowledge moves from the outside, from nature, which has reality and whose laws can be understood to the mind through the senses. Thus, by combining habit training with a certain clear progression of studies organized into subjects, a child will learn. Locke also believes that all people are educable, and that the people around a child are important in influencing that child's learning.

Rousseau, too, links education with citizenship (1979).[9] He aims to improve his society through an educational scheme, which he presents in *Emile*.

[7] While Castiglione does focus on men, he was also an advocate for women, stating in his second book that the "courtly lady" would have the same virtues and education as a man.

[8] British thinker, Locke (1632-1704) was a crucial figure in and influenced by the Scientific Revolution, as he advocated the study of nature and facts in order to build understanding. The educational scheme he advanced in *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* was very much based on a critique of his own society and its schooling practices as he criticized "the vulgar methods of schools" (Locke, 1996, p. 132) of the day for being formalistic in using violence to force children to learn Latin and Greek doing what he considered worthless activities such as speeches, grammar, and memorizations and for not teaching English and other subjects necessary to prepare gentlemen "for life." He also strongly advocated a liberal state in his writing, one in which all people had equality and individual rights.

[9] As a key thinker in the French Enlightenment, Rousseau (1712-78) believed in both the need to reform society to make it more democratic and equal and in the value and equality of all people.

He sees much evil, greed and corruption in the world, and hopes that, through a better education, a man[10] can be made into a good citizen. His educational scheme aims at addressing his key concerns and differs from Plato's, as he believes our answer lies in nature, which is intrinsically good. Educators and parents, therefore, have to shield the child from society for as long as possible and allow the child to develop in the natural way. The child's teachers have to study the child in order to see what to teach him, for he "must remain in absolute ignorance of ideas of that estate which are not within his reach" (Rousseau, 1979, p. 178). The curriculum is thus formed according to the child's abilities and not the desires of the teacher, and should include play and activities that satisfy the child's curiosity.

Dewey[11] set out some of his key ideas in *Democracy and Education* (1916). In this book, he explains that education, or teaching children how to think in order to create good citizens who bring continued progress to a democratic society, is not going to occur through the formalistic teaching of facts and rote learning. Education, rather, has to involve real experiences that are relevant and interesting to students. These activities will lead to problems that students have to try to solve through thought, or ideas, with the use of support materials such as facts in textbooks, and by working in concert with other people. The teacher is to act as a guide. The influence of Science in Dewey's thought is clear, as his approach is very much like a scientific hypothesis: A genuine experience must lead to an authentic problem that students "solve" using observation and thinking, and then "test" in order to discover the validity of their solutions. Curriculum is interdisciplinary and based on problem solving.

[10] Rousseau is definitely talking only about men. He has a different educational scheme for women, as he distinguishes between men and women. He believed that a women's education should prepare her to be a good wife, which is also her purpose.

[11] Dewey wrote at the turn of the century in the United States, when mass public schooling was developing and industrialization and urbanization were transforming society. He became one of the most popular educational theorists at Teachers College, Columbia. As a Pragmatist, Dewey (1916) argued that Plato's idea of a "Form of Truth" was incorrect as truth was relative: It changed as conditions changed. He believed in the continuity of change in life, perhaps as he advocated science and Darwin's Theory of Evolution. He also claimed that learning must involve "nature, man, and object," as Rousseau had first said but not fully understood, Dewey wrote, as he had focused only on "nature."

In the 20th Century, Brazilian scholar Freire (2000) explores dramatic injustices in society and their perpetuation in schools. He aims at transformation by empowering the "oppressed" through a liberating curriculum co-constructed by educators and the subjugated. His work has influenced critical theory. This movement, along with postmodern theory, has redefined how citizens are conceptualized and how they are to be educated. It questions the static view of people implicit in most of the work of the philosophers discussed above and, instead, views people as comprised of layers of shifting identities formed through interaction with their social environment (McGregor, 2007). Critical theory, consequently, has a different pedagogy. McGregor (2007), for example, places a focus on the teacher as a facilitator, who creates a space where students explore and co-construct knowledge and question subjectivities, tools, contexts, and discourses.

**Linking into this Study**

In short, the desire to create good citizens has been a vital component of several philosophers' work. They have aimed to improve our world, although they may conceptualize "good citizens" in different ways and have unique pedagogies. However, while past and present literature is replete with theories on citizenship education, few studies have analyzed how curriculum guides released by a Ministry of Education have conceptualized citizenship education over time. Indeed, all of the philosophers introduced above, except Dewey and Freire, lived before the establishment of mass schooling. The establishment of free public schools and of curricula released by government departments is a relatively recent development. Yet despite this significant change, citizenship education, as will be described in more detail in Chapter 2, has remained a key goal. Indeed, public education was (and often is) justified with reference to the need to produce good citizens (e.g., Sears & Hughes, 1996).

Some studies in Canada have explored how the transformation of education through the establishment of public schooling led to particular articulations of citizenship education with associated pedagogical strategies to

achieve it (Osborne, 1996). However, these studies are largely general and conceptual in style. Except for one new book on Alberta (Von Heyking, 2007), studies have not yet focused on the curriculum guides of one Ministry of Education in order to illustrate how citizenship education has been articulated. They have also not explored what pedagogies were advocated to achieve stated aims in our era of mass schooling, when government educational ministries have taken to themselves the power to shape policy and curricula. This study, therefore, aims to address the need for a more detailed and specific understanding of the conceptualization of citizenship education found in one province's Social Studies curriculum guides. It explores the links between citizenship education and power, using a case study approach focused on BC's Ministry of Education.

## Overview of Methodology and of this Dissertation

The research is based on three major components: literature review, historical document content analysis and interpretation. Chapter 2 reviews literature related to citizenship. Beginning with a definition of citizenship education and a description of Sears' and Hughes' citizenship categories (1996), the chapter then describes the importance of citizenship education through a historical narrative. This is followed by a review of historical studies of citizenship education conducted in the United States and in Canada. The chapter includes Osborne's (1996), Sears' and Hughes' (1996) and Evans' (2004) work, referred to throughout this study. It concludes with a summary of some of the major issues in citizenship education articulated in the literature today.

Methodology is described in detail in Chapter 3. This chapter discusses philosophy of history, which aims to justify a historical study, and provides a more detailed explanation of the research approach taken. A research tool, which was created to aid in the analysis of curriculum documents, is described. The tool is composed of categories for identifying how "citizenship education" is defined in the documents studied; for explaining what pedagogical strategies are recommended for achieving the stated vision of citizenship education; and for

comparing findings with those of Evans (2004), Sears and Hughes (1996), and Osborne (1996). The categorizing of pedagogical strategies is based on five major approaches identified in the work of key philosophers described earlier in this chapter. The research tool includes adequate space for qualitative description, for the study focuses on rich description through narrative writing. The approach taken is similar to that of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), for this study is not approached with a particular informing theory. The aim, rather, is to discover what primary documents themselves "say," and to draw from these general conclusions. However, as I am aware of the situated nature of all research, I describe my philosophy of history in the chapter as well.

Chapter 4 describes citizenship education prior to the implementation of Social Studies in BC and as articulated in the American seminal document of 1916, BC's Putman and Weir's Report (1925), and curriculum guides written in 1927, in order to contextualise the study. Chapter 5 goes on to detail the conceptualization of citizens and citizenship education outlined in the 1930 "courses of study" that introduced the new subject of Social Studies to BC (Department of Education, 1930). The chapter includes a review of associated curriculum revisions added during the 1930s. It continues with descriptions of citizenship education in the second revision of the 1950s and the third revision of 1968. Chapter 6 describes conceptualizations of good citizens and citizenship education found in Ministry revisions to curriculum guides made in 1985, 1997, and 2005.

Chapter 7 discusses major findings and explains them. The final chapter, Chapter 8, presents conclusions and links the study back into current literature and current debates. The chapter highlights the contribution of the study to historical knowledge in Canada, to understanding how one Ministry with power to enact curriculum documents conceptualized citizenship education and articulated practices to achieve it, and to providing insights into curriculum making and today's citizenship and Social Studies debates within the parameters of power relations. The chapter ends with recommendations based on the study's conclusions.

# Chapter 2:

# Literature Review: The Context of this Study

Chapter 1 introduced that citizenship education has been, and continues to be, an important focus of educational literature and a key aim of public schooling (Evans, 2003). This chapter begins with a definition of citizenship education and a review of four different conceptualizations of how to educate for citizenship (Sears & Hughes, 1996). Subsequently, historical studies conducted in the United States and Canada with regard to both Social Studies and citizenship education and its changes throughout the 20th Century are described. These help to frame, as well as illustrate the need for, this study. The work of three scholars discussed in this chapter (Evans, 2004; Sears & Hughes, 1996; Osborne, 1996) provides frameworks with which this study's findings are compared in Chapters 4 to 6. The chapter concludes with a review of current scholarship in citizenship in Canada in order to highlight the relevance of this study and to provide a context to the conclusions and recommendations of Chapters 7 and 8.

## Defining Citizenship Education

Citizenship education is broadly defined as the attempt to teach students *knowledge* and particular *values* and *attitudes* about the nation in which they are living, as well as encourage certain *behaviours,* particularly those deemed necessary for democratic living (Crick, 2000; Sears & Hughes, 1996). Education may also include attempts to develop particular skills, such as critical thinking or problem solving. While the content and procedures of citizenship education are, or may be, contested, the general aim of all programs is to improve society as a whole through "educating" its youth regarding civic and political life (Heater &

Gillespie, 1981). *Values* are the ethical and moral principles that students aim to guide their lives by. For example, values include altruism, family, equality, equity, and freedom of expression. *Attitudes* are the particular perspectives or points of view through which students view their society. They include nationalism and patriotism.

Values and attitudes are based on diverse philosophies. For example, a Capitalist conception may view independence and competition as essential to success. It may also include a *laissez-faire* approach to government in which the greatest success for the majority is seen to occur through little government involvement in business practices and little support to those in need. By contrast, a more socialist approach argues for more government planning and management of society in order to ensure equity and a certain standard of living (Magsino, 2002).

*Behaviours* are the desirable actions exhibited by good citizens in relation to state institutions. Some approaches aim to create "passive" citizens, who accept the current structures of society and who see their main duties as those of obediently voting; other approaches aim to create "active" citizens who participate in civic life in an informed manner (Sears & Hughes, 1996). "Passive" to "active" citizens range across a spectrum, with the most active being those who question current structures and aim to transform them.

Sears and Hughes (1996) mention that a number of Ministry documents now support "active" citizenship. However, Crick (2000), who supports education for political literacy through the teaching of concepts and issues, questions what is meant by "active" participation. He argues, for example, that shifts in the British government's educational approach from one that supported passive citizens to one that supported active citizens was problematic, as the vision of an "active" citizen was that of a "good volunteer." He states that this change was promoted as a way of helping to maintain a welfare state at a time of government restraint. Heater and Gillespie (1981) add that the creation of "active citizens" does not fit our current representative democracy and, thus, requires transforming it into a new type of government.

Sears and Hughes (1996) describe four insightful categories of citizens. Each of these types is underlain by a particular philosophy (Heater & Gillespie, 1981; Crick, 2000). Conception A is a "passive" and conservative one, for power is seen to be inherent in government institutions, which are composed of people with the "right" experience and background. Citizens are to be loyal and committed to the state, to be part of a common national culture and set of traditions, to obey the nation's laws, and to be good citizens by enlightening themselves with regard to the platforms of different parties and voting for the "right" representatives. Also called "pluralistic elitism," this approach aims to develop tolerance in its citizens (Heater & Gillespie, 1981). Plato supports this view.

Conception B is more "active" and liberal, for power is described as residing with people in general, who elect representatives that make up a government. People are seen to have numerous rights, including individual and property rights, and are encouraged to participate actively in all levels of government, from local to national.[12] Individuals are also encouraged to work actively to support the "public good" and to take part in government through developing critical skills which are to be used to consider societal issues and attempt to solve them. John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* is a classic exposition of this view. Further, this conception can be subdivided into liberal and republican perspectives. In the first case, individuals are most concerned with protecting their individual rights (against government intrusion), and a slow and progressive improvement of society is said to occur through "experiment" and the eschewing of old traditions (Watson, 2005; Crick, 2000). It is often linked to Capitalism. The second view, Republicanism, focuses more on individuals as equal and as having responsibility for participating actively in government life in a society

[12] I have some questions as to how "active" Sears and Hughes' (1996) Conception B really is, for individuals are engaged in behaviours and actions, but these are all within the parameters of the current governmental structure. As such, a passivity is implied in accepting the existing government. Even change is seen to occur within the existing order. Transformation or reconceptualization of society and government is not an aim. That is, citizens' actions aim at maintaining the *status quo* and so are supported by those in or with power.

underlain by a similar value system (Watson, 2005). Also called "participatory idealism," the philosophies of Aristotle, Rousseau, Hegel, and Arendt support this view (Heater & Gillespie, 1981).

Conceptions C and D are more reformist than Conception B. Conception C goes beyond a single national identity, and is sometimes known as "global citizenship." Power resides in all peoples. Nations are composed of liberal governments who are receptive to their own citizens and who work together with organizations to address international issues. Citizens are citizens of nations, but with awareness and commitment to solving global problems that improve standards of living for all, and that protect the environment. They have cross-cultural awareness and respect varying worldviews, pluralism, and positive change in the world. Conception D is the most radical, for power is seen to reside in all peoples, who are believed to be equal and to exercise their sovereignty more directly than just through voting; this view is known as "critical theory" by some. Citizens are individuals who value and want all people in the society to be heard and to have power. They are aware of inequalities inherent in social structures and aim to ameliorate these, believe in the possibility of multiple identities in citizenship, and are active in both public and private areas of society. The underlying philosophy of equality may be based in Marxist, labour or reform parties (Heater & Gillespie, 1981) and that of critical questioning and transformation in Nietzche, Foucault, and Freire, among others.

## Conceptualizations of Citizenship Education

Sears and Hughes (1996) delineate four types of citizenship education programs. The first category is linked to Conception A, the passive conception of citizenship described above. In this conception, students study a common account of the history and government of the country through nation-building narratives based in political and military history that present society as continually improving or developing over time. Students learn about governmental procedures in a step-by-step manner, and they are tested on factual content. The values taught are those that support current government structures and are

based on the value systems of individuals who hold power. These values are presented as the standard for society. The skills emphasized are learning how to vote intelligently through the efficient collection and assessment of information. An example of this approach is found in Chapter 4.

Conception B is linked to a more active approach to teaching citizenship in a liberal democracy. The focus is on teaching students necessary knowledge of current issues, often delivered through Social Studies content. Liberal democracy is presented as a theoretical ideal with problems in practice. The aim is to have students consider various solutions to social problems. As to values, students are encouraged to understand and appreciate their own perspectives and the perspectives of others—to develop tolerance. As citizens are to participate actively in society, they are seen to need critical thinking skills. Crick (2000) argues, for example, that teaching should encompass more than the teaching of government structures and procedures. It should focus on problems and issues through discussions in order to develop active citizens who are "sceptical" and who solve problems "politically," that is, through debate and compromise, based on the central value of tolerance. Crick raises an important issue, however, that the process of educating for citizenship should not be "indoctrination": "To indoctrinate democracy is a contradiction in terms if 'democracy' is really democratic" (Crick, 2000, p. 56).

As Conception C aims to create national and global citizens, students are required to learn about various countries and problems common to all peoples around the world and to develop respect for all. Their values are to include environmental and cultural awareness, tolerance, and understanding of the connections between actions and results. Students are encouraged to participate actively in improving the world for all, through developing their critical thinking skills and cross-cultural awareness. Finally, as Conception D aims to create citizens who question and transform their society, their education includes critical questioning of the inherent unfairness of social structures and implements curricula that attempt to remove biases towards and unfair treatment of certain

groups in society. Values centre on equality, and students learn skills focused on critical awareness and transformative action.

In general, the different types of education for citizenship are underlain by different understandings of the purpose of schooling that occur on a continuum (Heater & Gillespie, 1981). The first conception is based on philosophies of education that tend to see schooling as the process of "socializing" students into the main values and traditions of society. The latter three are based more on "educating students" to think critically (Heater & Gillespie, 1981). Naturally, whether these various conceptualizations of citizenship education, presented here in "ideal" form, are achievable in "reality" is open question (Heater & Gillespie, 1981). The question is partly illustrated in this study, which describes which conceptions BC's Ministry of Education adopted over time.

## Setting the Scene: Citizenship Education Up to the 20th Century

As introduced in Chapter 1, citizenship has always been a key goal of public education (Sears & Hughes, 1996; Evans, 2003). The Prussian government was one of the first governments to establish public schools during the late 1800s, which aimed, primarily, at creating "good citizens." The latter had a sense of patriotism and supported current governmental structures (Boyd, 1975; Cordasco, 1976). Government officials in other countries, including France, England, and the United States, quickly followed Prussia's example. In England, for instance, the reformers called for and partly achieved free, public elementary schooling by the 1830s, with the allocation of state grants (Cordasco, 1976). By the 1870s, public schooling for elementary students in England was established. These schools aimed to inculcate, in working class children, values which would make them into both good workers and passive citizens (Osborne, 1985). The aim was not growth or liberation through education. This latter form of education was reserved for the elite in private schools (Boyd, 1975).

Reformers in Canada soon followed these countries. Ryerson worked actively to set up a functional public school system in Ontario (Wilson, 1970). He argued that education would improve society. In British Columbia, a small colony

in the mid 19th Century, advocates successfully pushed for public schooling (Lupul, 1970). BC's first Education Act, passed in the 1860s, established free elementary schooling. The aim was to prepare students for life as good citizens in the community.

A major concern of government officials in new Departments of Education was the development of a Canadian sense of identity (Tomkins, 1986). As a new nation only just patched together through legislation in 1867, these concerns were understandable. Calls came for the teaching of more Canadian history in schools as a way of building national identity. Consequently, a competition was held in the late 1800s for the writing of a new textbook about the Canadian nation, and the winner's textbook was used in schools (Tomkins, 1986). Chapter 4 describes one of these new nation-building texts which, like a 1918 civics text, illustrates good citizens to be loyal to current institutions, informed about and active in political and legal institutions, and aware of their responsibilities to vote.

## Citizenship Education in the 20th Century

Early in the 20th Century, public schooling was established on a massive scale. This development was linked to industrialization, urbanization, immigration, and the demands of active supporters of public education. The first three conditions provided numbers to populate schools, while the last provided the rationale. Along with legislation, such as compulsory school laws, student numbers rose quickly, resulting in a number of changes in schools to increase their "efficiency," a popular concept of the time (Callahan, 1962; Dunn, 1980). One of the key elements of education remained citizenship education. Reformers, such as Dewey (1916) and Rugg (1931) in the United States, argued that schools could be used to improve society. Dewey and Rugg formed part of a larger movement, loosely grouped under the umbrella name of "progressivism," which aimed to improve teaching in schools with the ultimate goal of improving society as a whole. In *Democracy and Education,* Dewey (1916) argues for public education to create a democracy peopled with citizens actively involved in shaping a continually improving nation.

New progressive theory, along with the many changes occurring in society and in schools, resulted in demands for change. In the United States, the National Educational Association (NEA) established a number of committees to provide recommendations on how to manage new changes. One of these committees was for the Social Studies (Nelson, 1984). This vital 1916 report led to the development of Social Studies and its varied implementation in American schools. Citizenship remained a key aim of the report. After a review of earlier citizenship education, Chapter 4 describes the report's vision of good citizenship. During and after the 1920s, Social Studies advocates, later committees, and the development of textbooks all played a role in spreading Social Studies throughout North America. Social Studies was introduced in BC high schools in 1930, as described in Chapter 5.

In the United States, throughout the 20th Century and into the 21st Century, Social Studies has been the ground of a number of disagreements or "wars" (Evans, 2004; Symcox, 2002; Kliebard, 1998) as supporters of the subject have conceptualized it in various ways and as opponents have argued against it. All these diverse articulations of the subject, however, continue to give citizenship a key role.

Crocco (2003) outlines three states in the evolution of Social Studies in the United States. She calls the first stage, from the subject's inception until 1940, the *Cultural Amelioration* phase. During this phase, key features were cultural assimilation and Americanization aimed at improving society. She calls the second phase, which lasted until the 1981, the *Psychological Compensation Phase*. At this time, groups that had been previously excluded or that reformers had attempted to assimilate, were given a voice in society. Citizenship education focused on inclusion and included minority groups and women. Increased inclusivity could be the result of changing perspectives towards minority groups that resulted from World War 2 and Nazi horrors, the civil rights movement, and legal challenges. In phase three, the *Knowledge Transformation* phase from 1981 to now, the main arguments have focused on the constructed nature of knowledge, "perspective taking" (related to how knowledge production is

situated), postcolonial critiques, and postmodern curricula trends. In this period, arguments for including all groups centre, not on psycho-social vulnerability, but on equity and fairness. As well, in the 1980s, divisive battles over multicultural content, called "culture wars," and a number of social changes such as the youth rebellion and mass media led to new battles over the aims of schooling (Crocco, 2003). Recently, and contentiously in the United States, the government has established "internationally competitive standards for educational excellence" (Symcox, 2002, p. 9), several of which gave history a central place. As result, the National History Standards Project of the early 1990s developed a number of *National Standards for History* demanding a focus on disciplines and academic content and a more traditional conceptualization of citizenship, as opposed to the general aims of Social Studies. Both supporters and opponents of the project hotly contest the new standards.

Symcox (2002) summarizes events in the 20th Century, concentrating on the American government's educational policies, in a similar manner. She analyses the reasons for changes to policies over the decades, resulting from popular philosophies and beliefs, socio-economic conditions, and political priorities. She draws on Kliebard's (1998) division of American curriculum movements in the 20th Century into four groups, which are outlined as follows. The first big curriculum movement was the traditional or "Liberal Education Movement" influenced by Plato, Newman and Arnold. It focused on traditional, academic classes such as English literature, Latin, and Mathematics and on the "best" of Christian and Greek and Roman thought (Symcox, 2002; Kliebard, 1998). The proponents of this movement argued that this education based on the foundations of Greece and Rome and the bible, would lead to the "attainment of spiritual and intellectual perfection" (Symcox, 2002, p. 12). Kliebard (1998) explains that this movement was influenced by the newly emerging industrial society and the philosophies of Darwin and Huxley. It attempted to bridge a traditionally Classical education with the newly emerging focus on Science. For example Eliot, the then president of Harvard, combined Science and modern languages—new influences—with the traditional classical subjects of Latin,

Literature, eloquent writing and problem solving. This curriculum movement has been labelled as "traditionalist" in the 20th Century.

The three other movements are found under the broad umbrella of "progressivism." The second movement was the Child Centred movement influenced by Pestalozzi, Rousseau, Froebel, and Dewey. The third curriculum movement was the Social Efficiency movement, primarily concerned with "fitting" individuals into their supposed places in society. The Social Meliorist and the Reconstructionist was the fourth (Kliebard, 1998). The last movement developed from the views of Ward and aimed to create a new social order through public schools (Symcox, 2002; Kliebard, 1998). Kliebard states that Ward argued that education could be used to equalize and to improve society. Kliebard (1998) describes the Progressive Education Association as one of its main proponents in the 1920s and 1930s. It aimed to ameliorate the living conditions of the poor and to teach understanding and care.

Throughout the 20th Century, these competing camps were, at different times, in control of curriculum development in the United States, depending on the economic prosperity of the time (Symcox, 2002) and social and political conditions (Kliebard, 1998).[13] In 1893, Charles W. Eliot and the Committee of 10 established a Liberal or Traditionalist stance. In the 1930's, the Social Reconstruction movement gained ascendancy due to the Depression, with curriculum developed by Harold Rugg. In the 1940s, because of the war, and therefore the need for patriotism, curriculum again became traditional. It remained traditional in the 1950s because of academics who criticized progressivism. The Cold War and Sputnik also led to an academic focus (Symcox, 2002). The National Defense Education Act of 1958 channelled large amounts of money into schools with the aim of improving student achievement.

[13] Symcox acknowledges, as is now generally recognized, that government-led curriculum reform is not transplanted directly as planned into classrooms, that curriculum is generally changed in a piecemeal manner, and that influences on curriculum development—such as by powerful special interest groups or organizations likes the Educational Testing Service—are important forces to consider. The outcome of all these factors is "an educational tapestry" (p. 15).

In the 1960s, curriculum movements were again reformist, focused on progressivism and discovery learning. Bruner and Experimentalism were influential. Reaction set in during the 1970s, as conservative movements such as the "Moral Majority" (Symcox, 2002, p. 22), and terms such as "accountability" and "back to basics" became popular.

In the 1980s, reform was demanded by some right wing groups as highlighted in the 1983 *A Nation at Risk Report.* The report argued that educational achievement was essential for American economic success. Government attention to control through testing and accountability and a focus on traditional courses has continued up to the present time, as illustrated in the recent *No Child Left Behind Policy.*

Evans (2004) also reviews American Social Studies history throughout the 20th Century, framed from the perspective of four major "camps." The *meliorist* camp was the first movement to arise during the 1920s and 1930s. It was a progressive-based movement. Its advocates believed students should analyze society's problems and issues with the aim of improving society. They aimed at making students into better citizens, defined as individuals who were aware of society's injustices and actively worked to ameliorate them (Sears' & Hughes' Conception B, 1996). A more extreme version of the meliorist group was the *reconstructionist* group (Sears' & Hughes' Conception D, 1996). This group aimed to remake citizens through education and thus transform society. It attempted to shape citizens who believed in the equality of all groups and supported some state planning, rather than *laissez-faire* capitalism. Rugg and his famous series of textbooks is a classic example of reconstructionism.[14]

During the 1940s, as a result of World War 2 and in response to the meliorist—and particularly the reconstructionist—vision, *traditionalists* (Sears' & Hughes' Conception A), supporters of a history-based course, argued that

[14] Rugg was still a supporter of democracy, but he saw it as enhanced by a more socialistic outlook in which more state planning occurred. His series of textbooks was written before the ideological divide of the Cold War separated socialist-like ideas from democracy and linked them to the Soviet dictatorship.

meliorists aimed to indoctrinate students to scorn American institutions and that history teaching required greater emphasis. Largely influenced by Nevin's writings, this group argued for history to be taught as a positive nation-building narrative. In this view, good citizens were nationalistic supporters of current institutions and structures. Their criticism continued during the 1950s with the writings of Bestor, and was fuelled by rise of anticommunism due to the Cold War and the launch of Sputnik in 1957. The latter resulted in the National Defence Education Act, which allocated federal funds to discipline-based studies, seen as necessary for developing students' intellects and as a defence against communism.

The New Social Studies was the focus of the 1960s. Advocated by social scientists, it argued for an intellectual, discipline-focused, and discovery-learning curriculum. Students were to be like social scientists. The New Social Studies was opposed by the "newer Social Studies," a progressively-based "reconstructionist" approach which argued for a focus on: race, class, and gender issues; values clarification; and social activism. It aimed to create citizens involved in improving and transforming society for the better, as the social reconstructionists had aimed to do.

Rising conservative influences, such as the "new right" and "new conservatives" during the 1970s resulted in a traditional backlash. Reforms and textbooks were criticized and back to basics movements developed. Conservatives exerted pressure for economic growth, the preservation of society as is, and increased economic competitiveness through concentrating on academic excellence, to be achieved with standards and testing. Citizens, here, were those loyal to current structures.

This trend continued during the 1980s, with the re-emergence of a strong discipline-focused history movement, popularized by the writings of Bloom and Hertsch. This history-based movement led to the Bradley Commission and the issuing of standards for history. Today, a plethora of perspectives with regard to both Social Studies and citizenship education exist. These include supporters of critical pedagogy—social reconstructionists who want to transform society—as

well as supporters of new technology, of moral or character education, of global education, of issues-centred approaches, and of social justice. All of these groups have more active and, in some cases, transformative views of citizenship. These are opposed by some academics who draw on history, such as the Greek inheritance and the American founding fathers, to support a more traditional approach based on "transmitting" culture and shaping a united citizenry (Watson, 2005).

In short, in the United States battles have ensued over the purpose, content, and pedagogies of Social Studies, whose major focus has been the development of citizenship. Groups have been divided into those who argue for citizenship that aims to change society and those who support citizenship that maintains current social structures. All agree on one principle: good citizenship is a vital component of Social Studies. The disagreement is over what good citizens are and how they are to be formed.

## Historical Studies of Citizenship in Canada

The study of history, as will be explained in more detail in Chapter 3, is valuable in deepening perspectives and understanding of the present. Consequently, some academics have begun to explore the history of citizenship education in order to provide expanded awareness of today's complex citizenship debates. With historical studies we can perceive what has been or still is viewed as "good citizenship" and understand how citizenship education has, and has not, changed and why. By summarizing four historical studies of citizenship education in Canada, this section provides an understanding of how this research study fills gaps in our understanding and complements earlier research.

Russell, in *Citizenship in Transformation in Canada* (2002) argues for the formulation of the concept of Canadian citizenship as a product of World War 2: The Secretary of State enacted it, in 1947, after his visit to soldiers' graves in Europe. The secretary felt they deserved special recognition as citizens of the nation for which they had given their lives. Further, Russell explains general trends in citizenship education through the century; from the 1920s to the 1960s,

citizenship education focused on symbols and registration and was assimilationist in nature, aiming to mould all to fit policy makers' understanding of what good citizens should be. In the 1960s, biculturalism emerged as a way of bridging connections between French and English Canadians and a new and more critical and open awareness led to programs, which by the 1970s, focused on groups—women, first nations, and minorities—previously excluded. Support to communities and individual participation were highlighted. By the 1980s, multiculturalism and inclusion had become policy and the aim was to shape active citizens.

Troper's (2002) description of immigration policy and citizenship, in the same book, supports Russell's study. Troper argues that during the period of assimilationism, immigration was restricted. However, after 1947, changes in viewpoints largely due to World War 2, led to the opening of doors to immigrant groups previously excluded. Human rights and laws against discrimination developed, paving the way for multiculturalism, diversity, and pluralism. Public policy changed through a redefinition of what the national community was, through the establishment of a promise of equality of access for all, and through the affirmation of a mosaic as a positive feature of Canada.

Russell's (2002) and Troper's (2002) papers provide understanding of federal policies, but many questions remain. For example, to what extent were these policies translated by Ministry of Education officials into curricula? Did these policies lead to changes in how citizenship was defined at the Ministry level? Did a lag time exist in the implementation of these ideas? What teaching strategies were recommended? Was a conception of more "active" citizenship indeed being recommended by the 1980s? Did BC mirror these federal policies, mostly based on Eastern Canada? My study provides insights into these questions.

Osborne (1996) describes an introductory study of citizenship education in Canada throughout the 20th Century. He divides citizenship education into four periods. From the 1890s to the 1920s when compulsory schooling legislation was enacted and the state assumed greater control over education, civic

education aimed to Canadianize and assimilate individuals to white British middle class values and to develop nationalism (as described by Russell, 2002). From the 1920s to the 1950s, citizenship education changed—due to the influence of progressivism—to focus on socialization, or social living. Education was to prepare individuals for "democratic living" through developing their characters, personal values, and desires to serve their communities. Nationalism and the desire to create consensus and a "spirit of unity" remained, but a direct focus on participation in politics declined. Osborne (1996) also mentioned a break between aims and the content of course of study, which remained factual.

From the 1960s to the 1980s, citizenship education was linked to multiculturalism and to new Canadian Studies, as a result of the Royal Commission of Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the 1960s and Hodgett's (1968) study. Hodgett (1968) harshly criticised Social Studies education for its failure to teach and develop citizenship and a feeling of national consciousness as illustrated in regionalism, Americanization, and Quebec separatism. Demands in the 1970s by academics for the examining of textbooks for racism and gender and class bias (McDiarmid & Pratt, 1971) also led to change. In the 1970s and 1980s, citizenship became increasingly international in outlook, centred on global citizenship, the environment, and active participation in society through community service and the study of human rights and law education. Finally, from the 1990s, Osborne argues that citizenship has focused on economic competitiveness and preparing individuals to be successful in the global economy, as illustrated in movements such as back to basics, vocationalism, and a focus on individualism and competition.

Osborne's general framework is used as a basis for comparison with BC's Ministry of Education curricula. Osborne's answer for citizenship education today is an invigorated social history curriculum, taught with methods that aim to develop critical thinking about today's complex issues (cited in Briley, 1997). I present my conclusions and recommendations in Chapter 8.

Further, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, conceptualizations of citizens can be divided into two types (Sears & Hughes, 1996). Citizenship

programs early in the 20th Century aimed to develop "passive" citizens, individuals who accepted government structures and worked to maintain these structures through fulfilling their duties, such as voting and paying taxes. The 1918 civics textbook described in Chapter 4 provides an example of this understanding of the good citizen. This view can be contrasted with that of the "active" citizen in which individuals are seen as free and equal to government officials, and are encouraged to work "actively" to ameliorate social issues.

My study highlights which of these changing conceptions were found in BC's Ministry of Education documents, and to what degree. For instance, Evans' work (2004) in the United States appears to contradict Osborne's (1996) and Sears' and Hughes' (1996) work. Evans' description of the early social meliorists, who attempted to reform society through an issues-based critical study of society, and that of the reconstructionists, who took this further with the aim of recreating society through education, seem to be formulations of "active citizenship" according to Sears' and Hughes' (1996) work. Yet, these two views of citizenship occurred early in the 20th Century, not at the end of the century as Sears and Hughes mention for Canada. Further, Evans' (2004) work views today's government-formulated citizenship education as "passive," for it aims to use standardized testing and history to create citizens supportive of the United States. These apparent discrepancies are addressed in my study, providing insights as to whether BC's Ministers of Education supported active or passive conceptualizations of citizens and for how long. My study also highlights whether the American or Canadian views of citizenship predominated in BC's Ministry documents.

Sears and Hughes (1996) argue for a common conception of the good citizen across Canada today: someone who is knowledgeable about society and issues, who works to support the common good, who supports pluralism, and who is active locally, nationally, and internationally. My study will allow us to see how one province fits this general framework and to what extent.

## Citizenship Education in Canada Today

In Canadian academia, citizenship education is currently a topic of discussion. Like American writers, academics agree on the importance of citizenship education, but not on what its components should be or how it is to be achieved (Evans, 2003; Osborne, 1996, 2003, 2004, 2005). These conversations illustrate the complexity and diversity of opinions regarding this subject at a time when pluralism, multiple identities, multiculturalism, and division are key concepts. For instance, Herbert's *Citizenship in Transformation* (2002) encompasses a number of varied perspectives. All agree that citizenship revolves around pluralism, the development of individuals who work for the common good, deliberation, and the creation of a civic culture in which individuals participate and in which political virtues, such as freedom and equality, are protected.

Disagreement arises with regard to how these are to be defined, prioritized, and achieved. Some writers argue for more attention to be paid to women, labour, and natives. Others argue for the existence of several models of citizenship: the liberal (focused on individual rights), the communalist (focused on community first), the republican (focused on equality, deliberation, and participation), and the social critique (focused on transformation); and attempt to provide a model all students can be taught. Others question how the conflicting needs for diversity and social cohesion can be balanced. Finally, others question the possibility of civic education to achieve its aims and see identity formation as a personal process.

Writers, such as Yagos (2005), argue for the need to implement citizenship education through a national policy, but declare that this first requires discussions as to what citizenship is and how to manage conflicts between unity and diversity, rights and responsibilities, and global and national focuses. Evans (2003) identifies the same issues of pluralism, globalization, inclusion, multiple identities, activism, and diversity, but also adds that conceptual models and instructional suggestions aimed at developing knowledge, critical thinking, and participation have been developed. He describes a number of international

initiatives by UNESCO, for instance, illustrating a growing interest in citizenship education internationally.[15] Further, he mentions that issues with regard to teaching citizenship include determining how it is defined, how teachers are to be prepared to teach it and how they are to be supported, and how school structures affect the viability of a citizenship program. Importantly for this study, he also mentions that a study by the Council of Ministers of Education in 2001 found that Ministry policies:

> ...are shifting to conceptions that forefront its multi-dimensional and global character...attention to principles and practices of democratic decision-making, multiple perspectives, persisting public issues, political literacy, and purposeful participation and community involvement from the local to the global are apparent, and reflect and important shift in tone and emphasis from earlier policy emphases in Civics programs. (Evans, 2003, ¶ 26)

My study discusses to what extent this has occurred or is in evidence in BC.

In a similar vein, McKay (1997) cautions us to consider the "power and control" issues in the related concept of "character education," a popular movement in the 1990s, and she draws parallels and contrasts between this movement and the more active debate over values education in the 1970s. Froese-Germain (2004) articulates the fear that some current conceptualizations of citizenship education focus on good citizens as good workers. Kilgour (1997) argues for a new civic education course focused on history, government, and ethics that is inclusive and based in multicultural theory and that attempts to develop students' knowledge of, and participation in, a "civil society" through a curriculum with a common core.

## Conclusion

This chapter began with a classification of four citizenship education programs, based in Sears' and Hughes' (1996) work. These are used in this study to identify the types of citizenship education found in curriculum guides. The chapter then illustrated that citizenship education has been a central

[15] Citizenship education has been discussed and written about in both the United States and England. See Heater and Gillespie (1981), Crick (2000), and Watson (2005) for examples.

component of public schooling since its inception in Europe and Canada through a historical review. Citizenship education, further, has remained a focal point of discussion right up to the present moment, as illustrated in the chapter's concluding discussion of current debates around citizenship education in Canada. These centre around pluralism and multiculturalism.

The chapter also included a number of historical studies of Social Studies and citizenship education in both the United States and Canada. These studies aimed to uncover the roots of the many sided and complex deliberations regarding citizenship education today, to deepen understanding. However, while research has begun in the area of historical studies of citizenship education in Canada, much work remains to be done. Firstly, the studies have been general in nature and have not looked at one location in detail, from a historical perspective. They have not aimed to explore how these general viewpoints were or were not reflected in the curricula of one Ministry of Education, or they have focused on current Social Studies guides. This case study of BC's Ministry of Education curriculum guides for Social Studies allows us to see how general ideas were translated into Ministry policies and, thus, provides a perspective with which to comment on how the general frameworks described in this chapter were or were not reflected in one place. It also comments on how the Ministry of Education may manage the multiple and complex debates and perspectives about citizenship occurring in Social Studies at this time.

Research methodology is presented in the next chapter (Chapter 3). It embeds civic education in Social Studies, for—as mentioned in Chapter 1—Social Studies has been the prime subject through which citizenship education has been conceptualized to occur (Sears & Hughes, 1996).

# Chapter 3:

# My Methodological Approach

The last chapter described citizenship education in the past and present. As it described a number of discussions concerning what good citizens are and how they are to be achieved, it illustrated a need for deeper clarity, which can be achieved through a historical study. This chapter describes why a historical study is the most appropriate methodology to use. It presents a brief summary of the study and of how and why it was conceptualized and carried out, elaborating on Chapter 1. As history is a complex and multifaceted field, the chapter delves into philosophy of history, based particularly on Collingwood's (1956) insightful work. It continues with a review of philosophical trends throughout the 20th Century, which aim to bring the understanding of history articulated by Collingwood into the 20th Century, and to explore the benefits of linking historical work with the work of social scientists and philosophers, such as Wertsch (2002) and Foucault (1980).

## My Study

### Overview of this Study

As introduced in Chapter 1, citizenship education was given a key role in the new Social Studies course. This intrigued me, particularly as education for citizenship had been and has continued to be advocated by many school reformers as a vital goal of public schooling, and citizenship education is currently topical (Evans, 2003; Sears & Hughes, 1996; Osborne, 1996; Herbert, 2002, for example). Further, Social Studies curricula are developed by government bodies. "Good citizens" have particular roles to play in their countries and in relation to their governments. I was interested in the connection

between the power of government officials to shape curricula and what kind of "citizen" they aimed to foster. In Foucault's language, I was interested in the connection between power (the government) and knowledge (curricula).[16] I conducted a historical study because investigating the past deepens our understanding, as described in more detail later in this chapter.

I studied BC's curricula as my own initial study of Social Studies in Canada seemed to place BC at the forefront of other Canadian provinces in introducing the course in Canada. According to most academics, Social Studies and progressivism are seen to have emerged in Alberta and Ontario first, then in BC in 1936 and 1937 (Clark, 2004; Von HeyKing, 2007). However, BC's 1936 and 1937 guide is actually the second stage in the adoption of a progressive program and a Social Studies curriculum. I found that Social Studies was first introduced in BC high schools in 1930, making it the first Canadian province to introduce the course, according the information I have been able to gather. Additionally, as BC Ministers of Education were often open to change and wanted the curriculum to be relevant and up-to-date, they often looked to and copied American trends. A case study of BC's Social Studies curricula provides useful findings for Canadian and international scholars who are interested in the evolution of the subject, a description of educational trends over time, a study of the manner in which new theories of education are translated into practice in one particular context, and recommendations on curriculum reform and implementation. I was also interested in conducting a study of the course, as my Bachelor of Education degree is in Social Studies, and I have taught the subject. Further, one of Social Studies' main components is history. I was intrigued to find (and thought it ironic) that very little historical work on Social Studies guides has been conducted, particularly ones that focused on citizenship (Osborne, 1996). Finally, Social Studies is a battleground over content, aims, and definitions in both Canada and in the United States, as discussed in Chapter 8.

[16] This study does not consider how teachers implemented the government's Social Studies guides. It fully acknowledges that curriculum-as-taught is different to curriculum-as-planned. The aim of this study is a description and analysis of curriculum-as-planned.

My historical survey helps to clarify how these conflicting understandings of the course are found in one Ministry's curriculum guides.

Dawson (1982) discusses the historical development of Social Studies in BC. She describes the first three major changes made to curricula through an account of the committees set up to make changes and of changing social conditions. She does not present much information on citizenship education, except for a few cursory comments, such as stating that citizenship was a major goal of earlier guides but not of the 1968 revision (a conclusion I disagree with). I add new knowledge, as I concentrate on studying how the conceptualization of citizenship education changed or did not change in each revision and on describing its associated pedagogy.[17] Dawson's study concludes with the 1968 revisions. I researched Social Studies revisions made into the 21st Century, in 1985, 1997 and 2005.

As my methodological approach is a historical study, interpretation of primary documents is the focal point of research conducted. The approach is most like "grounded theory," found in the social sciences, for interpretative hypotheses were developed from content studied (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). My research tool and my research questions directed my attention to the particular themes in the documents and helped me record my findings. This helped to minimize a feeling of being overwhelmed by material found in documents studied.

Comparing my findings with the description of, and program for, citizenship education outlined by Osborne (1996), Sears and Hughes (1996), and Evans (2004) provided me with structures that allowed me to analyze my own findings for reliability and validity. If, for instance, I found a major difference between their findings and mine, I returned to my own research in order to verify

[17] As early curriculum guides, called *courses of study*, often presented the textbook as the curriculum, I also looked at required textbooks where necessary in order to provide as complete a portrait of curricula as possible. Furthermore, as 1930s bulletins also include useful details on new curricula, they were consulted as well.

my results. At the same time, my own results provided feedback on the validity of these frameworks to one particular location.

Later in this chapter, I describe myself, and my perspective, to provide context to my study. For instance, as I am keenly aware of the difficulty of entering into the mindset of another time, I conducted background reading of changes throughout the 20th Century in both primary and secondary sources. These are presented prior to each curriculum revision in order to provide contextualizing frames. These frames briefly introduce some of the events, particularly political and economic events, which occurred at and around the time of the revisions. While I acknowledge the importance of social history to my study, particularly historical events that illustrate injustices to groups in society, I do not describe these in detail. This is because my study focuses on a study of historical documents emanating for political bodies, and so I felt it more appropriate to focus on political actions and the close connection these had to economic events. I did not have time to describe all historical events, as I wanted to keep these contextual frames short.[18] Further, many excellent social histories have already been written, particularly regarding oppressed groups (for example, Veronica Strong-Boag and Laura Thomas have written on oppression in British Columbia recently as well: Barman, 1988; Beyer and Apple, 1998; Ashworth, 1979; Francis, 1997; Mann, 1980; Wilson & Jones, 1980; Crocco, 2003; all describe social history either in BC or the United States), and I did not want to diminish the richness of this work by including it in a cursory manner. As well, my historical angle focuses on power and knowledge, on the connections between political might and curriculum guides. This focus is a different one to that of a study between political might and repression, although I acknowledge their interrelatedness. In future work, I would like to explore the connections between my findings and social inequities. For example, early curriculum guides are primarily based on European history and values. They directly highlight and aim to cultivate Western culture. Naturally, these documents represent the views

[18] These are the same reasons for my lack of detail on special interest groups, although I do allude to some, such as, the BCTF and the BC Social Studies Teachers Association.

of government officials who meant to inculcate their ideas in all individuals living in Canada, including First Nations and Asian youth. However by the end of the century, curriculum guides began to include some language regarding inclusion and multiculturalism, thus illustrating the spread of a more humane and open view of Canadian society (although the guides maintain a number of assimilationist and Western European focuses as well).

I also read a number of books and the recommendations of some historians with regard to philosophy of history (Carr, 1961; Collingwood, 1956), conducting historical research and writing historical narratives (Jordanova, 2000; Storey & Jones, 2004; McCulloch & Richardson, 2000). These works helped me to formulate my understanding of how to carry out historical work and my belief that history is interpretation, as I explore in my philosophy of history section later in this chapter.

As well, prior to and during the conducting of my research, I kept a number of factors in mind. These are discussed in the section following my philosophy of history. My background reading led me to develop a broad conceptualization of history that includes both social and political elements, which are often split by historians in Canada presently (Axelrod, 1996).[19] As I view history as broadly encompassing many types of history, I include political, social, economic, intellectual, and other historical perspectives in my study.

In Chapter 7, where I discuss changes and continuities in the conceptualizations of good citizens and citizenship education, I also give details regarding the two largest shifts found. My explanation is based on an in-depth study of journals, normal school textbooks, Ministry of Education school reports, Royal Commission reports, and books released in academia in the years prior to the release of the new guides. When I studied these BC documents, I focused my attention on their theories, discussions, and conceptualizations of and around citizenship and citizenship education linked to the features of each major revision

[19] Axelrod (1996) writes of a dearth of Canadian scholarship in the area I am writing about: "The entire History of progressive education in Canada, including the tumultuous period of the late 1960s, merits the additional attention of historians" (p. 35).

I identified. I also reviewed articles and reports that commented generally on Social Studies and curriculum revisions, if they seemed to provide some further explanation. In other words, my historical study had two phases. Firstly, I read and analyzed curriculum guides. After I had summarized and analyzed these using the historical strategies discussed later in this chapter, I conducted a second historical study of a number of other documents in order to develop possible hypotheses as to why curriculum guides changed.

After I had conducted my study of curriculum guides, I used the indexes of journals to scan their articles for one decade prior to and up to the release of the guides. I focused my attention on any articles that mirrored or seemed to provide some illustration of changes seen in curriculum guides. Any other articles that seemed to shed some light on curriculum revisions were also read. I consulted several journals found in BC at the times of the major revisions that are still available to review today. These include *BC Teacher, Exploration,* and *Canadian Teacher,* and the Gage series of *Essays on Canadian Education.* I read all *Exploration* journals (since the foundation of the journal in 1961) until after the 1968 revision was implemented. I read all Ministry school reports for at least 5 years prior to each major revision. I read the Royal Commission reports of 1925 (Putman & Weir), 1960 (Province of BC), and 1988 (Province of BC). I scanned the shelves of UBC's historical collections several times, focused on Ministry-related resources. Any resources that seemed to shed some lights on changes, such as Administrative Bulletins and Vancouver School Trustee Reports, were also read. Finally, I read relevant books discussed by academics in journal articles, including textbooks for student teachers. Often one primary document led to others, by naming them or providing bibliographies. For instance, the 1968 curriculum guide (Department of Education, 1968) listed a number of books by academics in its bibliography. Two of those were by Fenton. In his own work, Fenton (1967) referenced a number of projects occurring around the United States. So, my knowledge grew in spirals. Each document read led to others and the knowledge acquired from this then led me back to my historical frames,

to revisit the curriculum guides, and reinterpret them. Each curriculum revision was subject to several analyses.

To illustrate the process, changes in curriculum guides may have been caused by changes in informing philosophies of education. If a philosophic change appeared to have occurred, I identified the features of that philosophy and then searched through documents' indexes (or skimmed the complete document) looking for characteristics of that particular philosophy in the primary sources mentioned. I investigated to what degree, in what context, and in what form that philosophy was articulated in these documents prior to its appearance in Ministry documents. For example, progressive philosophy was found in 1930s curriculum guides. Features of progressivism would include Dewey, a child centred approach, Rugg, socialization, experience-based education, problem-centred approach, psychology (especially Thorndike's work), and eschewing content and subject-based learning for experiences and "growth." I looked for these and other elements in documents studied. The number of articles and types of articles (and their dates) articulating elements of progressive thought provided some understanding of the connection between thought occurring outside of the Ministry and in Ministry documents. The same approach was also used with a new pedagogy: I identified the features of the approach, such as inquiry based or discovery learning, and then scanned articles looking for these features. At the same time, I read journal articles written by Ministry officials (such as by Weir in the 1930s) and others that commented on social and economic conditions. These helped to shed light on the possible connections between events occurring in society and changes in education. For example, in the 1930s, a number of articles discussed troubling economic circumstances, such as teachers loosing jobs, schools closing, and salary cuts. Other journal articles linked these devastating economic conditions to need for change in schools.

I also investigated the work of academics outside of BC, who were referenced in documents studied or whose work influenced Social Studies in Canada (Clark, 2004). Clark's work was valuable in providing insights as to

which academic trends occurring generally were found in one particular location and to what extent. I also looked at changes occurring in the United States (Kliebard, 1998; Crocco, 2003; Symcox, 2002; Evans, 2004). In short, this study is a historical study and, in the following section, I explain why I believe this particular research methodology to be the most appropriate.

## My Philosophy of History

I have always been fascinated with what it means to be alive. As a child, my favourite word was "why"? Why are we? Why are some countries richer than others? Why do we have so few answers? I became interested in history fairly young. I remember my grandfather had an old coin collection, and sometimes he would show it to me. I would hold the ancient coins and feel a sense of wonder and awe at the inevitability of time (and of this object's ability to outlive its time), and the power of this object to provide me with a glimmer of a by-gone age. Historical study built on this fascination, for it provided me with some sort of "context" to my many "whys."

I discovered that I was partly the product of my past experience. I was intrigued by the role of memories in forming our "selves." If I awoke with some of my past experiences (which are reshaped into my own "memories") missing, would I know myself in the same way? I would not know my name, my family, my career, and many other aspects that go into forming my self-identity. My own personal history, in other words, is a powerful factor in shaping my identity (Kenny, 1999). Many scholars have been aware of this. Psychologists, such as Freud, for example, realized the power of past experiences in influencing presently lived reality. He found solutions to individuals' behavioural, mental, or emotional problems in psychoanalytic sessions, which he believed could uncover traumatic events in the afflicted individuals' pasts, and thus "free" them from their continuing power. Excavating a nation's past can do the same.

The link between past experience and present self-concept extends beyond the individual. Historians have long understood the power of history in shaping the identity of both the individual and the collectivity (Kenny, 1999).

Through the telling of stories about the past, history can play a role in shaping the identities of groups of people (Kenny, 1999; Wertsch, 2002; Oakeshott, 1989). Schlabach (1996) adds, further, that "to attempt to live without a memory is to lose one's humanity" (p. 17). In short, I chose a historical study because I enjoy the process of excavating what has been. As well, doing so provides deepened understanding, as Collingwood (1956) explains.

**Philosophy of History: Collingwood**

The philosophies of history of Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Polybius, St Augustine, Bodin, Vico, Herder, Hegel (selections in Tillinghast, 1963), and Collingwood (1956) make clear that understanding "history" is not easy. The questions that have to be answered, such as for and of whom is it written and why, are philosophical ones. Most of these philosophers saw history from a religious viewpoint: They viewed its events as illustrating the unfolding of "Providence," or God's purpose. However, Collingwood's work (1956) illustrates the true meaning of history.

Collingwood argues that certain early accounts, such as in pre-Greek societies or, certain modern accounts, like those based on dividing societies into a number of epochs, such as Marx's, are not really history, as they shape facts to suit their larger theoretical frameworks. Rather, history is the re-enactment of past thought in the mind of a historian in order to answer a question about people in the past the historian has first articulated. It is the past living as thought in the conscious mind of a historian at the present time. Thought is self-conscious: It can be enacted in minds of different times and places, as opposed to that of a "flow of consciousness," which is based on particular and contextualized emotions.

Collingwood, additionally, explains that history is not positivism, or describing unfolding, "progressive" narratives. For example, in his chapter on "Progress as created by Historical Thinking," Collingwood (1956) describes a change occurring in a society of fishermen. He states this change can be seen as progressive or not depending on whether it led or did not lead to "something better" (p. 326). Knowledge gained by the historian allows him or her to

comment on whether the changes occurring in a society are indeed "progress," or improvement. Assuming a progressively developing society, as many 19th Century historians believed their own societies to be, is flawed thinking. For a change may be primarily positive or negative for a group of people. We can determine whether a change is positive or not by re-enacting in our own minds the society before and after the change, and then seeing whether the new one indeed led to new solutions that solved both the problems the old thought was able to solve as well the problems it could not solve (Collingwood, p. 326).

Collingwood's greatest insight may be that the re-enactment of thought allows us to understand ourselves better, to consider what it means to be human:

> ...History is 'for' human self-knowledge. It is generally thought to be of importance to man that he should know himself: where knowing himself means knowing not his merely personal peculiarities, the things that distinguish him from other men, but his nature as man. Knowing yourself means knowing, first, what it is to be a man; secondly, knowing what it is to be the kind of man you are and nobody else is. Knowing yourself means knowing what you can do; and since nobody knows what he can do until he tries, the only clue to what man can do is what man has done. The value of history, then, is that it teaches us what man has done and thus what man is. (1956, p. 10)

Collingwood describes history as an art and a science. It is an art, as it requires creativity and imagination. From ancient times, history was seen as a 'narrative,' or story, but one that aimed to provide a truthful account of the world, as opposed to the narrative of poetry. (At that time, some writers did think it possible to comment "truthfully"—factually—on a situation.) The historian, as well, requires imagination, as he or she must be able to recreate within her or his own mind the thoughts of historical figures, extrapolate missing information, and judge the truthfulness of evidence, from his or her own perspective (1956, p. 240). This "historical imagination" is "...self-explanatory, self-justifying, the product of an autonomous or self-authorizing activity" (p. 246).

History is also a science, as knowledge is constructed inductively and based on evidence, which is used to reconstruct the thought and determine its meaning. "History" is, in fact, derived from a Greek word meaning "research" or "inquiry." This is differentiated from "positivistic history," harshly criticised by

Collingwood (1956, p. 128). This latter form is history written as if historical facts are identical to the "causal laws" of nature. Thus, the historian shapes the facts he or she accumulates into causes and effects and views history as a progressive unfolding of events to the present. For example, Hegel (in Tillinghast, 1963) argues that history was the logical process of the self-development of reason—or "Spirit"—dialectically developed. Yet, historical events do not sequentially cause other things to happen, like the toppling of dominoes. Rather, changes grow out of previous changes; they integrate previous thought and events. History is a holistic process of integration and growth, not an evolution of dissected causes and events. The latter is a fiction of a historian who does not consider the complete context and comprehensive nature of all events. Kaestle explains this as the confusion of "correlations and associations with causes" (quoted in McCulloch & Richardson, 2000, p. 123). History doesn't teach lessons; it deepens understanding by deepening our knowledge of what has been.

History is not a "scissors and paste" activity, which was a common approach until the 17th Century. The former involved collecting the comments of historical "authorities" into narratives, without analysis as to their veracity on the part of the historian. The correct methodology of the genuine historian was developed after the 17th Century, according to Collingwood, with the Scientific Revolution. Firstly, like a good scientist, the historian must define a question or historical problem, to be solved through the study of historical evidence. This question leads to inquiry that results in a narrative which, "...must be localized in space and time...consistent with itself" (Collingwood, 1956, p. 246) and related to its evidence. Further, unlike the scissors and paste pseudo-historian, the bona fide historian must critically evaluate all "evidence," which can include written accounts as well as material evidence so as to determine validity and reliability.

Collingwood makes reference to a number of important philosophers of history, in particular, Croce. The latter argued that history "narrated" truth and was the only real knowledge: All events I can perceive, up to the very moment I am now in, are historical. The sentence I have just completed is, at this moment,

now past knowledge. In other words, the only true knowledge "has been" (Collingwood, 1956, p. 197) and "reality consists of concepts or universals embodied in particular facts" (p. 197). He went on to argue that, accordingly, the role of philosophy was to serve as the methodology of history:

> It was in Croce's work of 1912 and 1913 that these ideas were fully worked out. In that work we find not only a complete expression of the autonomy of history, but also a double demonstration of its necessity: its necessity relatively to philosophy as the concrete thought of which philosophy is only the methodological moment, and its necessity relatively to science, as the source of all 'scientific facts'—a phase which only means those historical facts which the scientist arranges into classes. (Collingwood, 1956, p. 202)

Croce saw history as, "self-knowledge of the living mind" (cited in Collingwood, 1956, p. 202). To Collingwood, it was a synthesis of evidence balanced by criticism, a "process of coming to understand" ourselves (p. 219).

A historical approach, grounded in Collingwood's thought, was chosen for this study, as it deepens our "understanding" of today's discussions concerning citizenship education and Social Studies. A study rooted only in the present cannot provide a perspective outside of the present moment. A historical approach provides another "lens"; it provides a narrative that deepens awareness of how the present moment came to be. The history investigated and described here has shaped our today. It allows for comment through deepened "self-knowledge." Twentieth century philosophy, though, makes clear that this "understanding" is not so much "truth" as "interpretation."

**History and Philosophy: 20th Century**

Throughout the 20th Century, philosophical trends have problematized "knowledge." Unlike Collingwood, who believed that it was possible to have a "truthful" narrative of the past postmodern 20th Century thinkers well-illustrated in the work of Lacan (cited in Usher & Edwards, 1994) and Foucault (1965, 1980 1981, 1995) have argued that knowledge is itself a construct. Even the concept of "time" itself is described as constructed or relative. Further, a focus on science and the rise of social sciences' understanding of the link between the researcher and his or her context has brought many criticisms to bear on history as

"imaginary elaboration" (Barthes, 1981). These thinkers, however, have not destroyed history; they have helped to make it conscious of itself. They have exploded the idea of a single, universal narrative and opened the way for many narratives and many forms of knowledge thus, in fact, expanding the possibilities, types, and conceptualizations of history. Freed from constraints, many new types of history, such as women's and post-colonial histories, have flourished, enriching our understanding in new ways.

Additionally, McCulloch and Richardson (2000) describe a split between the disciplines of History and of Education throughout the early 20th Century, as historians criticized the present-minded focus of historians of education. However, a bridge between the two subjects has formed as Historians have become increasingly self-aware through historiography, historical study has expanded in new directions, particularly into social history, and forms of historical analysis, such as oral history, have developed. McCulloch and Richardson (2000) explain:

> ...we have suggested that these separate traditions are now in the process of breaking down and converging, and that this offers considerable potential for helping historians of education with their most complex task—that of understanding the reciprocal relation of education and society in different places and in different eras. (p. 50)

The answer lies in critical self-awareness and an analysis of one's study. Historians of education should, in words quoted from well-known historian Kaestle, "discard old assumptions, try new techniques, and attempt to meet more rigorous standards of evidence and argument" (quoted in McCulloch & Richardson, 2000, p. 49).

Social sciences such as sociology, anthropology and geography, McCulloch and Richardson add, provide tools, perspectives and areas of research for the historian. However, they need to be analyzed critically, for a researcher runs the risk of "finding" in historical study what supports his or her informing theory. Thus, these social sciences (including the work of scholars such as Foucault and Wertsch) provide theories and tools that enhance study, but they need to be considered critically:

> These influences [social scientific] greatly enrich the study of educational history. Yet, at the same time, they raise difficult problems of historical interpretation and contextualization, the tackling of which involves critical and sceptical engagement with theory rather than its straightforward and unquestioning application. (McCulloch & Richardson, 2000, p. 78)

Their approach is the one chosen for this study. A historical study was undertaken, based in the understanding of and approaches to history described. Particular theoretical lenses outside of the historical tradition were not used to gather and initially interpret data. Conclusions emerged from the data studied. The findings of the data were then analyzed, and this included considering insightful social science theories. That is, the historical data were not approached with a particular social science theory framing how the data were collected, but my analysis did use social science theories where these seemed to provide some deeper insights into findings. Three social scientists who illustrate the value of social science thought to this historical study and whose theories provide insights into the research conducted are Lacan, Foucault, and Wertsch. Lacan highlights the need for critical awareness. Foucault's and Wertsch's (2002) theories provide examples of history's expanded narratives and illustrate how the social sciences can enhance historical study and provide new insights, focused on the relations between power, knowledge, and education.

**Lacan**

Usher and Edwards (1994) explain that Lacan problematizes truth and knowledge; he argues that language, as a symbolic system, splits the signified and the signifier. Thus, the "I" that I think I am is a construct, fabricated through interaction with others. Knowledge is found in the unconscious, which I can never access, as I think with words. In constructing thought through language, I cannot find truth. However, I believe Lacan can be criticised in two ways. Firstly, while language does split the object from itself through a symbolic representation, a symbolic representation can in some way replicate its object in thought. If I write the word "dog," I am naturally not placing an actual dog on the page. However if you, the reader, recognize "dog" to be a particular type of

animal, not, say, a type of musical instrument, then we have a common understanding between signified and signifier. The danger of which Lacan justly makes us aware is the need to ensure that listeners and speakers, writers and readers, have common understandings of the words they use. If we did not have these, we would never have developed a society for we would never have been able to understand each other. Secondly, knowledge is not found in the unconscious as Lacan wrote, but in the conscious, the "constructed" self: knowledge is a human creation (Usher & Edwards, 1994). The unconscious is the place of natural passions and needs. I can master a new knowledge fairly accurately. Lacan enriches our understanding by making us aware, not that knowledge doesn't exist, but that knowledge is our own creation, and so there are many possible knowledges and truths. In other words, we need to constantly reflect on, analyse, and question these. Related to history, multiple historical narratives abound, none of which is the "truth." All are interpretations arising, in Collingwood's words (1956), in a historian's mind in interaction with past data. They require careful analysis and awareness of their limitations. This particular historical study makes no claim to be "truth." It is an interpretation: History is always an interpretation of past events through the "lens" of the present in interaction with the historian.

**Foucault**

Foucault (1965, 1980, 1981, 1995) is aware of both the power of historical narrative and its constructed—or interpretative—nature. He uses history, often, in his own work, with the aim of reconstructing new "stories" that recontextualize and, thus, provide possibilities for transforming society:

> Let us give the term genealogy to the union of erudite knowledge and local memories which allows us to establish a historical knowledge of struggles...to entertain the claims to attention of local, discontinuous, disqualified, illegitimate knowledges against the claims of a unitary body of theory. (Foucault, 1980, p. 83)

Foucault's writes historical narratives that aim to deepen our understanding and bring change. He sees knowledge itself as a construct, linked

to a particular power. His enduring insight is the integrated and webbed nature of what he called a "power-knowledge" discourse. He describes, for example, prisons, schools, and hospitals as emerging from a particular truth discourse within which are inherent power-knowledge relations. Power and knowledge are hyphenated, as they are inseparable:

> There can be no possible exercise of power without a certain economy of discourses of truth which operate through and on the basis of this association. We are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth. (Foucault, 1980, p. 87)History is studied in a new way, through

genealogy, which involves studying and interpreting documents in order to look for inherent, or alternative, power-knowledge discourses.

Foucault (1980) argues that a knowledge discourse arises from a particular episteme—the "strategic apparatus" for separating the acceptable and the not—and systems and rules determine a statement's meaning. A person can discover meaning by looking at the conditions surrounding a discourse—its "rules of formation"—and at alternative discourses which help to illustrate the dominant power-knowledge discourse. For example, in *Discipline and Punish* (1995), Foucault describes the development of the social institutions of the prison, the police, and the school as linked to the development of the modern state. This state uses surveillance, norms, and administrative measures, such as records, to maintain power.

Further, Foucault (1980) explains how the birth of the modern clinic was linked to the need to have healthy workers. In his last work, *the History of Sexuality* (1981), he analyses how sexuality—like the self—is constructed by society through a particular knowledge discourse. In the final analysis, Foucault's structure is, although laden with complexities, very useful in a historical analysis. It openly acknowledges the difficulties of attempting a historical study and provides a new way of conducting historical research that leads to new insights, or new "his"-"her" stories, from the interactions between the historian's interpretations and a theoretical framework, based on the intricate, multifarious, and webbed connections between power and knowledge.

However, McCulloch and Richardson (2000) caution that:

> ...Foucault's work may be taken to demonstrate the value of social theory for suggesting avenues of enquiry in historical research, [but also to highlight] the problems of its uncritical application and the importance of a critical engagement between hypothesis and empirical study. (p. 76)

That is, Foucault's theories provide a useful perspective for my study, as I look at governmental documents and consider the knowledge a governing power structure attempted to create or to propagate. I do not, however, approach my study steeped in Foucault's theory as my interpreting lens. Rather, I am using a historical approach framed in grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967): I will interpret Ministry documents and see what they have to "say" and consider the applicability of Foucault's ideas to my analysis. In short, Foucault's work reinforces the interpretative nature of historical work and establishes the need for the historian to context his or herself in his or her work—to study self-consciously and self-reflectively. He provides a useful theoretical framework that is helpful in the analysis of findings, for this study considers the connections between power (BC's Ministry of Education) and knowledge (Curriculum Guides), the focus also of Wertsch's work. Wertsch (2002) analysed Russian textbooks according to a particular theory.

**Wertsch**

Wertsch (2002) illustrates the power of history and defines what history is not through his study of "collective memory" in Russia.[20] His sociocultural perspective leads him to view individuals as constructing meaning through cognitive tools found in their sociocultural settings. These tools, such as narratives, mediate how and what individuals know. Tools are found outside of individuals, therefore, meaning making is "distributed": It is made through the interaction of tools and unique "agents" (Wertsch). These tools can be used to shape collective memory.

[20] He defined collective memory as "subjective, [has] a single committed perspective, reflects a particular group's social framework, [is] unself-conscious, impatient with ambiguity about motives and the interpretation of events" (p. 44). In contrast, History is "objective, distanced from any particular perspective, reflects no particular social framework, [has] a critical, reflective stance, recognizes ambiguity" (p. 44).

Wertsch (2002) argues that the Soviet State, "an imagined community" (p. 69), deliberately used education to create a national identity through its attempt to inculcate a particular "collective memory" in its citizens with the use of textbooks. Focusing his study on these texts, he claims they provided "its citizens with official accounts of the past" (p. 67). Their narratives included both "dialogical functions" and "schematic narrative templates."[21] Wertsch concludes that, while the Soviet State certainly intended to inculcate a particular collective memory and while individuals were able to recite it, say, on exams, they did not necessarily accept it. Individuals educated after the collapse of the Soviet State did not write about historical events in the same manner as those educated in the Soviet State, for they questioned and dialogued with the material they wrote about. Interestingly, individuals of both eras used the same schematic narrative template, one that was deeply and invisibly embedded in its culture. A hidden continuity remained.

Wertsch's (2002) work provides a second useful theory for use in interpreting my study's results. It highlights the need to keep in mind that Ministry curricula do not necessarily reflect an age, nor are they inevitably accepted fully by either teachers or students. Rather, the documents reflect the attempt of the government with "power"—naturally influenced by a number of factors—to implement a particular type of "knowledge." Wertsch's study highlights the Soviet State's terrifying and controlling use of education and textbooks with the aim of creating loyal citizens. This study considers whether this is the case in Canada as well. Turning now to Canada, debate among its historians illustrates the importance of history and further clarifies its meaning and purpose.

[21] He explains: "In contrast to the referential function, which concerns the relationship between narratives and the settings and actors, and events they depict, the dialogic function concerns the relationship between one narrative and another. From this perspective, it is essential to recognize that narratives do not exist in isolation and do not serve as neutral cognitive instruments. Instead, they are embedded in concrete discourse characterized by dialogic and rhetorical opposition" (p. 59). Additionally, specific narratives "are narratives in the Western tradition that have specific settings, characters, and events...it will turn out to be useful to contrast this sort of specific narrative with more generalized, abstract forms, the latter being schematic narrative templates" (p. 60).

**Current Debate among Canadian Historians**

Much deliberation and interest in history has erupted in Canada recently due to concerns about citizenship and national identity (Osborne, 2003). One group argues that well told historical stories are particularly powerful in creating a common consciousness. For example, Granatstein (1998) states that history should be used to create a common "Canadian" identity through the teaching of one "nation-building" story based primarily in political history. Sometimes called "conservatives" in the United States, supporters of this view "use" (by choosing particular facts and omitting others and blending them into a heart-warming story) history to develop a common identity. They often eschew a focus on varied identities, multiculturalism, and history as investigation. For example:

> ...there is a certain content relating to the history of the Canadian nation of Canadian people or Canadian peoples that ought to be taught...If we are to have a country, Canada, if we are to teach something that's called Canadian history, our content has to be the public events of our common history, as well as some of the varieties of the private events. It is not being super-nationalistic or excessively patriotic to suggest that our sense of ourselves, especially our sense of where we have come from, is fundamental to our civic sense. (Bliss, 2002)

Others, such as Seixas (2002) and Osborne (1985), maintain that history should not be used in such an indoctrinating manner that teaches students constructed "myths" with the aim of creating a common identity. Rather, history should be used to teach students "historical consciousness," a critical awareness of history: "students need guided opportunities to confront conflicting accounts, various meanings, and multiple interpretations of the past, because these are exactly what they will encounter outside of school, and they need to learn to deal with them" (Seixas, 2002). This group supports the teaching of history as an academic discipline. Students should learn to question historical facts. They should be exposed to conflicting accounts of history and required to interpret these. In so doing, students will develop their investigative, interpretive, and analytic skills. Students should not be told a simple patriotic story, for identity is not seen to reside in a common nation-building narrative. Rather, the aim is to use history to create awareness of the danger of history used for particular

purposes. These historians embrace a number of varied histories, particularly social history and non-traditional histories. In the words of Osborne (1985):

> Indeed, the holders of power, past and present, have well understood the potential of history. They have used it and still use it to justify and glorify their position. History constantly runs the risk of being turned into propaganda... J. J. Plumb's (1973) distinction between *the past* and *history* is worth noting. He argues that the past is what man has used to justify and rationalize the present, whereas history tries to "see things as they really were" and thus "the critical historical process has helped to weaken the past, for by its very nature it dissolves those simple, structural generalizations by which our forefathers interpreted the purpose of life." Thus history should be not propaganda, but counter-propaganda. (p. 54)

In my study, I look at BC's Social Studies curricula in order to uncover the knowledge—possibly the "propaganda"—the Ministry attempted to inculcate in Canadians in order to create "good citizens" through its power. I aim, naturally within my own perspective and interpretation (which I explain in this chapter), to present "counter-propaganda" through raising to our awareness the government's varying articulations of good citizens and how good citizenship was to be achieved.

**My Philosophy of History**

Like Jordanova (2000) and Collingwood, I believe history is a holistic subject: It is both an art and a science, although these two elements are blended into a unique form of inquiry (Oakeshott, 1989). It is a science, as it is a process of conducting research using historical sources in order to enlighten a historian and his or her readers on a problem or issue visible in contemporary society. It is an art, for it requires interpretation. It involves "a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his [*sic*] facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past" (Carr, 1961, p. 30). In Collingwood's words (1956), it provides us with a deepened understanding, explained in the historian's story-like, yet fact-based, narrative. Many eminent scholars and writers have understood this, including Acton (1906) who wrote: "the study of history strengthens, and straightens, and extends the mind" (¶ 1). However, 20th Century thought, illustrated in the work of Lacan, Foucault, and Wertsch, understands knowledge itself to be a construct. Therefore, a narrative cannot

now be called "truth": It is always an *interpretation* or an explanation (Jordanova, 2000) of selected past events which, nevertheless, can still inform. In the words of Carr (1961), "History means interpretation" (p. 23). This interpretation is based on the historian's own experience (Oakeshott, 1989).[22] It can be extended with the use of social science theories that provide new insights, approaches and lenses, although these should be used self-consciously.

Additionally, I agree with Canadian historians, such as Seixas (2002) and Osborne (1985): History should be "counter-propaganda." While history can play a part in shaping a people's common consciousness by providing a context to people's understanding of themselves and their nation, it should not be used as propaganda: an account of the past that both builds a complex multilayered identity and develops an informed and critical awareness is possible.[23] For example, rather than simply teaching students that building the CPR was a grand heroic endeavour that developed the Canadian nation, students should explore its multiple stories: the exploitation of Chinese workers, the conflicts over its building, the political tensions and battles over its expense, the biographies of some of those involved in its construction. Similarly, rather than paint a rosy picture of Confederation as "birthing" Canada, students should learn of the political conflicts and turmoil involved, of the opposition to it by certain groups, of the lethargy to it by others, of its exclusionary nature, of the odd personality and heavy drinking of Macdonald.

I recall being taught the false, mythic version of Canadian history in school and then, when I read Francis (1997), realising that it was false. His book explodes the "myths"—such as of the CPR, of the RCMP, of the Master Race, of unity, of Heroism, of Wilderness, and of the North—I had been taught. He

[22] I see a "fact" as a nugget of information, verifiable from a number of sources. For example, the establishment of the "Dominion of Canada" in 1867 is a fact. A "narrative" contains facts. However, as these facts are digested, ordered, and interpreted by the historian and then structured into a written framework, a narrative is an interpretation. The latter term signifies, to me, an understanding of a situation, event, or object arrived at by the historian. It is a theoretical construct, a possible answer, a viewpoint on a historical occurrence.

[23] Learning History is always linked to identity formation, but it can still be taught critically and expansively. This process will create a better, more informed, and self-conscious identity.

provides historical facts that counter these common nation-building narratives as a way of demonstrating how history (through Social Studies) in high schools is taught in ways that aim to create a particular national identity, a specific "collective memory." For example, he explains that the RCMP were often not the grand defenders of the Northwest they were alleged to be. Rather, they were involved in a number of brutal and repressive actions towards workers, such as at the Winnipeg General Strike. My first reaction was one of resentment: I had been duped, sold a story, not really taught to think, to question, to see in a new light.[24] What type of students will graduate from our high schools if we do not have our students reflect on what has been? Teaching nation-building narratives implies passivity on the part of students. Students should contemplate the events they study, rather than simply accept everything they are told. "Historical consciousness" implies specific objectives as does the teaching of a "common consciousness," but the former aims at developing reflective thought, critical awareness, and questioning and the latter aims at killing individual thought and questioning and developing mindless robots supportive of the *status quo*. The former is closer to my conceptualization of education, and history.

The aim of good history writing is deepened understanding, which can lead to new perspectives that result in change, when well and powerfully told, as so many philosophers—including Collingwood and Foucault, who called it generating new genealogies—have understood. In addition, historians in

[24] This type of History teaching is "propaganda," as is the Soviet. To quote Wertsch (2002): "As analysts such as Anthony Smith (1991) have noted, of crucial importance to efforts to build and maintain national identity are "compulsory, standardized, public mass education systems, through which state authorities hope to inculcate national devotion and a distinctive, homogenous culture" (p. 16). Many aspects of formal education undoubtedly contribute to this socialization effort" (p. 70). In a liberal, democratic state, the government should have more respect for the intelligence and freedom of its people. Further, historians, such as Granatstein (1998), who argue for the teaching of a unified, mythic account based a few, narrow historical personages and events are wrong: excluding large groups of individuals including women and other ethnicities from a historical account is not going to create unity. Rather, it will create feelings of alienation and exclusion, and many will simply tune out. As Osborne (2003) wrote, "students are not listening" (p. 597); or in the words of Wertsch, they may "master" the story if forced to, but they will not "appropriate" it. A broad, expansive history that includes debate and discussion about events and personages in the past and shapes a cultivated intelligence will be far more captivating and valuable.

Canada are often divided into two camps: those who support a traditional, "political"-based narrative, such as Granatstein, and mostly younger or "new" historians, who focus on social history, non-political history, the margins of traditional histories, and those groups excluded or marginalized in earlier histories (Osborne, 2003; Axelrod, 1996). I see myself as a blend of both types of historians, for I believe the two are necessary for fully exploring the past. All historians have one shared belief, which I agree with: They understand the power of historical accounts to influence both individuals and society, and they use a number of approaches to research. These are explained in the following section.

## Historical Interpretation

I conducted an inductive discursive analysis of Ministry curriculum guides and aimed to ensure validity by using methodological triangulation (Mathison, 1988), the use of a number of primary and secondary sources of information, and a pattern of returning to reinterpret documents after I had learned more. I did not approach my study with one particular theory in mind that coloured how I analyzed documents.

As my perspective is that of the "traditional historian," I familiarized myself with the insights of well-known historians, such as Acton (1906) and Schlabach (1996), on how to conduct historical research skilfully. Acton describes for the example, the need to "treat a historian as a witness" (¶ 1) and for the historian to consider questions when researching such as: (a) am I reading it as I am supposed to, (b) where is this information from, and (c) what was the writer's character? Schlabach (1996) explains that historians must know their chronology and Geography, and be aware of the ways in which the meanings of words change and be aware of the perspectives and purposes of writer and of the complex nature of many events. He further elaborates that historians must continuously test "collective memory" through continued research, and keep in mind that history has been or can be twisted to fit a society or institution's needs.

McCulloch and Richardson (2000) add that, when reading documents, historians must consider: (a) the *text*: what does the text say, is it credible, what

ideologies and conflicts are found within it; (b) the *author*: who wrote it and what were his or her biographical details; (c) *the context*: when was it written and why; (d) the *audience*: for whom was it written; (e) *influences*: what were the results of the document; (f) the *processes* at work when the document was written (both internal and external); and (g) the *interests* that shaped the document. I kept these factors in mind when I conducted my historical research and also considered other issues with regard to conducting historical research, such as "presentism," analysing the past using the structures, language and purposes of the present time for a present purpose, "telescoping," focusing too narrowly on one time period or event which leads to unbalanced understanding, "theorizing," using the past selectively to support theories, and "conflation," or confusing "correlations" with causes (developed from McCulloch & Richardson, 2000). For example, my study focused on curriculum guides. These were public policy documents created by individuals in BC's Ministry of Education, who were influenced by political, economic, social factors, policy initiatives, committee recommendations, and public organizations, such as the teachers' union. As such, they most likely reflected compromises and were not always articulated in teaching practice as written (McCulloch & Richardson). Nevertheless, they still inform us as to what general conceptualizations of citizenship education those with power adopted in each time period, and how they believed these could be best achieved. Studying them led me to draw a number of conclusions from which emerged recommendations, described in my last chapter (Chapter 8).

Keeping these cautions in mind, I used a research tool to record my findings, which is described in the next section. After writing rough notes on my findings, I returned to these important cautions and then critically reviewed my notes. I read each curriculum guide several times in order to ensure I had "read" the document "right," although I understand this to occur always within my own frame of reference—for I conclude from my exploration of philosophy of history that history is always an interpretation that can still, nevertheless, inform.

## Research Tool

In order to organize my research of curriculum guides, I developed a research tool (Figure 3.1). It provides categories for identifying how citizenship education is defined, and for a description of the knowledge, values, attitudes, and behaviours that under-gird the vision of citizenship education found in the documents. It allows for comment as to whether conceptualizations are active or passive, for identifying which of Sears' and Hughes' (1996) four conceptions of citizenship education is articulated and for identifying whether an elitist or egalitarian conceptualization of citizens is presented.

Further, it includes a section explaining the pedagogical strategies recommended for achieving the stated vision of citizenship education. These are divided into five possible types. The first category, *traditional*, understands pedagogical practices to focus on rote learning, memorization, and lecture. Students are seen as passive recipients of knowledge, which builds their minds, as articulated in the theory of disciplines (Kliebard, 1992, 1998). The last four categories are based on philosophers' work. A *liberal education* is articulated by Plato and Castiglione. It argues for the teaching of a systematically more challenging comprehensive curriculum that develops the mind of the student. The *child centred* approach is found in Rousseau and Hall's articulations of the need for curriculum to focus on the needs and interests of the child. The *experiential* approach is based on the work of Dewey and Kilpatrick and aims to have students actively involved in various projects or life-like experiences. Finally, *critical pedagogy* draws on the work of Freire, Apple, and Gay and aims to provide students with transformative learning experiences that open up possibilities for change in society.[25] This section also allows for an identification of how passively or actively students are to be involved in lessons and provides space for general comments on pedagogical strategies.

[25] This final category was added to the tool after feedback received from Dr. Wanda Cassidy. It was definitely necessary to include it as a category, particularly considering its connections with the ideas of early social reconstructionists.

**Figure 3.1. Research Tool**

**CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN SOCIAL STUDIES Curriculum Date:** _____

**1. Curriculum Details:**

*(How is the curriculum presented? Length? Tone? Philosophy? What content are students to learn? When? For how long? How?)*

**2. Defining and Describing Citizenship Education:**

*(General definition given and any special features mentioned. Citizenship education explicitly defined as "quote"; overt and covert references to citizenship education and frequency of.)*

*Knowledge: (What knowledge will citizens have? Of the law? Of departments?)*

*Values: (What values will citizens acquire? Will they support liberty? Equality?)*

*Attitudes: (What attitudes will citizens learn? Patriotism? Tolerance?)*

*Behaviours: (What actions will citizens engage in? Will they vote? Run for office?)*

Circle: Sears' & Hughes' **Active** or **Passive** (1996)

Conception: ☐ A ☐ B ☐ C ☐ D

**Elitist** (Class-based; "better" people rule) or **Populist** (Egalitarian, all people rule)

**3. Pedagogical Approach and Recommended Strategies:**

☐ Traditional ☐ Liberal Education ☐ Child centred ☐ Experiential ☐ Critical

Circle how much the pedagogy involves students:

**Passive** (Students as knowledge recipients) or **Active** (Students making meaning)

List specific teaching strategies described:

*(What will teachers and students do in classes? Have debates? Chalk and talk? What do these illustrate about citizenship education?)*

**4. The textbook:** (Name, conception of citizenship education stressed, pedagogy?)

**5. Conceptual framework illustrated:**

☐ Evans ☐ Osborne ☐ Sears & Hughes (1996) Type: _____

The third category presents a checkbox for identifying whether the curriculum guide most closely matches descriptions given by Evans (1994), Sears and Hughes (1996), or Osborne (1996). This is followed by a brief summary of curriculum contents, which includes a description of the textbook and

its content and approach. The research tool provides a concise way of summarizing the main themes researched in this study. As the study focuses on qualitative description, a second page is used to record rich descriptions in narrative form.

This tool was a starting point for teasing out the main themes regarding citizenship education, which I aimed to identify in curriculum guides. The categories described or illustrated with examples in Figure 3.1 were completed through the identifying of key words, themes, and categories found repeatedly interwoven in curriculum guides studied. Further, it was used to guide the presentation of results in Chapters 6 and 7. It was changed and amended as necessary during the study. Changes made to the research tool are described in Chapter 7. In the last section of this chapter, I attempt to increase credibility and validity in my study by describing myself, the researcher.

**About Me**

My ontology is moderate relativist, as I believe in truth, but one modified by contexts and individual interpretations. I believe in a holistic philosophy: I see our world as complex, multilayered, and multiwebbed. Some philosophers, like Plato (1999), focus on a rationalist philosophy in which reason is the highest form of knowledge (Greene, 1978). Others, such as Locke (1996), are empiricists who see knowledge as emerging in the mind from sense data. Dewey (1916) and other pragmatists argue that change is the main principle of life and that meaning can be gleaned through scientific-like inquiry. Phenomenologists turn the focus of earlier philosophers on its head and argue for the individual's self-conscious awareness of his or her environment. Experientialists focus on questioning the meaning of existence (Greene, 1978).

I see all of these philosophies as embodying some form of truth. I believe reality is not only extremely complex but also multi-layered, multi-contextualized, and multi-webbed. In other words, each philosophy is a dimensional view of a multi-dimensional reality. Each has some truth and helps us grasp some understanding of our world. They are all elements of the complete picture, and—thus—in effect complementary. For example, sometimes using reason and logic

is the best way to approach a situation, but it is always linked: to emotions as perceived through the senses and then interpreted and to the experiences and context of a particular individual, who may attempt to create some meaning out of life and who, perhaps in so doing, becomes more self-conscious of his or her own lived reality.

Western philosophy has attempted to understand the world in which we live, but it is always a limited perspective if it does not embrace of a number of ways of knowing, living, and understanding a very complex world. In my view, philosophy can be restricted by the attempt to chop up reality and see truth only on one plane, from a "logocentric" perspective, as Derrida would say (Usher & Edwards, 1994). However, the philosophies of different peoples, such as that implicit in *aikido*, which I studied in Japan, see the world differently and grasp, I believe, the multidimensional and interconnected nature of our world. They articulate that ways of knowing and being in the world involve many dimensions, truths, and ways of coming to understand and perceive, including dimensions often discounted in Western philosophy, such as instinct, emotion, the flow of consciousness in union with life itself, and intuition.

How does my philosophy affect my study? It leads me to perceive multiple dimensions to historical events, to find meaning in many situations, and to look for the connections between all variables studied. For example, recently, several Canadian scholars have studied education in connection to society, or social history (Axelrod, 1996). I believe this is too narrow a focus. We need to study philosophies and ideas, economic, political, social, technological, and environmental perspectives, all seen as multi-dependent and interrelated. Consequently, I include social, political, economic, and other factors occurring at the time of each curriculum revision in a framing passage prior to the description of each curriculum guide. These allow for the drawing of connections between context and revisions. Further, we need to be aware of history as being, in

actuality, multiple histories ranging from the level of the individual person to that of a group.[26] Even "group" history can occur at many levels.

Finally, I have no ulterior motive for conducting the study beyond curiosity as to how Social Studies guides illustrate the evolving views of government officials with regard to creating good citizens. As studying Social Studies guides in general was far too large a study, I focused on "citizenship" as it has been and continues to be (as illustrated in Chapters 2 and 4) one of the most important aims of Social Studies. Further, as these Social Studies guides were released by one Department of Education (i.e., a governmental body with power), I was interested in exploring their articulations of good citizens and programs of citizenship education (for these would be directly relevant to and of interest to the state). My initial interest emerged from two foci. Firstly, my love of digging into the past and 'exploring' other times; and, secondly, my fascination with Foucault's (1980) concept of *power being knowledge*. I was intrigued. I wanted to explore what "knowledge" one particular "power" created and how it changed, or did not, over time. I was fascinated, as well, by Werstch's (2002) conclusion of the manner in which history was used by the Soviet State and how, notwithstanding purposeful indoctrination, hidden continuities remained. This study satisfied both of my initial interests.

## Conclusion

Chameleon-like history has varied widely in time and place, depending on historians' informing philosophies and societies (Kenny, 1999). Some societies have no "history"; they have only founding myths (Kenny, 1999). In the West, pre-Greek societies had this same form of "mythic" history. According to Collingwood (1956), the Greeks created the study of history by conducting "research" and writing narratives of past events. The aim of these early

[26] History is not limited to political and military History. These cannot be properly understood without knowledge of social, economic, and intellectual factors. An analogy would be to see a person as having only one dimension or role. Yet, we all have multiple and overlapping roles, sources of motivation, and goals.

historians was to teach lessons about and for people. Over time, historical perspectives have evolved, as history has been interpreted through the lens of the present age (Kenny, 1999). Collingwood explains that during Roman times, society was seen as static, and history was moralistic and used as propaganda. The Christians radicalized history by dividing narratives into periods and seeing history as universally common to all humans and illustrating change or progress as a result of the will of God made manifest in events: Everything had a cause. During the Renaissance, history again mutated to focus on human actions driven by passions. The Science Revolution led to new methodologies, to a new critical history, which did not accept past accounts without critical analysis. This new history was based on the emerging focus on science and its articulated methodology.

In this chapter, I explored the meaning of history, in order to illustrate why a historical study was chosen for this study. I concluded that history is multifaceted, endowed with multiple manifestations. It is always an interpretation of past events, a narrative, an engaging story. When well told, history is powerful. It can shape both individual and group identities in new and expanding ways. On the one hand, it can provide an understanding of the present, as well as allow individuals to free themselves from limitations embedded in mouldy traditions (Collingwood, 1956), what is called "historical consciousness." Alternatively, it can chain a people to false myths, perhaps by the selling of a distorted story that aims at a "common consciousness." In BC, it is taught in Social Studies, a course itself not adequately understood, as its history has not been sufficiently investigated and analyzed (Axelrod, 1996).

Prior to and after my exploration of the meaning of history, I described my study. I explained that, as citizenship education has been and remains a vital goal of public education primarily taught in Social Studies, I aim to uncover the history of conceptualizations of citizenship education found in this fairly new and dynamic course. I attempt to increase the validity of my study by refining my own philosophy of history, studying books on historical interpretation, and reading primary and secondary sources on educational history. The first two were

included in this chapter. Summaries of my learning from primary and secondary documents are presented as historical context paragraphs prior to each curriculum revision, in order to see the connections between previous scholarly work and my own study and the contexts of curriculum revisions. I also explained my methodology in detail, including my use of a research tool to record my investigations consistently, my habit of reading the historical documents several times, and my attempt to keep the insights and comments of historians in mind during my study. Finally, I compared my findings to those of other researchers in order to increase my validity and to tie my work to that of other scholars.

History is always as an interpretation that can inform. My aim is, as Collingwood so well articulated, an integrated historical analysis; an interpretation, that provides deepened *understanding* of the interactions between the structures of power and education in BC; for as Orwell writes: "those who control the present control the past, and thereby shape the future" (quoted in Osborne, 2003, p. 585); or Foucault: "We are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth" (Foucault, 1980, p. 93). In the next chapter, I contextualize my own study with a review of pre-Social Studies citizenship programs and a description of citizenship education programs advocated in the 1916 foundational document (Nelson, 1994) and in BC in 1925 (Putman & Weir, 1925).

# Chapter 4:

# Citizenship Education to 1919

The previous chapter described and explained the historical basis of this study. This chapter begins to present historical findings. Chapter 2 reviewed general citizenship education literature and the historical background of citizenship education. It illustrated that citizenship education was, and continues to be, a key component of mass public schooling and is primarily conceived to be taught through the subject of Social Studies. In this chapter, citizenship education in British Columbia during the 19th Century is portrayed through the description of an 1884 textbook and a general review of BC's historical context. After which, citizenship education during the period of the establishment of mass public schooling in the early part of the 20th Century is presented through a description of its historical context and a second textbook study. This chapter goes on to set the foundation for the establishment of the subject of Social Studies by, firstly, reviewing the crucial American report of 1916 (Nelson, 1994) and, secondly, the BC Putman and Weir Report of 1925 that led to the establishment of Social Studies in the province. The study of these reports is particularly focused on their articulations of and programs for citizenship education. This chapter concludes with a description of BC's curriculum guides, prior to the establishment of the new course of Social Studies. It sets the stage for understanding the context of and developments in BC's citizenship education during the 20th Century.

## 19th Century British Columbia

### Historical Context

Upon becoming a Canadian province, the BC government enacted a new school act in 1872 (Stamp, 1970), which confirmed a free public school system to be paid for through a public school fund and to be administered by a centralized Board of Education with an appointed superintendent. It maintained a non-denominational and moral aim for schools. Curricula were traditional and based on rote learning and academic subjects. Stamp (1970) outlines the following the curricula changes over the 19th Century: The curricula began with English, Math, and Science; in the 1870s, French, History, and Science were added; the addition of Geography, book keeping, and German and the subdivisions of Maths and Sciences into more specific classes occurred in the 1890s. In the early 1900s, agricultural education, Home Economics, Industrial Arts, technical and commercial education, Art, Music and PE were included. The introduction of Industrial Arts for boys and Home Economics for girls arose from the middle class' desire to create good workers of working class children, who began to attend schools in increasingly larger numbers (Jackson & Gaskell, 1987).

### Citizenship Education

Citizenship education was given pride of place in the American 1916 report as well as in British Columbia's 1925 Putman and Weir Report. However, it was not a new focus. BC's *Course of Study for Common Schools* of 1890 (Department of Education, 1890) lists Reading, Writing, Spelling, English Grammar, Composition and Letter Writing, Arithmetic, English and Canadian History, Anatomy, Physiology and Hygiene as subjects to be taught in order to give students "a good ordinary English Education" (Department of Education,1890, ¶ 32). Methods to be used consisted of reading the textbook and memorizing. An 1898 *Teacher's Guide—Programme of Course Study for Public Schools* added that the purpose of school was to prepare students "for the ordinary employments and duties of life" as good citizens (Department of Education, 1898, ¶ 1). Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic were to be taught first,

followed by Natural Science, and then History, Geography, and Civics. The primary education gained was very basic and aimed at giving students skills necessary for daily living and shaping "good citizens."

High school education was "academic" in nature and focused on subjects such History, Geography, Latin, English, Algebra, and Book Keeping. It served the middle class by preparing students for university, professions, or teaching. For example, some of the later occupations of high school graduates gleaned from research conducted at one school included nurses, one mayor, a fire chief, university professors, judges, teachers, and principals.[27] Jackson and Gaskell (1987) explain that high schools of the 19th Century offered Commercial Education in preparation for middle class careers in "clerking" or business. Many middle class girls attended high school in preparation for teaching jobs. In these early curriculum guides, the textbook was the curriculum, for the guides simply listed topics and corresponding texts, or simply the texts. An analysis of an 1884 textbook in the next section illustrates how good citizenship, to be achieved through "Civics," was taught in a History course and how good citizens were conceptualized.

### History of Canada by J. Jeffers, 1884

#### Textbook Summary

This small "history primer" was published in Toronto in 1884. It presents a compact history of the formation of the "Dominion of Canada," beginning with the arrival of the French and British to North America. Describing the struggles of the French and the British, mostly with each other until they were united into one country, it goes on to list the acts that divided North American lands between the two powers and the major laws that shaped Canada over time. It also chronicles the American War of Independence, the 1830s rebellions, the union of the colonies, and the constitution and laws of the new nation.

[27] I have written about these findings in an unpublished paper, *A History of North Vancouver High Schools* (Broom, 2006).

**Analysis of the Textbook**

According to Walsh (1972), three main interpretations of history are taught in Canadian schools: (a) the Catholic interpretation, (b) the "progress" (or Whig) interpretation, and (c) the limited interpretation. This textbook falls under category 2. The book describes the process of creating "our nation," with many comments on how, for example, "The new order of things gave an impulse to the country, which now began to make steady progress. New roads were opened up, and the navigation of the St. Lawrence was improved" (Jeffers, 1884, p. 44).

The book has three main themes. Firstly, it presents a positive account of the creation of the nation of Canada that aims to build pride and a sense of unity: The French are called "Canadians," are said to like British rule after the victory of the British over the French, and are generally portrayed sympathetically as the following quote illustrates:

> You will say, that there was little else but war, and you will say truly. First, the French and the Indians, as you have read in the former chapters, and now the English, French, and Indians. It is not pleasant to have to tell of these sad times, and it is hard to believe that people, whose children now live as brethren under the same government, were once shedding each other's blood. (Jeffers, 1884, p. 25)

Secondly, the book aims to create loyal citizens. Americans were disloyal to the "mother country"; loyalists "were true men and women, who chose rather to lose all than give up their allegiance to, and love for, the mother country" (Jeffers, 1884, p. 37). The 1830s rebellions are also negatively portrayed as a lesson in what is the right behaviour of good citizens:

> rebellion is a very great offence against law and order, and all nations and people are agreed that it should be punished very severely, with death or imprisonment, and the confiscation of all property. Rebellion constitutes the crime called **high treason**." (Jeffers, 1884, p. 76; emphasis in original)

The rebels were described as unorganized and as not having sufficient cause: The government would have addressed their concerns if they had been more patient. Rebels were described as severely punished either by banishment or by being "brought to trial, and condemned to be hanged" (Jeffers, 1884, p. 80).

The author describes the constitution and laws of the government in great detail, as well as who holds responsibility for making and enforcing laws. This description aims to have high school students accept these "facts" as correct and the given way of running the country. The author does not provide any criticism of the government's structure, laws, and representatives. They are presented as if they are undeniably true. The aim is to create law-abiding citizens who respect the laws and the structures of the government as being right.

Third, the book is moralistic and aims to inculcate certain values in the reader. The author is unabashedly Christian, referring to "our creator" and "brethren." He aims to instil orthodox Christian morals in readers through the manner in which he describes people and events. The British, for example, are described as more industrious in bringing prosperity than the French: "...in the short space of thirty years, [the British] had done more in forming settlements than the French did in all the time since Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence" (Jeffers, 1884, p. 18). The "Indians" are mostly negatively portrayed: They are "savages" without culture, who only appear in the early part of the book as participants in wars. The description of their involvement in these wars focuses on describing their violent acts, often done in anger.

#### Conclusion and Conceptual Frames

This "progress history" aims to inculcate in the young through stories from history, a sense of loyalty and pride in "our country" and a belief in, respect for, and submission to the laws and government. It also presents a united account of people who are "Canadians," and so aims to assimilate as well. I am not surprised that such a textbook would be used in the early "nation building years of Canada." At the time that the book was published, Canada had been a Confederation for less than 20 years—in people's living memory. Those in power wanted to ensure that the "young nation" would endure and "flourish."

Officials in Departments of Education saw, in schools, a way to "socialize" the types of citizens wanted. Interestingly, Canadian historians opposed this approach early in the 20th Century. For example in 1923, historians in The

University of Toronto's History Department prepared a report for the National Council of Education in which they rejected a moral function for school history and argued that history should not be used to teach patriotism or internationalism. Rather, it should be taught in an objective way that gave students a realistic knowledge of the world and understanding of conflict and compromise in international relations (Tomkins, 1986). This textbook supports Osborne's (1996) assimilationist and nationalistic category and Sears' and Hughes' (1996) Conception A (conservative).

## Mass Schooling at the Turn of the 20th Century

### Historical Context

As introduced in Chapter 2, massive changes to schooling occurred early in the 1900s. During the 19th Century, the idea of common schooling gained support. It was touted as a way of improving society and of teaching the "lower" classes values and skills deemed necessary in a growing and industrial world. It was also a way to manage crowds of children in industrial cities, whose parents had to, or were freed to, work in factories (Cordasco, 1976). As students increasingly attended school and as occurred in the United States (Callahan, 1962), BC's school development from 1900 to 1929 was under the Social Efficiency movement (Dunn, 1980; Tomkins, 1986).

With industrialization, increased urbanization and a perceived need for schools due to the parents' inability to socialize their children (Dunn, 1980), mass schooling arose in BC. Like its American model, it involved compulsory attendance laws, the enactment of child labour laws, the division of students into grades by age, the development of a much more complex Department of Education hierarchy, the professionalization of teachers, including their certification and the development of normal schools, an increasing number of courses in vocational education, the streaming of students through testing, and even platooning (Dunn). Attendance at high schools rapidly increased, including that of working class children whose parents supported free schooling as many parents increasingly came to believe that longer high school attendance would

improve students' life options (Barman, 1988). Overcrowding and a more diverse student body led to demands for change.

Campaigns to improve the lives of children through factory acts, the temperance movement, and the health and hygiene movement also occurred (Stamp, 1970). These were linked to increasingly common arguments that a 'new education' based on a child centred pedagogy emerging in the United States was needed. A second common demand resulting from rapid immigration was that education be used to "assimilate," that is, to "Canadianize" diverse groups, as this was defined by middle class reformers (McLaren, 1995). All of these factors, together with the rise of new educational philosophies as the teaching "professional" developed, were linked to the government's enactment of new laws, curricula and new initiatives (Woodcock, 1990). These are apparent in a comparison of BC's curriculum of 1919 with the Putman and Weir report (1925).

### The Curriculum of 1919

#### Curriculum Presentation and Philosophy

The 1919 *Course of Study for the Public, High and Normal Schools of British Columbia* is quite rudimentary (Department of Education, 1919). It has no informing philosophy or aims section. It simply lists "courses of study" and what is to be studied in each, often by only naming the textbook. This matches the description of early curricula in the United States in which the textbook was the curriculum (Snyder, Bolin, & Zumwalt, 1989). This approach illustrates a basic understanding of "curriculum" prior to its birth as an area of "scientific" study in the United States, arising from the work of early 20th Century educational "experts" such as Bobbitt (1918; Kliebard, 1992), as described in Chapter 5. It articulates a vision of education as the learning of content in the subject areas. Home Economics and Manual Training are presented in more detail than other subject areas, illustrating the importance given to them as subject areas.

### Defining and Describing Citizenship Education

Citizenship education, called "Civics," is integrated into the History course. No definition of it is given.

#### Knowledge, Values, Attitudes and Behaviours

In the intermediate grades, History and Geography are taught separately. No separate course or instructions for teaching civics exist. In the Geography course, students learn mapping features of the earth; the physical, political, and economic Geography of North America and BC; and information about other continents. Students are to be able to create sketch maps of continents with political and physical features in the following year. They also study North American History and the British Empire. Study is centred on the biographies of famous historical figures with occasional events thrown in.

All students receive instruction in "Civics," found in the History course, except girls in the household science program, who presumably are too busy running the home to have time to trouble themselves with voting. Indeed, the franchise had only just been achieved for Canadian women.

High schools had three separate programs. Those planning to attend university took the Matriculation Program. These students studied History and Geography. In Grade 10, students learned Canadian History and Civics. In Grade 11, they studied British and Greek History and in Grade 12, Roman History. Physical Geography was taught in Grade 11 and Grade 12. Students in the Commercial Program studied Canadian History and Civics in their first year and a combined course of Economics and Civics the following year. Those in the Manual Training Program took Civics in their second and third years.

#### Pedagogy

The guide suggests teaching history and geography together (by matching the units of each) and cultivating students' imaginations through the use of stories, questioning, and oral and written exercises with the aim of developing students' interest in history and desire to read it further in the earlier grades. Besides these recommendations and the additional suggestion to teach students

how to read the textbooks at the beginning of the high school program, no other teaching suggestions or strategies are given.[28] The only way of identifying some of the features of pedagogy is through a study of the course textbooks and from making inferences based on the *course of study* (Department of Education, 1919): in the senior grades, (a) education was seen as the teaching of facts to students; (b) learning was filling the "mind" with information; (c) this occurred through the use of an approved textbook; and (d) evidence of learning was to be confirmed through tests and exams. Sutherland's (1986) study of classroom environments during the early part of the 20th Century supports these conclusions. Sutherland (1986) states that the majority of classroom activities were based on teacher lectures, on the teacher writing passages on the board for students to fill in and on seatwork. The focus was on having students learn facts through reading and studying the textbook.

**Textbook**

Students in all three programs had to study Civics, using the same textbook, except female students studying domestic science. *Canadian Civics'* (Jenkins, 1918) preface argues that society can no longer be elitist, as it is a democracy. As a result, the "state ought to teach its future citizens the worth of our Civilization and the ways of preserving it from impairment, or assisting its progress...there must be a means sought for training our people in social and civic responsibility" (Jenkins, 1918, preface). The latter is to be achieved through education. The state is positively portrayed: "Government is the foundation on which the splendid fabric of our civilization is upreared" (Jenkins, 1918, preface). Students are encouraged to feel proud of their nation: "In Canada...enthusiastic observers [are heard to say that Canada has] the most perfect constitution yet devised by man" (Jenkins, 1918, p. 168). They are also to feel proud of BC: "All

[28] In the History program, a rare teaching note was provided: Teachers were to tell stories and use questioning. The aim was to create interest—to "cultivate the imagination of the child" (Department of Education, 1919, p. 6)—as well as to cultivate a desire to read and to develop a knowledge of facts that would be of use in high school.

citizens of British Columbia have reason to be proud of their province and should take a great interest in its welfare and development" (Jenkins, 1918, p. 100).

The book then depicts the federal, provincial, and municipal governments in great factual detail. It describes the different roles and departments of each. At the federal level, the topics studied are the Empire, Dominions, the process of law making, and the parliamentary process and its components (prime minister, cabinet, political parties). The election process, taxation, money, and banks are also explained. Related topics are presented for the provincial and municipal government units.

As the book explains the government's structures and functions in a clear, optimistic, factual and informative manner, the intention is to have students accept the government as fact; no questioning of the legitimacy of the government as the main power structure is present. Thus, a nation is defined as a "united body of people" (Jenkins, 1918, p. 2), and the government is described as holding "...our nation together" (Jenkins, 1918, p. 3). The prime minister, called the "premier," is "the servant of the nation" (Jenkins, 1918, p. 47). Further, the book lists the responsibilities of each student in a democracy. Not once in the book are the "rights" which individuals have in a democracy mentioned. Two responsibilities are highlighted in the text: (a) voting ["Voting is one of the highest duties which they have to perform as citizens" (Jenkins, 1918, p. 60)]; (b) the prevention of practices, such as bribery ["If bribery were ever to become general, it would mean the end of liberty and good government, and thus what our ancestors toiled during a thousand years to gain would be thrown away" (Jenkins, 1918, p. 61)].

At the end of the text, an entire section is devoted to citizens' duties. The first is that they must understand the system of government and stay informed about it. The second is that, as citizens of the British Empire, they are to have a feeling of "ardent loyalty" to the empire and have respect and tolerance for all its diverse peoples (Jenkins, 1918, p. 168). Further, citizens are to take "an active part in politics" (Jenkins, 1918, p. 169) by joining a political party and voting. They are "to be ready to assist, so far as you are able, all good causes" (Jenkins,

1918, p. 170) and to support both education and temperance, which they are not to denigrate.[29] They are to pay taxes and to support religion, which is portrayed as the only thing "strong enough to stop tendencies that destroy a nation" (Jenkins, 1918, p. 170). The last responsibility of the citizen is that of stopping cruelty in order to stop suffering. Doing so will lead to "a bright happy world" (Jenkins, 1918, p. 171). This textbook, in short, aims to have students buy into and accept the government as legitimate, as does the 1884 text.

The book's appendix for teachers illustrates the same philosophy of education and pedagogy described for the 1919 course of study, but with some additions. The students are to learn about the three forms of government in their first year of study. In their second year, they are to conduct more detailed investigations. The author includes a number of questions for students to research. These are mostly factual questions, such as to find out the length of parliament and its current members; describe current issues, the last budget speech or how to bank, or the advantages of a good education; or debate the advantages and disadvantages of such topics as direct taxation, dominion subsidies, a political party's platform, or the best form of government. However, factual learning is now ranked second in priority:

> In teaching civics, the purpose is not so much to load the pupil with knowledge as to inspire within him a never-dying interest in the affairs of the nation...Hence, do not ask him to learn by heart...rather let him acquire, through frequent reference, a practical acquaintance. (Jenkins, 1918, p. iv)

As well, possible questions and activities are provided that will engage students in actively making meaning, such as conducting a mock parliament, doing independent research, and holding debates. Thus, while the underlying philosophy of education remains that of factual information "making" the mind, students are provided with more pedagogically diverse activities than listed in the course of study. The suggested pedagogy is that of inspiring interest through research, of including activities such as mock parliaments and of having students describe, discuss, and compare issues or problems.

[29] Considering this was an explicit injunction, what were people saying about these two fields?

Generally speaking, Osborne's (1996) articulation of an assimilationist and nation-building citizenship education is supported, as is Sears' and Hughes' conception (1996). However, in the latter case, difficulty in choosing clearly between Conception A or B exists, for the conception presented in the book seems to be a blend of both, an AB: while students are definitely encouraged to support current structures, to feel national pride, to vote, to be aware of their duties (not rights), and to find information—features of Conception A—they are also encouraged to join political parties if they like, and to be actively involved in society. Students are informed, as well, that democracy is a good system that brings "liberty and good government" (Jenkins, 1918, p. 61) but that it is not perfect in practice, and they are encouraged to investigate issues. The book itself states that society can "no longer can be elitist" (Jenkins, 1918, preface). Perhaps, this book is illustrating a gradual shift from Conception A to Conception B? Curriculum transformation was just around the corner, as the following sections describe.

## In the United States: The Social Studies Report of 1916

### Historical Context

Many dramatic changes occurred in the United States during the early 20th Century (Bowen, 1981). Immigration of groups from varied ethic backgrounds transformed American society. Rapid, yet uneven, laissez-faire industrialization increased urbanization and poverty in cities. As a result, great inequalities in wealth existed and these exacerbated areas of potential conflict, further stimulated by racial unrest and feelings of uncertainty. Often influenced by a Christian ethic, reformers, civic, and women's groups advocated change in educational doctrine and participated in movements aimed at improving desperate conditions in urban slums. One example was the National Municipal League.[30] World War 1 fuelled rising patriotism, especially a new "Americanism."

[30] Ten members of the 1916 Committee were member of this league, which aimed to gradually improve society through education (Nelson, 1994).

New philosophies were articulated through a complex interrelated web in which conditions both helped to create, and emerge from, new ways of conceptualizing economic and educational processes. For example, Taylor aimed to accelerate industrial production and profit by developing efficient and closely monitored division of labour techniques in factories. Educational reformer, Bobbitt (1918), attempted to apply Taylor's precepts to school curricula in a movement called Social Efficiency (Callahan, 1962). This movement aimed to improve society through increased centralized planning and educational reform. Science and new technology were touted as leading to progress for all. Education was advocated a way of improving society (Dunn, 1980). However, reformers perceived education to be in need of reform to meet new conditions. As a result, the National Education Association (NEA) established a number of committees. One committee conceptualized a new course.

### The Social Studies in Secondary Education Report, 1916

#### Citizenship Education

The seminal American NEA Report, *The Social Studies in Secondary Education* of 1916, delineated the new subject of Social Studies (Nelson, 1994). The report gave citizenship pride of place. The preface begins with "The committee issues this report with the conviction that the secondary school teachers of Social Studies have a remarkable opportunity to improve the citizenship of the land" (Nelson, 1994, p. 14). Again, the introduction states: "More specifically, the Social Studies of the American high school should have for their conscious and constant purpose the cultivation of good citizenship" (Nelson, 1994, p. 17). The report's writer, Dunn, describes himself as having "long experience in civic education," and as the "Special Agent in Civic Education" at the Bureau of Education (Nelson, 1994, p. 14).

Combined with geography and civics education, the report gives a pivotal role to history. It articulates the new progressive child centred philosophy emerging at Teacher's College, Columbia, under Dewey's influence, and combines it with contemporary psychological and social efficiency theories. As

the report states that the key principle in articulating a curriculum should be the present needs of the child, it presents a flexible program of study that aims to be relevant to the child, and it focuses on current society and its problems.

### The New Curriculum and "Community Civics"

The new curriculum illustrates the importance given to citizenship education. Civics is to be introduced in Grade 7 as part of the Geography and European History taught. In Grade 8, civics is to be taught for half a year, as "community civics"—a central concept around which the report organizes its citizenship education program. This perspective views all individuals to be part of the community and dependent on each other: Individuals are united in a community of interests. The objective is "training the pupil to recognize the common general interest in the midst of conflicting group interests and for cultivating the will to subordinate the latter to the former" (Nelson, 1994, p. 32), through a focus on "the necessity for cooperation on the part of the people" (Nelson, 1994, p. 38). Government is positively portrayed. It provides services that make life better and more comfortable: "government is merely a means of citizenship cooperation" (Nelson, 1994, p. 39).

#### Expanding Horizons and the New Grade 9 Course

Community civics is melded with contemporary psychological theories of development. The "expanding horizons" approach (later refined by Hanna) is used to organize content: Civics study begins with the local community and then expands out into larger communities in later grades. Further, civics is to be taught using progressive pedagogy. The student is "to live his civics" (Nelson, 1994, p. 30), and curriculum content is to be based on the current interests and needs of the child, and a study of local community problems. Rather than centre studies around the "machinery of government," students are to learn the "elements of welfare;" the themes of (a) health, (b) protection of life and property, (c) recreation, (d) education, (e) civic beauty, (f) wealth, (g) communication, (h) transport, (i) migration, (j) charities, and (k) correction. Students are to develop awareness of the different government bodies responsible for these elements, to

value and realize their "dependence" on these bodies, and to recognize their responsibilities (Nelson, 1994, p. 30).

All of Grade 9 is to be (if possible) devoted to citizenship education, taught with appropriate historical content. The report argues that doing so will keep students in school longer:

> The committee believes, however, that the very nature of its proposed course in civics in the ninth year will tend to keep in school, even under the 8-4 organization, many of those to whom the traditional History courses usually given in the ninth year would offer no inducement to remain. (Nelson, 1994, p. 21)

The curriculum is to expand out from community civics into national and international studies for the first half of the year. National studies "means primarily that the history of the Nation is treated as the story of the growth of a national "community," involving all the 'elements of welfare'" (Nelson, 1994, p. 28). The aim is to instil a national consciousness:

> The word '"patriotism" has been much abused; but it is a good word. Instead of avoiding it because of its abuses, and instead of consciously or unconsciously giving young citizens the impression that the thing for which the word stands somehow lost its significance every effort should be made to imbue it with real meaning and to make it a potent influence in the development of a sound national life. The committee submits that this should be a definite aim of secondary education. (Nelson, 1994, p. 33)

After studying the nation, students progress to learning about the international community, with the aim of building respect for and sympathies with other nations:

> As individuals within a community, or local communities within a State or the States constituting the Nation, are dependent upon one another and are bound together in the larger community life by their common interest and cooperative action, so it can easily be shown that nations are becoming more and more closely dependent upon each other. Common world interests need emphasis, world sympathies need cultivation. (Nelson, 1994, p. 33)

The second part of the year is to be devoted to vocational civics. Students are to learn to value all occupations, to realize their interconnected nature, to understand their responsibilities as workers with regard to how they perform their duties and use their earnings wisely, and recognize the government's role in the

economy (Nelson, 1994, p. 34). Each student is to be given vocational guidance, help in choosing a career that will "call forth his best efforts" (Nelson, 1994, p. 35).

**Repeated Patterns Grade 10-12: The New "Problems" Course**

In Grades 10 to 12, the same program is repeated, but with greater depth and breadth. The first year compacts European History up to the 17th Century into one course, covering Ancient, English, and Exploration History. In Grade 11, students study European and American History up to the present time. In Grade 12, they receive their second civics course, centred around "Problems in American Democracy" (Nelson, 1994, p. 41). The history taught is to be "new" history. It is to be relevant to students: used "to understand economic, social, and civic factors in community life" (Nelson, 1994, p. 42), useful ["use history to illuminate topics of immediate interest" (Nelson, 1994, p. 39)], and topical. The new course is to be based on the "elements of welfare" introduced in the civics course.

Problem-based studies in the Grade 12 course aim to foster "more intelligent and active citizenship" (Nelson, 1994, p. 57). The course is to be taught in a student-centred way and to be interdisciplinary: History is the core to which political science, economics, and sociology are added. Based on students' needs and interests, problems are to be selected and then studied from political, economic, and social angles. Examples include the cost of living and immigration. The focus is not on knowledge learning but on students learning the complexity of current social issues and on forming a disposition for observation and "dispassionate" judgement (Nelson, 1994, p. 61), with the aim of creating good citizens. As defined in this report, the latter are responsible, actively involved in government, sympathetic, just, self-supporting, and good decision makers who stimulate the continued development of society. Elements of earlier civics education are articulated: "A primary aim of instruction in American History should be to develop a vivid conception of American nationality...and intelligent patriotism, and a keen sense of the responsibility of every citizen" (Nelson, 1994,

p. 44). The government is argued to be beneficial, and students are to develop awareness of government bodies and of their individual duties.

In short, the 1916 report blends Sears' and Hughes' (1996) Conceptions A (conservative) and B (liberal), but is primarily under Conception B. A progressive-based philosophy is fused with earlier conceptualizations of good citizens. It recommends a new pedagogy. Evans' (2004) "social meliorist" category is in evidence, for students are to learn how to solve "problems" in order to bring continued improvement to society. Many of the ideas found in this 1916 report, particularly its new pedagogy, were to appear a few years later in BC.

## The Putman and Weir Report

### Description of BC's Context

The Putman and Weir Report (1925) states that more children were attending school after the war as fewer jobs were available due to returning soldiers, and as reformers made calls for the re-creation of society through education. The report also mentions that society, generally speaking, valued education as a right and a need and that it increasingly accepted the government's provision of social services, to be paid for by all through taxes. The report makes clear that the primary concerns of many were the rapidly rising costs of education and the difficulties experienced by teachers in small rural districts. Increased attendance at school of students from a variety of groups in society further stimulated demands for reform in schools. These concerns led the commissioners to make recommendations based in new American philosophies of education.

### Recommendations and Tone

The report's main recommendations (Putman & Weir, 1925) enacted by the Department of Education include the establishment of junior high school schools and the use of standardized testing in order to determine "efficiency", through seeing what students have learned and a decrease in reliance on (or even removal of) stressful Grade 8 exams. It also recommends maintaining

several program options in order to meet the varying needs and abilities of students, but with a "common" core for all that includes History and Civics. It articulates the possibility of social science classes, stresses manual training and home economics instruction, and advocates more teaching of physical exercise and of "hygiene." Further, the school system is to be paid for through a new income tax on all people, as opposed to what is considered an unfair tax on real property owners. While primarily concerned with efficiency, the report includes much progressive language.

**Progressive Language**

The report contains many "progressive" statements, echoing the 1916 report just described (Nelson, 1994), such as arguing for education to be based on the needs of the child, on "experiences," and on new classroom pedagogies, such as projects, social recitation, and silent reading. It mentions Dewey and states: "education is life" and that teachers should consider their students when instructing. It uses Thorndike's research to argue against the "Theory of Disciplines," which the report states was popular in BC, as well as arguing for the hiring of a psychologist. It also advocates junior high schools in order to provide a more meaningful program for students of that age. Physical education is mentioned as a way "to educate through play" (Putman & Weir, 1925, p. 47) in order to develop physical fitness and "character," that is, "moral citizens" (Putman & Weir, p. 47).

However, its child centred approach falls far short of Dewey's. While the Putman and Weir Report resulted in a number of important changes in BC schools based in progressivism, it was primarily aimed at increasing the "efficiency" of schools; of ensuring that the greatest benefit (highest educational achievement) was achieved at the lowest price.

**Social Efficiency**

The report is primarily concerned with social efficiency, with the setting up of a smoothly running, professionalized school system. Its efficiency-based

chapters echo the American movement (Callahan, 1962; Kliebard, 1992, 1998; see Appendix B for a brief description of Social Efficiency). Frequent references are made to American pioneers of a more rationalized school structure including: Bobbitt, Cubberly, and Snedden. For example, Bobbitt is described as "one of the greatest present-day authorities on the curriculum...his view are sound and they are in accord with the best educational thought of the day" (Putman & Weir, 1925, p. 329).

Features of Social Efficiency are found in the Putman and Weir Report. The report argues for scientific and rationalized amendments including: a change in the use of academic exams to focus more on "scientific" standardized and intelligence tests, and increasing standards for teachers through more competitive normal school entrance and increased supervision by the principal. It also suggests setting up clear standards of achievement for each grade and course, the instruction of student teachers in the "science of education" and not in methods, and the "guidance" of students into careers deemed appropriate for them in middle schools. Increased administration of schooling is advocated through the expansion of the Department of Education, the encouragement of educational research, the "scientific" selection of teachers, and the re-arrangement of school administration through the clarification of duties and the establishment of a superintendent of schools responsible to school boards. Educational decisions and management are to be placed in the hands of "educational experts." The commissioners, in short, take for granted that individuals in society accept public education as necessary and important. Their primary aim is to professionalize and rationalize the system.

**Citizenship Education**

The following quote illustrates what good citizens were seen to be:

> The development of a united and intelligent Canadian citizenship actuated by the highest British ideas of justice, tolerance, and fair play should be accepted without question as a fundamental aim of the provincial school system. Such an aim has stood the test of time...Any well-rounded system of education, while emphasizing individual development, should stress in greater degree the paramount duty and

> importance of harmonizing such development with social needs and obligations. The development of the intellect for the service of others...the appreciation of one's duties to one's fellow-men and the body politic—these aims are neither ephemeral nor ornamental. (Putman & Weir, 1925, p. 38)

While citizenship is seen to be of importance and appears to be linked to "good character," as Osborne (1996) explains for "progressive-based" reports, little is directly mentioned regarding the importance of creating good citizens, except for vague comments found throughout the report, such as stating that education for citizenship is to occur through public speaking or "auditorium work" (Putman & Weir, 1925, p. 94). Training in citizenship is also possible through out-of-school activities such as scouts. Further, and not surprisingly considering the focus of the report, citizenship education is linked to efficiency:

> ...the members of the Commission were very favourable impressed with the obvious sincerity and genuine desire manifested by the great majority of those who appeared at the sittings to make their contribution towards the solution of British Columbia's most vital problem—the efficient education of over one hundred thousand future citizens for active and worthy participation in the affairs and duties of life. (Putman & Weir, 1925, p. 5)

These citizens are defined in very much the manner described above for the United States: They are to be nationalistic supporters of the current institutional structures, "trained" to be good—obedient or passive—citizens.

As well, good citizens are to have "self-knowledge, reverence, and control" (Putman & Weir, 1925, p. 334). The report connects "the moral and patriotic aims of education to the importance of specific habit formation and the development of character" (p. 43). Education is to move from "the period for forming habits of order, diligence, obedience, and punctuality" during elementary schooling to "...the need for subjects which have a content value...and the need not so much for forming additional habits as for a careful examination of the basis of each action" (p. 75). The commissioners mention the need for students to study more history and civics education and for some teaching of the new social sciences.

**The Social Sciences and History**

The social sciences are little mentioned in the whole report, although the following quote is instructive:

> A century ago in England Latin and Greek made up the most of the curriculum. Mathematics held a place of honour but was definitely second in rank. Gradually, English, Science, modern languages, History, and the social sciences gained some recognition and now the programme of an English secondary school...conforms to the modern tendency to make the school suit the social needs of the people. (Putman & Weir, 1925, p. 111)

The report also states that, while history provides knowledge that informs the present, it should be supplemented by "a course in modern elementary sociology or political economy [which] may be made to serve a more efficient preparation for modern life" (Putman & Weir, 1925, p. 39); and "another mark of a differentiated programme will be the provision for every child of a minimum of social science—civics, health education, and everything that has to do with social betterment" (p. 80). This comment foreshadows the 1930s "programmes of study" described in the next chapter. In short, while no Social Studies course is included in the curriculum presented for senior and middle schools, its possibility is articulated.

The program recommends continuing a tradition of teaching History and Civics together in new middle schools for Grades 7, 8, and 9. History is also to be taught in Grades 10, 11, and 12, with Sociology in Grade 12. History is to teach "who he is, whence he came, who are his neighbours, what are his relations with them and his obligations towards them" (Putman & Weir, 1925, p. 91). It is to be linked to students' life experiences (p. 398). This history should help to develop nationalism to Canada first, and then to the British Empire: "At least no Canadian-born citizen, resident in Canada, can be a good Britisher without first being a good Canadian...To this end much good may be accomplished through the vitalized teaching of Canadian history and civics" (p. 149).

**Summary**

This report illustrates that by the 1920s many individuals in BC accepted public schooling as a right of children, and as important to society. However, concerns as to costs were an issue. The commissioners' recommendations match those of the teachers and municipal boards (provided in an appendix of the Putman & Weir Report, 1925), and—while some progressive influence is apparent in some of the language used and in the support for psychology—most of the report aims to improve "efficiency" through following "social efficiency" practices from the United States that attempt to "professionalize" schools and run them according to business principles. Education for citizenship is portrayed as important but, beyond the recommendations to teach more history and civics and perhaps institute more social sciences or beyond a few scattered comments on inculcating good character in students, little is explicitly stated on how it is to be achieved. Putman was an Ottawa inspector of schools, and Weir was a professor of education at UBC.[31] Both individuals were influenced by contemporary American educational thought. The report would have been very "modern" at its time, although not really very "progressive." It does not match Evans' (2004) social meliorist or social reconstructionist programs. It matches Osborne's (1996) nationalistic and assimiliationist program, and his "character" program, and it is a mix of Sears' and Hughes' (1996) Conception A

[31] Weir studied for his Ph.D. at Queens University, but that included some study at the University of Chicago where he must have met Bobbitt, directly, or been exposed to his ideas (Mann, 1980). This link makes clear the connection through which new administrative procedures, new curricula, and a new subject (Social Studies) came to the province from the United States. Weir believed that society could be improved by inculcating the "right" values in students in order to create loyal citizens. Education was "justifiable for the protection of the state against the evils of ignorance and illiteracy, the seedbed of anarchy and communism" (quoted in Mann, 1980, p. 100). Weir shared negative and dark beliefs linked to eugenics about large sections of the population. He believed in the value of using intelligence testing to stream students into what he saw as appropriate careers: The number of students who, he argued, were not intelligent as reflected in IQ tests, were to receive vocational training in newly formed junior high schools. Thus, while all students were to stay in school longer so as to be inculcated with the "right values," schools were to offer varied programs of studies that included vocational courses for the majority, who were to be "fitted" into their places in society with "guidance and possibly even compulsory direction, paternal or otherwise" if needed (quoted in Mann, p. 100). Only intelligent students (and these were, naturally, white and middle class) were to have the opportunity of receiving an academic education and attending university. He even went so far as to support sterilization of the "feeble-minded and morons" (Mann, p. 100).

(conservative) with some of the features of Conception B (liberal), such as advocating participation in society.

## The Curriculum Guide Released after the Putman & Weir Report

### Curriculum Presentation and Philosophy

The 1927 *Programme of Studies for the High, Technical, and Normal Schools of BC* maintains much continuity with earlier guides (Department of Education, 1927). However, perhaps due the Putman and Weir Report (1925), some changes are apparent. Like earlier documents, it articulates no philosophy or aims, and generally lists the textbook as the curriculum. No pedagogies are listed, except for stating that history and geography should be taught together and that students have to write exams and prepare "one paper of two hours" for junior matriculation (Department of Education, 1927). Students remain "streamed" into three separate programs. Those in the Matriculation Program, preparing for university entrance, study history, but not civics *per se.*

Those in the Commercial Program study civics in Grade 10, and those in the Technical Program get "Citizenship and Economics" in each year of their three year program. As those in the Technical program can take Matriculation History rather than Civics, History appears to equate with Civics, just as the 1884 text presented the two concurrently. Curriculum developers seem to have viewed those in the vocational program as needing the most targeted citizenship education. Civics topics listed in the guide include the Canadian constitution, the duties and rights of citizens, a comparison of the Canadian governmental system with that of the UK and the United States, the law and law courts. Girls in the Home Economics program now receive instruction in history.

### Textbooks

The new History textbook was called *History of Canada for High Schools* (McArthur, 1927). Like the earlier texts described in this chapter, it exemplifies why history is equated with civics instruction. It provides a positive nation-

building narrative of Canada, and is filled with romantic illustrations. Its tone is optimistic, nationalistic, and moralistic. It narrates how government institutions were formed, and how the nation was developed through the actions of great men, municipal life, and the development of municipal structures, such as roads. Canadian pioneers are portrayed as hardworking, humble, and industrious, brought together in communities through social gatherings that led to "loyalty, and generosity...the foundation of much that is best in our national life" (McArthur, 1927, p. 216). Students are encouraged to develop tolerance and to solve conflicts peacefully, to be cooperative, to work towards solving problems positively, and to have "courage, endurance, and resourcefulness" as Canadian soldiers are described as having in the South African War (McArthur, 1927, p. 281). Thus, its citizenship program is similar to that found in Civics textbooks, although it does not mention the current duties of citizens. The text is exclusionary: Asians and Hindus in BC are described as "a problem" that should be addressed through restricted immigration (McArthur, 1927, p. 459).

One of the recommended Civics textbooks, *Citizenship in British Columbia* (Angus, 1926), is similar to the 1918 text described earlier in this chapter. It states the purpose of government as that of settling conflicts peacefully, and the government's aim as promoting "the aims and interests of the people" (Angus, 1926, p. 213). It also describes the structures of the three levels of government, the types and role of law and the function of the courts (which individuals are to respect), the need for and benefits of taxation, and Canada's role internationally and in the British Empire. It explains the American and British governmental systems and the duties of citizens, which include using their power to influence government to achieve its best, being tolerant, following majority rule, cooperating with others, and being patriotic to the point of "sacrificing" themselves to the nation during times of war (Angus, 1926, p. 217). Finally, good citizens should "subordinate our interests to the interests of Canada" (Angus, 1926, p. 218), and are exhorted to take advantage of the government's beneficial work for them: "Its [government] function is to provide us with opportunities for living a good life. But it remains for us to avail ourselves of these opportunities"

(Angus, 1926, p. 219). The curriculum guide and textbooks remain primarily Sears' and Hughes' (1996) Conception A (conservative), with features of B (liberal). Osborne's (1996) assertions of a nationalistic and assimilationist program are also supported. The prescribed Civics textbook, *Studies in Citizenship* (McCaig, 1930), was also recommended in the first "Social Studies" curriculum. This text is described in the next chapter.

## Conclusion

As introduced in Chapters 1 and 3, this chapter has provided the context to the changes made to Social Studies over the 20th Century. It has described civic education prior to the arrival of Social Studies in BC and prior to and at the arrival of Social Studies in the United States, in two periods. The documents analysed are summarized in Table 4.1.

The first period described in this chapter was the setting up of the public school system in the 19th Century, and the second was the establishment of mass schooling in the early 20th Century. Due to the paucity of information presented in government "programs of study," textbooks were also described. In both periods, civics was associated with history in BC. In the first period, civics was taught as part of a Canadian History course, which described the formation of the "Dominion of Canada." It aimed to create individuals who accepted the government's legitimacy and its structures by describing parliamentary processes and law making. It matches Sears' and Hughes' (1996) Conception A, and Osborne's (1996) assimilationist and nation-building category.

The program of study of 1919, from the second period, provided civics education to students in all three types of high school programs, except to girls who studied Domestic Science. Those in the Matriculation, Commercial, and Manual Arts programs all studied Civics using the same textbook, again linked to history. Those in the Manual Arts program only studied Civics. Those in the Commercial Program studied Canadian History. Only those in the Matriculation Program studied History and Geography continuously. History included Canadian, British, Greek, and Roman History. Geography was physical

geography. While expanded into its own textbook, the citizenship education program was not that different in form to that presented in the 1885 text: It described parliamentary features and processes, law making, and the qualities of good citizens. These were individuals who actively supported the current government's structure. Students were informed that they had responsibilities in a democracy. No mention was made of rights. Again, the document primarily matches Sears' and Hughes' (1996) Conception A (conservative), although a few features of Conception B (liberal) are apparent. Osborne's (1996) assimilationist and nation-building focus is also present.

**Table 4.1. Summary of the Key Findings of this Chapter, 1884-1927**

| Document Name/Date | Summary | Conceptual Frames |
|---|---|---|
| *History of Canada* (text), 1884 | High School text that presents a "Progress" history aimed at inculcating nationalism. It is also assimilationist. | Sears' & Hughes' Conception A (conservative).<br>Osborne's first category (assimilation/nationalism). |
| *BC Curriculum Guide,* 1918 | Rudimentary guide in which the textbook was the curriculum. Three high school programs are present. All three include civics instruction, which is also assimilationist and nation-building, although more liberal in form. | Sears' & Hughes' Conception A, with some elements of B (liberal).<br>Osborne's first category. |
| The American *Social Studies Report,* 1916 | Foundational report which largely conceptualized the course of Social Studies. Presented a primarily progressive-based philosophy, with elements of earlier civics programs. Centres around "community civics" and problem solving. | Primarily Sears' & Hughes' Conception B, with some elements of A remaining.<br>Osborne's first and second (social living) categories.<br>Evans' social meliorist program. |
| *Putman & Weir Report,* 1925 | BC Royal Commission report that recommended changes to schools based in progressivism and social efficiency. Led to a number of changes in schools. | Sears' & Hughes' Conception A with some of B.<br>Osborne's first and second (character ed.) categories.<br>Evans' traditionalist category. |
| *BC Curriculum Guide,* 1927 | First curriculum guide released after the Putman & Weir report. It maintains much continuity with earlier guides, along with a few changes based in the Putman & Weir report, such as rearranging topics into a repeating, "expanding horizons" format. | Sears' & Hughes' Conception A with some of B.<br>Osborne's first category.<br>Evans' traditionalist category. |

The 1916 American report (Nelson, 1994), which established the parameters of the course of "Social Studies," placed emphasis on "citizenship" and had the same focus on "training" individuals to accept the current government as legitimate and beneficial. The report, however, also advocated that students be taught in a new manner, based on a child centred progressive philosophy in a new "Social Studies" course, which fused civics, geography and the other social sciences to a history core. This new subject's curriculum was based on making content "relevant" to students by considering social issues and using "new history" to understand the present. Citizenship education was given pride of place and was to be achieved through: "Community civics [which] is a course of training in citizenship, organized with reference to the pupil's immediate needs, rich in its historical, sociological, economic, and political relations" (Nelson, 1994, p. 40).

Elements of Sears' and Hughes' Conception A remain in the 1916 report's (Nelson, 1994) focus on developing nationalism and students' knowledge of and acceptance of government institutions, also matching Osborne's (1996) first category. However, the 1916 report is primarily under Conception B, as a new progressive-based philosophy underlies the recommendations for students to learn problem solving, with the hope that they will work to improve their society. It also matches Evans' (2004) "social meliorist" perspective. As presented in the report, progressivist philosophy appears to be linked to a more liberal conceptualization of citizens and to incorporate elements of older citizenship education programs within it. All frameworks are thus partly reflected in curriculum guides.

In BC, American influences were apparent in the 1925 Putman and Weir Report. Overall, it was a cold and rationalistic report, mostly focused on improving the efficiency of schools, drawing its theoretical base from the American social efficiency movement. However, it made several statements as to the importance of citizenship education and the desirability of reforming the school system. The report articulated a passive conception of citizenship education most like Sears' and Hughes' Conception A, but its recommendations

included increasing history and civics education, using a child centred approach (grounded in progressivism), and increasing content from the social sciences. The 1927 *Programme of Studies for the High, Technical, and Normal Schools of BC* (Department of Education, 1927), showed much continuity with earlier curriculum guides in advocating three separate programs and linking civics to history. It is primarily under Sears' and Hughes' (1996) Conception A, with some elements of B. However, the guide was the first step in a significant process of change. Firstly, curriculum content in the guide was re-arranged to match Hanna's expanding horizons concept (see Appendix D for more details on curriculum content). Secondly, junior high schools were established in the same year as the guide was released (1927). Other recommendations made by Putman and Weir (1925) were enacted in the 1930s and are discussed in the following chapter. The documents described in this chapter set the foundation for later developments explained in Chapter 5.

# Chapter 5:

# Research Findings–Early Revisions

This chapter describes the first three revisions made to BC Ministry of Education high school Social Studies curriculum guides from Grades 8 to 12, released over the first part of the 20th Century. The focus is on describing the guides' conceptualizations of good citizens and associated citizenship education programs. Describing all three revisions provides opportunities for considering how the guides evolved. These findings are introduced with brief historical discussions that frame the guides and are then compared with American trends (Evans, 2004) and with general Canadian models developed by Sears and Hughes (1996) and Osborne (1996). This chapter builds on the previous chapter, which ended with a description of the curriculum guide of 1927, released two years after the Putman and Weir Report and which contextualized schooling in BC prior to the arrival of the course of Social Studies in 1930. The first major revision, which included the arrival of "Social Studies" in BC, occurred throughout the 1930s, the second throughout the 1950s, and the third in 1968. Later revisions to Social Studies guides are presented in Chapter 6.

## 5.1. The First Curriculum Revision: 1930 and 1936 and 1937, "Progressivism"[32]

### 5.1.1. The Historical Context

In the United States, the spectacular growth and optimism of the 1920s was contrasted to the unexpected, prolonged and serious depression of the 1930s. Heart-wrenching economic conditions fuelled social unrest and educationalists' demands that education be used to improve society (Dunn, 1980). Socialism attracted passionate reformers, such as Counts and Rugg, in light of the early and hopeful years of the new Soviet Russia (Mraz, 2004; Rugg, 1931; Counts, 1967).[33] These social reconstructionists hoped to reshape a new and more equitable society through education.

A number of commissions and committees and the work of academics continued to shape the new course of Social Studies. One important advocate, Rugg (1931) a Columbia professor, conceptualized the subject in a revolutionary series of very successful textbooks, *Man and His Changing Society* (Mraz, 2004).[34] Critical of formalistic memorizing, he wanted learning to be tied to life and society. He conceived of Social Studies as a number of contemporary social problems, unified all Social Studies under one subject (that is adopted an interdisciplinary approach), and aimed to foster thought on contemporary social problems ("critical thinking"). Each volume in his series focused on one issue, such as critically investigating stereotypes, *laissez-faire* capitalism, and the gaps between rich and poor in society. Science and new technology were touted as leading to progress for all society. Another Columbia scholar, Hanna, developed a concentric expanding curriculum for elementary Social Studies in a series of popular textbooks (Stallones, 2003). He blended knowledge learning with children's interests by organizing the content into units, which he called the "nine

[32] I am using "progressivism" in a broad sense, incorporating different movements (Deweyian experientialists; reconstructionists; social meliorists) under this umbrella term. I include both 1930s revisions under this term as well, as they share some fundamentally similar core concepts.

[33] More details on both scholars are presented in Chapter 7.

[34] These textbooks were advertised in *BC Teacher* as early as 1929.

basic human activities."[35] These were placed into a concentric circles model that expanded outwards from children's perceived worlds (family, neighbourhood...), with the increasing age of the child.[36]

In BC, Putman and Weir's (1925) recommendations began to be enacted in the late 1920s, as mentioned in Chapter 4. Junior High Schools were established in 1927. The first "Social Studies" guide was released in 1930. The wrenching economic devastation and fear of the Great Depression fuelled the 1932 Kidd Report, a right wing business-supported report that argued for massive cutbacks in schools, including the closing of small rural schools, decreasing the numbers of teachers and their salaries, and reinstating recently dropped high school fees. However, almost incredibly considering the anxiety and angst of economic hardship, university professors, parents, the University Women's Club, Vancouver Trades, and the Labour Council attacked the report. These groups valiantly defended the value of schooling (Jones, 1980). Indeed, they argued, schools were the only solution to the horrors of the age: They provided opportunities for individuals (and society) to transform themselves; they created possibilities for a better future. For example, an article in the *Vancouver Province* stated:

> In classes in civics, in history, in literature, in languages, as well as in the general life of the school and playground, the child is conditioned for the life he will have to live as a member of a complex society. If he misses his secondary education, he will miss a great deal that would have helped make him a better citizen. (quoted in Jones, 1980, p. 49)

Apprehension and agitation fuelled debate. A second commission in 1935, the King Commission, advocated removing school districts and centralization. It also failed; it was seen as undemocratic (Barman & Sutherland, 1988). Negative reaction to the Kidd report and the hope that many expressed in

[35] He labelled these as production, distribution, consumption, conservation, transportation and communication, exploration and settlement, recreation, education, extension of freedom, aesthetic expression, religious expression, and individual integration.

[36] He received his idea for units from some reports on social and economic trends written by Hoover and melded these to the then well-used expanding environments approach, whose roots lay in 19th Century educational philosophies (Stallones, 2003).

education as society's saviour from the despair of the Great Depression led to the appointment of Commissioner Weir as Minister of Education in 1933. Once in power, he enacted his own progressive vision of education by reshaping the first Social Studies curriculum guide of 1930. This curriculum revision, in short, has two stages. Firstly, the release of the original course of "Social Studies." Secondly, amendments and changes to the first program, which went much further in reforming curricula to match progressive philosophy.

### 5.1.2. The First Curriculum Guide with "Social Studies"

#### 5.1.2.1. Curriculum Presentation and Philosophy

The soft-covered, 1930 *Programme of Studies* is compact in form and similar in its style of presentation to earlier guides (Department of Education, 1930).[37] However, its foreword articulates a radical shift in philosophy of education. Putman and Weir's recommendations are realized. The foreword states that all students ought to study a "common core" of subjects which "is intended to give a body of common ideas and sentiments and so to establish a common culture and effect social integration" (Department of Education, 1930, foreword). Assimilation is made explicit. The common core is composed of English, the new course of "Social Studies," and Health and Physical Education. The curriculum guide reconceptualises how students are to be taught: studies, particularly electives chosen through the new credit system, should be "suited to the needs, the interests, and the capacities of the students" (Department of Education, 1930, foreword). "Progressive" language and philosophy at the high school level in BC curriculum guides are articulated for the first time. Philosophy has shifted to focus on the learner.

Progressivist theory is particularly evident in the description of the new "Social Studies" course. It is articulated as a "topical" course and not a chronological list of topics (falsely so, for the curriculum remains lists of content).

[37] The 1933 guide (Department of Education, 1933, reprint of the 1930 guide) was also consulted, as it contains a few amendments of the 1930 program.

Teachers are encouraged to consult a number of books and not just one textbook. The guide explains that:

> The course is named Social Studies because several studies are involved—namely, historical narrative, Geography, civics, economics, and sociology. It is, however, a unified course, because knowledge of historical situations is considered essential for a proper understanding of principles and institutions. (Department of Education, 1930, p. 22)

Thus, map work is linked to history; civics and economics are emphasized in Grade 11, and sociology in Grade 12.

#### 5.1.2.2. Defining and Describing Citizenship Education

Citizenship education is covertly integrated into the new Social Studies. Indeed, the guide states that "...material for the study of civics and economics appears frequently" (Department of Education, 1930, p. 22). In some grades, such as Grade 8, citizenship education is listed under its own heading. In others, such as Grade 10, citizenship education is implicit in History content. Besides knowledge, very little is articulated in the curriculum guide with regard to the values, attitudes, and behaviours that good citizens are to have.[38]

**Knowledge, Values, Attitudes, and Behaviours**

The knowledge students are to master in order to become good citizens is presented in long tedious content-based lists composed mostly of historical facts. In Grade 8, students use the popular McCaig (1930) text to study the federal government, including elections and voting, the cabinet, the justice system, and the benefits of public works. In Grade 9, they learn of the grand development of the British Empire and of Britain's enviable parliamentary government and return to McCaig's (1930) book to study the three levels of the Canadian government and even-handed justice in BC. The Grade 10 course focuses on Ancient History and European History to the Reformation. Modern European History is taught in Grade 11 and 12.

[38] This chapter describes curriculum content focused on citizenship education. A complete listing of the curriculum content is found in Appendix D.

Historical content included in the guide is no accident; they were the interests and work of academics. The historical events, characters, and perspectives adopted in this revision (and in earlier ones from which this guide continued a tradition) were carefully chosen, with the aim of fostering good citizenship, pride and patriotism, identity and loyalty. In Grade 11, citizenship education through historical content describes the "struggle against Despotic government," "British Constitutional Development (1688-1815)," the French Revolution (who would not be moved by the grand story of the fight to death for "liberty, equality, fraternity"?), British far-sighted political reforms and splendid Empire-building during the 19th Century. In Grade 12, absolutism in contrast to noble and fragile democracy, the American government, the terrors and evils of war as a 'lesson' in the breakdown of civilized approaches to problem solving, and post World War 1 government types are taught. With regard to Canada, students' sense of identity is to be nurtured through studying Canada's nation-building narrative (Confederation and "Developments since 1867") and the three levels of government. Students' understanding of the need for tolerance is to emerge through a study of Canada's relations with countries that are outside of and part of the British Empire. Their attachment to the current state kindled by an elucidation of the positive role of the state in protecting workers; their resentment of taxation quashed in its nascence through a well-argued exposition of the need for taxation.

In short, the knowledge students are to learn—history-based narratives on the development of 'Western Civilization' and 'Canada', positive concepts of democracy and of the Canadian government, and civic education specifically focused on a factual description of government structures with the aim of legitimizing them—remains very similar to that found in earlier programs. Attitudes and behaviours are not specifically stated and must be inferred from content. As in earlier programs, good citizens would be loyal, patriotic and appreciative of democracy's struggle for establishment and its principles, the British Empire and Canada, and the state's positive role. Attitudes and behaviours are made explicit in the prescribed texts, which remain those

recommended in 1927 curriculum guide (Department of Education, 1927) and include McCaig's *Studies in Citizenship* (1930) and McArthur's *History of Canada for High Schools* (1927, described in Chapter 4).

**Pedagogy**

Social Studies is to be taught in an "integrated manner." In the introduction, teachers are (misleadingly) encouraged to focus on people, events, and technologies that have affected "world civilization" and not to focus on "a study of minute details" (Department of Education, 1930, p. 22). They are also encouraged to use a wide selection of resources and are provided with several teaching strategies, such as, to have students prepare and present reports, to learn by doing, to discover by reading, and to have discussions. However, while the philosophy articulated at the beginning of the curriculum guide is active and child centred, curriculum content continues to be presented in a traditional manner, implying that teachers are to focus on teaching students content. Curriculum content and articulated philosophies and pedagogies do not match.

**Texts**

McCaig's (1930) citizenship text maintains much continuity with earlier texts. It describes the structures and processes of the three levels of government and the positive benefits derived from the government, such as the police force, public health, education, and the protection of life and property. It supports taxation ["Government lets us live well" (McCaig, 1930, p. 268)], advocates the importance of following the law, and describes the rights and duties of citizens. The rights are listed as those of: the right to protection of life and property, to protection against disease, to free speech, to freedom of worship, to trial by jury, to healthful surroundings, and to a good education (McCaig, 1930). Duties are listed as: obedience to the law ["*Obedience to the law and respect for authority is the distinguishing mark of a good citizen*" (italics in the original, McCaig, 1930, 279)], to pay taxes, to serve in the army if necessary, to vote, to hold office (if worthy of), to take part in jury service, to keep healthy, and to do their best in school (McCaig, 1930). This description

conceptualizes good citizens as "passive," under Sears and Hughes (1996) Conception B (liberal), with some features of Conception A (conservative). The government is portrayed in a more elitist than populist manner, for all citizens are seen as having rights, but only those who are worthy are to serve in the government, although the definition of government (presented below) is populist.

History, the book argues, teaches us "lessons" and illustrates the virtues all citizens should have, including courage, unselfishness, loyalty ["Our great and young country has need of our loyal, devoted service" (McCaig, 1930, p. 4)], patience, and justice. It also uses history to celebrate democracy, through narrating the many sacrifices "our ancestors" made in order to bring citizens the privileges of freedom and democracy they are portrayed as enjoying at the time. The text aims to build national pride and sentiment: the British Empire is "the greatest and the freest that the world has ever known" (McCaig, 1930, p. 152).

In a deviation from older civics texts, the book includes more "social" and "economic" information and a new focus on citizenship education that could be from the 1916 American report (Nelson, 1994) the ideal of "community civics." People, it argues, are dependent on one another; they need one another for all aspects of life. As "our welfare is tied to others'...each one must play his part" (McCaig, 1930, p. 12). An institution is described as "an association formed for a particular purpose" (McCaig, 1930, p. 12). Even government is defined this way: "this working together to accomplish certain things for the benefit of the whole we call government" (McCaig, 1930, p. 18). Consequently, the book argues, everyone must follow the government and its laws and put the state before him or herself by serving the nation first, such as, for example, in the army if needed.

The book is additionally structured around the "expanding horizons" concept, for it details the training in good citizenship to be accomplished: in the home (self control, truthfulness, honesty, cooperation, consideration, and respect), the school (obeying authority; thinking of the good of the group; treating all equally; being polite, patient, persevering, punctual, orderly, and courteous; believing in justice and fair play; having a love of the nation; being industrious; acquiring accuracy and skill, pleasure in and satisfaction from work, a sense of

honour and duty and a desire to live rightly), and the church (brotherhood and service). It then expands outward from these topics into the community.

Another unit of the text deals with economic life. It argues that the government works to conserve natural resources, and that it is the "duty of the good citizen to assist in their observation" (McCaig, 1930, p. 100). The government is also seen to play a role in managing a healthy economy. Its description of manufacturing, banks, and trade aims to illustrate the theme of "how much we depend on each other" (McCaig, 1930, p. 100). It even includes many of the American "elements of welfare," the themes of: (a) health, (b) protection of life and property, (c) recreation, (d) education, (e) civic beauty, (f) wealth, (g) communication, (h) transport, (i) migration, (j) charities, and (k) correction are all included in detail (except e), under the main theme of "community" and appreciating and respecting others.

As in the 1916 American report (Nelson, 1994), a section on "vocation" is included. It states that students should choose jobs which match their interests and abilities and argues that good workers require "civility, courtesy, a sunny disposition, an even temper, a willingness to oblige and serve" (McCaig, 1930, p. 146). The book focuses on building students' sense of "community"—of connection to and need for others—and the "elements of welfare." The influences of progressive and American thought are visible.

**Conceptual Frames**

Besides including an introductory section supportive of progressivism and a brief introduction to Social Studies, the curriculum guide does not include a detailed articulation of its citizenship program. The curriculum still consists of detailed lists of factual content students are to learn. As such, the curriculum guide and civics textbook do not match. The textbook provides far more detail on citizenship and links well with "Social Studies" as articulated in the 1916 foundational report (Nelson, 1994). The text matches Evans' (2004) social meliorist program: Students are to appreciate their current society but, at the same time, work together with community spirit to improve their society. The

positive role given to the state in planning could come from Rugg's (1931) very popular textbooks. Identifying Evans' (2004) category in the curriculum guide is more difficult, as less detail is provided. A content analysis implies that good citizens would be: loyal to the British Empire; appreciative of democracy and peaceful means of conflict resolution; aware of Canadian, American, and British government structures and of the story of Canada's development. It is not a social meliorist or reconstructionist approach. It is, in fact, closest to Evans' (2004) *traditionalist* category, as it presents a history-based course, with history to be taught as a positive nation-building narrative.

In this traditionalist view, good citizens are nationalistic supporters of current institutions and structures. As civic education in the curriculum guide aims to Canadianize and assimilate individuals to white British middle class values and to develop nationalism, it falls under Osborne's (1996) first category. The textbook reflects Osborne's (1996) second category, which he describes as occurring from the 1920s to the 1950s and to focus on socialization or social living. The citizenship program in the curriculum guide articulates a "passive" vision of good citizens, partly under Sears' and Hughes' (1996) category A, for the government is seen to be composed of people with the right experience and background; and citizens are to be loyal and committed to the state, to be part of a common national culture and set of traditions, to obey the nation's laws, and to be good citizens by enlightening themselves of the platforms of different parties and voting. However, as the textbook includes a description of the rights as well as the responsibilities good citizens have and as it describes government as residing in the people, it includes several elements of Conception B.

**Conclusion**

BC's curriculum guide of 1930 (Department of Education, 1930) appears to have grafted new American-based changes for the subject of "Social Studies" onto the earlier course of study for History, Civics, and Geography. As Canada was part of the British Empire, a concerted effort was made to focus on building both a Canadian and a British identity; however, many American features are apparent, such as the idea of studying the country's national history in increasing

detail closer to the modern date. The focus on history as the unifying core, and on civics in Grade 9, is also American. In short, this curriculum illustrates BC's second step in the adoption and adaptation of the American 1916 program, which is "layered" onto already existing curriculum guides and educational concepts.[39] The elements of the latter remain essentially the same, although they are refocused around the American concepts of "community" and the "elements of welfare" ideas in recommended texts. The program presented in the curriculum guide is a blend of Sears' and Hughes' (1996) Conception A (conservative) with some elements of B (liberal), and Osborne's (1996) assimiliationist and nation building focus. The textbook is closer to Sears' and Hughes' (1996) Conception B than Conception A. Upon close study, the curriculum guide is a tortured and broken document: Its content mismatches its philosophy; its textbook articulates a more revolutionary social meliorist perspective. This guide could be seen as a "philosophy" in the process of transplantation, for the curriculum underwent a second revision that brought it closer in line with the American curriculum recommended in 1916 (Nelson, 1994).[40] The arrival of progressive-based Social Studies in BC was a lengthy process: Close to 20 years passed before this philosophy was reflected in BC documents; time during which graduate students were able to assimilate the new approach and grow into leaders with the power to enact their ideas, and during which Social Studies continued to expand and evolve.

[39] The first step was the curriculum guide of 1927, described in Chapter 4. It was released after the Putman and Weir Report and when Junior Schools were established, but prior to the course of "Social Studies."

[40] The curriculum developers may have been aware of this, for they write at the beginning of the program a note that was continually articulated over the century: "the course is Social Studies is being revised."

### 5.1.3. The Second Part of the Progressivist Revision, 1936-1937[41]

#### 5.1.3.1. Curriculum Presentation and Philosophy

Enacted when Weir was Minister of Education, the second part of the progressivist program, *Programme of Studies,* is contained in an imposing detailed hard cover book, hundreds of pages in length (Department of Education, 1936, 1937, 1939, 1941, 1948). It articulates a philosophy of education that builds on the revision of 1930, centred around American progressivism, sociology and psychology. In Deweyian language, education is said to prepare students for social life and to need to be based on individual students and on relevant experiences, or "problems." Education is seen to play the dual [and arguably contradictory (Egan, 2002)] role of "socializing" the child, that is, of "adjusting" him or her to the main society while, at the same time, providing for his or her individual growth. Education is conceptualized as preparation for living in society ["to train for better living" (Department of Education, 1937, p. 111)]. The program makes quite clear what type of person is aimed at (described below), to be achieved through "character education."

Quoting "Superintendent Graham of the Pittsburg Schools," the guide states: "The Social Studies have the most to contribute to the enlightenment of youth, for they are the studies that beyond all others develop those understandings and attitudes that make for better living together in societal relationships" (Department of Education, 1937, p. 111). "Enlightening" or "indoctrinating"? Some concerns had obviously been raised about the latter for the guide cautions teachers not to push their own viewpoints on students but, rather, to teach them to think using problems. However, as the overall citizen: would understand the need for government, would have been told the grand story of democracy, would have developed appreciation of current institutions and would have learned "that in seeking to effect changes one should employ

[41] The curriculum guides (Department of Education) for both the Junior High Schools and the Senior High Schools were consulted, from the years of 1936 (JHS), 1937 (SHS), 1939 (JHS), 1941 (SHS), 1948 (JHS). All guides had the same progressive-based program.

only lawful and constitutional methods of doing so" (Department of Education, 1937, p. 111), the aim seems rather more that of "fitting" a person into the current system and thus helping to maintain the *status quo*.

New junior high schools are recommended, based on contemporary developmental psychology theories.[42] Their program is an investigative one that provides varied options for students: They are to be divided into apparent ability groupings, what we now often refer to as "streaming," according to their supposed intelligence:

> In general, dull pupils should develop the true essential of social living—the ability to get along agreeably and effectively with the people with whom they associate daily, some power as consumers to evaluate the merits of the various solutions to vexing social, economic, and governmental problems, some ability to choose among candidates for leadership; some appreciation of the cultural heritage. Bright pupils need this and more...they need to learn to responsibilities and duties of leadership." (Department of Education, 1937, p. 114)

The curriculum guide does not make exactly clear how a teacher was to decide who was "bright" and who was "dull."

The introduction states that content is now contained in "units," another progressive concept aimed at integrating subject matter into meaningful wholes. The presentation of curricula does match this initial description, in parts. Rather than simply presenting a list of topics with an associated textbook, some material is presented in "units," based on topics revolving around the theme of social life and the "social progress of man" or "civilization." The units have aims and objectives. The curriculum for Social Studies begins with a definition of Social Studies, which is the same one found in the 1930 guide (Department of Education, 1930), then lists aims, courses, methods, and curricula. The latter are presented as "problems" or "objectives" for students to master. A metamorphosis in the understanding, conception, and presentation of curricula is apparent. It is increasingly "scientific" and rationalized, as conceptualized by Bobbitt (1918;

[42] Fleming (1995) argues for a connection between these Junior High Schools and contemporary calls for "Middle Schools."

Evans, 2004). Curriculum content is no longer simply a textbook reference, although the course description for some Grades remains only this.

Social Studies' units continue to be history-based. History is the "cement that binds" (Department of Education, 1937, p. 113). Despite the definition of Social Studies as an integrated subject, little from the social sciences is found in the curriculum guides, except in the most generic manner (social history, economic history, political history). These historical topics, moreover, are carefully selected thus covering large historical periods in each grade. As in earlier guides, they blatantly include particular historical topics (and exclude others) with the purpose of teaching students moral lessons and shaping students' understanding of particular topics, such as the nation, despite the demand in the curriculum guide that teachers use history to help students learn how to think. For example, wars are portrayed as bringing evils to all peoples. A preferable approach is described as one based on tolerant and peaceful means. As well, democracy is a good form of government that took hundreds of years of struggle to achieve. The progressive development of Western European society, of Canada, and of democracy are the main "stories" to be taught; these three narratives are obviously considered the most important for students to learn in order to build their conceptions of their nation (and Empire), their identities, and themselves.

Despite these largely cosmetic changes in curriculum presentation and an introduction steeped in progressive-like statements, such as that content should be used by the discovering student, curriculum contents remain detailed lists of historical events very similar to those of earlier curriculum guides. Theory and articulated practice mismatch. Again, we see a "layering" effect. Older curricula are overlain with new philosophies and approaches, but remain "structurally" quite similar.

A few changes are found in the guide. First, citizens are to be shaped by the study of European History in later elementary school grades, Canadian History in Junior High School, and European History again in Senior High School. This pattern of repeating topics presented in Grades 7, 8 and 9 in Grades 10 and

11, but in more detail, is taken from the 1916 American report (Nelson, 1994). Further, the American 1916 program (Nelson, 1994) argued for history to be used to understand the present and for a focus on problem solving. Problem solving is given much emphasis in the guide with a separate section detailing how to teach it.

#### 5.1.3.2. Defining and Describing Citizenship Education

Unlike earlier guides, the conceptualization of good citizens and citizenship education is well articulated. Just as Dewey (1916) viewed education for democracy as a central aim of his progressive program, citizenship education is given pride of place in the curriculum guide: "From the point of view of society, the schools in any state exist to develop citizens, or subjects" (Department of Education, 1937, p. 11). Citizenship education should lead to good citizens able "to play their part in a democratic state, but also will develop in them the ability to make new adjustments in an evolving progressive, social order so that social stability may be united with social progress" (Department of Education, 1937, p. 11). This conception of the good citizen, adapted to yet with "plasticity" to keep growing and thus improving society is Deweyian.

Citizens, moreover, are to be many-sided individuals, developed physically, mentally, morally, and socially, who are also healthy and use their leisure time wisely. Their values and morality are to be formed through "character education."[43] Indeed, this concept is given a central role: a special section of the curriculum guide is dedicated to explaining how to achieve it. Character education is to pervade the school and develop each student's knowledge, attitudes, and habits in order to improve the individual and thus society as a whole. It is to develop students' high standards: their desire to do service, their sense of responsibility, their tolerance, and their open mindedness.

[43] The bibliography appended to this section makes clear that this "character movement" was advocated in other parts of Canada and in the United States. Several "NEA" publications are listed in it.

Students are: to appreciate what they have and the work of others; to act well and with responsibility to future generations; to do their best; to have standards and know right from wrong; to realize their dependence and their need to cooperate with others both in Canada and internationally; to have moral principles; to think independently using reason; to get satisfaction from work well done; and to value good health, justice, fair play, honesty, truthfulness, other people, and moral thoughtfulness. They are to have good manners; be courageous; mentally, physically, and emotionally healthy; to face problems and find solutions; to realize the world's interdependent nature and work to foster harmony and peace. As good citizens, they should know their responsibilities and duties, the law and rights of others, and have temperance and self-control. All school subjects, the school environment as a whole, the principal and teachers, and school activities are to aid in developing this character; "It should rather be a pervading emphasis throughout all the life and work of the school" (Department of Education, 1937, p. 29).

#### Knowledge, Values, Attitudes, and Behaviours

Education, particularly Social Studies, is to develop good citizens: "The great purpose in all work in Social Studies is to develop intelligent, responsible, and socially conscious citizens" (Department of Education, 1936, p. 232). Good citizens are to have knowledge of society's institutions and problems, of the past (in order to understand the present), of the history of the rise and struggle for democracy and of the freedoms it brings, including a right to trial by jury, equality before the law, and the freedoms of speech, action, and press.

Social Studies is to lead students to value Western Civilization, democracy and its associated rights and freedoms, equality, a voice in government, high ideas, noble conduct, and "right thinking and right action" (Department of Education, 1937, p. 14). Students are to develop tolerance not prejudice, to be open minded, to love and be loyal to Canada and the British Empire, to be aware of their responsibilities as citizens, to be fair, honest, empathetic to others in Canada and internationally, peace loving, supportive of majority rule, and respectful of law and order.

These values and attitudes are to be seen in behaviours, such as: being cooperative and considering others' welfare, accepting responsibility for being good citizens who help the nation grow in a lawful and constitutional manner, doing their duties as good citizens by working actively to preserve democracy, freely expressing their opinions, developing their skills and supporting service to the community. Skills are primarily focused on problem solving in order to foster intellectual development in students with the greater aim of bringing continued growth to society. Students are to learn how to conduct research into problems or social issues, to interpret and evaluate data, to generalize, to think critically (or logically), and to develop a "desirable independence of mind" (Department of Education, 1937, p. 110). In short, education will:

> provide experiences which will make for tolerant understanding of modern social problems, and of the interests, possessions, privileges, and duties which one citizen shares with another in a democratic society. To develop high and just standards of moral value and to develop right habits of action through high ideas of sportsmanship, the ideal of service, the faithful performance of duty, and the insistence on personal responsibility for conduct. (Department of Education, 1937, p. 18)

The ideal citizen not only accepts but, also, actively supports the current governmental and societal structures by working to solve its issues.

**Pedagogy**

The introduction states the teacher is: to strive to meet the new aims, to provide for individual differences, and to select content based on value. A central place is given to considering the needs of all students, not just the university bound, and to "character education." Pedagogy is more child centred and experiential, and more instructional strategies are recommended. These include having a happy role model teacher who, with tact and kindliness, provides purposeful activities for her or his students; not drill in order to provide each student "with the tools of thought and training him [*sic*] to use them" (Department of Education, 1937, p. 15). The teacher should not present biased information or focus on cramming facts into students. Lessons should develop good citizenship and be centred around students' interests and abilities. Activities must match the ages of students: "schools should be thought of as life to be lived where there is

action, cooperation, and opportunity to develop desirable attitudes, habits, and ideals" (Department of Education, 1937, p. 13). Teaching strategies are to be varied and to include: socialized recitation (which seems to be similar to a group presentation), laboratory and lecture methods, talking, reading, discussing (one possible topic being "the government is the servant of the people" (Department of Education, 1936, p. 235)], projects (called the "enterprise" in 1948, with a note that the British Enterprise Method is similar to but more comprehensive than the American Project Method), dramatizations, explanations, lectures, diagrams, charting and testing.

Two new approaches to teaching are given particular emphasis. The first is the problem method. This requires teachers to introduce a current problem in society to students, and to give them the skills to identify, research, and provide solutions to it. The aim is "to assist pupils to be self-dependent in their outlook upon modern life and to enable each one to make his [*sic*] contribution to intelligent public opinion upon which our democratic government is based" (Department of Education, 1937, p. 129). Possible examples, very much like Rugg's (1931) curriculum (whose name and text are mentioned several times), included government regulation of industry, national resources, public health, propaganda, inequality, and unemployment. The teacher is to go through the "steps" of purposing, planning, executing, judging, and evaluating. Students are to learn how to understand statistics, research and organize information, and solve problems. This approach matches Evans' (2004) "social meliorist" description: Students are to learn how to solve problems in order to bring continued development to society. However, the problem method does not go as far as the social reconstructionists' program. The government is positively portrayed in all problems. For example, the government should control industry as its planning would minimize free enterprise's dangers.

The second major approach, the "unit assignment," presents a detailed and structured way of organizing curricula in order to teach students. Its sections include: "(a) directions for study, (b) references for reading, (c) a list of supplementary projects, (d) an outline of minimum essentials, and (e) a tentative

time allotment" (Department of Education, 1937, p. 125). It is used to provide sample units for teachers. It is a content organizer that rationalizes educational processes into a series of steps. This teaching by steps is much along the lines of teaching by colours or painting by colours often used with young children.

**Texts**

McCaig's (1930) citizenship textbook remained in use during the 1930s, illustrating continuity with earlier guides. Students were also to use a new textbook, *Civilisation in Europe and the World* (Schapiro, Morris, & Soward, 1935). This text describes the evolution of Western Civilization with the aim of fostering a sense of identity and pride in it.

The textbook (Schapiro et al., 1935) also aims to develop good citizens. The imposingly thick text emphasizes particularly the grand story of the difficult struggle over the centuries for democracy as found in Western nations today. It also presents war in a negative light (it always leads to negative consequences) and advocates interdependence, harmony, and the appreciation of others in solving international disputes. (It is ironic to think that this was the focus of school textbooks on the eve of World War 2.) The textbook has increased social, economic and cultural content. A connection between content in texts and in curriculum guides is apparent, but not so clear is which came first. Did the Department of Education choose the textbook because it supported its goals, or did it find out which textbook other provinces and states were using and then take the textbook's main aims and content as its own curricula?[44]

**Conceptual Frames**

The curriculum guide's progressive language and problem solving focus with its ideal of active citizens who work to improve society is very close to

[44] The 19th Century textbooks described in Chapter 4 were used in other parts of Canada. They were often written in Ontario and then tailored to fit each province. The continuities between provinces are obvious. As BC's ministers looked outside of BC and as curriculum reform was based in American changes, textbooks may have been consulted with the aim of getting ideas for programs. This was the Department's practice in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Indeed, in early curriculum guides the curriculum was a textbook. At the same time, textbooks were often more liberal, or leftist, in tone than curriculum guides.

Evans' (2004) "social meliorist" program. The conceptualization of citizens and of citizenship education is Sears' and Hughes' (1996) Conception B, a more "active" liberal one, for people elect representatives that make up a government. People are seen to have numerous rights, including individual and property rights, and are encouraged to participate actively in all levels of government, from the local to the national. Individuals are also to work actively to support the "public good." The desire to have students develop an open international outlook could be an element of Conception C.[45]

Osborne's (1996) category of progressive-based "character education" is also supported, as the guides focus on socialization, or social living through developing individuals' characters, personal values, and desires to serve their communities. At the same time, nationalism and the desire to create consensus and a "spirit of unity" remain. Osborne (1996), however, argues for a shift in focus from citizenship active in politics to one based on good behaviour and service. In BC, this does not appear to have happened: Both political activity and service are recommended. While "civics" is not mentioned as a separate subject, all elements of older programs are still present. They have simply been integrated—quite explicitly—into the history-based Social Studies program's themes, as the curriculum guide and the following quote illustrate:

> Through the study of civics the student becomes aware of the duties and responsibilities of a good citizen; gains a knowledge of the law and respect for it and the rights of others, and by virtue of these understandings he is directed along the road to good citizenship. (Department of Education, 1936, p. 259)

As well, two of the "Right Ideals and Attitudes to be developed" include: "A recognition of civic responsibilities and a willingness to respond to them with the appropriate action" and "recognition of the fact that the British and Canadian tradition is to abide by the law, and that when one desire changes to be made in the law he should employ only lawful and constitutional methods for effecting such changes" (Department of Education, 1936, p. 233). The curriculum guide

[45] This desire to be good global citizens was advocated, however, in older citizenship programs. It seems to be linked to developing pan-imperialist sentiment in the British Empire.

seems to blend and recommend all major movements: character education, progressivism and social meliorism, and the "old" citizenship education program.

## Conclusion

The Putman and Weir Report (1925) was described in Chapter 4. These curriculum guides illustrate that some of the recommendations of that report—establishing junior high schools, a common core for all students, a more child centred philosophy focused on matching studies to students' needs, interests, and abilities, and an education centred around developing students' character, good use of leisure, and health—were all enacted in the 1930s. These recommendations were based on American trends. Indeed, the curriculum guide (Department of Education, 1936) includes quotes and references from the NCSS, US superintendents, the NEA yearbook, and Montana's Social Studies course of studies. Several correlating factors include the empowering of Weir as Minister of Education, economic problems fuelling a perceived need for change in society through schools, and negative reaction to the Kidd Report that argued for massive school cutbacks (Jones, 1980).

Furthermore, while having some continuity in its conception of good citizens and how these are to be educated, the final progressive curriculum revision (Department of Education, 1936, 1937) has differences with the former revision (Department of Education, 1930), which established the course of Social Studies in BC for the first time. Sears and Hughes (1996) Conception A (conservative) is largely found in the first progressive revision of the guide, but Conception B (liberal) is largely found in the second revision. Osborne's (1996) description of progressive-based citizenship education more closely matches the second guide; his first category more closely matches the first revision (1930). As for Evans' (2004) program, the first guide more closely matches his "traditionalist" category; the second his "social meliorist" category. In short, changes to the citizenship education program appear to demonstrate that curriculum changes matched to progressivist ideas and pedagogies were reflected in curricula, but they took time to appear and did so in stages. At the

same time, features of older citizenship education programs, such as the desire to have students: respect the law, know the three levels of government, be aware of their responsibilities as "good citizens" and learn particular historical narratives remain embedded in the curricula. Change and continuity are apparent.

Finally, changes in conceptualizations of good citizens, particularly in the 1936 and 1937 (Department of Education) revision, illustrate that progressivism was tied to a more egalitarian conceptualization of citizenship and to new pedagogies based in "experiences" and problem solving. This more populist conception of the good citizen seems to reflect Dewey's argument in *Democracy in Education* (1916) that schooling should prepare students for society while, at the same time, providing an education (which combined both intellectual and hands-on elements) that leads to the continued growth of society. Indeed, through an experience-based education, Dewey aims to create "the presage of a more equitable and enlightened social order" (1916, p. 319). [46]

The *Public Schools Report* of 1937 (Superintendent's Report, 1937-8) echoes many of these points. It states that many of the revised curricula were put into effect and that a summer school was held to teach the new approach to teachers, many of whom expressed concerns. Overall, the report is very positive in tone, focusing on growth and progress and new and exciting changes. However, how well this plethora of new and (perhaps) confusing curricula was implemented in schools is open to question. One case study I conducted demonstrates that the school quickly made the structural changes required as a result of Department of Education pressure, including the need to fill out "accreditation reports" in order to exempt students in the schools from writing exams and school inspector visits. However, school documents did not include progressive language until much later, thus implying that philosophy did not transfer so easily (North Vancouver High School 1911-1925, 1929, 1940, 1942,

[46] See appendix A for a more detailed description of Dewey's philosophy.

1943, 1945, 1978).[47] These findings match those of Sutherland (1986) who argues that progressive changes were not found in elementary schools until the 1960s.

Perhaps Ministry officials had, at this early time in school curricula creation, a naïve belief that their policies would be eagerly accepted and enacted in practice in schools, as Snyder et al (1989) have described for curricula released in the United States. Nevertheless, this multilayered and complex curriculum guide with its associated progressive pedagogy grafted onto earlier guides' programs remained in effect for a long time, right through World War 2. The next major curriculum revision was not begun until the 1950s, until the world had been transformed permanently by war. World War 2's shock waves shaped the following curriculum revision, fixing it even more closely on one particular concept always of importance, but made pre-eminently so, in 1950.

## 5.2. The Second Major Revision, 1950

### 5.2.1. The Historical Context

In the 1940s, as World War 2 fuelled the government's desire to foster patriotism, curriculum reform became more conservative in the United States (Symcox, 2002). Academics critical of progressivism and global events such as the Cold War and Sputnik, which led to the American National Defence Education Act of 1958, reinforced this trend. The American National Defence Education Act channelled large amounts of money into schools with the aim of improving student achievement (Symcox, 2002).

In the 1940s, schooling in BC continued to be progressive, focused on creating workers with democratic values using practical, vocational training; antipathy to liberal education was apparent (Stevenson, 1970). Thus, an Education and Vocational Guidance Division of the Ministry was established in 1944 to provide students with social guidance. Some changes to schooling did

[47] Broom, C. (2006). *An early curriculum revision in British Columbia.* Unpublished paper, Vancouver, British Columbia.

occur during the war, however, influenced by the war and American trends. Teachers were required to take an oath of allegiance in 1940, and cadet training was re-introduced in schools. As well, students had to take part in air raid drills, and bible study was introduced as an extra-curricular credit course in order to develop morals and religious values, due to parental pressure and support by Weir. By 1943, all classes began with bible readings.

Additionally, pressure by the British Columbia Teachers' Federation (BCTF) and other groups resulted in the Cameron Commission of 1944-5. This commission's report led to the reorganization of school districts in order to equalize the finances of rural and urban schools (Barman & Sutherland, 1988). English (1956) positively evaluated this reorganization. He stated that the new and larger school districts allowed for more equality of educational opportunities, particularly for students in rural and poorer neighbourhoods, as schools were established in central areas to which students were bussed. As a result, the schools increased in size and were able to offer more diversified programs and better school conditions. Students of different backgrounds could mix, breaking down 'social barriers': "The larger administrative unit consequently provides an excellent opportunity for the development and maintenance of a democratic spirit which is so important in our social life at the present time" (English, 1956, p. 27).

These points are echoed in the *Public Schools Report* of 1945-6 (Superintendent's Report, 1945-46). William Gray, the inspector of schools responsible for North Vancouver, described the focus of the year as the implementation of Cameron's Report. Other notable points were the issuing of new curricula for Commercial Studies and Grade 6 Social Studies and of new textbooks. The new Social Studies revision involved the addition of a unit on "Your Community," plus a new Canadian History curriculum. In short, while a focus on career preparation continued in the 1940s, a trend to increased patriotism in school—as occurred in the United States (Symcox, 2002) and in other parts of Canada—was evident.

Due to immigration and the baby boom, the population grew so quickly after the war that a School Planning and Construction Office was established in 1949. The 1955-1956 *Public Schools Report* (Superintendent's Report, 1955-56) describes the major challenges as those of managing changes in society and growth. The Department of Education attempted to deal with these changes through the creation of updated curricula. The report states that the "purposes of the curriculum is to prepare young people for life in adult society" (Superintendent's Report, 1945-46, p. ff31). A Curricula Advisory Board, therefore, had been established the year before to investigate curricula, and changes were made to or new textbooks were issued for English, Social Studies, History (Canadian History), Elementary Arithmetic, Science, and Music. Curricula could no longer be "academic" (Superintendent's Report, 1945-46, p. ff31): courses had to be relevant thus, for example, Driver Education was necessary.

### 5.2.2. The Social Studies, Revisions over the 1950s

In the 1948 curriculum guide (Department of Education, 1948), teachers were instructed to change the content they taught as needed, in order to fit the new reality of the post World War 2 world. They were told that a new guide would be released shortly to reflect this new reality once peace and stability had been established. It was the early 1950s before the new guides were released.[48] They had a very specific focus, illustrated in the following story, entitled "THE SHINING THING IN THE SOULS OF FREE MEN" [uppercase in original] added to the 1948 guide:

> So long as the English tongue survives, the word Dunkerque will be spoken with reverence. For in that harbour, in such a hell as never blazed on earth before, at the end of a lost battle, the rags and blemishes that have hidden the soul of Democracy fell away. There, beaten but unconquered, in shining splendour, she faced the enemy....this shining

[48] Like the first, this second process of curriculum revision took a long time to complete with courses being changed individually over the period of a few years, and with curricula released in "experimentary" form before being released in final form (described in Chapter 7). Consequently, this section will focus on using the 1960 curriculum guide, in which all courses are described in their final and approved form.

> thing in the souls of free men Hitler cannot command, or attain, or conquer. He has crushed it, where he could, from German hearts. It is the great tradition of Democracy. It is the future. It is victory." (Department of Education, 1941, p. 128)

#### 5.2.2.1. Curriculum Presentation and Philosophy

The new curriculum guide, *Secondary School Social Studies,* is enclosed in a thin yellow hardcover book (Department of Education, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1956, 1958, 1959. 1960). Its introduction is brief. Its informing philosophy does not radically depart from that of the 1930s. It presents a moderated form of progressivism. For example, the guide states that students need to learn knowledge and to have an "experience"-based education. The introduction focuses mostly on defining Social Studies as the study of problems through the integrated social sciences (the same definition as in the 1930s), and describing its role in developing students' knowledge, attitudes, and skills, all centred on developing good citizens. It contains more pedagogies for teachers to use. The introduction includes a section on "propaganda," quite similar in form to that of the 1930s. Teachers are instructed not to indoctrinate students to support their points of view. At the same time, a new note is instructive: "...the development of patriotism and loyalty towards our country, appreciation of democracy and respect for law and order is most desirable and does not constitute real propaganda" (Department of Education, 1951, p. 13). However, Crick's (2000) quote from Chapter 2 ["To indoctrinate democracy is a contradiction in terms if 'democracy' is really democratic" (Crick, 2000, p. 56)] implies that the Department's approach did indeed constitute propaganda, or attempted indoctrination. The guide remains content-based.

#### 5.2.2.2. Defining and Describing Citizenship Education

The curriculum guide has a new focus. It was always of importance, but given pre-eminence as a consequence of the horrors and devastations of World War 2 initiated primarily by evil men devoid of human conscience and care, the goal of the guide is the creation of good citizens who, most importantly, support democracy as the best form of government. Indeed, the central aim of Social

Studies is stated as that of: "the promotion of better citizenship" repeatedly and with clarity and force: "It cannot be stressed too frequently that the central objective of Social Studies teaching is the development of worthy citizens" (Department of Education, 1960, p. 7).

In other words, particular emphasis is placed on the role of education in forming good citizens of a democracy. For example, in Social Studies 30 (Grade 11) students are to learn the "machinery of national life" in order that "the students should develop the concept that democracy is a way of life offering continual challenge, responsibility and opportunity. He [*sic*] should gain a thorough understanding of the organization and purposes of our institutions and our pattern of democratic government" (Department of Education, 1960, p. 87). In Social Studies 20, students are to learn that democracy "is not only a form of government, it is a way of life which seeks to express a great ideal, the ideal of the worth of each person...regardless of his race, colour, class, or creed....all men [*sic*] are entitled to freedom, political rights, and equality before the law" (Department of Education, 1960, p. 67).

The definition of good citizenship is not particularly different to that presented in the 1930s, except in two major ways. Firstly, a larger focus is placed on being international citizens (this is not a new idea but given a more prominent place in the curriculum): "It is recognized that the ideals of citizenship involve knowledge and understanding which extend beyond national boundaries....Citizenship involves orientation—a process of placing oneself not only in relation to Canada, but also to the rest of the world" (Department of Education, 1960, p. 75).[49] Secondly, as illustrated in the quote from the Social Studies 20 course, citizenship is widened in scope, for it includes previously excluded groups in society and it aims to build national feeling towards Canada as an independent nation. Indeed, as Troper (2002, described in Chapter 2)

[49] This was also advocated in 19th Century guides: Students had to be good citizens of Canada and of the Empire. It appears to be linked to British, Empire-building sentiment, and fanned into a preeminent position in guides as a result of World War 2.

mentioned, a new and expanded conceptualization of Canadian citizenship arrived after World War 2, because of the final act of "independence" from Britain and the new Canadian Citizenship Act. An appendix in the 1951 curriculum guide includes a "playlet" for students to perform in which they enact the process of renunciating their "foreign nationality" and receiving their new "Canadian nationality" (Department of Education, 1951, p. 71).[50] Assimilation continued.

**Knowledge, Values, Attitudes, and Behaviours**

Notwithstanding these two major changes and the obvious focus on citizenship education throughout, the rest of the curriculum guide is very similar to that of the 1930s. Students are to have knowledge of the meaning, origins and development: of democracy and of Canada, of the liberties and rights they enjoy and of the "...duties and responsibilities of Canadian citizens" (Department of Education, 1960, p. 53), of the three levels of government and their functions and structures, of the electoral process, of political parties, of the different types of law and how they are enforced, of government financing and the role of taxation, and of some of the services provided by government. These are essentially the same topics studied in 1930s and, indeed, even earlier. The civics education focuses on political figures and parties, elections, government structures, taxation, services of the municipal, provincial and federal governments and the United Nations and world peace. Good citizenship, which the guide states, is "to be emphasized in all courses" (Department of Education, 1960, p. 42) includes:

1. Loyalty to self, home, school, community, nation, United Nations.
2. Our heritage—traditions, rights, *responsibilities*, resources.
3. The worth of an individual is measured by his contribution to the welfare of society.
4. How education may aid us in making our contributions.
5. Qualities of leadership as exemplified by Sir John A Macdonald, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Dr. W. Grenfell, and others.
6. Our place in the Canada of to-day [*sic*]

(p. 42)

[50] It is included as Appendix C.

All these features were found in earlier curriculum guides and even as far back as 19th Century textbooks. Continuity in content and concepts regarding citizenship is apparent. The citizenship education program is summarized in the following quote:

> In short, students should acquire an appreciation of the democratic ideology with its past struggles and achievements, its unsolved problems, its future possibilities, and its ever-present challenge. Students should come to realize that democracy is not a framework for anarchic liberty and license, but is rather a form of government wherein law and authority are imperative...the contingent relationship of the employment of personal rights and privileges with the acceptance of personal responsibilities and duties. (Department of Education, 1960, p. 8)

The program matches Sears' and Hughes' Conception B (liberal), with a little of C (global) and with content similar to Conception A.

The values are also little changed. Students are to learn to value truth, justice, fair play, government (especially democracy), human life, community, good leisure, aesthetics, and law and order. Good citizens are also: to be humanitarian and to value brotherhood, to be aware of the relationship between rights and responsibilities and citizenship, to promote the welfare of the state, to respect and desire to improve the state, to have tolerance and patriotism, and to appreciate international peace. They are to be neat, industrious, courteous, prompt, accurate, cooperative, patient, respectful of others' rights and opinions, and participatory. Their skills are to include: critical thinking, analysing and evaluating material; being aware of bias and propaganda (except that taught in schools which really is not propaganda), reading, writing, discussing, interpreting; knowing parliamentary procedures; and doing committee work. Again, little difference is found between this and earlier citizenship education programs.

**Pedagogy**

Even the curricula are presented in a similar way, as detailed lists of topics (primarily history-based) students are to learn. Curriculum guides begin with an articulated purpose, and include content and suggestions for teaching it, as well as a sample unit. The "unit" idea is described and used again. Comments remain as to the need to make curriculum child centred and experiential, but

tempered by the need to teach content as well. Teachers are urged to be selective, to make their lessons interesting, to focus on teaching "problems" and to be democratic through working cooperatively with their students: "Remember at all times that you are educating for democratic citizenship—for self government. Let yours then be a leadership of free men [*sic*]. Provide a relationship wherein authority and individual initiative are compatible" (Department of Education, 1960, p. 11). The use of history to help students "understand" the present remains, and the same particular historical events selected in earlier curriculum guides to highlight themes, particularly those associated with democracy, are used. The purpose of creating particular identities in students also continues. Indeed, using history for particular aims is made explicit: Canada's story is told, threaded to that of Europe, with the hope that "a broad, healthy, enthusiastic Canadian patriotism may be fostered rather than a narrow nationalistic bigotry" (Department of Education, 1960, p. 37). European political and economic history is taught as the "story" of the development of democracy, with the Industrial Revolution presented as leading to greater economic and political rights, in order to develop students' appreciation for democracy. Canada's political development is recounted in order to lead students to appreciate their rights and freedoms, their pride in the "statesmanship" that went into making Canada's governmental structure, and "The instability of governments in united Canada may serve to illustrate the importance of having a working majority in a democracy" (Department of Education, 1960, p. 83).

Two differences exist with earlier curricula: Firstly, an increased number of methods are recommended for teachers to use, illustrating perhaps new ideas being developed in faculties of education. These include: teaching "in accordance with the findings of adolescent psychology" (Department of Education ,1960, p. 11); recitation and discussion; informal lecture; the project method; the problem approach; the contract method; supervised study; the source method; creative work; "specimens"; field trips; visual aids; debates; open forums and panel discussions; elections; court trials; book reports; dramatic

sketches; radio programs and recordings; clubs; student government; student publications; newspapers; and local histories (Department of Education, 1960, p. 12-13). Secondly, due to new world events, curricula have been rearranged and in some cases changed.

The Grade 9 course (called Social Studies 10) is revamped to focus primarily on geography.[51] Its history content on Canada is moved to Grade 8. Its focus on the British Empire is removed (presumably as Canada was now an independent nation). Instead, the new course centres on regions of the world in order "to teach future citizens the knowledge and the understanding that will enable them to imagine accurately 'the conditions of the great world stage' and so help them to think sanely about the problems of mankind in the world to-day" (Department of Education, 1960, p. 46). For example, the study of Western Europe aims to show students how it came to dominate the world: of the Soviet Union aims to compare socialism and free enterprise and totalitarianism and democracy, of the Middle East aims to highlight it as a "hot spot", and of North America aims to illustrate Canada's and the United States' friendly relations, strength, cooperation, and interdependence.

The Grade 10 course, called Social Studies 20, presents recent European History arranged in topics that focus on modern problems and on educating students to be informed of world affairs: "never before in history has the understanding of world affairs been so vitally important in the development of democratic citizenship as it is to-day" (Department of Education,1960, p. 64). Social Studies 30, the Grade 11 course, refocuses on Canadian History, particularly that based on political history and governmental structures as described in the "machinery of national life" unit of the previous curriculum guide. The old "civics" program remains: Students look at what government is; what types of government exist and why democracy is the best form of government; the structures and functions of the three levels of government; the process of

[51] Geography was given a larger role in the curriculum perhaps as the field of Geography itself was growing, especially at the university level. Perhaps some geographers had influence over the making of the curriculum?

elections, political parties, types of law, the courts and enforcement of law, budgets and taxation, and services provided by the government to be "illustrative of the wider application of the government to our daily lives" (Department of Education, 1960, p. 88). It takes a "social science" approach through including content from the fields of geography, political science, economics, sociology, and history. The guide also recommends teaching History 91, a course on Modern World History, using the "problem approach." History teaches students "lessons" including: how present day problems were formed, how people in the world are interdependent, how futile and dangerous modern wars are, how peaceful methods should be used, and how world cooperation should be appreciated.

#### Texts

One recommended civics textbook, *Canadian Democracy in Action* (Brown, 1952), contains the same content as earlier guides—the structures and functions of parliament, representation, the federal system, the rule of law, local government and taxes—but adds links between democracy and freedom and Canadians as both national and "world citizens." The textbook echoes the curriculum guide's main emphasis of educating for good citizenship.

#### Conceptual Frames

This curriculum revision is framed within Sears' and Hughes' Conception B (although with some of Conception C), for democracy is described as bringing rights and responsibilities; sovereignty is seen to reside in people; and students are encouraged to participate in government. As the guide also states that a problem-based approach should be used and that citizens should work to support democracy, Evans' (2004) social meliorist program is present in ghost form. Evans' (2004) statement that, during the 1950s in the United States, traditionalists argued history should be taught as a positive nation-building narrative due to criticisms of the social meliorist approach, perhaps explains why this particular guide presented a more balanced and tempered "progressive" approach. Nationalism and democracy were key features of the guide, probably focused on because of World War 2 and (as Evans, 2004, mentions) the

development of the Cold War. Indeed, one of the units involves a comparison of democracy with communism and a lesson about the Soviet Union. It aims to have students develop "a deep appreciation...[of the] material advantages...basic freedoms...[and] safeguards provided by our democratic way of life" (Department of Education, 1960, p. 55). Osborne's (1996) categorization of character education and socialized living supplanting political citizenship is not found in this guide, although his description of a nationalistic focus and split between theory and the presentation of curricula is supported. Curriculum details remain lists of content for students to learn.

#### Conclusion

In summary, this curriculum guide (Department of Education, 1960) presents a similar citizenship education program to that found in 1930s curriculum guides (Department of Education, 1930, 1936, 1937) and much of the same progressive philosophy and pedagogy. However, the curriculum guide tempers progressivist philosophy by stating that learning knowledge is also important and that methodology should not "monopolize the centre stage" (Department of Education, 1960, p. 11), perhaps due to criticisms of progressivism that occurred in the United States (Evans, 2004). This second revision seems to have been a response to World War 2 and to the changed world conditions that it produced. It concentrates particularly strongly on "indoctrinating" democracy. It does not provide a radical revision of its informing philosophy of education as the next revision does.

## 5.3. The Third Major Revision, 1968

### 5.3.1. The Historical Context

During the 1950s, while government reports advocated practical education and "preparation for life," academics and some of the public backed a more Traditionalist education (Clark, 2004). For example, Hilda Neatby, a university professor most probably influenced by the movement in the United States, harshly criticized progressive child centred curricula. She stated that it did not

teach students how to think, as students were involved in mindless activities and socializing (Pitsula, 2001; Clark, 2004; Barman & Sutherland, 1988). She specifically criticized BC's Social Studies curriculum for indoctrination:

> She described the Social Studies as "the truly typical part of the progressive curriculum with its obsession for indoctrination." The was because "everything is, of course, subordinated to the innumerable aims and attitude which the teachers, in theory, must bear in mind. The example she used was the British Columbia Social Studies curriculum for junior high school, with its ten powers, skills, and right habits of study, its eleven right ideals and attitudes, and fourteen desirable abilities, all to be developed by Social Studies. (Clark, 2004, p. 20)

This more traditionalist stance was reflected in the Royal Commission's (British Columbia, 1960) suggestions for a more intellectual academic curriculum that concentrated on English and Mathematics and on streaming students into varied programs according to their supposed abilities as illustrated in standardized testing (Barman & Sutherland, 1988; British Columbia, 1960).

In the 1960s, curriculum movements were reformist in the United States (Symcox, 2002). In universities, knowledge was emphasized and developmental psychology grew in importance, reflected in the work of Piaget, Ausubel, and Bruner (Hass, 1987). Psychology was seen by some to be "one of the basic sciences underlying elementary and secondary education" (Hass, 1987, p. 11). Psychologist David Ausubel, for example, confidently stated that using "developmental principles" provided "definite answers to questions dealing with content and organization of curriculum" (Ausubel, 1987, p. 151). These ideas influenced curriculum making and the development of the "neo progressive movement," which grew due to the popularity of Bruner (Barman & Sutherland, 1988; Clark, 2004). In *The Process of Education,* Bruner argued that students should learn the structures of disciplines imbued with a spirit of inquiry, and that the curriculum should be a "spiral curriculum," which permitted students to "revisit central issues and themes at greater levels of complexity as they matured" (Symcox, 2002, p. 21). Bruner's theory was based on the premise that:

> Every subject has a structure, a rightness, a beauty. It is this structure that provides the underlying simplicity of things, and it is by learning its nature that we come to appreciate the intrinsic meaning of a subject...knowledge has an internal connectedness, a meaningfulness,

> and that for facts to be appreciated and understood and remembered, they must be fitted into that internal meaningful context....It often takes the deepest minds to discern the simplest structure of knowledge. For this reason, if for no other, the great scholar and the great scientist and the greatly compassionate person are needed in the building of new curricula....Discovery involves the finding of the right structure, the meaningfulness. Consider now what benefits the child might derive from the experience of learning through his own discoveries...increased intellectual potency, intrinsic rewards, useful learning techniques, and better memory processes. (Bruner, 1987, p. 244)

Evans (2004) called this movement the "New Social Studies."

Teachers became increasingly receptive to progressive and child-centred movements (Barman & Sutherland, 1988; Sutherland, 1980), perhaps as teachers had been educated along more progressivist lines in university programs and not normal schools and as the progressivist inheritance trickled into general educational philosophies. The BCTF's (1959) brief to the Royal Commission was steeped in progressivism as illustrated by its consistent advocacy of a child-centred approach based on the needs of each child. It shared some similarities with the Royal Commission Report (British Columbia, 1960) as its "child centred" approach meant, in effect, streaming students into varied program options—vocational programs for "slow" learners, a "general program" for average learners, and a "university program" for "advanced" students. Streaming was viewed as a way of individualizing the curriculum for students, although it was (in effect) an unfair system of giving the best education to the apparently more intelligent students.

The BCTF report (1959) states that the 1950s committee wanted to conclude the Social Studies program with a Modern History course, but that it was replaced by a Canadian History course due to "pressure placed on the Department of Education from a number of sources to include a study of Canada" (BCTF, 1959, p. 166). The BCTF report criticized the curriculum of the 1950s for not including Modern History at the senior level and for presenting this in lower grades when students were argued to be not yet ready to understand its more complex themes. It also stated that too much overlapping Canadian History was provided. It recommended more fact-based geography content in

earlier grades and moving Canadian History to earlier grades and Modern History to senior grades. The report also gave citizenship education a key place. It was conceptualized in a similar manner to that of the 1950s curriculum guides:

> Our hope, then, is that our students will appreciate to the fullest possible extent the forces which now determine peace and war, and that they will dedicate themselves to their duties and responsibilities as prospective citizens of Canada and the wider community of nations. (BCTF, 1959, p. 168)

Generally, during the 1960s research and experimentation were highlighted, attendance at and completion of high school increased markedly, and costs of education grew drastically as the government seems to have accepted the arguments of some writers that increased education led to economic growth (Stevenson, 1970). Research and experimental teaching is illustrated, for example, by "open area" teaching, where classrooms had no walls and groups of teachers taught groups of students together in 1969 (Balcom, 1995). The BC government released many "experimental education" guides and curricula for practical courses, such as draughting, mechanics and construction. Curricula designed to improve and reform society also developed (Pedersen & Fleming, 1983). However, Hodgett's (1968) *What Culture? What Heritage?* study argues that boring formalistic teaching methods and apathy were common in schools (Tomkins, 1986; Hodgett, 1968). New theories did not appear significantly to influence practice.

### 5.3.2. The New Curriculum Guide, 1968

#### 5.3.2.1. Curriculum Presentation and Philosophy

The innovative slim 1968 Social Studies guide, *Secondary School Curriculum Guide Social Studies,* strongly eschews the old guides by criticizing their detailed content (Department of Education, 1968). It aims at developing a groundbreaking curriculum guide that solves the stated problems of earlier guides. Its tone and language are those of the academic expert. Unlike the 1950s revision, which did not present a new philosophy of education, this guide does. It is a philosophy based in the "structures of the disciplines" approach,

arising in academia and the social sciences. The "disciplines" of History and Geography are at its core. This guide decreases the importance given to the progressive and child centred approach of the 1930s, and deemphasizes the focus on "democracy" of the 1950s guides. It also minimizes the importance of knowledge—seen to be transitory at best—and concentrates on developing students' concepts and skills.

The primary focus is on "concepts" that are seen to help students master the two separate (although possibly taught together) disciplines of History and Geography, supported with content from the other social sciences. Consequently, the guide includes a description of what "History" and "Geography" are considered to be and of what concepts are associated with each. History is given an enriched purpose, similar to its conceptualization in academia: It not only helps students understand the present, but also helps students "see" other time periods and develop a number of skills. As was the case in earlier guides, it is not to be used to teach students particular moral lessons or inculcate specific values (although the comment on teaching the "national story" below may deny this in practice). Geography is also much expanded in form and is described in academic terms. It is to develop students' understanding of different regions of the world, particularly through the exploration of major issues (maintaining a "problem based approach"), such as urbanization and unequal economic wealth.

As factual knowledge is given less importance, the curriculum guide is presented in a new way. After introducing the new philosophy influencing curriculum makers, defining "History" and "Geography" and the concepts that presumably make up these disciplines, History and Geography content for each grade are presented side-by-side. Geography is assigned half the time for each grade. The guide then, very briefly, presents a short overview of each grade's focus and lists the subjects, or themes, to be studied. Beside these, teaching strategies are given. Teachers are given the freedom to select topics of study: "It is intended that within the framework of this programme that the teacher shall

have maximum choice of method, material, and content (underlining in the original, Department of Education, 1968, p. 13).

#### 5.3.2.2. Defining and Describing Citizenship Education

Citizenship education is not given as pre-eminent a place as it was in the 1950s guides, but it is present. It is still to be taught in history, and it is mentioned directly:

> There is also a close connection between history and civics. History should lead to an understanding of our political institutions; it should develop an awareness of the strengths and weaknesses of competing political systems and ideologies. It should develop an awareness of the benefits of international cooperation as well as of the difficulties and obstacles to their achievement. To this extent history is a preparation for responsible citizenship. (Department of Education, 1968, p. 9)

**Knowledge, Values, Attitudes, and Behaviours**

While the curriculum guide consciously sets out to remove a focus on detailed facts through the "principle of selection" (Department of Education, 1968, p. 1), the materials continue to present a similar program of education for citizenship, although one not as rich as that of the 1930s or 1950s. Students are to learn the meaning of such terms as democracy, fascism, and dictatorship. Teachers are to develop students' sense of belonging, or nationalism.

As well, students are to be taught similar content related to tracing the story of democracy: a description of Britain's "evolutionary" process of developing parliament as compared to France's "revolutionary" approach, a comparison of "east" and "west" including "democracy vs dictatorship" (Department of Education, 1968, p. 29), the story of the constitutional development of Canada (responsible government and Confederation), details about American political development, and—most importantly—the same Grade 11 unit on the "machinery of life."

> For example: A topical approach: The political parties-basic principles and policies. Machinery of government—Federal, Provincial, Municipal (political parties could be approached through biographies national and provincial). Reference should also be made to the role of law on human society. (Department of Education, 1968, p. 38)

Thus, the knowledge gained will be quite similar to that of earlier guides, although knowledge itself is given less importance: "The student should learn to live with the realization that most knowledge in the social domain is really a body of approximation of the truth; hence, he should cultivate the capacity to rethink knowledge already in his possession" (Department of Education, 1968, p. 3).

Values are conceived of differently: They vary with students' own experiences and backgrounds and, so, students are to explore and "clarify" their own values, consider their own biases and make their own value statements. However, while students are to realize the contextualized nature of values and to question their own, they are still to learn "of the values that have been operative in our civilization" (Department of Education, 1968, p. 11). The latter statement seems to imply that students are to learn to appreciate one particular value set (the Western Civilization one) more than others. As this chapter's findings have illustrated, statements of philosophy, aims, or methods in curriculum guides are often denied in the actual presentation of the curriculum. Curriculum guides are therefore often self-contradictory, and much continuity remains in content over time.

Attitudes are also not as clearly articulated as in previous guides; however, continuity exists in the attempt to develop nationalism: "Man [*sic*] needs roots, something to provide him with a sense of belonging. History can provide this sense of group identity. The necessity of teaching the national story is implied" (Department of Education, 1968, p. 11). As in earlier guides, students are to have empathy for other people; to understand the interdependent nature of the world and the benefits of cooperation with family, community, and the world. Students are to develop a number of skills tied to the concepts that are seen to underlie the disciplines of History and Geography. These include questioning assumptions, critical thinking, problem solving, investigating and researching, evaluating, hypothesizing, analyzing, synthesizing, and presenting—presumably, as long as students do not question the manner in which history content itself is used with the aim of shaping their particular identities and attitudes.

#### Pedagogy

Fewer pedagogical strategies are given than found in the 1950s guide, and little emphasis is put on the need for the curriculum to be matched to students' interests. Rather, most of the pedagogical suggestions are taken from the social sciences. Suggested strategies include: the inquiry approach in which students are to observe, ponder, and reflect; "depth studies" in which students are to study a few topics in detail with the aim of developing their understanding of discipline-based concepts; field trips; independent study; and evaluation, which should provide needed feedback to students and be appropriate to the method and content. Teaching suggestions presented with curricula are taken from the social sciences and include biographical, selected, episodic, anthropological, and sociological studies; and political science, topical, and document-study approaches. Unmistakably, the focus is academic.

#### Texts

Teachers are encouraged not to rely on one textbook but, rather, to use a number of texts with different interpretations. The recommended **textbooks list changed** from listing one or two prescribed textbooks to including an immense number of books that teachers could consult. One of the recommended texts, *Making Canadian History* (Sutherland & Deyell, 1966) provides a good example of the inquiry approach. Unlike earlier texts, it was interactive and included inquiry and "doing" activities, as opposed to reading formal prose passages and answering fact-based questions. The activities aimed to have students "work this year as a historian" and "think about how history is written" (p. vi) and included: reading and interpreting historical narratives, learning how word use evolved over time, and interpreting historical accounts, pictures, and narratives.

#### Conceptual Frameworks

The curriculum guide closely matches Evans' (2004) description of the "New Social Studies." Supported by social scientists, whom he calls "mandarins," this approach argues for an intellectual, discipline-focused, and discovery-learning curriculum. These ideas are integral to the 1968 guide:

Students are to use the concepts and methods of the social sciences and be social scientists themselves. Discovery learning, inquiry methods and in-depth studies are to be used in order to teach students about the structures of the disciplines of History and Geography, leading to the mastery of concepts seen as the core of each subject:

> The students should comprehend the structure of ideas that is the essence of History, Geography, and the social sciences....The student should understand and use at his level the approach of the historian, the geographer, or the appropriate social scientist. (Department of Education, 1968, p. 3)

Osborne's (1996) argument that curricula became increasingly focused on multiculturalism and Canadian studies is partly supported. Biculturalism is not given a central place in curricula. However, it is mentioned as one of the themes that teachers can explore with their students in Grade 11, as is "autonomy" or Canadian nationalism and independence. Canadian studies are included in the curriculum guide: Canadian History and Geography are to be studied by students in Grades 10 and 11. While not given pre-eminence as in the 1950 revision, the description of citizenship education is the same as that of the 1950s revision and most closely matches Sears and Hughes (1996) Conception B, again with a little of Conception C, for students are taught a liberal conception of government and encouraged to understand the cultures of others and to cooperate with them. However, unlike earlier guides, less attention is placed on the need for students to be active in society or to develop good character.

**Conclusion**

This 1968 curriculum guide articulates a new educational philosophy based in the academic disciplines. It refocuses emphasis away from content and towards "concepts" and social science methods. It rearranges curriculum content to give greater emphasis to Canada and to Geography, despite BCTF recommendations. Perhaps pressure was exerted on the Department for Canadian content to be included in senior grades, partly resulting from tensions in Quebec and the celebration of Canada's centenary. Citizenship education

remains, but is not given such pre-eminence. The curriculum guide, however, does not fundamentally change the content taught: It generally just shifts it around. Wertch's (2002) concept of a schematic narrative template, a generalized unseen form, seems appropriate here, as does the concept of the "layering" or "grafting" of new ideas and approaches onto older content and concepts. This continuation over time of a number of the themes and topics taught seems to illustrate their embedded acceptance, as the "knowledge" students are to acquire and is particularly evident in citizenship education. The knowledge students are to learn as they are "schooled" to become good citizens—such as the story of Canada, the development of parliament/democracy and of Canada's political institutions, and the "machinery" of government—have stayed fundamentally the same again in this guide, although their description is not as elaborate as in earlier guides and the pedagogy to achieve good citizenship has changed.

## Conclusion

This chapter described the first three revisions to Social Studies guides made by BC's Department of Education since the foundation of "Social Studies" in high schools in 1930 and is summarized in Table 5.1. The first major revision occurred throughout the 1930s, during the Great Depression and both before and after Weir was appointed Minister of Education. This revision illustrates the arrival of progressive philosophy in BC, although its content does not match its articulated philosophy, hence I name it the *Phoney Progressive Revision*. The second revision occurred during the 1950s, and after World War 2. As it focuses on the creation of good democratic citizens, it is labelled *Democracy Rules*. The third revision was released in 1968. It is a classic example of the New Social Studies, illustrating the influence of what Evans (2004) has called the mandarins, or the Social Scientists, and is thus labelled *Academic Disciplines*.

All three conceptual frameworks were useful and found to varying degrees in the guides. Evans' (2004) social meliorist perspective most closely matches the philosophy and program of the 1930s revision (Department of Education,

1936, 1937). The 1950s guide (Department of Education, 1960) is a little more "traditional" and is focused on nationalism and content (especially history) as in the United States; and the 1968 revision is an excellent example of his "mandarin" or "social scientist" approach. Yet, at the same time, Sears' and Hughes' (1996) four articulations of good citizens and citizenship education are also of use, with the category found in these BC guides being primarily that of Conception B (liberal).

**Table 5.1. Summary of the Key Findings of this Chapter, 1930-1968**

| Document Name/Date | Summary | Conceptual Frames |
|---|---|---|
| *BC Curriculum Guides, 1930s:* "Phoney Progressivism" | First revision to Social Studies guides, including the establishment of Social Studies in BC. Two main stages: the 1930 revision established the course and 1936/7 expanded progressive-based philosophy, but philosophy mismatches content. | Largely Sears' and Hughes' Conception A (conservative) in the first stage and Conception B (liberal) in the second.<br>Osborne's first category (assimilation/nationalism) and second category (social living/character).<br>Evans' traditional category in the first stage and social meliorist in the second. |
| *BC Curriculum Guides, 1950s:* "Democracy Rules" | Second revision to Social Studies guides. It is not a major revision, mostly focusing attention primarily on the value of Democracy and Canadian nationalism. Guides remain content-based. | Sears' and Hughes' Conception B (liberal) with some of C (global).<br>Osborne's first and second categories.<br>Evans' traditional category, with social meliorism in ghost form. |
| *BC Curriculum Guide, 1968:* "Academic Disciplines" | Major revision to Social Studies guides, moves away from progressive-based philosophy to focus on academic disciplines and the social sciences, that is, "the New Social Studies." | Primarily Sears' and Hughes' Conception B.<br>Osborne's first and third (nationalism and biculturalism) categories.<br>Evans' "New Social studies"/mandarins program. |

Osborne's (1996) categories are also valuable, for we see a focus on assimilation and nation building in BC's early 20th Century curricula. However, his argument as to a progressive program de-emphasizing political citizenship is not borne out in BC. The largest revisions in philosophy and curriculum presentation are found in a comparison of the 1930s revision with the 1968 revision. These findings will be discussed in Chapter 7, after a description of the three later revisions made to Social Studies curricula in 1985, 1997, and 2005 in the following chapter.

# Chapter 6:

# Research Findings—Later Revisions

This chapter continues to present research findings. The first three major revisions to Social Studies curriculum guides were described in the previous chapter. Here, the last three revisions to Social Studies curricula, focused on conceptualizations of good citizens and associated pedagogies, are presented. These revisions were made in 1985, 1997, and 2005. As in the previous chapter, revisions are introduced with framing historical contexts and are analyzed using Evans' (2004), Sears' and Hughes' (1996), and Osborne's (1996) work. These findings are discussed in Chapter 7.

## 6.1. The Fourth Revision, 1985

### 6.1.1. Historical Context

A new awareness of cultural bias and unequal representation of minority groups in textbooks as documented in McDiarmid and Pratt's study (1971), formed part of a new wave of teaching concerns in the 1970s (Clark, 2004). These interests were reflected in a number of new programs advocated in academia, including social "reconstruction" courses aimed at improving and equalizing society, such as women's studies and development studies,[52] programs aimed at teaching morals and values, such as values clarification and

[52] Development studies themselves evolved in focus: from being imperialistic and aiming to create loyalty to the British Empire or Commonwealth, to dualistic and concentrating on conflict between capitalist and communist ideologies, to that of a "global village" focusing on activism and process with the aim of improving the world. The next focus was ecological, aiming to teach care and interconnectedness and to transform values. Currently, the trend is to neo-liberal curricula that focuses on the "world as a competitive market" and on individualism, self-reliance, and competitiveness (Richardson, 2004)

Kohlberg's stages of moral reasoning, environmental education, and courses focused on analysing and understanding social issues (Van Manen & Parsons, 1985; Clark, 2004).

Interest in citizenship education, however, declined at this time in the United States. A National Council for the Social Studies Report (NCSS, 1975) stated that citizenship education has lost the valued place it had held in the 1916 report. The council attempted to reawaken interest in the subject through conferences and its report. The latter included a rationale for citizenship education and recommended updated curricula. Notwithstanding this, some scholars continued to connect their work to citizenship. For example, Kohlberg described his theory as being in "the [Western] liberal or rational tradition, in particular the 'formalistic' or 'deontological' tradition running from Immanuel Kant to John Rawls. Central to this tradition is the claim that an adequate morality is principled.....principles are ultimately principles of justice" (Kohlberg, 1987, p. 164). He directly linked his theory to citizenship education: "When moral education is recognized as centred in justice and differentiated from value education or affective education, it becomes apparent that moral and civic education are much the same thing" (Kohlberg, 1987, p. 166). He argued that Social Studies should include "civic education...the stimulation of development of more advanced patterns of reasoning about political and social decisions" (Kohlberg, 1987, p. 166).

University professors developed learning theories or models (Block, 1987). Tomkins and other Canadian scholars pressed for "Canadian Studies" programs and an increased study of law (Tomkins, 1986; Clark, 2004).

During the early 1970s in BC, a left-leaning party, the NDP, adopted an open and experimental focus. In 1973, the party attempted to build student confidence by prohibiting the use of the strap, ending provincial exams, and supporting First Nation and French language education. They also decentralized the Superintendency and introduced a new curriculum, "CORE," which aimed to teach students skills. The Bremer Commission Report continued a tradition of advocating for practical training in preparation for work (Barman & Sutherland,

1988). Directed by a progressivist, this commission was not successful as some parents and members of society were becoming increasingly conservative and the desire for "accountability" became more prevalent (Barman & Sutherland, 1988). Some new courses were released during the decade: Based on an English movie series, a *Western Civilization 12* course (Department of Education, 1976) highlighted the achievements of Western Europeans. Several of its goals had a citizenship education ring: to foster an appreciation for the Western tradition, to develop critical thinking and independent study and "to develop an understanding of an individual's responsibility in society" (Department of Education, 1976, p. 3). A new *Geography 12* course was released in 1974 (Department of Education, 1974); and *Economics 11* and *Law 11* curricula in 1975 (Department of Education, 1975). A 1977 Social Studies Assessment recommended some changes to Social Studies curricula including: (a) more specified detail and Canadian content, (b) greater attention to matching content to students, (c) more emphasis on having students "apply" their learning ["skills development"], and (d) more inclusion of the social sciences (Ministry of Education, 1985).

During the 1980s, education for citizenship, teaching social issues, and an interdisciplinary and skills-focus were popular trends; and the Council of Ministers recommended an inquiry approach (Clark, 2004). At a time of economic restraint, a right-wing political party, the Socreds, brought in tougher standards and reintroduced provincial exams in 1984 (Fleming, 1989). They advocated a number of other conservative means aimed at accountability, leading to calls of "education under siege" (Pedersen & Fleming, 1983). These Efficiency and Accountability ideas were imported from the United States where, during the 1970s, conservative movements, such as the "Moral Majority" (Symcox, 2002, p. 22), and terms such as "accountability" and "back to basics" became popular with some (Evans, 2004). Topics of interest included nuclear power, a rising awareness of culture and of multiculturalism, the development of intercultural and global education, fears over mass media (particularly TV) fuelling demands for values education, concerns over the environment and a new

"global village" approach, and support for inclusion and "mainstreaming" (Hass, 1987).

### 6.1.2. The Curriculum of 1985

#### 6.1.2.1. Curriculum Presentation and Philosophy

The fourth curriculum revision, *Social Studies Curriculum Guide Grade Eight—Grade Eleven,* was implemented in 1985 in a compact soft covered booklet, written in a simple and approachable style (Ministry of Education, 1985). It includes photos of students engaged in historical re-enactments. Like earlier revisions, it appears to have been a lengthy process and led by a committee. The process began in 1975, just seven years after the last revision of 1968 (Ministry of Education, 1980).[53] The 1985 revision attempted to "balance" the academic disciplines nature of the 1968 revision. Briefly stated on one page, its philosophy of education lacks detail or depth when compared to earlier guides. However, its main threads are quite similar to those of the pre-1968 guides, the curriculum guides of the 1930s and 1950s: Education is to foster the individual growth of students and so benefit society. Further, citizenship education is given renewed importance as it had been in the 1950s, and it is a citizenship that expands outwards globally. The guide aims at providing specific details, identifying what students are to learn and be able to apply ("learning outcomes") in order to achieve its stated philosophy.

The curriculum is presented in a new manner. The themes of the physical environment, culture, economy, politics, and the current world scene are used as content organizers in each grade, presumably in an attempt to increase content from the social sciences, one of the recommendations in the 1977 Social Studies Assessment (Ministry of Education, 1985). Curricula are presented in list form, with a "focus" column listing main headings, a "topic" column presenting more

[53] The draft curriculum guide was released in 1980 (Ministry of Education, 1980). The final curriculum guide was published in 1985 (Ministry of Education, 1985). Both were consulted, as the 1980 draft deepened understanding of the final curriculum guide.

detailed sub-themes, and an "understanding and skills" column describing "learning outcomes." The final column lists "key questions."

The guide attempts to provide a logical and meaningful progression of studies. Its sequence is framed using Hanna's expanding horizon's theory. The introduction states that the guide attempts to address some of the 1977 Social Studies Assessment recommendations, including more clearly defined content and the addition of more social sciences content. The former is definitely achieved as far more detailed content is included when compared with the 1968 guide. However, the curriculum remains mostly history and geography based. Social science "concept headings" remain convenient frames on which to hang historical and geographical details. History maintains its "new history" goal of helping students understand the present, and continues to conceive of past "stories" in particular ways that aim to develop certain attitudes and identities.

#### 6.1.2.2. Defining and Describing Citizenship Education

The conceptualization of citizenship education is very similar to that stated in earlier programs and is articulated as central to Social Studies learning. Further, the 1980 draft (Ministry of Education, 1980) goes overboard by repeatedly stating the need for citizenship to be "active":

> Students should be encouraged to be active participants in the community by meeting their obligations and responsibilities as citizens. (Ministry of Education, 1980, p. 1)....society is expecting all, or certainly the vast majority of students, to graduate from high school and to acquire a standard of education which will enable them to function effectively as active and responsible citizens (Ministry of Education, 1980, p. 3)...Goal III focuses, generally, on the rights and responsibilities of citizens in a society. The Social Studies curriculum bears an important responsibility in citizenship education, not as the incidental by-product of other studies, but to be taught and learned because of its intrinsic importance. (Ministry of Education, 1980, p. 5)

This constant repetition and focus on "active citizenship" for a democracy is missing from the final guide (Ministry of Education 1985), although citizenship education is given a central role: "Social Studies makes a contribution in meeting this demand of society, particularly in the education of good citizens within a democracy" (Ministry of Education, 1985, p. 10) and:

> The overall theme of Social Studies is one of responsible citizenship. Building on the earlier grades, Social Studies eleven provides the knowledge and skills necessary for students to become responsible citizens of Canada and the world. In grade eleven, students continue their study of contemporary Canada by examining government, and politics and by examining Canadian society and our relations with the rest of the world. Students then make the transition to a global perspective..." (Ministry of Education, 1985, p. 77)

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Students are to acquire much of the same knowledge articulated in earlier guides in order to become good citizens. They are to be aware of the necessity of political institutions and: of its systems and the law, of the electoral process, of Canadian History (particularly focused on the shaping-of-Canada narrative that includes responsible government and Confederation and the development of Canada's autonomy from the United Kingdom and of "democratic principles" in Europe), of issues in Canada and the world today. Students are to learn of:

> the roles, rights, and responsibilities of a citizen in Canada, the impact of the political structure on residents of Canada, the components of the Canadian political structure and their functions, the actual operation of the Canadian political structure and the co-operation and conflict within the political structure, eg. Federal, provincial regulations, regionalism, regional disparities, separatism, Legal: the student and the law, significant laws and their impact, the components of the legal structure, how laws are made and change over time. (Ministry of Education, 1980, p. 109-110)

Cultural perspectives are new foci. Students are to be made aware of the link between different cultures and a variety of shaping factors. They are also to learn of: social diversity, Canada as a multicultural nation and the tensions this can bring, and the need to respect varied points of views. They are to understand how diverse environments and cultures shape varied perspectives, to see diversity and change as natural, and to comprehend the interdependence of all nations and, thus, work cooperatively. Finally, they are to study human rights, the Canadian Constitution and the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*.

Students are to develop an attitude of good citizenship: "the willingness to apply the knowledge and skills learned in Social Studies courses in the day-to-day activities of a democratic society" (Ministry of Education, 1980, p. 5). They are to be responsible citizens who: participated to their best abilities, are tolerant,

cooperative, respectful, courteous, self-controlled, humane, appreciative and respectful of other points of views, fair, inclusive, cooperative, helpful, and mindful of the need to follow rules and of the interconnected and interdependent nature of the world. They are to have self worth; to work well in groups and to develop leadership skills by following meeting rules and ensuring others follow these too. They are to value democracy (despite its problems), the rule of law, human rights, equality, all cultures, Native people in Canada, multiculturalism, and preserving the environment.

In short, the description of the knowledge, values, attitudes, and behaviours of students is not substantially different from that of earlier guides, except that "active" is really stressed in the draft curriculum guide but mostly omitted from the final guide. The manner in which citizens are to be active in the final guide is not well articulated. Presumably, they are mostly to engage in the skills described with the values and attitudes mentioned: being good citizens by cooperating with others, having knowledge of political structures, voting, and doing what they can to improve Canada. The need for cultural awareness in a multicultural nation and the inclusion of human rights and more groups in society are new themes, as is the inclusion of much human world Geography in Grade 11. The guide is closest to Sears and Hughes Conception B (liberal), but with elements of Conception C (global citizens). "Concepts," the key feature of the 1968 curriculum revision, remain, but in much paired down form. Some of these include interdependence, power, and citizenship.

One of the most apparent changes in this curriculum guide is the attention given to skills development in students. Pages and pages of skills are given for each grade level. These skills are the specific "learning outcomes" mentioned in the draft guide introduction as the focal point of new curricula. The final curriculum guide includes these detailed lists of skills and centres its attention on having students apply knowledge learned. These skills include critical thinking, problem solving, communicating, considering different viewpoints, analyzing data, inquiring, interpreting, locating and acquiring information, organizing, communicating, recognizing bias, and concluding.

These long and detailed lists of skills students are to master are quite imposing. They lead me to question why they were seen as necessary. The draft guide mentions that, previously, much selection was left the teacher. Perhaps this minute drawing out of skills required and the much more detailed list of content to cover (closer to the style of the 1930s and 1950s guides) was a way of trying to control teachers by specifying in very particular detail what they were to teach students. The following quote: "In past curriculums [*sic*], the task of selecting significant content has been left largely to the teacher. The present curriculum, by identifying the grade focus and more specific content, should facilitate more effective learning" (Ministry of Education, 1980, p. 10) seems to imply that teachers cannot be trusted to choose content to maximize "effective learning." It also appears to signal a continual shift away, throughout the century, from curricula based on the learning of a number of facts to the perspective that teaching should lead students to acquire lifelong skills and abilities. A second possible reason for these detailed skills may lie in the Ministry's desire to foster a "useful" and "relevant" education that was up-to-date. These ideas will be explored in more detail in Chapter 7.

**Pedagogy**

Fewer teaching strategies are described when compared to earlier guides. Mostly, general comments are mentioned. These include the need for the teacher to individualize the program to match students' social and intellectual levels, to ensure students are challenged and supported, and to use current events, "depth" studies and field studies. Teachers are also encouraged to enable students to apply knowledge learned, to integrate history and geography, and to have students discuss issues, debate, think critically, solve problems, and engage in inquiry. "Assessment," as in the 1968 guide, is given its own section and described in detail as vital for both ongoing and final student evaluation.

As in earlier guides, history and geography are made the "core" of Social Studies to which are (supposedly) added some of the social sciences. The guide, however, makes little reference to the contributions made by the other social sciences, except very generically in terms of the themes chosen (social,

political, environmental, and economic). Canadian and European History remain the focus of study. History remains European in earlier grades and Canadian in senior grades, in the progressive tradition of expanding horizons (finishing with world problems) and issue-focused studies. Noticeable changes include the removal of the "structure of disciplines" approach, a new and large Grade 11 unit on Human and Environmental Geography, and new content dealing with emergent concerns such as technological change.

#### Conceptual Frameworks

Osborne's (1996) argument that during the 1970s and 1980s, citizenship education was increasingly international in outlook, centred on global citizenship, multiculturalism, human rights and active participation in society and law education, is supported, although his points regarding a focus on community service is not found in this particular guide. Evans (2004) is also partly supported for, while the curriculum guide aims to be more balanced than earlier guides, in terms of both a child centred and discipline-based approach, it could be seen as more conservative, especially as the articulated philosophy was quite similar to that of the 1930s and 1950s guides. Unlike Evans' (2004) description of trends in the United States however, this guide does not support a strong discipline-focused History movement, nor is it an extreme statement of the "new right" or the "new conservatives." But the new method of presenting curricula could be argued to be a "right" wing move, attempting to control in more detail what teachers taught so as to establish greater accountability: The curriculum was more specifically delineated and evaluation was given an important role ["Evaluation is an integral part of the teaching-learning process" (Ministry of Education, 1985, p. 12).]. The attention given to skills could be seen to support the goal of achieving excellence. As in earlier curriculum guides, the description of citizenship education could be seen to aspire at preserving society as is—citizens are "actively" engaged in maintaining current "democratic" structures.

### Conclusion

This curriculum guide attempted to balance the two divergent philosophies

of 1930s/50s and the 1968 guides, containing some of the elements articulated by Evans (2004) and Osborne (1996). It is closest to Sears' and Hughes' (1996) Conception B (liberal) with some of C ("global village"). In content, presentation, and philosophy, this curriculum guide is most similar to the 1950s curriculum guides, with the addition of content on human rights and multiculturalism.[54] The attention to skills was a new direction in curricula. It aimed to move from a content focus to the development of "student learning outcomes." It illustrated the development of rationalized scientific curriculum making in which the centre of attention was on determining, first, what outcomes were desired and, then, determining how these were to be achieved. The increased importance given to skills development can be seen as one of the most important changes in curriculum guides over the century, for—while some content was dropped, added, or moved around—the essential elements of the citizenship program content remained largely unchanged, as we have seen. Continuity remained, partly disguised in restructured presentation. This new presentation style was to be a defining feature of the next revision of 1997.[55]

[54] A speculative thought: Could this curriculum revision be like the 1950s guide, as some of the curriculum makers may have been educated in it? Could it be that it was embedded in developers' (perhaps unacknowledged) understandings of what should be studied, or was the content selected on purpose, drawing on previous content taught in curriculum guides?

[55] This curriculum guide was brought into effect when I was a high school student. I have attempted to stretch back into my Social Studies classes. I have few memories, and they are not particularly inspiring. I remember copying simple factual notes on Canada's development from overheads and being tested on them, either in Grade 9 or 10. I remember struggling with a yellow hardcover book on Canada and hating the book, finding it difficult to understand. Nothing stays with me from Grade 11, in terms of learning Canada's History and governmental structure, except that it was easier to memorize than conceptually grasp. I have a vague memory of teaching the new Geography unit in my practicum in the early 1990s. I remember being shown a number of European paintings in Grade 8, having to write copious notes on them and then memorize these notes for a test. Interestingly, I would have been on the 1968 guide in Grade 8 and maybe Grade 9 (1984/85). I found an old "Social Studies 8 Outline for Exam" from when I was in Grade 8. The subject matter is India and China (philosophies/societies). When I look at the 1968 curriculum guide for Grade 8, I suppose these two subjects fit under "The Developing Tropical World," although my studies were quite historically based. It appears that the teacher took a flexible approach to choosing his content. The forced memorization of a number of paintings was presumably under the theme of "Renaissance—Learning and Art." I also found my "Social Studies 9" course outline. It is (almost) word for word a copy of the 1985 curriculum guide. One of the stated goals was that of making me a good citizen. I don't think I thought much about this concept when I memorized my simple overhead notes based on Canada's historical facts.

## 6.2. The Fifth Revision, 1997

### 6.2.1. Historical Context

In the United States in the 1980s, divisive battles over multicultural content, called "culture wars," and a number of social changes, such as the youth rebellion and mass media, led to new battles over the aims of schooling (Crocco, 2003). Most famously illustrated in the report *A Nation at Risk*, a number of right wing reports that aimed to shock reinforced these concerns. Released in 1983, the report argued for more testing and more study of subjects, such as Mathematics and Science. These were described as essential for the very survival of the American nation: "Our nation is at risk. The educational foundations of our society are being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our future as a nation and a people" (in Hass, 1987, p. 476). Increased demands for "accountability" and "standards" were made in a number of other reports, also arguing that educational achievement was essential for American economic success (Hass, 1987). Government attention to control through testing and accountability and a focus on traditional courses has continued to today, as illustrated in its recent *No Child Left Behind Policy*. In contrast, a review of my university Education course outlines from the early 1990s illustrates concerns with multiculturalism and inclusion, gender equality, values clarification, and critical thinking in Academia at this time.

In 1987, in a departure from international trends the BC government gave teachers control over their certification through the establishment of the BC College of Teachers (Sheehan & Wilson, 1995). The Royal Commission of 1988 argued that schooling should be made applicable to all students, not just the university-bound, by offering students more varied program options and choices (Balcom, 1995; British Columbia, 1988). The report, *A Legacy for Learners* (British Columbia, 1988), described political unrest in schools, uncertainty due to change and economic instability, increasing globalization, and multiculturalism and growing diversity in Canadian society. The report's main themes were: the need for increased choice, equity and inclusivity for all groups, particularly those

groups (learning disabled students, Native students, and women) marginalized in earlier programs; increased relevance; an integrated curriculum with a common core to provide for a "liberal education" but with increased options in order to prevent dropouts (who were described as a loss to the economy) and to make good future citizens;[56] a focus on skills and problem solving rather than knowledge in order to prepare students for changing working conditions; and accountability. Its four main goals were intellectual, vocational, moral, and individual. Preparation for work was given a key role as was Citizenship Education:

> From the commission's perspective, moral development and preparation for civic life constitute particularly important educational ends....it is through Social Studies, History, and other courses at school that youngsters learn something about the nature of the democratic system of government we enjoy. Here they learn that governments such as our own do not work well unless citizens recognize and act on their civic obligations to their communities and that the preservation of democratic principles and institutions requires participation by citizens in community, regional, and provincial affairs. (British Columbia, 1988, p. 70)

The resulting Year 2000 program instituted by the Socreds demanded that students be active in their own learning and that teachers be aware of the different ways in which students learn. Premier Harcourt saw it as a failure in 1993, and so introduced a new program focused on "basics and standards" (Balcom, 1995). The NDP changed school courses yet, again, to focus on practical skills in 1995 (Balcom, 1995).

Ekdahl (1996), who took part in the 1997 revision process, describes the release of several reports criticizing BC's Social Studies curricula. In 1989, just four years after the last revision, a *Social Studies Provincial Learning Assessment* (Bognar & Cassidy, 1989, 1991) argued that Social Studies should be changed once more. Bognar and Cassidy (1989, 1991) recommended:

[56] "A core program that is designed to respond, not merely to the minority of university-bound students, but to the needs of all future citizens in a changing society, is a high priority provincial need. Our political system is such that we exist at the pleasure, or the mercy, of the ignorant as well as the informed, of the bigot as well as the rational being—in short, we can ill afford uninformed citizens in our society" (British Columbia, 1988, p. 105).

clarifying critical thinking (which they analysed as composed of the two processes of problem solving and decision making, on the one hand, and analytic and evaluative skills focused on knowledge study, on the other), involving students in active community projects, concentrating more on current events and global awareness, decreasing the focus on content and increasing it on skills, including more social science content, and increasing support for and training of teachers.

Bognar and Cassidy (1989) assigned an important role to citizenship education: "Social Studies was designed as the pivotal discipline for citizenship education" (p. 105). They stated that teachers should help students develop a positive attitude to tolerance of diversity, through cooperative learning and democratic decision-making. They argued for the revision of the Social Studies curriculum in order to focus on the "multicultural, attitudinal, and participatory elements of the Social Studies curriculum" (p. 106). As well, in 1992, six scholars advised that Social Studies be revised. In a program very similar to that of the "New Social Studies," they recommended greater social science content and developing students' awareness of topical themes, such as diversity and equity (Ekdahl, 1996).

### 6.2.2. The Curriculum Guide of 1997

#### 6.2.2.1 Curriculum Presentation and Philosophy

The 1997 curriculum revision, *Social Studies 8 to 10* and *Social Studies 11,* is contained in fairly compact soft covered booklets (Ministry of Education, 1997a, 1997b). Its introduction has a much-reduced philosophy of education. This philosophy is described in a few basic statements: learning requires students' active participation; students learn in a variety of ways, including both group and individual processes; and education should be made relevant and equitable to all. Most of the introduction explains how to read/use the guide. Indeed, curriculum presentation has changed: A new "scientific" language is used to delineate the contents of the guide. These include terms such as *integrated resource package, prescribed learning outcomes, suggested instructional*

*strategies, provincially recommended learning resources,* and *curriculum organizers.* Professional charts are used to present curricula, which are housed in tables with four columns: p*rescribed learning outcomes* are listed first. These outcomes detail content and/or skills students are "expected" to learn. This column is followed by *suggested instructional strategies, suggested assessment strategies, and recommended learning resources.* Curricula for each grade are further divided into a number of themes, similar to those found in earlier guides: "applications of Social Studies, society and culture, politics and law, economy and technology, and environment."

The guide illustrates a rising concern with multiculturalism and a more inclusive doctrine. Thus, for example, students are to study how Canada's ethnic diversity arose and the historical role of women in Canada. They are to value cultural diversity. New issues illustrating increased attention to equity and equality, as well as new concerns arising from changes in society, are found in an appendix. The claim is made that these have guided the creation of the curriculum guide. These new areas of attention include equity, accessibility, students with special needs, ESL, aboriginal studies, gender equity, multiculturalism, antiracism, the environment and sustainability, information technology, media awareness studies, and science-technology-society.

#### 6.2.2.2. Defining and Describing Citizenship Education

As in most of the earlier guides, citizenship is given a central role: "The overarching goal of Social Studies is to develop thoughtful, responsible, active citizens who are able to acquire the requisite information to consider multiple perspectives and to make reasoned judgments" (Ministry of Education, 1997a, p. 1). Attention is centred on the creation of citizens who are "active" in both Canada and the world. This conceptualization of an "active" citizen is similar to that found in the second part of the 1930s revision (Department of Education, 1936, 1937), akin to Evans' (2004) social meliorist category: An active citizen considers problems and issues in society and "actively" works to improve them. This good citizen also works collaboratively with others and is respectful.

**Knowledge, Values, Attitudes, and Behaviours**

Although the curriculum guide no longer focuses on describing content to be learned in immense detail as it lists a few general *prescribed learning outcomes*, the citizenship education content students are to study (contained in the outcomes) is very similar to that found in the 1930s and 1950s guides (Department of Education, 1936, 1937, Department of Education, 1960). Students are to learn their "roles, rights and responsibilities in family, community, Canada, and the world" (Ministry of Education, 1997a, p. 1), the three levels of and structures of the government and how to access them, and the main political parties. Students are also to: learn the narrative of the French and British heritage of Canada and how the Canadian government evolved and Canada became an independent nation, know the law and legal processes, and have knowledge of Canada's role in the world today and current issues. Good citizens are also to appreciate democracy, Canada, global stability, human rights and equality. They are to be open minded and cooperative, and to understand global interdependence. They are to develop a number of skills similar to those articulated in early guides, including critical thinking, evaluating information, communicating, making good decisions, applying knowledge, researching, collecting, and organizing information, solving problems, considering issues, and defending a position.

**Pedagogy**

Rather than listing a textbook or a number of topics students are to learn, new "prescribed learning outcomes" (PLOs) are used. These PLOs are more general in form, and less numerous and content-based than curricula listed in earlier curriculum guides. They do, nevertheless, still contain expectations of content students are to learn, such as facts detailing the development of Canada's current government. Fewer instructional strategies are presented than in the 1950s guides, although the types of activities recommended are quite similar. These include suggestions for involving students in conducting research; having discussions, debates, or mock re-enactments (e.g., a Royal Commission); and making posters in groups. As in earlier guides, the aim is to have students

"learn by doing" and to make activities relevant to students of varied types. Like in earlier curricula, the teacher is empowered to choose and design appropriate lessons using the PLOs as guides, but is called a "facilitator" for the first time. Teaching resources are recommended for teachers to consult.

The courses remain centred around history, and most of the same general historical topics are present. The categorization of curricula into social, economic, geographic and political themes is retained, but geography is given less emphasis, and the four themes are now included in each grade rather than distributed across grades. The teaching of skills, or "applications," has its own category. The teaching of Canada in every grade is changed again, with the first years of high school (Grade 8 and 9) now centred on European History. Grades 10 and 11 concentrate on Canadian History, as in the 1968 guide.

**Texts**

The Grade 11 Social Studies text, *Counter Points* (Cranny & Moles, 2001) illustrates changes and continuities. Very much a Social Studies text, it uses the past to understand the present; aims to develop "critical thinking" through a number of activities designed to have students analyse data, texts, or images; and has decreased traditional historical narrative and more social history. It maintains a study of the present government's structure and the legal system and of current social and environmental problems around the world, but it has more content from the social sciences, for instance, economics and various branches of geography. Much of the content, however, remains similar to that of older texts. For example, "multiculturalism" is described as a complex issue having "fierce defenders and critics" (p. 206). The text then goes on to state: "The challenge that lies ahead is how we adapt a huge immigrant population to what we consider to be the Canadian way of life..." (p. 206).

The book illustrates the triumph of progressively formed "social studies" over traditional history. Its primary aim is to expand students' awareness of the multiple problems Canada has faced and continues to face. However, some of its content is very similar to that of the 1884 textbook previously described: Both

aspire to make "citizens," who behave, as the government would like: They should know and abide by the laws. As the 2001 text states, "We are lucky to live in a country that observes the **rule of law**" (bolded text in the original, Cranny & Moles, 2001, p. 272). Interestingly, the book then goes on to describe the Magna Carta as did the 1884 text. Further, it states—again in a manner very reminiscent of that the description of the rebellions in1884:

> civil disobedience is the act of intentionally breaking, or refusing to keep, laws one considers unjust...This form of protest has been used by some of the greatest moral leaders of our time....Both [Luther King and Gandhi] of these men embraced non-violent civil disobedience in their quest for justice, and both ultimately died for their cause. / If everyone in society disobeyed laws with which the personally disagreed, we might have no effective order. Different people would be living by a variety of rules, and the results would be chaos....Relatively trivial matters do not merit breaking the law, as the harm to society of that violation could be greater than the benefit. As well, those who choose to practise civil disobedience should be willing to face the consequences of their actions. (Cranny & Moles, 2001, p. 266)

**Conceptual Frameworks**

The conceptualization of good citizenship and the program of citizenship education remain largely the same as those found in earlier guides. The program is closest to Sears' and Hughes' (1996) Conception B (liberal), with features of Conception C (global); for the government and citizen's rights and duties are conceived of in the liberal tradition, but with a desire to create good global citizens as well. Evans (2004) articulates the same interests regarding multiculturalism, gender, equity and equality in the United States; and describes them as connected to critical pedagogy, to social reconstructionists who want to transform society. He conceives of it as a broad movement that includes advocates of: new technology, moral or character education, global education, issues-centred approaches, and supporters of social justice. BC's curriculum guide (Ministry of Education, 1997a, 1997b) is thus schizophrenic; that is, like earlier guides, it includes both "conservative" and "reformist" elements in uneasy tension.

Osborne's (1996) claim that citizenship education moved to support economic competitiveness and preparing individuals to be successful in the

global economy as illustrated in movements, such as back to basics, vocationalism, and a focus on individualism and competition, is partly supported. The guide's appendix mentions the aim of aiding students with career development, as well as the need for students to learn a number of skills in order to prepare them for an ever-changing society. However, the 1930s program (Department of Education, 1936, 1937) also mentioned vocational education and preparation, and it was part of the original program in the American 1916 report (Nelson, 1994). Osborne's (1996) description of the emergence of multiculturalism, human rights, and environmental studies is found in this guide. As in other curriculum guides, all three frameworks identified some of the elements and themes found in the revision.

**Conclusion**

In summary, the curriculum guide (Ministry of Education, 1997a, 1997b) has much continuity in terms of its philosophical approach and its conceptualization of good citizens as earlier guides, particularly those of the 1930s and 1950s. Citizenship education remains a central goal of Social Studies. It is to be achieved through a similar program focused on learning the history of Canada and the evolution of and current structures of Canada's three levels of government and its legal system. Differences arise, firstly, from a new concern with equality and equity leading to support for multiculturalism, First Nations, and anti racism education. These changes, and a greater focus on skills and less on content, were recommendations presented in the Royal Commission Report (British Columbia, 1988) and the work of Bognar and Cassidy (1989, 1991). These new concerns echo a number of "critical theory" themes, similar trends in the United States, and changes in society including developments in information technology. The second major difference is found in the manner of presenting curricula, using a "rationalized" curriculum "science" approach. Sears' and Hughes' (1996) Conception B (liberal), with features of Conception C (global), remains the main citizenship education program conceptualized. Some of the themes mentioned by Evans (2004)—particularly

those related to critical theory—and by Osborne (1996)—especially multiculturalism, an environmental focus and a new (re)focus on vocational education—are also present. These new topics illustrate, again, the attempt to include a number of different viewpoints and perspectives in the "layered" curriculum guide, and the continuity of a number of themes, although presented in a reformulated manner. These topics are re-echoed in the latest revision of Social Studies guides of 2005.

## 6.3. The Sixth Revision, 2005

### 6.3.1. Historical Context

In BC, the 1995 program focused on "basics and standards" changed again with the 2004 graduation program (Balcom, 1995). Currently, "standards," "accountability" and citizenship education are key terms emanating from the BC's Ministry of Education, just as they are in Ontario, the United States, and the United Kingdom (Calder, Holland, & Broom, 2003). In academia, debate has been stimulated in the field of History by Granatstein's controversial book, *Who Killed Canadian History?* (Clark, 2004; Granatstein, 1998). However, this debate is not exclusive to Canada: Contentiously in the United States recently, the government established "internationally competitive standards for educational excellence" (Symcox, 2002, p. 9), several of which gave history a central place. As result, the National History Standards Project of the early 1990s developed a number of *National Standards for History* demanding a focus on disciplines and academic content in opposition to many of the general aims of Social Studies.

Bognar and Cassidy (1996) released a second *Social Studies Assessment*. They argue that the current curriculum cannot provide for adequate citizenship education. They conclude that students in BC are achieving poorer results than their predecessors did and trace this to an overemphasis on content, lack of proper curriculum implementation, and the marginalization of Social Studies. They raise fears regarding students' "marginal abilities in such important citizenship skills as detecting bias, distinguishing between fact and opinion, and developing a reasoned argument" (p. 136). They fear the

development of a "potentially gullible citizenry" (p. 136), as students lack decision-making skills and knowledge of governmental and legal processes. They argue, consequently, for the need to review Social Studies and a move away from content to a focus on the "processes" necessary for developing good citizens. Bognar and Cassidy's (1996) recommendations include developing students' awareness of social issues and their interconnected nature from the local to the global level, fostering tolerance of diversity, increasing knowledge of rights and responsibilities and involvement in civic life, and nurturing "democratic decision making" and critical thinking. Their conception of citizenship education is a meliorist one. Further, in the 1990s, citizenship education was a focus of study in Academia, as well (e.g., Sears & Hughes, 1996; Osborne, 1996; McKay, 1997; Kilgour, 1997; and Briley, 1997). In the United States, some academics actively focused on citizenship education. One of the most well known exponents of the meliorst view of citizenship education was Shirley Engle (Chilcoat & Ligon, 2004). Cassidy and Bognar's (1996) recommendations had an impact on the new curriculum guide.

### 6.3.2. Curricular Revisions to Social Studies 10-11 and the "Birth" of Civics 11

#### 6.3.2.1. Curriculum Presentation and Philosophy

In 2005, revisions were made to the Social Studies curriculum guides. These revisions, *Social Studies 8 to 10 and Social Studies 11 Integrated Resource Packages,* were professionally presented, enclosed in soft covered fairly compact documents (Ministry of Education, 2005a, 2005b). They are also found online at the Ministry of Education's website. The revisions are based mostly on the stated aims of making the PLOs clearer, providing "achievement indicators" and addressing too much content. The revisions do not markedly change the stated philosophy, the curriculum details, or the associated pedagogies discussed previously. However, these new guides have more detailed introductions that stringently mention the need to involve and link with the parents and the community, maintain the "confidentiality" of students' data

(Ministry of Education, 2005b, p. 8), consider "inclusion, equity, and accessibility for all learners" (p. 9), use Information Technology, be aware of copyright restrictions, and ensure teaching techniques include having a positive classroom environment and using debate and media analysis.

Ministry directives mentioned in the introduction seem to aim at providing equity for all students while, at the same time, increasing control of procedures and teachers. Undeniably, the language of the documents is coldly professional and controlling. Teachers are told that: "Prescribed learning outcomes are the *legally* required content standards for the provincial education system" (italics added, Ministry of Education, 2005a, p. 7); that "Schools have the responsibility to ensure that all prescribed learning outcomes in this curriculum guide are met" (p. 19); and "When used in a prescribed learning outcome, the word "including" indicates that any ensuring item **must be addressed"** (bold in the original, p. 19). Testing—called "assessment"—is given a key role and is modelled on Bloom's (1956) taxonomy, suggesting a focus on accountability.

The Grade 8 and 9 courses remain the same. The Grade 10 course maintains the same historical time period and subject, but the themes (while fundamentally the same) have been slightly altered to give more attention to "identity" (Ministry of Education, 2005b). The Grade 11 course also has essentially the same themes, but these are renamed and centred on "autonomy and international involvement" and "Geography" (Ministry of Education, 2005a). Much of the content of both Social Studies 10 and 11 continues to teach students Canada's nation-building story and governmental structures, within a more inclusive framework. As in most previous guides, citizenship is given a central place. Indeed, it is given an expanded focus, for a new *Civics 11* curriculum guide has been released (Ministry of Education, 2005c). As it contains the same conceptualization of citizenship and citizenship education found in the other guides but in more detailed form, it is used to describe the articulations of both of these, as generally found in this curriculum revision.

### 6.3.3. Civic Studies 11

#### 6.3.3.1. Defining and Describing Citizenship Education

The curriculum guide, *Civics 11 Integrated Resource Package* is dedicated to "Civic Studies," to the creation of "good citizens" (Ministry of Education, 2005c). Good citizens are described as being knowledgeable of government structures and "actively" involved in civic issues. The aim of this curriculum is stated as:

> To enhance students' abilities and willingness to participate actively and responsibly in civic life. Civic Studies 11 offers opportunities for students to deliberate individually and with others on civic matters—local to global—for the purpose of becoming informed decision makers empowered in civic action....for students to form reasoned views on issues, and to participate in socially relevant projects and real-life learning for the purpose of developing civic-mindedness. This course enables students to relate their learning in school to their civic duties and expectations, enhance their sense of membership in society, and increase their ability to take more active roles as citizens of Canada and the world. (p. 11)

**Knowledge, Values, Attitudes, and Behaviours**

The new civics course has three major sections. The first section contains what earlier guides called a study of the "machinery" of government, with content based on: defining the roles, rights, and responsibilities of citizenship; describing the three levels of government and the electoral and legal systems; reviewing the historical foundations of Canada's government; defining human rights and describing international organizations. The second section reviews the "principles of democracy," the ability of various individuals and groups in society to bring change, factors that influence decision making, the services provided by the government, and what the latter has done for Canada and the world in a number of different arenas, such as the environment and human rights. The last section, "civic action," entails considering citizens' roles using the skills of "civic discourse and dispute resolution, including consensus building, negotiation, compromise, and majority rule" (Ministry of Education, 2005c, p. 23), considering the ethics behind various decisions and making a plan of action for an issue.

This latter section is not particularly transformative, but actually rather passive considering the skills to be used.

The knowledge students are to learn shows much continuity with earlier citizenship programs: Students are to learn about: the three levels of government; the electoral process; the historical events that have shaped current society; problems and issues in today's society; the structures and processes of government; the roles, rights, and responsibilities students have as citizens; responsibility to the environment; law and the legal system; Canada's role internationally and the functions and work of international bodies; the principles of democracy (similarly defined as including equality, freedom, and the balancing of individual rights with the common good); majority rule; political ideologies; and the beneficial services provided by the government (focused on the social security net). The only major additions are: a new focus on a respect for the role and importance of all groups in society through a discussion of human and legal rights as illustrated in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms;* a new discussion of power relations among varied groups in society, the requirement for students to "critique the ways in which decisions are made in selected public institutions" (Ministry of Education, 2005c, p. 39); and the inclusion of "negative" historical events, such as the head tax and internment of Japanese Canadians.

The values, attitudes, skills, and behaviours students are to acquire are also similar to those of earlier guides. Students are to value human rights, equality, Canada, community membership, and diversity. They are to be aware of their collective responsibilities and of the interconnections between people and nations; to be respectful, inclusive, open minded, and accepting of differences. They are to work actively to improve society, to be collaborative, to be responsible and informed decision makers aware of how their values colour their perspectives. They are to develop reasoning and critical thinking skills for approaching issues, research and media literacy skills, conflict resolution skills, and good communication skills. In short, the program is very similar to those

found in earlier guides, but with a focus on inclusion and equity and "active" participation in issues of personal interest to students.[57]

**Pedagogy**

Curricula are presented in the same style as in the 1997 guide, with "prescribed learning outcomes" that students are to learn and recommended learning and testing strategies for achieving these. The teaching strategies are also very similar, including having students debate, research, listen to speakers, do media analyses, describe and analyse action plans for getting involved, make projects, create written and oral reports, and watch videos.

**Conceptual Frameworks**

The conception of good "active" citizens is a close-to-perfect description of Evans' (2004) social meliorist category, dominant during the 1930s: Students are to learn how to solve problems in society in order to create a continually improving or "progressive" society. Students are to be "active" citizens, but only in so far as they participate in the current governmental structure and work to improve it, not overthrow it. At the same time, Evans (2004) description of the split between conservative and transformative ("critical theory") tendencies is found in this guide, as mentioned for the previous guide. That is, most of the curriculum guide aims at having students develop the same knowledge, attitudes and skills as earlier guides, but these are then presented together with a few "critical" approaches focused on discussing power relations, criticizing decision making in a public body, and describing shameful historical acts committed by previous, supposedly "democratic," governments.

The conceptualization of citizenship and citizenship education remains principally that of Sears' and Hughes' (1996) Conception B (liberal), with features

[57] How active these citizens are really to be is doubtful, in my mind. For example, students are to support issues of interest to them. What it they want to support the removal of restrictions on alcohol consumption by minors, or restrictive immigration policies, or the removal of a liberal democracy and its replacement by a socialist state? The values inherent in the program itself would deny these as options to students. Critical thinking and "active" citizens are those that fit into current governmental structures and articulated values, and work "actively" to make these better, not transform them. To me, this implies pre-fabricated ends.

of Conception C (global). It most certainly is not primarily Conception D (critical theory), although (as mentioned) a few elements of this approach are present. Most of the guide pushes students to learn to respect a liberal democracy. Finally, Osborne's (1996) argued that citizenship has increasingly concentrated on economic competitiveness and preparing individuals to be successful in the global economy as illustrated in movements, such as back to basics, vocationalism, and attention to individualism and competition. Echoes of this approach are found in this guide, for one of its aims is to develop students' skills in order to prepare them for a continually changing society. In short as in all other guides, all three frameworks are useful, and are found in this revision, to varying degrees.

#### Conclusion

This guide does not dramatically change the 1997 revision (Ministry of Education, 1997). In fact, it remains part of the 1997 revision in terms of its conceptions and philosophy. What it does do is to concentrate even more on citizenship education, through the articulation of a new "Civics 11" course (Ministry of Education, 2005c). Bognar and Cassidy's (1996) recommendations appear to have influenced the (re)focus on good citizenship. As is the case throughout the century, the course maintains much continuity with earlier conceptualizations and programs of citizenship education, while continuing a changing orientation towards, on the one hand, rationalized curricula with controlling language; and on the other hand, "skills" development and a greater attention to and concern for equity, equality, and inclusion.

## Conclusion

The previous chapter described the first three revisions to curriculum guides, finding a progressive philosophy underlying the 1930s revision, a nationalist and democracy-focused program in the 1950s revision, and a major reconceptualization of the guiding philosophy and presentation of curricula in the

1968 revision. This chapter discussed the last three revisions, occurring later in the 20th Century. Findings are summarized in Table 6.1.

The fourth major revision was implemented in 1985 (Ministry of Education, 1985). This guide, while maintaining much similarity in content and philosophy, shifts away from describing content to be learned, to "learning outcomes" and skills to be acquired, thus providing it with the label of *Building Skills* and illustrating the further development of the field of rationalized curriculum making. The 1997 revision continues the trend away from content to skills and attitudes, also called "learning objectives" (Ministry of Education, 1997). Its rationalized approach to curriculum presentation provides its label of *Curricular Science* and illustrates it to be a "measured curriculum," as will be discussed in the next chapter (Klein, 1987, p. 303). The latest revision continues the trend to rationalization and control, while also attempting—in a seeming contradiction—to provide for a more inclusive and equitable program of studies (Ministry of Education, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c). It is called *Controlled Citizens*.

**Table 6.1. Summary of the Key Findings of this Chapter, 1985-2005**

| Document Name/Date | Summary | Conceptual Frames |
|---|---|---|
| *BC Curriculum Guide, 1985:* "Building Skills" | Includes more content than the 1968 guide and arranges content around social science themes. Strong focus on skill-building. Includes cross-cultural awareness and human rights, but integrated with many of the same elements of earlier citizenship programs. | Sears' and Hughes' Conception B (liberal) with some of A (conservative) and C (global).<br>Osborne's first and fourth categories (global citizenship, Multiculturalism human rights).<br>A few elements of Evans' right wing approach. |
| *BC Curriculum Guide, 1997:* "Curricular Science" | Decreases focus on content and increases that on themes/objectives. New rationalized approach and some inclusion of critical pedagogy (e.g., Equity). Content remains similar. | Sears' and Hughes' Conception B with some of C, D (critical), and A.<br>Osborne's first and fourth categories. |
| *BC Curriculum Guide, 2005:* "Controlled Citizens" | Much the same approach as the previous program, but with more controlling language. Includes a new Civics 11 course, similar to the 1936/7 guide, but with elements of critical pedagogy. | Sears' and Hughes' Conception B, with some elements of A, C, D.<br>Osborne's first and fourth categories.<br>Elements of both of Evans' right and left wing thought and his "social meliorist" program. |

Some transformation has occurred in Social Studies curriculum guides released over the century particularly focused on how "curricula" are conceptualized and presented. However, much continuity is also found in terms of content taught (History, focused on European and Canadian History; Geography), and the descriptions of good citizens and how these are to be educated. The latter are primarily under Sears' and Hughes' (1996) Conception B (liberal) throughout the 20th Century, with a little bit of emphasis on Conception A (conservative) earlier in, and Conception C (global) later in, the century. The last guide contains a few elements of Conception D (critical theory). The primary focus on a liberal conception may be tied to the implementation of the course of Social Studies with its progressive roots; the latter is linked to a more egalitarian conception of people. In all guides, the citizenship program aims at maintaining the current governmental structure, with student behaviours ranging from passivity in, to actively engaging in, maintaining it.

Thus, Sears' and Hughes' (1996) framework is of use, although each conception was not found exclusively in each guide or revision. Rather, most guides seemed to blend some elements of different categories together, perhaps the result of the layering or grafting of new changes onto older guides. Osborne's (1996) model is also of use and found in guides to some degree for we see some of his generalized changes, such as a move from assimilationist to more inclusive curricula and to concerns with human rights and multiculturalism in BC. However, not all of his descriptions are present. For example, the aim of creating good citizens has remained a consistent element in BC's curriculum guides. Evans' (2004) categories were particularly helpful, especially for generally understanding the earlier curriculum revisions and for providing insights into the forces shaping curriculum revisions later in the century. For instance, the new Civics 11 in the last curriculum revision (Ministry of Education, 2005c) is, captivatingly, almost identical to the social meliorist program of the 1930s (Department of Education, 1936, 1937). In short, all three frameworks were of use and were illustrated in BC's curricula to varying degrees. The following chapter discusses these findings.

# Chapter 7:

# Discussion of Findings

The last two chapters described six major revisions to Social Studies curricula made by BC's Ministry of Education over the 20th Century. Those findings are summarized and discussed in this chapter after a review of methodology that considers the challenges and benefits of carrying out historical work. The chapter concludes with an analysis of how good citizens were conceptualized over the century and of the two largest changes found in curriculum guides, which focus on *how* good citizens were to be educated. One change centres on articulated philosophy, and the second on the conceptualization and presentation of "curricula" itself. These sections include a discussion of relevant historical events, trends in academia, and other contextualizing factors that may help to explain why these two major changes occurred.

## Methodology

Conducting a historical study was fascinating and difficult. On the one hand, the sheer volume of historical documents and the information found in each was overwhelming. On my part, it necessitated very clear and specific questions in mind, which are summarized in my research tool (see Figures 3.1 and 7.1). With this tool, I was able to select the documents, and the parts of these particular documents, which were relevant to the study at hand. Further, interpreting the documents required several abilities. In the first place, I had to learn how to control the document and not be controlled by it. Several times, I was so engrossed in reading the document that I forgot my own questions, thus

collecting far too much data. I had to learn how to "use" the document, that is, how to find and extract the information I wanted from it. Further, reading the document "right" required much effort. I had to read several documents over again a few times until I felt I had truly "got" what it said. I often returned to review these documents as well, as I carried on my study and new questions or thoughts occurred to me. I attempted to always keep in the back of my mind the historical context and influences occurring at the time the document was produced (such as the Depression or World War 1 and 2), the audience it was intended for, and other relevant concerns of the historian as described in Chapter 3. Needless to say, my analysis of these documents is my own interpretation.

Additionally, often many reprints and revisions of one particular curriculum guide were present. I spent time combing through a number of curriculum guides in order to identify which signalled major revisions and which were simply reprints. Often, revisions took several years to fully complete, and I had to identify what changes were made when, and which courses where experimental as opposed to completed new courses. For example the first major revision, which I have labelled the *Phoney Progressive*, began in 1927 and was not fully completed until the end of the 1930s (Department of Education, 1930, 1933, 1936, 1937, 1939, 1941, 1948). Further, it went through steps in its evolution as a curriculum, as explained in Chapter 5. The second major revision, *Democracy Rules*, began in 1950 and, again, was not fully completed until the end of the decade (Department of Education, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1956, 1958, 1959, 1960). For illustration, the courses of Social Studies 7, 8, and 10 (actually Grade 9, and renamed so in the 1968 reprint) were released in experimental form in 1950. The first two courses were not changed when released in 1953. But Social Studies 10 was revised in 1958. Social Studies 20 (actually for Grade 10, and renamed "Social Studies 10" in the 1968 reprint) was released in experimental form in 1951, but revised in 1956. Social Studies 30 (for Grade 11, and renamed "Social Studies 11" in the 1968 revision) was released in experimental form in 1952 and, in its final form, in 1955. History 91 was released in experimental form in 1952, reorganized in 1958, released in 1958, and

renamed History 12 in 1968. Other additions or modifications to existing courses included the release of Geography 91, Economics 92, and Law 93 in 1953 and of Social Studies 32 (Geography of BC) and 33 (Economic Geography) in 1954.

As several experimental courses were modified before being released in completed form, I focused my attention on the completed courses and not the experimental ones. Thus, for instance, after reviewing all guides in detail, I used the 1960 Social Studies guide (Department of Education, 1960) to describe courses that were part of the 1950 revision, for it contained all of them in completed form. Rather than the experimental ones, I chose to use the courses in their completed form as the final courses were the ones enacted after suggestions and recommendations sent into the Ministry were, to some extent or another, integrated into courses. As the philosophy and aims did not change throughout each period, one major revision clearly took time to fully implement. In contrast, the 1968 revision (Department of Education, 1968) included a new philosophy and new courses in one revision.

My research tool was extremely helpful in moving beyond the simple collection of data to its interpretation. It was amended from its original from described in Chapter 3 to include more categories, in order to provide for a more detailed and comprehensive summary and interpretation of each guide, including a section for the bibliographic reference and a table for curriculum contents. Further, the Likert scale for how "active" or "passive" a curriculum guide was seen to be was removed, as it provided no additional information and was primarily subjective in form, and a category for "critical" philosophy and pedagogy was added. The revised tool is found in Figure 7.1. I had to learn how to use the tool to help me find relevant information. It became easier with practice and extremely useful in identifying key elements found in curriculum guides. In retrospect, the only further modification I would make to the tool would be to add more space for notes in each section as well as a category for "other" pedagogical strategies, for these did change over the century, and I did not include a category for more recent additions, such as the 1968 guide's

**Figure 7.1. Research Tool**

**CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN SOCIAL STUDIES Curriculum Date:** _____

**Reference: Added**

**1. Informing philosophy or aims: Clarified**

_____

_____

**2. Defining and Describing Citizenship Education:**

General definition given and any special features mentioned.

_____

_____

Knowledge: _____

Values: _____

Attitudes: _____

Behaviours: _____

Skills: _____

Circle: Active or Passive

Sears & Hughes (1996) Conception: ☐ A ☐ B ☐ C ☐ D

On the scale, place a mark for how elitist to egalitarian the curriculum is:

ELITIST **1 deleted 2 3 4 5** POPULIST

**3. Pedagogical Approach and Recommended Strategies:**

How are curricula presented?

_____

_____

☐ Traditional ☐ Liberal Education ☐ Child centred ☐ Experiential ☐ Critical

**ADDED:** ☐ Critical

On the scale, place a mark for how much the pedagogy involves students:

PASSIVE **1 deleted 2 3 4 5** ACTIVE

List specific teaching strategies described:

_____

_____

**4. Curriculum Details:**

Grade 8 Grade 9 Grade 10 Grade 11 Grade 12

**Special notes about curriculum:**

_____

_____

_____

_____

**5. Conceptual framework illustrated:**

☐ Evans ☐ Osborne ☐ Sears & Hughes Type ☐ A ☐ B ☐ C ☐ D

**6. The recommended Civics textbook (name and details from):**

_____

_____

_____

_____

**7. General Comments/qualitative description:**

suggestion for inquiry based learning. The tool allowed for the easy organization of information and comparisons between guides.

The three citizenship education frameworks identified in Chapter 2 were also of great value. They provided interpretations with which I could compare my findings. All three—Sears and Hughes (1996), Osborne (1996), and Evans (2004)—were apparent in curriculum guides studied. However, they also provided limitations, as their features were only partly found in each revision. For example, often BC Ministry curriculum guides or associated civics texts seemed to be a blend of Sears' and Hughes' (1996) Conceptions A and B early in the 20th Century. Evans' (2004) categories were particularly useful in highlighting the key philosophic features of each major revision. As they are based on an American historical study, they also illustrate a connection between BC's Ministries of Education and American trends and philosophies.

In short, many challenges existed in studying these historical curriculum guides. However, this study fascinated me. Having the chance to open old dusty curriculum guides was like time travelling. I felt a sense of wonder and a feeling of the fleeting nature of time and life, as I looked at the guides and thought that, at one point, they had been new and living documents in an age distinct to mine. I felt a little as if I were able to live another age, to sample in a small way another world in time to my own. I remember many years ago, visiting the Forbidden City in Beijing, China. It has been one of my favourite places to visit, for aside from the elegance, beauty and symmetry of its many temples and palaces, I was able to place my face against the buildings' dark tinted windows, and glimpse another reality to mine in both time and space: when the Chinese royal family fled, the doors to their palaces were simply closed and locked. All their furniture remained as it had been. As I peered through the windows, I could almost imagine a Chinese emperor or empress in the room. I felt again that same sense of awe of another age, of the inevitability of time and change, when I held the old curriculum guides in my hand. Each was a small key, helping me to unlock some partial grasp, or understanding, of the age in which it had been written. Each, further, did not simply die with time, for each continued to hold

some sort of continuing influence in subsequent ages. Each built on previous guides, to shape, in some degree or other, our own understanding of education and our own lived reality in schools today. In other words, the past is the present or, in the words of Whitehead (1929), "The present contains all that there is. It is holy ground; for it is the past, and it is the future" (¶ 6).

## Discussion of Findings

### The First Major Revision

This curriculum guide (Department of Education, 1927, 1930, 1933, 1936, 1937) reflected one predominant philosophy. The revisions began in 1927, with the rearrangement of curricula to move from ancient ages to more recent ones, a chronological sequence supported by progressivists in the United States. The second step occurred in 1930, with the establishment of the course of "Social Studies" and a new common core. For the third revision, Weir was able to translate his vision of education articulated in the Putman and Weir Report (1925) into curriculum guides released in 1936 and 1937. The latter's philosophical section set out aims in detail, illustrating Deweyian and Progressive language and a new way of presenting curricula.

The guides implemented some fundamental shifts in how schooling was articulated, based in progressive philosophy, including a child centred approach to education, new middle schools, the removal of stressful Grade 8 exams, and the implementation of a common program, health, physical exercise, and library studies. Weir was clearly the influential factor in bringing these ideas into BC's curricula and implementing them in practice, particularly when he became Minister of Education in 1933.

However, these philosophic changes did not reformulate the manner in which curricula was conceptualized and presented, at first. These were still seen to be detailed lists of subjects to be studied. The conceptualization of good citizens did not change markedly either, particularly in the first set of changes. Good citizens were still seen as individuals with rights and responsibilities, who

were knowledgeable about government institutions and active in supporting them. They were to be formed primarily through the same education found in early civics textbooks, through the learning of facts and historical narratives that aimed to cultivate appreciation of the government, law, democracy, culture, heritage, and the nation of Canada. Thus, conceptualizations and subjects already found in curriculum guides were not radically transformed. Rather, they were layered over with the new progressive philosophy. To use Symcox's (2002) descriptive metaphor, the curriculum became a "tapestry."

Yet at the same time, the third step in the revision (Department of Education, 1936, 1937), showed the greatest American influence and change and, in its advocacy of a problem based approach and critical thinking (going so far as to recommend Rugg's controversial American text), it was closest to a "meliorist" conceptualization of citizenship education (Evans, 2004). Even the civics text (McCaig, 1930), while having much continuity with earlier texts, changed to include the US conception of "community civics" and increased its social and economic content. Its conceptualization of good citizens is closest to Sears' and Hughes' (1996) Conception B. Progressivism appears to have led to the Social Studies course and a more egalitarian and liberal conceptualization of good citizens (which still contained a number of features of earlier programs integrated within itself). The curriculum guide's links to American trends and to the 1916 report is clear. Weir adopted and enacted American reforms.

Osborne's (1996) description of a focus on socialization, or social living, is partly true in BC. Education was to prepare individuals for "democratic living" through developing individuals' character, personal values, and desire to serve their community, explained in a large section on "character education" in the 1930s revision (Department of Education, 1936, 1937). Nationalism and the desire to create consensus and a "spirit of unity" remained, too. However, participation in politics was still advocated. Osborne (1996) also mentions a break between aims and the course of study that remained factual, which did occur in BC.

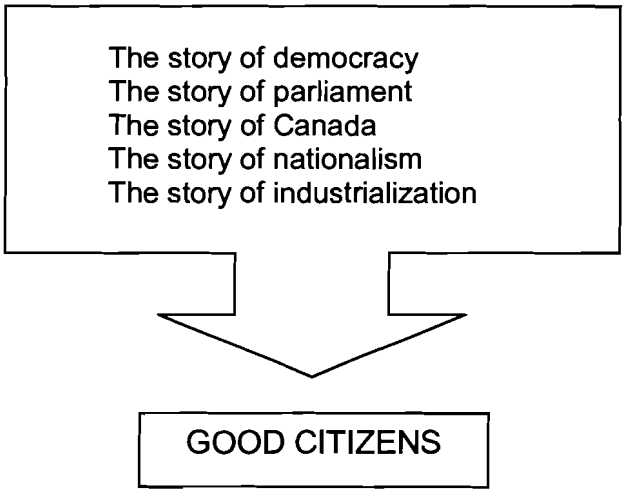
Hence I have labelled this movement, the *Phoney Progressive* one. Indeed, as Sutherland (1986) demonstrated for elementary schools and as many curriculum implementation studies, such as Synders et al. (1989), have found, curriculum implementation cannot be simply assumed to occur. Weir's child centred philosophy was not able to fundamentally change the manner in which the curriculum was conceptualized, or for the most part taught. This was based on definitions and understandings developed in earlier times.

Weir's many changes, however, did leave permanent marks, or colours and textures, in the curriculum tapestry that influenced later ages. Being the first major transformation in the philosophy articulated by the Ministry, it was the most significant curriculum revision in terms of influencing the philosophy of all later guides, but the 1968 revision. In particular, these recommendations were permanent: to have a child centred and experiential approach, to view Social Studies as primarily history and geography, and to assign Social Studies a key role in citizenship education partly to be achieved through problem solving.

Further, the 1936 and 1937 changes (Department of Education, 1936, 1937) altered how the curricula were presented, illustrating the first stage in the transformation of our understanding of curricula as being simply the textbook, to being something that should be "scientifically" developed. As Bobbitt (1918) and Snedden (Kliebard, 1992, 1998) effectively argued, curriculum should begin with the objectives to be achieved. From these, what and how to teach should be determined. This new understanding was first illustrated in the 1936 and 1937 guides (Department of Education, 1936, 1937), in which curricula were presented with "aims, objectives, and methods," although these still remained lists of content to be learned. This scientific and rationalistic understanding of curriculum has remained predominant (even becoming more so) throughout the century, particularly evident in the curriculum revisions of 1985 and 1997 (Ministry of Education, 1985, 1997), the latter of which presented curriculum as "prescribed learning outcomes," or skills and aptitudes students were to learn.

As well, the recommendation to use a child centred pedagogy led to new teaching strategies, including "experience based activities," such as problem solving and field trips. These have also had a permanent effect over the century, illustrated in the suggestion to focus the study of present society on its "problems," in order to develop students' critical thinking skills, and the conceptualization of "new history" or history aimed at developing an understanding of the present. History, as in the 19th Century (Collingwood, 1956), was used with the aim of creating particular identities and beliefs (Figure 7.2).

**Figure 7.2. Historical "Narratives" were Carefully Chosen to Achieve an Aim**




For example, the "stories" of the challenging but heroic development of the British parliament, democracy and Canada were told with the aim of creating "good citizens" who appreciated all three. The "story" of the development of national identities (i.e., of nation states such as Italy) was told to help students conceive of their own. Finally, the story of industrialization was the last common thread. At first, I had difficulty figuring out why this story was given pre-eminence, but then I eventually hit upon what I believe its significance to be: industrialization was linked to the emergence of the middle class and the values of liberty (i.e., Adam Smith). Hence, it was an important element of the overall aim to create good (liberal) citizens. These five elements remained consistent elements over the 20th Century.

**The Second Major Revision**

The revision of curricula that occurred during the 1950s (Department of Education, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1956, 1958, 1959. 1960) appears to be largely a response to a major and traumatic world event, World War 2, and post-war tensions. Indeed no revisions of curriculum guides were made throughout or right after the war, except that a note was provided in the 1948 guide (Department of Education, 1948) stating that teachers should do their best to adjust the curriculum as needed and that a new curriculum would be released once the world was more peaceful. The major philosophic aim of this second revision, which I have labelled *Democracy Rules*, was without doubt the creation of good *democratic* citizens to be achieved through the teaching of content. As other documents I have read also support, such as English (1956), during and after the war the rhetoric of democracy (in contrast to the dictatorships the allied powers had fought in war and then continued to fight in the Cold War) was a major ideological force.

Indeed, the journal, *the Canadian Teacher,* released from November 1938 to June 1940, includes several articles on the need to cultivate good citizens and on the importance of teaching students to value democracy in comparison to dictatorship. For example, the January 1939 edition describes "Education Week" as providing coverage of important educational issues, particularly that of equality of opportunity for all students "as it most emphatically should be if we are to call our country an enlightened democracy" (*Canadian Teacher*, January 1939, p. 362). The January 1940 issue argues for the need to educate students to be loyal and world citizens and for teachers to emphasize "the importance of the arts of peace" (*Canadian Teacher*, 1940, p. 360). It also includes an article on "Developing Good Citizenship" which assertively demands: "...the State requires, as a result of his [the teacher's] labours, not scholars, not literary men and women, scientists, mathematicians, or philosophers but good citizens; that the entire school system has been built up with this aim in view" (p. 363). The June 1940 issue features an article contrasting "democracy" and "authoritarianism" (p. 807). Further, the April 1939 journal describes an Ontario New Education

Fellowship and US Progressive education Association Conference, which discusses the "Future for democracy and the society of which we are citizens" (*Canadian Teacher,* April 1939, p. 711).[58] The central place assigned to democracy continued in the 1950s with the development of the Cold War, and was reflected in more nationalistic and traditional curricula in the United States (Evans, 2004).

The second revision of BC's Social Studies curricula echoes these trends. It matches Sears' and Hughes' (1996) Conception B, with some elements of Conception C (world citizens working for world peace through peaceful means and with tolerance and understanding). The guide's conceptualization of good citizenship does have one major change: a refocusing of nationalism solely onto the now independent nation of Canada and away from Britain and its dying Empire. Osborne's (1996) conceptualization is again partly true in BC. Education was to prepare individuals for "democratic living" through developing individuals' characters, personal values, and desires to serve their communities. Nationalism and the attempt to create consensus and a "spirit of unity" remained, but—again—a direct focus on participation in politics did not decline. A break between the aims and the course of study, which remained factual, was in evidence. This second revision, while presenting a less extreme form of progressivism and child centred philosophy (by arguing that both child centred activities and the learning of content are necessary), and focusing very strongly on the creation of good citizens, does not present a drastic transformation of either philosophy or curricula. It was primarily a response to a radically changed world emerging from the chaos and destruction of World War 2.

[58] The journal contains a number of Social Studies lessons. These are essentially content-based, and contain stereotyped portrayals of various social groups around the world, such as lessons on East Indians, Mexicans and "Eskimos" and History. It illustrates Social Studies as the study of contemporary world societies and histories. Yet, lessons were not particularly "progressive" in style. While some articles mention the "enterprise" method, most of the ready-to-use teacher lessons were based on fill-in-the-blank readings, questions, and cloze passages. The journal also includes a number of advertisements by publishers of new Social Studies texts. These did not waste any time providing new texts for the new course.

**The Third Revision**

The third major revision of 1968 (Department of Education, 1968) was very different to both the 1930s (Department of Education, 1930, 1933, 1936, 1937) and 1950s curriculum guides (Department of Education, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1956, 1958, 1959, 1960). The guide matched Evans' (2004) description of the philosophy of the "mandarins," or the social scientists, perfectly. It had an academic university discipline focus. It argued for Social Studies to be learning about the disciplines of History and Geography, primarily to be achieved through the teaching of a number of "concepts" and with the inclusion of material from the social sciences. The curriculum took an about face on content, for knowledge/fact-based content was downgraded from its importance in earlier guides. Concepts and processes were argued to be more important and were to be taught through a social scientist inquiry method and "in-depth" studies.

Osborne's (1996) statement that during the 1960s and 1970s citizenship education was linked to biculturalism and to new Canadian Studies is partly supported, although not the focus of this revision, for the Grade 11 curriculum does include Quebec separatism and groups in Canada as a social issue to be investigated. Further, while citizenship education is not given such a front-and-centre position as it was in the 1950s revision, it does remain part of the guide, and it is closest to Sears' and Hughes' Conception B (liberal), with elements from Conception C (global), including fostering understanding of different nations in the world. Citizenship education continues to include the same topics of tracing the historical evolution of Canada and its governmental structures, as well as studying the current government and legal structures. While the 1968 guide (Department of Education, 1968) maintains these "structures" from earlier guides, particularly in terms of what content is to be taught and how good citizens are conceptualized and to be educated, this guide contains a major transformation of philosophy and of the conceptualization and presentation of curricula. Attempts to explain why this occurred are discussed in the last section of this chapter.

**The 1985, 1997, and 2005 Revisions**

The 1985 revision (Ministry of Education, 1985) primarily aimed to develop skills in students in order to have students apply their learning and be prepared for work. The conceptualization of good citizens and of how these were to be achieved remained similar to that found in earlier programs, although the topics of multiculturalism, inclusion, human rights, and the Charter of Rights were added. Care for the environment was conceptualized in a similar manner to the 1930s program, but called the "global village" approach and contained in a more detailed program. Osborne (1996) argues that, in the 1970s and 1980s, citizenship was increasingly international in outlook, centred on global citizenship, the environment, and active participation in society through community service and the study of human rights and law education. These themes are partly found in the 1985 revision (Ministry of Education, 1985); all themes but that of community service are stressed in the 1997 revision (Ministry of Education, 1997).

The 1997 revision (Ministry of Education, 1997), moreover, continued to refocus how curricula were presented by using "prescribed learning outcomes," expected skills and attitudes that students were to master. Citizenship education remained a key goal, and citizens were conceptualized in a manner similar to Sears' and Hughes' Conception B (liberal), again with some features of Conception C (global). Thus, good citizens were to be "active" through learning about problems in society and finding solutions to them, and they were to be informed of Canada's history and its evolution into an independent nation, as well as of the three levels of government and the law. Additionally, some of the themes described by Evans (2004), such as the development of concern for equity and equality, for multiculturalism, and for Native Studies—arising out of critical theory—are present, although the curriculum is not particularly right wing, or based in the ideas of new conservatives as we find more of in the 2005 guide (Ministry of Education, 2005). While, once again, the last curriculum revision (Ministry of Education, 2005) does not illustrate a major shift in either philosophy or content, some elements of right wing thinking, such as preparing students for

work, are apparent. Further, the last revision contains more controlling language and a major focus on "assessment" or testing. It is the clearest example of the rationalized "measured" curriculum.

## Consistent Themes in Citizenship and Citizenship Education

As illustrated in Table 7.1, the consistency found in conceptualizations of good citizens in curriculum guides released over the century is remarkable. It seems to support Wertsch's (2002) idea of *schematic narrative templates*, that is, of the continuity of certain fundamental cultural ideas over time. The understanding of good citizens conceptualized here, primarily under Sears' and Hughes' (1996) Conception B (liberal), appears to have been implemented early in the 20th Century with the establishment of the second stage of the progressivist program in the 1936 and 1937 guides (Department of Education, 1936, 1937) as part of the first curriculum revision that implemented the course of Social Studies in BC. Forming good citizens for a democracy was, and has continued to be, a key feature of progressivism. This approach appears to have integrated within itself a number of the features of earlier citizenship programs, while developing a more open and egalitarian conceptualization of good citizens. These earlier features were mostly content-based and included the continuity of a number of nation-building stories and facts on governmental structures and laws ("the machinery of government").

Progressivism's close connection and advocacy of a more egalitarian democracy lie perhaps in Dewey's 1916 *Democracy and Education.* He argues for: education to aid in the development of a democracy, a classless conceptualization of citizens (as illustrated in his valorisation of both practical and intellectual-based work), and an educational program based in experiences that lead to "plasticity" in students in order to bring continued development in society. The move to a less positive nation building narrative over the century could be argued to be the result of adopting the problem and issues-based approach that progressive reformers advocated. The move to a more inclusive and multicultural perspective could be the result of societal events (post World War 2

**Table 7.1. Features of Good Citizens in Curricula 1930s-2005**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Knowledge** | -of the story of the development of democratic principles in Europe (British parliament, rise of nationalism, revolutions)<br>-of the story of the development of Canada (exploration, British and French, Responsible Government, Confederation, development of the West)<br>**—change from an optimistic account to a more negative one**<br>-of government types (i.e., Democracy vs. Dictatorship)<br>-of Canada's 3 levels of government and their roles and services<br>-of the electoral system<br>-of political parties<br>-of Canada's Constitution<br>-of citizens' duties, rights and responsibilities<br>-of the features of democracy<br>-of the legal system<br>-of current problems and issues in society<br>-of Canada's international role |
| **Values & Attitudes** | -nationalism: love of Canada [love of Empire removed]<br>-local and global citizens<br>-tolerant and respectful of different opinions<br>-peace loving<br>-supportive of democracy<br>-value government as good and for the people—provides services for all<br>-abide by the rule of law<br>-cooperate ["Community Civics" removed]—national & international<br>-use conflict resolution<br>-agree to and submit to "majority rule"<br>-value justice<br>-are industrious, have a good work ethic<br>-are responsible<br>**NEW: Human Rights, Inclusion, and Multiculturalism (1985)** |
| **Skills** | -Critical thinking<br>-Problem solving<br>-Researching and communicating information<br>-Being aware of "propaganda" (bias) |
| **Behaviours** | -Informed voting<br>-Informed decision making and problem solving bringing improvement to society<br>-Participation in government (to level of ability) and society<br>-Collaboration with others |

and post Nazism) and of supporting democracy. For if all citizens are seen to be equal, then all must be valued and given a place and voice in society (Fleury, 2005; Kornfeld, 2005; Walter & Heilman, 2005).

Even the programs of "active" citizens are similar, particularly those of the 1930s and of 2005. Active citizens appreciate democracy and actively work to support, and improve it, through respecting the law, voting, researching information, critical thinking, and problem solving. This view is really a conservative one, for it does not aim to have students question the current governmental structure with the possibility of transforming it, as some radical "progressive" (or reconstructionist) 1930s thinkers such as Counts did. Counts' (1932) book, *Dare the School Build a New Social Order,* is far more revolutionary than either one of these government-issued programs. He argues that schools, often under conservative influences, should fight these influences and be used to remake society:

> Our major concern consequently should be, not to keep the school from influencing the child in a positive direction, but rather to make certain that every Progressive school will use whatever power it may possess in opposing and checking the forces of social conservatism and reaction...Far more terrifying than any indoctrination in which the school might indulge is the prospect of our becoming completely victimized and molded by the mechanics of industrialization. The control of the machine requires a society which is dominated less by the ideal of individual advancement and more by certain far-reaching purposes and plans for social construction. (p. 24-27)

His answer lies in a more socialistic state: "...our democratic tradition must of necessity evolve and gradually assume an essentially collectivist pattern" (Counts, 1932, p. 46). Rugg's famous textbooks of the 1930s have a similar approach (Rugg, 1931; Mraz, 2004). They also aim to create more "active" citizens than those of the 2005 program in BC, for while Rugg was not able to move beyond prejudging and stereotyping various groups in society (such as linking Blacks with the crime rate), he does argue for the remaking or transformation of society (Evans, 2004; Rugg, 1931). For example in *An Introduction to Problems of American Culture* (1931), Rugg describes the many problems found in American society and government. Remarkably, his description of American society is similar to American society today, and many of the "problems" that Rugg identified in the early 1930s are still major problems. These problems included apathy towards the government, government

corruption, crime, the power of the media and advertising in shaping public opinion, consumerism and greed, change in the family, the breaking down of neigbourhoods, unemployment, propaganda, and intolerance. His solutions lie in more state planning based in socialist principles, a scientific approach to government, and the "cooperative control" of groups such as the media:

> Nation wide plans for industry, agriculture, finance, business, transportation, and communication must be designed and put into practice by our local, state and national leaders. Note a few striking examples of the country's needs...plans for nation-wide cooperative control of the production of wheat corn, meat, and other staple foods...plans which will help to distribute the national income among the people so that every man, woman, and child in America can have at leave the comfortable standard of living which the great wealth of the nation now makes possible. (Rugg, 1931, p. 217)

He placed education as the most important of all of solutions. This education, "under the administration of wise educational philosophers" (Rugg, 1931, p. 605), is stated as occurring in progressive schools. Their active and student centred approach will lead, he argues, to a greater democracy (for he also gives democracy pride of place): "Thus, they [students] learn to live in a democracy by learning to govern themselves" (Rugg, 1931, p. 605). For Rugg, no opposition existed between the adoption of socialist ideas and democracy. But these concepts were to be rendered polar opposites by Cold War rhetoric. Unsurprisingly, his texts were banned in the United States as the Cold War took shape. Rugg's solutions were increasingly associated with the newly emerging "Communist" block (Riley & Stern, 2003).[59]

The 2005 BC curriculum guide (Ministry of Education, 2005) does not aim to create critical citizens who work to "transform" society, like Counts (1967) and Rugg (1931) aimed to do—perhaps predictably, as the latter were radical university professors and the former largely a governmental product. Rather, the intention remains that of creating "active" citizens, who see "democracy" as the best possible form of government and actively work to improve it much as Dewey

[59] Rugg (1931) notes that much interest in the new "Soviet State" occurred at that time and resulted in a number of articles about the new state. Even in BC, a *BC Teacher* article of the early 1930s described the new system in the Soviet Union.

had argued in 1916. Foucault (1980) would see the conceptualizations of and programs of citizenship education found in Social Studies guides as "passive" ones that aim to maintain the current governmental structure, thus—despite the complexity of seeing a simple power-knowledge framework in these multi-layered documents—a particular form of knowledge does emerge as tied to a power (or government) that aims to keep itself in power. This attempt to self-maintain and self-legitimize through schooling could be called "propaganda" and is against the very aims of democracy, according to a well-known political thinker previously quoted in Chapter 2: "To indoctrinate democracy is a contradiction in terms if 'democracy' is really democratic" (Crick, 2000, p. 56). Indeed, "citizenship education" promoted by governments can often be indoctrination:

> If we teach to induce the correct substantive attitudes (whether 'respect for the rule of law', 'proper individualism', 'the classless society' or whatever), it is not politics or citizenship we are teaching: it is something at best paternally approved, our quasi-autocratic friend, the 'good citizen', say rather 'good subject'. And at worst it is, indeed, attempted indoctrination. (Crick, 2000, p. 106)

Two major changes, with regard to what good citizens were to value, occurred over the century. The first, the change from British pan-nationalistic sentiment to Canadian sentiment, is straightforward: the focus solely on Canadian nationalism (but with an outlook out into the world remaining) was the product of Canada gaining autonomy from the Britain after World War 2. The second change to a more inclusive and multicultural perspective was the result of a new concern for equality and human rights that emerged after the horrors of World War 2 (Troper, 2002; Russell, 2002), from reports such as McDiarmid and Pratt's study (1971), and the policies of Trudeau, who instituted the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.* It probably has roots, as mentioned, in Dewey's (1916) conception of democracy, which valued the contributions of all.[60]

In short, the conceptualization of a good citizen did not change particularly much over the century. The two major transformations that did occur to curriculum guides over the 20th Century are related to how citizen education was

[60] Avocation and debate over multiculturalism and plurality is found in academia, too (Chapter 2).

conceptualized to occur. The first involved a change from the child centred philosophy of the 1930s to that of the "academic disciplines" in 1968. The second revolved around the reformulation of the curriculum itself into a measured, rationalized "science," focused on skills and objectives. "Contexualising factors" of both of these transformations are discussed in turn.

## The First Major Transformation: Philosophy of Education—How Students Learn

### The 1930s: Progressivism is Adopted

Issues of the journal, *BC Teacher,* released during the late 1920s and early 1930s, illustrate that national and international cross-pollination of ideas was occurring. The journal mentions the NEA Conference in Seattle, held its own yearly conference to which speakers were invited and current issues and topics addressed, and featured a number of articles about conference themes abroad and popular ideas and writers. For example, the May and June issues of 1927 provide a "ranking" of standardized tests and advice as to which to use. Putman and Weir (1925) advocated standardized testing. Character education is featured in one journal article, early in 1930, and the project method, early in 1931. Both character education and the project method were highlighted in the 1936 and 1937 revisions (Department of Education, 1936, 1937). An article by Dewey on the need for schools to be used to improve society is included in November, 1933 [vol *13*(3)] issue. In the same issue, Weir argues for teachers to have faith in education during that time of economic distress (Weir, 1933).

Educational leaders in BC evidently kept abreast of educational issues, trends and themes occurring nationally and internationally. Changes to BC's Social Studies guides seem to have resulted from Ministers in the Department of Education adopting popular philosophies circulated through the recommendations of the Putman and Weir Report (1925), journal articles written by professors (in *BC Teacher*, for example), and participation in conferences. The first revision to curricula made in the 1930s (Department of Education, 1930)—as was the case for the 1936 and 1937 revisions made by Weir

(Department of Education, 1936, 1937)—seems to have been led by Ministry officials familiar with new and trendy educational philosophies who attempted to introduce them in BC in order to "modernize" the system.[61]

In other words, officials in the Department of Education supported an open and flexible approach to change and were ready to bring in new ideas and approaches that were seen to be "better" with the aim of improving the system. Thus, the March 1930 *BC Teacher* journal contains an editorial that describes much resistance and criticism of the new changes to curricula. The article attempts to explain and justify changes arguing that new curricula's criteria "recognizes the pupil's individual needs as the fundamental factor to be considered" (*BC Teacher,* 1930, p. 4). It argues that the new program is an improvement of the system, which aims to help the majority of students do better in school by providing them with a more suitable program. The BC Teachers' Federation (BCTF) further supported these Department of Education changes. The same article describes that teacher criticisms resulted in a BCTF meeting, which passed a resolution supporting the Department's changes. This resolution confidently asserted that the new course was "one of the greatest educational advances ever made" (*BC Teacher,* 1930, p. 5). The problem method is featured in the June 1932 issue of the journal. The article mentions that it provides an example of how to teach the problem method as some teachers had stated that they were worried about how to teach it. The problem method was a key feature of the 1936 and 1937 curriculum guides (Ministry of Education, 1936, 1937).

New curricula were thus linked to a new philosophy of education articulated in the United States, and spread to Canada through journals, books, conferences, and studies in the field of education in the United States by Canadian masters and PhD candidates.[62] This philosophy was adopted, as it was an attractive one that aimed to deal with current shortcomings in schools. It

[61] This was not a new pattern: BC's Ministry officials had looked to and copied changes occurring in other places, since the foundation of the school system in the 19th Century.

[62] Weir studied part of his doctorate in the United States (Mann, 1980).

was found in Ministry documents as individuals who supported it, particularly Weir, gained the political power necessary to enact it.

**Social and Economic Factors**

Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, was the Great Depression. Numerous articles in *BC Teacher* in the early 1930s referred to the struggles, difficulties, and problems of the Great Depression. They detailed the fight to maintain a certain standard in public schooling in the face of major budget shortfalls and the psychological fear that society was collapsing economically. Leaders in education were quick to step in with the argument: that schools had to be used to reshape a new society, that the answer lay in education, that courage was needed to face the calamity of economic collapse and recreate a new and better world. This argument must have held appeal and the promise of hope for many, who—consequently—supported educational change.

In BC, for example, Weir became Minister of Education in 1933. In his "Message to the Teachers of British Columbia" (Weir, 1933), he describes BC's "storm and stress" and argues that the answer lies in education. Again, in May 1937, he argues in the same journal for the need for more education in order to deal with the day's major problems (Weir, 1937). He also explains the new curriculum guides of 1936 and 1937, stating that they are the product of committees with "carefully chosen" members who are trained in educational psychology and methods and in curriculum construction in postgraduate programs. Indeed, he states that new socioeconomic conditions and changes "in the conception and meaning of education, the growth of psychology and science of education, the development of new techniques in teaching and classroom management, individual differences in pupils and other factors have all tended to make the old course of study irrelevant" (Weir, 1937, p. 429). He also states that new curriculum guides aim at the "seven cardinal objectives of education," from

the American *Cardinal Principles Report* of 1918.[63] He quotes Bobbitt and asserts the objective of new guides as "right living." Objectives are to be based on experiences and not subject matter memorizing. The result will be a "new era of national progress and international good will" (Weir, 1937, p. 430). The public must have bought into his ideas for, when a business-led report argued for drastic decreases in schooling, a number of groups vehemently opposed it (Jones, 1980). Weir had the support of most of the public in making his "new era" transformations based in progressivism intertwined with social efficiency, both of which were from the United States.

**Conclusion**

The first major transformation in BC's educational philosophy—that steeped in progressivism and a child centred and experiential approach to learning—appears to have been implemented because of: (a) the international circulation of these new ideas through conferences, journals, and articles and graduate study; (b) the adoption of these ideas by Ministry officials desirous of keeping abreast of new changes and with the political power to enact them; (c) a social environment favourable to education and reform, heightened by the Great Depression and reaction to reports arguing for school cutbacks (Jones, 1980); (d) BC Teachers' Federation support; and (e) an inclusive and attractive philosophy of education based in the work of Dewey, which captured the imaginations of educators and leaders who were attempting to find ways of managing increasing numbers of varied students attending school as a result of changes in society. This philosophy, further, was underlain by supposedly scientific research work in the new and attractive field of psychology. For example, the project method article in a 1931 *BC Teacher* journal argued that the project method was based in the work of Dewey and supported by "modern psychology," arising primarily from

[63] These were health, command of fundamental processes, vocation, worthy use of leisure time, worthy home membership, citizenship (or civic education), and ethical character (Woshner, 2003).

Thorndike's work. Justification based in "modern psychology" was stated again in the 1960s.

## The 1960s: The New Social Studies

### Theoretical Background

The transformation in philosophy apparent in the 1968 curriculum guide revision also seems to have a basis in psychology (Department of Education, 1968). The philosophy was constructed around in the then-popular "structure of disciplines" philosophy arising from Bruner's theory, the foundations of whose work rested on a popular and apparently "scientifically proven" theory of developmental psychology linked to Piaget's tremendously influential work (Hass, 1987).

*BC Teacher* issues during the later half of the 1960s do not include a number of articles on the need to change curricula, nor on the structure of disciplines philosophy that underlay the revision of 1968 prior to the release of the new curriculum guide. A few articles describe the important role of the teacher and the need to teach skills but otherwise not much is found in the journal, until the November 1968 volume. It includes an article by Sutherland, a University of BC professor and the author of one of the recommended texts in the 1968 revision. He argues "to teach the new curriculum we must reverse the teaching of history" (Sutherland, 1968, p. 55), that is, for the need to reconceptualize teaching using Bruner's structure of disciplines approach, based in the inductive method. His article includes a Bruner-style, History lesson. Sutherland also mentions that he does not need to say much about Bruner, as teachers are familiar with his work, that teachers have been calling out for change and for new resources in teaching Social Studies, and that the curriculum has been changed to "harmonize" the subject with psychology. The latter points help to point out why the curriculum revision was made, but do not explain what it was about Bruner that captured the attention of the curriculum developers.

Perhaps part of the answer lies in the rise of the social sciences in university faculties, their acceptance and legitimization in universities, the achievement of professional status for sociologists and their demands for greater inclusion in school curricula (Partridge et al., 1969). Much optimism in sociology, for example, existed in the 1960s (Gleeson & Whitty, 1976). Indeed, Partridge et al (1969) write that social sciences had already been included in both American and British curricula, present arguments that attempt to justify increasing the social sciences in Australian Social Studies curricula, and describe a new social science-based integrated Social Studies program. The crux of their argument is that students need to learn more than history; they also need to study the social sciences, for these help students understand the societies they are living in and give them power to transform society:

> In summary, the aim of teaching the social sciences is to enable each pupil to understand this society of his, to grasp the manner of its behaviour, to acquire the skills through which it can be managed, to see the interrelationships of its parts, to comprehend its pattern as a whole, and, through this activity, to improve the quality of life which he and his fellows citizens share in this society. (Partridge et al., 1969, p. 62)

The curriculum revision of 1968 (Department of Education, 1968) was academic in tone and approach. It appears to be the product of academic influence.

Gleeson and Whitty (1976) argue that Fenton's (1967) book, *The New Social Studies*, influenced the movement to include the social sciences in Social Studies and that: "the New Social Studies movement was the child of a period in which philosophers and curriculum theorists were arguing that education itself was the initiation into the so called 'forms of knowledge'" (p. 10). They mention Lawton, Hirst, Phenix, Cannon, and Dufour, as examples. Hirst (1965), for instance, argues that "forms of knowledge," encapsulate the unique ways in which people have developed their knowledge, or understanding of the world, through experience. Each form involves distinctive "modes of understanding" based in diverse concepts and logic. They are distinctive "voices" in an Oakeshott-like conversation and build understanding in students' minds.

**The Process of Curriculum Revision**

While the journal *BC Teacher* contains little on the curriculum revision, the journal of the BC Social Studies Teachers' Association, *Exploration*, founded in February 1961, is replete with detail. It describes the process of shaping new curricula. It demonstrates the rise of the Social Studies Teachers' Association and its attempt to exert influence over the revision. In 1962, the association established a committee to consider changes to the Social Studies curriculum. A definition of aims was included; it was from the Royal Commission Report (British Columbia, 1960). The journal also mentions that a survey was conducted of teachers, who were found to be in favour of curriculum change. Its 1962 (vol 3, no 1) edition describes education as in state of flux and states a need for active participation in the revision. It discusses the question of splitting history and geography. Vol. 3 (no 2) of the same year includes a suggested curriculum. Volume 3 (no. 3) of May 1963 mentions that the Department of Education had established a History Advisory Committee and a Geography Advisory Committee in order to develop "master plans" (vol. 4, no. 2, p. 4). These committees' reports are included in the February 1964 issue. Both committees recommend amending curricula to more closely match the New Social Studies: History and Geography have to be taught separately in order to develop students' understanding of their "structures." Both committees include academics (History, Geography and Education faculty) whose names were often found in the journal over the century.

The same issue states: "...observations and comments from interested groups will be welcomed by the Department. At the same time, the department will establish the revision committee" (vol. 4, no. 2, p. 5). Department of Education officials ensured power stayed in their hands. The following issue includes a panel discussion over whether the curricula should be discipline-centred or interdisciplinary. Academics argue for the former with appeals to research and authority by asserting, for example, that "...statistical experimentation has shown conclusive evidence that children learn best inductively" (vol. 4, no. 3, p. 5) and by insulting interdisciplinary Social Studies as

"partially digested porridge" (vol. 4, no. 3, p. 4). An article by the Deputy Minister in December 1964 (vol. 5, no. 1) mentions that the revision committee had been set up. The January 1966 (vol. 6, no. 1) includes a progress report from the committee. It states that the curriculum aims to be inductive ("methodology is of paramount importance," vol. 6, no. 1, p. 20), that teachers will be given more choice with thematic units and that the disciplines will be separated but linked. Readers are encouraged to send in their feedback.

The May edition (vol. 6, no. 2) describes feedback received on the proposed curriculum, arguing that the range of suggestions, while diverse, "...were affirmative, with reservations" (vol. 6, no. 2, p. 25). Suggestions focus on such points as to include more non-western history and sociology. However, the report makes an insightful comment: "It is quite apparent, however, that no province-wide consensus exists which can be considered a directive and the committee must take responsibility for assessing the opinions expressed for any modifications which may result" (vol. 6, no. 2, p. 26). That is, the committee members (hand picked by government officials) believed they had the authority (and the wisdom) to design the next curriculum. This resided, I believe, in an appeal to and very real belief in the "professional" wisdom and knowledge of the academic and in a naïve faith in the flawlessness of educational research. Interestingly for this study, a separate article in this journal issue deals with concerns that "citizenship" is not given a central role. It argues that citizenship is still a central goal but that it is to be achieved through teaching students how to think and not indoctrination and that (contradictorily) using stories of Canada's past will develop students' nationalism (Holt, 1966b).

The June 1967 (vol. 7) issue describes the preliminary new curriculum. The new curriculum is steeped in the New Social Studies and mirrors the curriculum revision implemented in 1968. This was not surprisingly, for as will be discussed below in more detail, individuals on the committee were also key figures contributing to the journal. All of the articles they wrote (particularly J. S. Church and B. Holt) extolled the "New Social Studies." In fact, as will also be described, many pro-new Social Studies articles were included in the journal both

prior to, at the time of, and after the curriculum revision was implemented. After the curriculum revision, the journal actively supported the implementation of new curricula through journal articles and teacher seminars.

**Related Circumstances/Events**

**Department of Education Reports and Similar Documents**

Several circumstances similar to those of the 1930s may have helped to create a climate favourable to revision of BC's curricula in the 1960s. The first, as has been mentioned, was the rise of a new and attractive philosophy of education. One Department of Education *Public School Report,* for example, directly mentions the new philosophy of education underlying curriculum reform by stating a move "from factual information or the product of learning to emphasis on process/methods," which has "resulted in the preparation and publication of curriculum guides containing a wealth of suggestions for teaching and less prescriptive outline of subject matter" (Superintendent's Report, 1965, p. 50). Other Department of Education *Annual Public School Reports* (Superintendent's Reports, 1963-1969) provide little detail on the curriculum revisions occurring in all in subject areas. While they make clear that the Social Studies revision was part of a much larger process, they mention little except to state that these revisions were occurring and "resulting from the Chant Report" (1963, p. 36). The Chant Royal Commission Report (British Columbia, 1960), as described in Chapter 5, presents the Royal Commission's recommendations that education has to focus primarily on intellectual (and relevant) education.

The BCTF (1959) report, also mentioned in Chapter 5, was prepared for the Royal Commission. The BCTF recommends streaming different programs for "slow," "average," and "superior" students. This is seen as an "individualized" approach to learning. It also recommends more geography content and the placing of World History as the final Social Studies course. The Royal Commission Report (British Columbia, 1960) went further. It argues that Social Studies is "diverse" and "unclear" and recommends "that a complete review of the courses in Social Studies be undertaken" to focus on the "significance of the

subject matter" (British Columbia, 1960, p. 309). History and geography are to be separated, as they indeed were in the 1968 guide. In other words, the curriculum revision seems to be based in the recommendations of the Royal Commission Report (1960), which states that it was enacted:

> ...in the light of world conditions. Doubtless the appointment of the Commission at this particular time was influenced by prevalent opinion that Canadian Education was not yielding results that were equal to those being obtained in some other countries. (British Columbia, 1960, p. 2)

Curricular reform is necessary "if Canada is to be strong" (British Columbia, 1960, p. 3).

Returning now to the Department of Education's *Public School Reports* (Superintendent's Reports, 1963-1969), further comments illustrate that Department of Education officials supported curriculum revision. They express openness to change and a desire to make curricula "relevant" and up-to-date. As in the 1930s, they promote "modernization": "Experimentation and innovation are usually the signs of an educational system that is alive and functioning, and there is not reason to believe otherwise of BC schools today" (Superintendent's Report, 1966-67, p. 38). Again as in the 1930s, the desire to be modern is linked to the belief that society is changing, that a "new era of scientific and social development [is] occurring, not only in British Columbia, but throughout the country at large" (Superintendent's Report, 1964-5, p. 35).

This philosophy, supportive of change in schools, is echoed in the *Administrative Bulletin for Secondary Schools* (Department of Education, 1965). The document explains how the curriculum revisions are to be carried out. It echoes the Royal Commission Report (British Columbia, 1960): It set out its aims as those of providing opportunities for all students, focusing on intellectual development and providing a practical and realistic curriculum with choice for students. The bulletin is "primarily concerned with the individual in a changing society" (Department of Education, 1965, p. 6). Its aims are to be achieved through varied program options with "general education constants" that include English and Social Studies.

Further, the *Public School Reports* (Superintendent's Reports, 1963-1969) state that "interprovincial/national consultation" is occurring and that "annual meetings of curriculum officials in the four Western provinces" provide opportunities to exchange information and develop similar courses (Superintendent's Report, 1964-5, p. 50). As in the past, Ministers and curriculum developers looked to changes occurring outside of BC, particularly those of the United States. The new Superintendent of Education, for instance, did some graduate work in the United States. Conferences and journals both in the United States and in BC (examples of which are included here) spread new ideas. These links are exemplified in the curriculum guide's bibliography (Department of Education, 1968). It lists the NCSS yearbook, a Harvard Educational Review article on the "uses of the past," and Fenton's two books promoting the "new Social Studies." J. S. Church's story (explained below) highlights the process of being introduced to and "buying" into new ideas.

The *Annual Reports of the Vancouver Board of Schools Trustees* (Board of School Trustees, 1963-1969) are similar in philosophical approach to those of the Department of Education. They describe the time as one of change as all of the new curriculum revisions were slowly enacted (Board of School Trustees, 1963). The 1964/5 report (Board of School Trustees) mentions scientific, mechanical, and social changes perceived to be occurring quickly in society and the in-service teacher training given in new courses. It also mentions teachers' beliefs in the need to change the Social Studies curriculum. The reports generally, like those of the Department of Education, are positive in tone and supportive of "innovation, experimentation, and examination of techniques and practices" in teaching, such as open area and team teaching (Board of School Trustees, 1967, p. 1). They describe themselves as "forward looking...support given to proposed innovations, experiments..." (Board of School Trustees, 1966, p. 1). The 1966-7 year is described as a "magic year" for the first group of students in the new program graduate, and are argued to do so with more opportunities (Board of School Trustees, 1966, p. 12). They also state that experiments conducted in Social Studies "encouraged board officials to feel that

there are decidedly better and more interesting ways of providing students with an understanding-in-depth of the world in which they live including the problems of that world" (Board of school Trustees, 1966, p. 13). These are argued to be the Social Studies laboratory, team teaching, large group instruction, seminars, and independent study. The School Trustee reports actively supported Department of Education changes.

**The 1967 Conference Report and Academia**

A conference report, *The New Social Studies: A Report of a Social Studies Conference* (BC Social Studies Association, 1967) released prior to the new curriculum guide advocated the New Social Studies, with particular reference to Taba's "Contra Costa" program and a Geography project (the Hamilton Bay Local Study—Conceptual Model for Curriculum Design) steeped in new social science theory and presented by Ms Elliott of the Department of Education at the University of Toronto. The conference was sponsored by the BC Social Studies Teachers' Association and the Faculty of Education. Its introduction, by J. S. Church, states that the report was released "because of the very real interest shown in the possibilities for future curriculum design in the two models presented" (BC Social Studies Association, 1967, p. 1). The report consists of a detailed description of the two programs, both of which are grandly praised. The conclusion makes clear that these ideas were already promulgated at UBC's Department of Education, as least by some faculty members; it states that "students who get their Social Studies instruction at UBC are already alerted to all of this" (BC Social Studies Association, 1967, p. 33).

New Teacher Education would have been implemented through the influence of professors such as Drs. Walsh and Tomkins and Neil Sutherland. The first wrote an explanation of Taba's curriculum in the conference report. The second wrote on the need for a discipline-based and conceptual approach to teaching Geography (for example, Tomkins, 1962). Tomkins actually served on the Social Studies revision committee and supported change. Tomkins argued in 1962, for example, for the need to improve the teaching of Geography, as

recommended in a 1956 "Report of the Commission on the Teaching of Geography in Schools" (Tomkins, 1962, p. 15). In the article, he describes how criticisms in a Post-Sputnik era have led to a "new look" to Science and Mathematics teaching, which have to be imported into Social Studies. He supports the Royal Commission Report's (British Columbia, 1960) recommendation to separate history and geography study (as was indeed done in the new curriculum), for too long has BC "endured that fitful fever called Social Studies" (Tomkins, 1962, p. 15). He recommends that Geography be "a field of experts" and states that his "approach is entirely consistent with Bruner" and child discovery learning (Tomkins, 1962, p. 18). He was, that is, a supporter of the New Social Studies in his theoretical orientation. Sutherland wrote much on "Structure in the History Curriculum" (e.g., Sutherland, 1962; Sutherland, 1961). Sutherland also wrote textbooks for the new curriculum guide (Sutherland & Deyell, 1966). All three scholars—Walsh, Tomkins, and Sutherland—actively disseminated their ideas in journal articles.

New teacher texts also promulgated the new theory. For example, Joyce (1965) argues for the birth of a "period that is creating a closer relation between scholars and educators, between the social sciences of the university and the social education of the elementary school" (Joyce, 1965, p. vii). His text is steeped in Bruner's thought and argues that teachers should "innovate and experiment" (Joyce, 1965, p. vii), see all knowledge as tentative, and understand the structures of disciplines and new developments in psychology. The book describes the "structure" of each of the social sciences, the idea of "concepts," and teaching strategies such as depth studies. Fenton also provided a good teacher text. Indeed, I found one Fenton text (1967) in which a number of comments had been scribbled. One comment stated a disagreement with Hanna's expanding horizons approach ("I disagree entirely with this approach"), to which the then Dean of Education (Scarfe), signing his name, had written "Okay!"

Practicing teachers could be influenced by in-service activities, conferences and journals. For example, the BC Social Studies Teachers'

Association Journal, *Exploration*, released a number of articles on the New Social Studies over the 1960s that actively promoted the new approach. Its very first issue includes a summary of a pamphlet written by Sutherland on "the document in the teaching of history" (Sutherland, 1961). The pamphlet is from a collection of lesson aids. The journal also describes a conference in 1963 at UBC focused on the structures of History and Geography and states that students learn inductively and like scholars. The same journal includes a report on a high school Geography project from Denver and an article on teaching more economics from a Michigan Education Journal (vol. 4, no. 1). The journal has summaries of papers presented at the National Council for the Social Studies conventions of 1963 and 1967, with the latter including Fenton's inquiry approach, Krug's new Social Studies, Massialas' inquiry approach, and Udovich's conceptual curriculum. Highlights of 1968 conference focused on learning resources for the new revision are also included, such as a "Unit Plan for Teaching the Soviet Industrial Core Area." This provision of resources by experts for practicing teachers continued in 1969, as well, with articles on economic Geography, south East Asia, local area study units, and methods for teaching History. Subject specialists were quite willing to share their expertise with teachers in order to help them implement the new rigorously academic program. This reinforced, after all, their legitimacy and "expertise."

**Power to Implement New Knowledge**

Importantly—as in the case of the 1930s revision—individuals supportive of these new doctrines were empowered to make them happen. In the 1930s, a key individual was Weir; in 1968, key figures were J. S. Church, B. Holt, Neil Sutherland, and Dr. Tomkins. As previously mentioned, Dr Tomkins actively wrote on Geography as a discipline. He served on both the Geography Advisory Committee and the Curriculum Revision Committee. Neil Sutherland, also a university professor, wrote on history from a New Social Studies angle and served on the History Advisory Committee. B. Holt served on the Curriculum Revision Committee and was the editor of *Exploration.* The Department of

Education evidently supported the involvement of academic experts. Indeed, the advisory committee members were selected because they were "highly competent disciplinarians" (in *Exploration,* vol. 4, no. 2, p. 4).

The 1960s curriculum revisions were under a small group at the Department of Education: the "Assistant Superintendent (instruction), Director of Curriculum, a small office staff and 2 special curriculum consultants" (Superintendent's Report, 1963, p. 47). One of the latter was J. S. Church, a BCTF administrator ("Assistant Director of Professional Development") who took part in the 1967 Conference; indeed, he wrote its foreword and he served on the 1968 Social Studies Curriculum Revision Committee. He actively promoted the New Social Studies in *Exploration.* J. S. Church's journal articles illustrate that he was influenced by the American movement. In 1963, Church describes his attendance at a conference by the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development in the United States. He returns extolling what he had heard (Church, 1963a). He had heard Michaelis of UCLA discuss "New Directions for the Social Studies as Indicated in Current Projects." In effect, it is a description of the New Social Studies. Later that same year, he writes an article summarizing (the new) "Social Studies in the United States" (Church, 1963b). The article describes, again, the conference he had attended. Apparently, his story was republished because of interest. In the June 1964 issue, he explains the issues to consider in the revision, and focuses these around new Social Studies ideas with numerous quotes from Bruner and several American journals (Church, 1964). He writes the "Report of the Secondary Social Studies Revision Committee: Some Explanatory notes" in the January 1966 edition (Church, 1966) and an article on the preliminary curriculum draft in the June 1967 issue, stating that feedback had been considered and incorporated in the new curriculum through giving teachers choice and flexibility (Church, 1967). The same journal issue is replete with summaries of American academics supportive of the New Social Studies, including Fenton. In June 1968, Church argues for understanding History as a discipline, a crucial feature of the new curriculum guide, with reference to American academics including Fenton (Church, 1968).

B. Holt, the editor of *Exploration,* also writes a number of articles supportive of the New Social Studies in the journal. For example, he participates in the panel presentation in June 1964 as an advocate of discipline-centred history (Holt, 1964). He writes the "progress report" of the curriculum revision committee in May 1966 (Holt, 1966a), and an article clarifying the continued role of citizenship in the new Social Studies curriculum (Holt, 1966b). Further, he presumably attended the National Council for the Social Studies convention in 1967 and summarizes the many presentations he attended, all revolving around the New Social Studies. (I assume it was Holt, as the articles had no author's name, they were written in the first person form, and he was the editor.) In December 1968, he writes an article celebrating the new curriculum for giving teachers freedom and being student centred and an exciting challenge for teachers to implement (Holt, 1968). He includes materials and information on how to teach the new curriculum in the journal. Like Church, Holt was a supporter of the New Social Studies and was in a position to influence the direction of the curriculum revision committee and teachers in general through the journal. He also looked to the United States for leadership. The following quote from one of his articles is instructive as to why he did so: "...having the money and the enthusiasm to experiment, the United States is bound to lead in educational research" (Holt, 1967, p. 1). Canada, presumably, was bound to follow.

**American Influences**

Fenton (1967) has been seen by some (Gleeson & Whitty, 1976) as a crucial figure in disseminating new ideas in the United States. I would argue, however, that a close study of 1960s documents makes clear that Fenton was not the precursor of curriculum changes in BC (or the USA). Rather, he summarized a number of trends already occurring in the United States and made them available to a wider audience. Indeed, he himself wrote that his book (Fenton, 1967) was a description of a number of curriculum initiatives already occurring in the United States. He traced the birth of the movement in the United

States to a vital political and social event: Sputnik. The launching of the Soviet satellite at a time of ideological conflict and power plays during the Cold War seriously shook Americans. Government officials and others fanned flames of fear with strong rhetoric: The United States was going to lose its dominance, and perhaps not even survive. Schools had to heroically save America, by increasing the conceptual ability of students; new approaches to education were needed. The present model was obviously not working—as vehement criticism of progressivism by a number of American and Canadian scholars in the 1950s attested. Government officials would provide needed funding to research improvements to education; academics would provide the solutions.

And so was planned a conference to highlight new educational approaches and—at its centre—was Bruner. Bruner's 1960 book emerged from that conference, and it was an instant sensation. It was the new panacea. It presented a solution to a perceived need, arising from a perceived fear: The answer lay in schooling children into mini social scientists. This approach attracted many: It "hit the spot" of the time. It legitimized the rising social sciences as disciplines and seemed to offer a method of educating children for the continued growth and success of America. Curriculum revision projects began first in the Maths and Sciences, areas that were perceived as most vital.

However, as Fenton (1967) mentioned, social scientists soon caught onto the trends and began advocating the same for Social Studies. Curriculum reform projects were initiated in the subject as well. Two were of significant importance to BC: the work of Taba and of a Geography project at the University of Toronto. Both were obviously considered by BC's curriculum revision committee as models as mentioned in the Conference Report (BC Social Studies Association, 1967). As in the 1930s, British Columbian scholars and Department of Education officials looked to and copied trends occurring in the United States. In the words of a Canadian educational historian, writing in the later 1960s: "Canada reacted as usual to the trends in the United States and gave this type of curriculum reorganization an even more sympathetic reception than it received south of the great lakes" (Johnson, 1968, p. 139).

**Conclusion**

BC's new 1968 curriculum guide (Department of Education, 1968) was underlain by a transformation in how citizenship education was to occur. This new methodological approach was grounded in a shift from a child centred philosophy of education to one rooted in "disciplines" and "structures of knowledge." This philosophy was advocated by educational philosophers, such as Hirst (1965) and Bruner (1987), curriculum designers in the United States and England, the Association for the Teaching of the Social Sciences (UK), university professors, and journal writers. All of these groups and others pressured for more social sciences to be taught in schools "in a whole flurry of activity in the mid 1960s" (Gleeson & Whitty, 1976, p. 7).

The 1968 Curriculum Revision was associated with a number of inter-twined circumstances and events: (a) the rise of the social sciences as legitimized disciplines in universities and their demands for more inclusion in school Social Studies curricula through pressure groups and journal articles; (b) convincing arguments that a social science approach would improve students' learning, understanding of society, and preparation for life supported by apparently ground breaking research and work in psychology; (c) the demands of the Royal Commission Report (British Columbia, 1960) for a more academic program, a late echo of demands in the United States for a more academic program in order to counteract the perceived "threat" of socialism arising from the Cold War; (d) attention to research and experimentation in academia, probably related to the development of the social sciences, which supported and legitimized new ideas; (e) reaction to progressivism due to the work of certain scholars, such as Neatby; and (f) philosophical arguments regarding knowledge (Evans, 2004; Symcox, 2002; Clark, 2004). General, social, economic and political influences were a vital ingredient as in the 1930s revision. These centred around perceived changes and problems in society arising from Cold War tensions—one writer described the time as one enveloped in:

> a grim, serious, uncertain mood...a tendency to be self-critical, introspective, serious, academic...interest in increasing standards, intellectual content, efficiency...it is a mood conditioned by a situation in

> which we have actual competition in education among nations of the globe. (Tait, 1960, p. 50)

Further, circumstances included: (g) a desire on the part of Ministry officials to have "modern" curricula and their support for new ideas advocated by the academic "experts" they handpicked to be on the advisory committees and revision committee; (h) the influence of American ideas, spread through journals and conferences in BC; (i) the adoption of these ideas by those with power to implement them. The root of both the 1930s and the 1960s revisions was philosophical; the surrounding circumstances leading to revision similar.

## The Second Major Transformation of Curriculum Guides: Rationalized Objectives

The second, significant change, most apparent in the guides of 1985, 1997, and 2005, is found in how curricula are presented. They are no longer lists of textbooks or of facts and historical events students are to learn; rather, the guides list abilities and skills students are to acquire and develop. The roots of this transformation lie in the 1936 and 1937 revision (Department of Education, 1936, 1937), which first presented a division of curricula into "goals" or "objectives" for students to master. This trend continued in the 1968 guide, where content was eschewed for concepts. In later guides, the focus shifted from concepts to skills and abilities. These illustrate the triumph of an understanding of curriculum as a rationalized, curricular science. The roots of this movement lie in the work of Bobbitt (1918). The approach became generally accepted primarily as a result of Tyler's (1949) work. Tyler built on the foundations developed by Bobbitt (1918) and Snedden (Arends, 1991).

### Historical Roots

Chicago educational administration professor, Bobbitt, wrote his curriculum book, *The Curriculum,* in 1918. It is based on practicality and utility and aims to develop a rational, curricular science, arguing for the break down of teaching into minute, organized "tasks." These are to be designed, ordered, and implemented so as to maximize the learning of pre-established goals that aim to

teach students the skills they are seen to need as adults in varied aspects of their lives:

> The central theory is simple. Human life, however varied, consists in the performance of specific activities. Education that prepares for life is one that prepares definitely and adequately for these specific activities. However numerous and diverse they may be for any social class, they can be discovered. This requires only that one go out into the world of affairs and discover the particular of which these affairs consist. These will show the abilities, attitudes, habits and appreciations and forms of knowledge that men need. These will be the objectives of the curriculum. They will be numerous, definite, and particularized. The curriculum will then be that series of experiences which children and youth must have by way of attaining those objectives. (Bobbitt, 1918, p. 42)

Like so many of his generation, he sees science as providing the answer to what should be taught: "But the era of contentment with large, undefined purposes is rapidly passing. An age of science is demanding exactness and particularity. The technique of scientific method is at present being developed for every important aspect of education" (Bobbitt, 1918, p. 41). As illustrated in the quote above, this technique involves a scientific study of society in order to determine what skills, attitudes, values and knowledge are necessary. Any gaps that are found in students in these areas will then become the curriculum. Bobbitt articulates "...five steps in curriculum making: (a) analysis of human experience, (b) job analysis, (c) deriving objectives, (d) selecting objectives, and (e) planning in detail" (Murray, n.d.). Objectives are to be achieved in the most scientifically efficient way possible. Any content or any subject that is not seen to contribute to adult life is a waste of time and money. For example, with regard to citizenship education, Bobbitt argues: "Education cannot take the first step in training for good citizenship until it has particularized the characteristics of the good citizen. The training task is to develop those characteristics. It is not enough to aim at "good citizenship" in a vague general way" (Bobbitt, 1918, p. 117). BC's curriculum guides, beginning in 1936 and 1937, are generally presented in this rationalized manner with aims and objectives for students to master.

Tyler's (1949) significant book on curriculum, *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction,* built upon Bobbitt's conceptualization of a

rationalized and scientific approach to curriculum making. Tyler argues that learning is the changing of behaviour to be achieved through four steps: (a) selecting the objectives or aims desired at, (b) choosing learning experiences that will achieve these, (c) organizing these experiences to maximize learning, and (d) evaluating what has been learned.

**Impact on Curriculum Making**

Tyler (1949) applied an easy-to-implement and easy-to-test scientific-like procedure to education in the tradition of Bobbitt (1918). This practice seems to have played a major role in popularizing the transformation of curriculum from a textbook or list of concepts to a rationalized science in which four steps for making lessons are to be followed by teachers. Attention is centred on the aims or desired "outcomes" to be achieved:

> The dominant perspective that guides most of the thinking and action on this topic [curriculum planning] has been referred to as the rational-linear model. This perspective puts the focus on goals and objectives as the first set in a sequential process. Models of action and specific activities are then selected from available alternatives to accomplish pre-specified ends. The model assumes a close connection between those who set goals and objectives and those charged with carrying them out. It also assumes that the social environments for which plans are made are some what static over time and that an information base can be established to show the degree to which goals and objectives have been accomplished...In education the basic concepts are normally associated with early curriculum planners and theorists, such as Ralph Tyler (1950), and with later instructional designers, such as Mager (1962, 1984), Popham and Baker (1970), and Gagne and Briggs (1979). For both groups, good educational planning is characterized by carefully specified instructional objectives (normally stated in behavioural terms), teaching actions and strategies designed to promote prescribed objectives, and careful measurements of outcomes, particularly student achievement. (Arends, 1991, p 36)

This understanding of curriculum appears, unfortunately, to have been accepted in BC, illustrated in the increasingly rationalized approach to curricula. By the end of the century, objectives were called "prescribed learning outcomes" and evaluation was given attention (Ministry of Education, 1997). Its rationalized and "scientific" approach "cuts" the educational process into a number of steps in order to achieve particular "outcomes," as Taylor argued for the process of

"scientific management" in factories in order to increase "productivity" at the turn of the century (Callahan, 1962). The process is based on an industrial productivity-boosting rational that misunderstands what "education" is. It is an approach to curricula called the "measured curriculum":

> The measured curriculum is familiar to all educators. Behavioural objectives, time on task, sequential learning, positive reinforcement, direct instruction, achievement testing, mastery in skills and content, and teacher accountability are essential concepts used in practice and research...But this conception and design of curriculum cannot accomplish everything students are expected to learn...some of the time-honoured and persistently stated educational outcomes will not be accomplished. (Klein, 1997, p. 303)

Klein (1997) presents two types of measured curriculum that match evolving presentations of curriculum in BC. The first is called "Academic rationalism," which argues for curriculum to be based on knowledge organized in subjects as academic disciplines. This is clearly the model of the 1968 revision (Department of Education, 1968). The second is called "Cognitive Processes." It emphasizes content less, and skills or practices to be learned more. It is the approach taken in the later guides of 1985, 1997, and 2005 (Ministry of Education, 1985, 1997, 2005). The last revision of 2005 has taken this conception the furthest, even going so far as to include "Bloom's taxonomy" in its recommended assessment approach. Both types, Klien argues, are based in Tyler's "technological conception" of curricula (from Eisner and Vallance, cited in Klein, 1987). The rise of a rationalized controlled approach to curriculum making, while attempting to provide clear "scientific" outcomes, has squashed the possibility of providing students with a true liberating education. It has wrongly applied business theories aimed at improving industrial productivity to a very different form of endeavour.

## Conclusion

BC Ministry of Education curriculum guides released over the century include a collection of concepts and ideas layered onto one another, illustrating an approach of grafting new ideas, concepts, or approaches to existing

documents. They add to the complexity of Foucault's power knowledge framework. Yet, as "education is always an expression of a civilization and of a political and economic system" (Hass, 1987, p. 44), and as Ministry officials desired to reform curricula in order to "modernize" it and kept power to themselves in the curriculum revision process by picking individuals to serve on committees or changing curriculum draft documents (Ekdahl, 1996), we do see curriculum guides reflecting some of the major changes and trends of their times, such as progressivism and the New Social Studies.

At the same time, the curriculum guides contain much continuity, particularly in their conceptualizations of good citizens and how these are to be educated, most closely matching Sears and Hughes Conception B (liberal), although with some features of Conception A (conservative) earlier in the century and of Conception C (global) later in the century. This continuity seems to support Wertsch's (2002) concept of "schematic narrative templates," or cultural understandings that are embedded in structures and not obviously apparent. An aim in all curriculum guides is the shaping of particular citizens who are supportive of the state. They are to be "active" in the sense of learning how to solve its problems and voting. In truth, their "activeness" works to maintain the current *status quo,* only, to ensure the comfortable continuity of the current nation.

This continual understanding of what "knowledge" good citizens are to have supports Foucault's (1980) connection between a particular power (the Ministry) and the knowledge (curriculum guides) it aimed to foster in order to create good citizens. The direct attempt to create "good citizens" who obviously support the current government as legitimate and who "actively" work to support democracy through problem solving and the investigation of issues could be considered indoctrination. The guides definitely do not contain any questioning as to the legitimacy of the current government or of democracy, although "problem solving" and "critical thinking" are regularly prescribed and despite the last guide's (Ministry of Education, 2005) inclusion of some negative state history. Indeed, the guide most focused on good citizenship education, that of

the 1950s, even went so far as to state that teaching students to respect democracy was not indoctrination, an assertion that one of England's well known political scientists would question, as mentioned earlier in this chapter (Crick, 2000).

Why did some ideas, such as child centred philosophy and the educating of good citizens become entrenched in curriculum guides, while other ideas or content, such as that of the "structure of disciplines," die out? Perhaps, this could be argued to be a product of the groups involved and influential movements developing in other places, particularly the United States, added to having power at the right time (such as Weir during the Great Depression and after reaction to the King report), a philosophy that appeals to many (progressivism), or the confluence of transformative world events, such as the Great Depression, the world wars, and the Cold War, with corresponding demands for educational change. Perhaps, as well, as progressivism was the first major philosophic change, it was able to have the most significant impact on curricula. In other cases, convenience and the appearance of a "scientific" approach may have been key: The rationalized curriculum approach was adopted by the Ministry of Education, as it gave the appearance of a "scientific" and objective approach. It redirected attention away from "content" that was criticised, and it made it "easy" for the Ministry to control and assess what was learned through testing.

This chapter has discussed the findings of this historical study. The next and final chapter links past, present and future by returning to today's curriculum debates in Social Studies and providing recommendations based on the conclusions drawn from this study.

# Chapter 8:

# Conclusions and Recommendations

Chapter 1 introduced this historical study of citizenship education in BC's Social Studies guides. It illustrated the need for this study and its significance resulting from (a) the central place given to citizenship education in public schooling and in Social Studies; and (b) the need to clarify divisive debates over the meaning of both Social Studies and citizenship education. It also acknowledged gaps in the need for more historical studies of citizenship education and progressivism in Canada (Osborne, 1996; Axelrod, 1996). Chapter 2 framed the study by describing four conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education based in Sears' and Hughes' (1996) work. It also presented a brief literature review of citizenship education history and of the debates occurring over citizenship today. Chapter 3 then described the methodology of the study. It explained what history is, why a historical study was chosen and the three parts of this study, which were (a) a literature review; (b) a study of curriculum guides; and (c) a second historical study. The latter aimed to identify possible "correlating factors" that might help to explain why the two largest shifts identified in the first historical study of curriculum guides may have occurred.

Chapter 4 then set the historical context for the study through a review of citizenship education programs before the establishment of Social Studies in BC and a description of citizenship education as conceptualized in the foundational American report of 1916. The research findings of the first historical study were presented in Chapters 5 and 6. Chapter 5 described the first three revisions and Chapter 6 the last three revisions. Chapter 7 discussed these findings and the findings of the second historical study, which described the correlating factors

around the two major revisions. This study concluded that one Ministry of Education (in British Columbia) established the course of Social Studies in 1930 and revised it six times over the 20th (and into the 21st) century. While the conceptualization of the purpose of civic education (to make "good" citizens) and the qualities of good citizens (Table 7.1) in government programs did not drastically change from earlier programs or over the century, the recommended pedagogy did, switching from a progressive-based philosophy to a "structure of disciplines" approach in the 1960s.[64] A "schematic narrative template" (Wertsch, 2000) with regard to what good citizens are conceptualized to be appears to exist in government curricula.

This final chapter presents conclusions and recommendations. It begins with a brief review of the birth of Social Studies and the divisive debates it consequently stimulated over its own meaning and content with a particular focus on citizenship education, in order to set the context for the conclusions of this study. Recommendations to address these divides are developed from this study's conclusions.

## Establishing Social Studies

In the early 20th Century, reformers, broadly encompassed under the label of "progressivists," pushed for change in schools to improve students' schooling experiences. Dewey's (1916) work was at their theoretical core. Unimpressed by the industrial model, they tried to humanize schooling by linking it to real experiences and to society. These ideas melded with those of civic-minded reformers aiming to create good citizens, and social efficiency advocates, to form a new course (Whelan, 1997, 1991; Nelson, 1994).

Developed by American professors and administrators mostly at or related to Teachers' College, Social Studies was born and was shaped through

[64] A few changes did occur: The first included a more egalitarian conceptualization of individuals, most likely linked to later movements demanding a great focus on human rights and multiculturalism. The second involved a movement away from fostering British Pan-Imperialist sentiment to that of developing Canadian nationalism.

committees and reports, most famously the 1916 report (Nelson, 1994). The latter's chairperson, Thomas Jesse Jones is credited with naming it "Social Studies" from an earlier curriculum he had developed, which was presented as a model of civics education (Watkins, 1995-6). Social Studies aimed to create good citizens. These were individuals: who respected the government and the law as legitimate, who realized their responsibilities as citizens, and who actively worked to maintain democracy through participation (however defined) in civic life, under Sears' and Hughes' (1996) Conception B. However, the report presented a fluid and open definition of the subject. As a result, Social Studies has been riddled with debate over its meaning and content in academia over the century.

## Current Debates

Topics of dissention in academia include: (a) what curricular content should be taught; (b) what values, particularly in the areas of diversity or citizenship, should pervade the curriculum; and (c) what perspective of culture, assimilationist, relativist, or inclusionary is most important to reinforce in the content provided (Sears & Wright, 2004). The major split is between the advocates of Social Studies as an interdisciplinary course based on the analysis of contemporary society (the progressive view) and those who argue for a discipline-based traditional history, such as Saxe (2003) and Ravitch (2003, and in Watras, 2003).

## The Progressive View of Social Studies and Citizenship Education

According to the progressivists, schooling had to be made relevant to the majority of students (Dewey, 1916). Learning was to be reinvigorated by being linked to real life; it was to be useful and practical. Social Studies was to be a new and key subject. It was to transform history into "new history," focused on current history that would help students understand their world (Whelan, 1991; Barnes, 1925). It was to include the new social sciences. Additionally, it had to

continue a tradition of making good citizens, and these were to be Deweyian citizens; that is, citizens who actively worked to make America a great democracy, to be achieved through a relevant curriculum and new "community civics." Thus in Grade 12, students were to study problems in American society in order to understand and transform their world. Rugg's (1931) textbooks were a classic example of this problem-based approach. Current advocates of Social Studies blend these ideas with a more inclusive rhetoric supportive of women and previously excluded groups, multiculturalism, the development of a critical awareness and problem solving skills with regard to issues facing society, and the fostering of respect for all cultures. The approach will result in better citizens, they argue.

In short, progressivists aim to create knowledgeable and participatory citizens with virtues, who work to achieve "the common good" but now include all groups—particularly those groups (women, First Nations, and immigrants) previously excluded in assimilationist rhetoric—and to provide a civics education that matches Canada's pluralistic society and multicultural policy (Herbert, 2002). This understanding of "Social Studies" is opposed by some Social Studies' critics, as described in the next section.

## The Opponents

A highly polemical and strongly worded report, *Where did Social Studies Go Wrong* (Leming et. al., 2003), funded by the Fordham Foundation, provides a clear example of the views of Social Studies critics. The authors, including James Leming, Lucien Ellington, Diane Ravitch, J. Rochester, and Lucien Ellington, present themselves as being on the "right"; Social Studies supporters are described as "leftist" university professors. These writers argue that, since a key aim of Social Studies always has been the creation of good citizens as reinforced by the 1916 report (Nelson, 1994), Social Studies content should focus on teaching patriotism and not problems and issues in society. Their views are largely under Sears' and Hughes' (1996) Conception A. Patriotism—having a sense of pride and a common identity—is necessary for a unified citizenry.

Studying problems and issues, they argue, divides society. It leads students to view government with scepticism and, consequently, to decreased involvement and interest in public life. National identity is to be taught through history, the axis of Social Studies.

Papers in the same report argue, further, that teaching "cultural relativism" by focusing on multiculturalism and the description of a number of cultures around the world divides society by creating ethnic enclaves rather than fostering a common national sense. Thus, for example, global or peace studies are described as "bland" and inaccurate as they focus on the positive features of other societies and on the negative features of American society. Further, high school students are portrayed as not mature enough to be able to grasp complex debates on national issues. They argue, rather, that lessons should be teacher-centred and not progressively-focused on the students' interests. The latter lead to vacuous lessons without content and substance.

These debates are clearly deep and fractious. They lie at the very core of the subject. The first is primarily the progressive conceptualization of Social Studies and the latter is rooted in conservative pre-Social Studies thought. The next section will describe the conclusions of this study. Each conclusion is followed by a recommendation that aims to address this poignant divide and other issues discovered in this study.

## Conclusions: Changes in BC's Social Studies Curricula

Social Studies guides are complex, multilayered, and tortured documents. The metaphor of a tapestry is apt. Yet, certain general patterns emerge:

### 1.1. Conclusion: The Power of Philosophy

Appealing philosophies of education have the power to transform curriculum guides. Royal Commission reports, conferences, journals, teacher education programs, and other means were used to advocate and disseminate both of the philosophies implemented in BC curriculum guides: progressivism in the 1930s and the New Social Studies in the 1960s. The question of what is

included in curricula: content, skills, and so on, in short, is answered by the informing philosophy that guides the creation of curricula.

The philosophy underlying curriculum choice and design needs to be investigated, articulated, clearly understood and questioned, for curriculum developers may not be fully aware of their philosophic frames of reference and how they influence them. For example, what is the philosophy regarding content? This question goes back at least as far as the Greeks (Hirst, 1965). They saw knowledge as forming the mind itself. As the mind's purpose was that of acquiring and using knowledge, doing so self-actualized the mind, completed its telos and brought happiness/satisfaction. Knowledge acquisition was thus the root of education, and it was to be achieved through a carefully graded program (Hirst, 1965). This theory was common in the 19th Century (Kliebard, 1992, 1998). Yet, many philosophers in the 20th Century, such as Foucault (1980), have questioned knowledge and its connection to truth. Many theories and supposed "facts" have been proven wrong. Many supposed facts are in fact human theories or possible answers to questions and problems regarding life (Gleeson & Whitty, 1976). Stuffing students' minds with a number of perhaps false trivia can be questioned as providing an "education," for the latter requires more than encyclopaedic knowledge. This content-based approach can be seen as the attempt to indoctrinate students to believe particular ideas, to be "indoctrination rather than liberation" (Gleeson & Whitty, 1976, p. 15), just as the same authors explain that early Social Studies programs in England aimed to have less academic students accept their places in society.

Teaching facts as truth "tends to reify socially constructed forms of knowing to produce 'a view of social reality that is mechanistic and predeterministic' and 'a hollowness of thought in which one sort of comforting mystification is replaced with another, albeit under the banner of social science'" (Popkewitz, quoted in Gleeson & Whitty, 1976). Perhaps, this is partly the reason why "skills," particularly higher order and critical thinking skills, are one of the foci of more recent curriculum guides.

Whatever the informing philosophy guiding curriculum makers may be, and whether it is indeed "truth" or not, has important real consequences, for it will influence what teachers teach and what students learn in school. This may have, in addition, some influence on how students perceive the world and how they live. In other words, guiding philosophies determine what is and is not placed in curriculum guides and how it is conceptualized to be taught, even when a guiding philosophy may not be fully articulated or understood by the curriculum developers themselves. An underlying philosophy leads to decisions to include some details, which are then seen as facts, or truth. These have serious and real consequences. It behoves us to be clear and critical of our informing philosophies and of how they influence the process of conceiving, shaping, and using curricula.

### 1.2. Recommendation: Philosophy

In the present context, change will come again when the next great philosophy of education captures the imaginations of those with political will. A new philosophy is needed, for Ministry curricula are based on philosophies founded on contested psychological theories. Progressivism was linked to Thorndike's work (Strickland, 2001). The latter viewed learning from a behavioural stimulus-response model. Hanna's expanding horizons, linked to Social Studies, were based on a debatable understanding of the conceptual nature of learning (Egan, 2002). Piaget's developmental psychology theories and the work of other psychologists (such as Ausubel) influenced Bruner (Hass, 1987). The theories of both psychologists under-girded the philosophical changes of 1968, and both were false. Indeed, the foundations of psychology itself have been shaken by current postmodern thought:

> Both scientific and humanistic psychology fail then to be appropriately human sciences. Scientific psychology removes itself from 'life" in order to be scientific. Humanistic psychology attempts to re-instate life but ultimately fails. Its critique of dehumanising scientism implies an alternative psychology freed from scientism and speaking a 'human' discourse. Yet humanistic psychology fails to escape the clutches of scientism; its paradigm is ultimately the same as scientific psychology's. (Usher & Edwards, 1994, p. 46)

A new philosophy rooted in "deliberation" should be adopted. It should eschew a rationalistic paradigm.

### 2.1. Conclusion: Increasing Rationality

Curriculum guides became increasingly rationalized over the century as the field of "curriculum science" and "curriculum experts" developed. Early curriculum guides simply listed the textbook as the curriculum. By the end of the century, curriculum guides had developed their own terminology and rationalized approach. They had accepted Bobbitt (1918) and Tyler's (1949) understandings of education as means-to-ends input-out systems. As a result, behavioural "objectives" became the focus of curriculum guides and these centred on including materials that were measurable or testable. I believe this has, unfortunately, misconceived the process of education. It is not a means-ends procedure:

> My guess is that most of the important things in education are passed on in this manner—by example and explanation. An attitude, a skill, is caught; sensitivity, a critical mind, respect for people and facts develop where an articulate and intelligent exponent is on the job. Yet the model of means to ends is not remotely applicable to the transaction that is taking place. Values, of course, are involved in the transaction; if they were not it would not be called 'education'. Yet they are not end-products or terminating points of the process. They reside both in the skills and cultural traditions that are passed on and in the procedures for passing them on. (Peters, 1968, p. 95)

The process of "complexifying"—which I will now illustrate—demonstrates errors in this rationalized model. Tyler (1949) conceived of education as a 4-step process, generally occurring in a linear unidirectional unidimensional plane: first, objectives are determined; second, educational experiences that support objectives are chosen; third, these experiences are organized; and fourth, student learning of objectives is tested.

But since reality is multidimensional and education is a part of reality, it follows that education is multidimensional. Tyler's model is clearly unsatisfactory, for many steps will be involved at each level. We can add a second dimension to Tyler's rationale by considering Johnson's model (Posner,

1998). Johnson saw educational processes as involving three stages—the Planning, the Implementation, and the Evaluation—which occurred in a "linear technical dimension" and a "managerial dimension," as the three stages can occur at each stage. Yet, the model is still far from complete. We could add a third dimension with Goodlad's model (Posner, 1998), which considers processes at the societal, the institutional, and the instructional levels; but again, we could add a fourth dimension: Egan (2002) has argued that educational processes must emotionally engage students through their imaginations. This process is an infinite one, with an infinite number of possible dimensions to education and educational processes.

Consider further the properties of an infinite set. The infinite set described above is a countable one. Yet, the word "chocolate" provides some interesting possibilities. We can say, "I would like a piece of chocolate," which is countable, or we can say, "Give me some chocolate," which is uncountable. We can do the same with education. We can delineate all of the elements that encompass education, to infinity, or we can consider education to be an uncountable infinity. Now, uncountable infinity has an interesting property. If we consider "positive educational infinity" to encompass all that is known of education and "negative educational infinity" to encompass all that is not known, we have two infinities at opposite ends. Some mathematicians have hypothesized that negative and positive infinity can be joined together, to create the symbol of a circle. In other words, the infinite set that makes up education can be represented as a circle, with means and ends integrated together as Peters (1968) argued. Education is a holistic process. Its metaphor is the sacred circle and not an input-out factory; it is worthwhile intrinsically. It is not a rational linear process as BC's Social Studies developers have believed. Recommendation 3 explores the implications of this understanding of education and curricula.

### 2.2. Recommendation: Curricula Outside of a Rationalistic Paradigm

Bobbitt's (1918) rationalized and "scientific" approach to curriculum was built upon by Tyler (1949) to the point where it is now commonly accepted as fact

that a curriculum has objectives with regard to what students are to learn. However, his approach is a problematic one. For example, in determining a number of "objectives," we need to choose and omit a number of features of possible study. Therefore, we limit students' learning experiences. From a conception of education as life, we narrow students learning down to a few simple and incomplete precepts, such as "students will be able to list five variables that led to confederation." By demarcating a line around what students have to learn, we limit what they learn and how they learn it—along with providing students (in this example) with a false cause-effect understanding of history (Collingwood, 1956, Chapter 3). That is, we are not providing potential for growth, for we are pushing on students a number of rationalized "goals" they must reach rather than endowing them with a number of rich learning experiences out of which numerous "objectives" naturally take form. Additionally, these specific goals come from current understandings of what students should learn, as Bobbitt's (1918) and Tyler's (1949) views of "objectives" emerge from a study of society. In effect, they train students to adopt and fit current understandings of society. These neither "liberate" students nor provide for continual improvement of society.

This understanding of curricula misconceives the process of education with serious consequences for students and for education. Indeed, it flips education on its head by starting with objectives and then choosing experiences. Education is a process of experiences that develop multifarious objectives in students. Educational experiences are more than the product of a few perhaps poorly chosen objectives, and the most important of them are often not easily defined (such as a "good" person). Eisner argues that this rationalized concept-based approach has "...in my opinion, been disastrous for education" (Eisner, 1987, p. 259). Eisner presents a thoughtful reconstruction of concepts as formed from the interaction of sensory experiences and imagination, from discovery arising in expression, from a spider-web like model of learning. If Eisner's (1987) conceptualization is right, current curricula based on rationalized learning

outcomes are not providing youth with an education. Dewey, himself a supporter of science, nonetheless, saw education as more of an art:

> If there were an opposition between science and art, I should be compelled to side with those who assert that education is an art. But there is no opposition, although there is a distinction...When, in education, the psychologist or observer and experimentalist reduces his findings to a rule which is to be uniformly adopted, then, only, is there a result which is objectionable and destructive of the free play of education as an art....It is very easy for science to be regarded as a guarantee that goes with the sale of goods rather than as a light to the eyes and a lamp to the feet. It is prized for its prestige value rather than as an organ of personal illumination and liberation. It is prized because it is thought to give unquestionable authenticity and authority to a specific procedure to be carried out in the school room. So conceived, science is antagonistic to education as an art. (Dewey, 1987, p. 296-297)

David Orr (1990) criticises and presents an alternative to this rationalized and dissected approach. He argues for the conceptualization of education as a holistic process, a "wholeness...the ability to relate their autobiographies to the unfolding history of their time in meaningful, positive ways" (Orr, 1990, p. 207). He argues that education should create "balanced, whole persons. Wholeness requires integration: the analytic mind with feelings and the intellect with manual competence. Failure to connect mind and feelings, as Gray writes, 'divorces us from our own dispositions at the level where intellect and emotions fuse'" (Orr, 1990, p. 208). Rousseau (1978) also understood that teaching involves a relationship based on care and respect, which provides the nurturing environment necessary for students' growth. Education, that is, is also an activity of the heart, which requires emotional engagement in the life situations of others. In the words of Ricoeur (1990), it requires aiming at the "good life" through an ethical existence in which one sees "oneself as another" through solicitude. Certainly, the use of logic and reason is necessary, but it is not the only characteristic of a complete education: Logic divorced from care can bring horrifying consequences, such as the Holocaust. As Castiglione (1959) wrote, the passions are necessary for firing logic and reason. Heart and mind can work complementarily, but the heart (the emotions) must give "spirit" to, or inform, the use of logic. Love and care for others is important (Noddings, 2003). It requires

an understanding of the web of interconnections that link us together with other people and our planet. As Pearl Buck wrote, "The person who tries to live alone will not succeed as a human being. His [*sic*] heart withers if it does not answer another heart. His mind shrinks away, if he hears only the echoes of his own thoughts and finds no other inspiration."

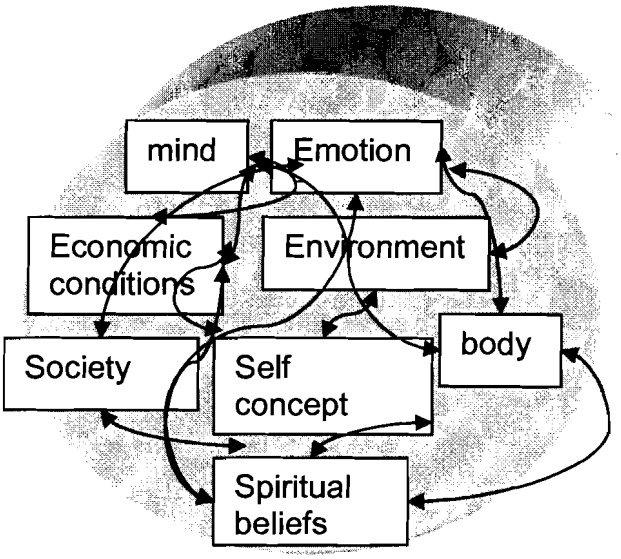
Orr (1990) describes the failures—"the careerist, the 'itinerant professional vandal'...the yuppie, the narrow specialist, the intellectual snob" (Orr, 1990, p. 207)—graduating from our schools as an "indictment of enormous gravity" (Orr, 1990, p. 208). They are the products of a dissected and rationalized curriculum and schooling: "contemporary curriculum continues to divide reality into a discordance of subjects that are seldom integrated into a coherent pattern. There is, as Whitehead reminds us, only one subject for education: 'life in all its manifestations' " (Orr, 1990, p. 208). His criticism of a rationalized scientific curriculum that divides and dissects education is clear, as is his conclusion of its absolute inability to do what it states that it aims to do:

> Disconnectedness in the form of excessive specialization is fatal to comprehension because it removes knowledge from its larger context. Collection of data supersedes understanding of connecting patterns, which is the essence of wisdom. It is no accident that connectedness is central to the meaning of both the Greek root word for ecology—*oikos*—and the Latin root word for religion—*religio*. (Orr, 1990, p. 208)

His solution lies in reconceptualising education as an integrated process of engaging with life in all aspects, grounded in the ecological environment of one's place. This education will provide the potential for the creation of individuals with open minds, who will be able to "make themselves relevant to the crisis of our age, which in its various manifestations is about the care, nurturing, and enhancement of life" (Orr, 1990, p. 216).

In short, a rationalized approach forestalls the very aims it desires to achieve. It wrongly applies the factory-production model to a very different endeavour for, in education, the ends are embedded in the means (Peters, 1968). The metaphor of education is a multilayered webbed circle. Some of its interconnected elements are illustrated in Figure 8.1.

**Figure 8.1. A Few Inter-webbed Elements**




A Social Studies curriculum based in the holistic understanding of education just described would be interdisciplinary. It would integrate the elements above, and others, in comprehensive themes exploring humanity and life in all its complex forms, for if "education is life," (Dewey), life is education. In Peters' (1968) words, "the truth is much more that there is a quality of life embedded in the activities which constitute education" (Peters, 1968, p. 97). To quote from Whitehead:

> The solution which I am urging, is to eradicate the fatal disconnection of subjects which kills the vitality of our modern curriculum. There is only one subject-matter for education, and that is Life in all its manifestations. Instead of this single unity, we offer children—Algebra, from which nothing follows; Geometry, from which nothing follows; Science from which nothing follows; History, from which nothing follows; a Couple of Languages, never mastered; and lastly, most dreary of all, Literature, represented by plays of Shakespeare, with philological notes and short analyses of plot and character to be in substance committed to memory. Can such a list be said to represent Life, as it is known in the midst of the living it? The best that can be said of it is, that it is a rapid table of contents which a deity might run over in his mind while he was thinking of creating a world, and has not yet determined how to put it together. (Whitehead, 1929, 16)

### 3.1. Conclusion: Continuity

Ministry Social Studies guides are multi-layered documents. Often new approaches or changes were grafted onto existing guides; a "tapestry" is indeed an appropriate metaphor (Symcox, 2002), as is an "English trifle." This continuity of particular ideas embedded in (perhaps unseen) structures results in continuity over time. Wertsch's (2002) concept of a schematic narrative template is of use. The "template" is particularly well illustrated in the concept of the "good citizen" articulated in guides, which remained relatively constant over the century. Primarily under Sears' and Hughes' Conception B (liberal), good citizens are seen to have knowledge of government structures, be loyal to Canada partly as a result of carefully chosen and crafted narratives, to have rights and responsibilities, and to perform their duties as good citizens, in particular, by voting and paying their taxes. Much continuity, as well, is found in a comparison of the 1936 and 1937 citizenship education program (Department of Education, 1936, 1937) and the new "Civics 11" course of 2005 (Ministry of Education, 2005): Citizens are to learn about the structures, processes, and "good actions" of government departments and they are to develop problem solving and other skills and use these skills to bring continued growth to society. This program is both Sears' and Hughes' (1996) Conception B and Evans' (2004) "social meliorist" category. It also appears to be linked to Dewey's (1916) thought and progressive-based philosophy. The current guide's (Ministry of Education, 2005) statement that citizens are "active" is delusion. Citizens are "active" only as far as they help to maintain the current government structure and participate in service-related activities. Considering the debates described above, Ministry curriculum guides are largely under the second category: They are conservative

in the sense of aiming to maintain the *status quo*.[65] The schematic narrative template (Wertsch, 2002) of the good citizen is an embedded power-knowledge framework. The government aims to self-perpetuate through the generation of citizens, who "actively" vote in an "informed" and "legal" manner and who are cooperative, tolerant, supportive of democracy and the law, and accepting of majority rule.

The process of curriculum revision described in Chapter 7 illustrates why some structures remained the same. In the 1930s revision, Weir mentioned that the curriculum was revised by "carefully chosen" experts (Weir, 1937). In the 1968 revision, the journal *Exploration* makes clear that individuals in the Department of Education kept control of the process. Ministers in the Department selected the individuals on both the curriculum advisory committees and the curriculum revision committee. That is, department officials picked individuals supportive of their policies. Further, while feedback was encouraged, the time to provide it was limited and the power to accept or reject changes stayed with the carefully chosen revision committee. Insights are also found in a description of the 1997 curriculum revision by someone who served on the committee (Ekdahl, 1996). Ekdahl describes how the government set specific guidelines for the committee; the original curriculum committee was paired down by government officials citing monetary and time constraints; and "the document which was given to the community review team was rewritten by the Ministry co-ordinator and a new contract writer; it was never submitted for a final review to the second writing team before going to the review team" (Ekdahl, 1996, p. 41). She argues that Ministry officials made changes "which fit the Ministry's

[65] That is, while Ministry documents are largely under Sears' and Hughes' (1996) Conception B—the Social Studies perspective—I view Conception B to be more passive than active, as individuals are to be "active" but in ways that maintain the current state. I, therefore, disagree with Sears and Hughes (1996) on two fronts: (a) While I agree that citizenship programs in the 19th Century were largely under Conception A, I believe that—over the 20th Century and particularly since the arrival of progressivism in BC—citizenship programs have remained largely the same; (b) I don't believe that Sears' and Hughes' (1996) "active" citizens are necessarily "active," or more so than citizens were expected to be at the turn of the century. In both cases, individuals are "active" in the sense of carrying out behaviours that maintain the current government system, even if they do aim to improve it gradually over time.

socialization agenda" (Ekdahl, 1996, p. 41). In short, Ministry officials maintained power to shape the curriculum document to their main objectives: power shaped knowledge.

### 3.2. Recommendation: Identifying Continuity

In designing new Social Studies curricula, developers should be aware of schemas, power-knowledge relations, and layering. They need to explore "hidden" structural continuities. A process of curriculum reform that is truly democratic, in which a number of individuals with varied perspectives engage in Schwab's "deliberation" is necessary (Posner, 1998):

> Deliberation is complex and arduous. It treats both ends and means and must treat them as mutually determining one another. It must try to identify, with respect to both, what facts may be relevant...It must make every effort to trace the branching pathways of consequences which may flow from each alternative and affect desiderata. It must then weigh alternatives and their costs and consequences against one another, and choose, not the *right* alternative, for there is no such thing, but the *best* one. (Posner, 1998, p. 84)

Critical pedagogy, such as that of Freire (2000), should be used to question content and purposes. Freire (2000) argues that "dialogue" is necessary between curriculum developers and users. It involves a "problem posing" approach in which "critical questioning" occurs, as he views curriculum as a political ideological object. If as Giroux writes "power, knowledge, ideology, and schooling are linked in ever-changing patterns of complexity" (quoted in Posner, 1998, p. 94), dialogue that explores these themes is necessary. A truly democratic process of curriculum design is not going to be simple, nor linear. It will demonstrate understanding that "an objectively based means-end rationality is itself an ideological pretence" (Posner, 1998, p. 95). It will also consider alternative conceptualizations of the "educated person," or the "good citizen." For example, McGregor (2007) presents a postmodern view of citizens as comprised of layers of shifting identities formed through interaction with their social environments. It places focus on the creation of a "space" where participants explore and co-construct knowledge and question subjectivities, tools, contexts, and discourses. Social Studies curriculum developers must question and explore

each other's understandings of education and Social Studies, through deliberation and critical consciousness in order to expose hidden "schematic narrative templates" (Wersch, 2002) or "hidden curricula" (Apple & Beyer, 1998), and develop curricula more self-consciously.

### 4.1. Conclusion: Change

Yet at the same time, Ministry guides changed. They echoed powerful philosophies that captured the imaginations of an age. Philosophy was at the root of two of the largest changes in methodology. The first was the adoption of the progressive child centred approach in the 1930s, and the second was the implementation of the New Social Studies in the 1960s. Both of the philosophies were American. They were adopted because of the confluence of several factors including: Ministry officials desirous of keeping curricula "modern" and "relevant;" the general attractiveness and popularity of the philosophies, which seemed to be supported by apparently scientific psychological theories; and a perceived demand for change by both Ministry officials and others, resulting from dramatic social or economic conditions in society and highlighted in Royal Commission Reports. Social Studies guides, in short, do reflect events occurring in society.

The second major change was the rationalizing of curricula over the century. At the beginning of the century, curriculum as a field did not exist. The curriculum guides simply listed the textbook. Over the century, curriculum as a field of scientific expertise developed; its roots lay in the work of such scholars as Bobbitt (1918) and Tyler (1949). This development reflected the general bureaucratization of mass schooling. Scientific procedures were applied to all areas of school life, with the aim of improving efficiency (Callahan, 1962). Self-professed curriculum "experts," who emerged along with this social efficiency movement, promulgated their own importance in the process. The 1997 curriculum guide (Ministry of Education, 1997) illustrated the triumph of this rationalization: A new vocabulary was in evidence and fancy charts were used to present "learning objectives" that focused more on developing a number of generic skills in students, such as critical thinking and problem solving, and less

on factual knowledge acquisition, such as knowing the chronology of events that led to Canada's confederation. Tyler's (1949) framework is also illustrated in the attention given to evaluation and assessment.

### 4.2. Recommendation: Conscious Change

Change in curriculum guides appears to have been a function of power, philosophy, and circumstance. This will continue to be the case in the future unless a more democratic approach to curriculum development is adopted. This also requires eschewing a "progressive approach" to societal change; that is, a view of society as continually improving and an understanding of the present moment as the most modern or developed. Ministry officials have often aimed to have curriculum guides that are "modern." They conflate this with "development" and better. However, this is not necessarily the case. New is not always better, nor appropriate. Curriculum developers need to explore whether change will indeed lead to something "better" (Collingwood, 1956). Further, they need to consider the possibilities that "education" is not a product of trends—not a fad—but a timeless concept; that the meaning of education can exist outside of the present moment; that education has its own definition, not tied to current societal concerns and trends. What is education? The answer is rooted in philosophy. We need to have a clear philosophy of education that guides curriculum design. The quotes at the end of this chapter are a starting point.

### 5.1. Conclusion: Incoherence Due to Conflicting Content

As curriculum guides layered the new onto the old, changed some elements, and maintained others consciously or in structures, they became increasingly internally inconsistent; a patchwork without cohesively blended elements. For example, the 1997 guide (Ministry of Education, 1997) attempted to uneasily combine such conservative elements from old curricula as the features of good citizens (such as their national pride in identifying with the one nation of Canada) with critical theory elements (such as pluralism, diversity and multiculturalism). The result is a cacophony of ideas, clashing quietly under firm rationalized language. Internal inconsistency denies meaning and validity,

perhaps partly helping to explain why the curriculum-as-tested—curriculum content tested on exams—is the curriculum most teachers focus on. In other words, most teachers teach to the content found on provincial exams rather than basing their lessons on the official curriculum guides, for exams often test specific and detailed knowledge of historical events in opposition to the very general "prescribed learning outcomes."

### 5.2. Conclusion: Incoherence

As concepts and content in curriculum guides became increasingly contradictory, concepts mutually cancelled each other out. The guides have become increasingly meaningless. This incoherence will continue to grow in the future if Ministry officials continue to select what they would like to include in curriculum guides and partly respond to pressure groups. They will also continue to use (and use even more) increasingly strong and controlling language as they attempt to force teachers to follow their prescriptions.

Indeed, a possible reason for the increase in controlling language in more recent curriculum guides is provided by Snyder et al. (1989). They describe how "curriculum implementation" in the United States was first perceived as the "textbook" and set by university entrance requirements. Officials took for granted that their changes would be implemented early in the 20th Century. As superintendents and principals began to investigate, however, they found that teachers were often not implementing new changes. Teachers were also often resistant to change and antagonistic to those who did change, as well as discouraged and frustrated. Some superintendents, therefore, advocated increasing teachers' roles in curriculum changes. The implementation of curriculum was perceived as a problem, but little research was conducted on it in the United States until the late 1960s and 1970s. Research at first focused on "fidelity": How could the curriculum best and most faithfully be implemented? Later studies focused on "curriculum adaptation": How was curriculum necessarily changed by school conditions?; and then on "curriculum enactment": How was curriculum actually created by teachers and student in classrooms,

using new curriculum plans as possible "tools?" In short, curriculum guides are not enacted as Ministry officials expect, and they realize this. Hence, they use increasingly controlling language. A second reason may also lie in the government's adoption of social efficiency theory, first evident in the Putman and Weir Report (1925). Perhaps, issues of control also help to explain why official curriculum guides do not match the curriculum-as-tested. This later split further illustrates incoherence and the inability of the Ministry to develop curricula on its own. A new approach is needed.

### 6.1. Conclusion: Political Power and Change

The two most substantial changes in curriculum guides are linked to individuals with power, buying into particular philosophies of education and attempting to bring them into the curriculum. In both the 1930s and the 1960s amendments, Ministers of Education stated that they supported changes to the educational system in order to modernize it, and they made statements supportive of contemporary philosophies of education, of progressivism in the 1930s and the New Social Studies in the 1960s. Indeed, in both periods Ministers of Education were academics before becoming Ministers, or they cooperated with academics. Their committees were handpicked, after all.[66] In later revisions, however, a split appears to have developed between the recommendations of academics and the curricula enacted by government. Ekdahl (1996) illustrates how, for example, the recommendations of academics, which the first revision committee had attempted to include in its changes (such as more inclusion of social sciences), were eschewed by the Ministry in later revisions it made to the document. These recommendations remained only in ghost outline.

[66] Fleming (1989, 1996) argues that BC's Ministry of Education has maintained a centralized control structure since its inception.

## 6.2. Recommendation: Curriculum Revision in a "Democracy"

The Ministry of Education's approach to curriculum revision is inappropriate in a province that calls itself a "democracy." Changes enacted by Ministry officials supportive of change or recommended changes edited out of curriculum revision documents (Ekhdal, 1996) illustrate the use of power to maintain a position; an abuse of its supposedly democratic aims. A truly democratic revision would involve a committee of educators and academics working together to create a curriculum, with feedback from the community, parents, and students, using the complex process of "deliberation" and "dialogue" discussed above. Ministers of Education should not be curriculum makers as this transforms education into a process of indoctrination of particular state-supported values and aims. These aims focus primarily on the attempt of the government to maintain a *status quo* state, to maintain itself. The continuity in the conceptualization of the "good citizen" who "actively" works to support the state is an obvious example.

State officials should not be solely responsible for developing curricula because they are a special interest group: Those who work in the Ministry have vested interests in ensuring they maintain the current state. Those who are their "bosses" are elected officials whose most important goal is to sustain themselves in power; to get re-elected. As a special interest group, therefore, they are not in the best position to develop superb curricula. Further, the development of curricula by one particular special interest group is against the principles of a democracy that Ministry officials state they support in curricula. A democratic process involves a broad conversation with many groups in society who come to some common agreement. Having one small group with power decide for all contradicts democratic principles. Aiming to "teach" democracy without using democratic processes to develop curricula must also confuse teachers and students. Ministry practices deny democratic principles.

This study has traced the implementation of Social Studies in BC and its changes by Ministry officials over the 20th Century. However, it has not explored exactly how the Ministry of Education developed both the belief that it was an

educator and the power to control education and curricula. This appears to have occurred concurrently with the growth of the power of the modern state and new technology, and to have been codified in the Canadian Constitution (i.e., politicians gave themselves the power to write and change curricula). Procedures rooted in control were articulated clearly in the Putman and Weir Report (1925). The report was based primarily on the American Social Efficiency movement. Individuals in government departments may be considered to be administrators, as they work to allocate funds and keep records. However, they cannot be considered the best group to develop new curricula, as they are a vested interest group, with particular agendas. I doubt that government officials developing curricula can ever think out-of-the-box and be transformative or create excellent curricula (even if they do manage to "sell" it around the world as such). They will always create self-perpetuating partly conservative documents that aim to create good "democratic" citizens supportive of the current state.

### 7.1. Conclusion: Dramatic Social and Economic Events

Both of the major curriculum revisions occurred during times of perceived social or economic turmoil, in which Ministers of Education or other individuals with power argued that the nation was in imminent risk. In the 1930s, the Great Depression resulted in high unemployment, rampant and heart wrenching poverty, and economic disaster. Individuals who lived through it feared that Capitalism itself was over. In the 1960s, while the tone wasn't as negative, technological and sociological change were perceived as occurring at break-neck speed. At the same time, some of the roots of the New Social Studies movement lay in fear of communism, fuelled by the Cold War and apparent Russian victories. Individuals argued that Democracy itself was in impending danger. That is, in both revisions, core values underpinning public education (particularly citizenship education)—Capitalism and Democracy—were perceived to be under such dire threat that changes to the educational system were needed.

### 7.2. Recommendation: Dramatic Social and Economic Events

As Ministry officials and others with power have wrongly viewed education and society as always "progressing" as part of a paradigm that understands change to be good and "developmental," they have changed curricula when new and dramatic events provide excuses for doing so. If curriculum developers adopt a philosophical understanding of education as inherently valuable and with an unchanging core, societal and economic events will lose their hold. That is, as education is currently viewed as a reflection of society, it can be changed at whim, as individuals with power believe changes to be necessary because of changes in society. As this study illustrated, curricula were changed during the Great Depression and the Cold War, as individuals with power believed curricula were not effective. In the United States, policies such as "accountability," "standards," and "standardized tests" are used to control what is taught and how. The process of education becomes rather like a "fad." Part of the problem may lie with some scholars have who have argued for the importance of education in difficult times, such as during the Great Depression. Perhaps they do, as it legitimizes their own importance and necessity. The reform of curricula due to social issues will be an inconclusive process. We can stop this never-ending cycle, if we have a clearer understanding of what an education is and we see it as inherently worthwhile and not tied to social trends. This latter understanding of what education is about is philosophical at root. It requires exploration and deliberation in order to arrive at an understanding of education that may be acceptable to the majority. In order words, conflict and confusion can be minimized if we can come to some common understanding of what "education" means. If we cannot, how can we develop curricula, democratically, and without the easy resort to power as the Ministry has done?

### 8.1. Conclusion: Increasing Polarization?

In the two major revisions to Social Studies curricula of the 1930s and the 1960s, Ministry officials appear to have supported new educational theories emerging from academia. For instance, Weir completed graduate study and was

an advocate of child centred learning. He was also a professor of education prior to becoming Minister of Education. In the 1960s, Ministry officials stated that they wanted change and that they had chosen experts to help in the process of revision. These experts came from academia. The government accepted their recommended curriculum, steeped in the New Social Studies. However in the later revisions of 1985 and 1997, government officials generally downgraded the recommendations of academics for a more inclusive Social Studies program in favour of more right wing changes, such as a focus on skills, accountability, and testing.[67] Ministry officials also decreased the input of outside individuals in the process of curriculum reform (Ekdahl, 1996). Decreasing outside involvement in curriculum revision, selecting particular individuals to be on committees, and cutting out and changing draft curriculum guides are not democratic procedures.

### 8.2. Recommendation: Increasing Polarization

Increased polarization between the recommendations of scholars and educators and government officials will continue to increase in the future, unless curriculum development procedures change. The struggle is one over power and control, as illustrated in the Ministry's language and processes, such as "accountability." Conflict is also over values and the aims of education. These divides will only be bridged through difficult democratic deliberation, which the government may not desire to engage in; in which case, teacher subversion of Ministry curricula will continue and escalate behind closed doors, and the insights and recommendations of academics will be increasingly ignored. Academics may turn away (some already have) from the process of curriculum reform. The field of education will continue to fragment into isolated non-communicative and oppositional enclaves.

[67] The roots of the administrative theory centred on accountability, standards, and testing lie, I believe, in the "social efficiency" movement of the early 20th Century. Control of educational processes through business-like principles was evident in the 1925 Putman and Weir Report (see Chapter 4).

## 9.1. Conclusion: Links to Royal Commission and Other Reports

Royal Commission reports issued prior to the largest revisions to curriculum guides recommended changes. Some of the key ideas of these reports' proposals were echoed in the curriculum guides released. The Putman and Weir Report (1925) suggested a number of changes including a more child centred program, the establishment of junior high schools, and a common core of studies for all students. They articulated the possibility of a Social Studies course. These recommendations were all found in new curriculum guides. The Royal Commission (British Columbia, 1960) advocated the complete revamping of the Social Studies program, a focus on academics (for the purpose of schooling was intellectual in nature), and a return to a History and Geography program. These suggestions were found in the 1968 Revision. The 1988 Royal Commission Report (British Columbia, 1989) recommended: meeting the needs of all students, inclusion, equity, and a focus on skills (process) not content, relevance, and good citizenship. These were partly found in the 1997 curriculum guide. Assessment Reports, such as Bognar and Cassidy (1991, 1996), recommended a greater focus on cultivating citizenship attributes and values, global awareness, critical thinking, and community engagement. Elements of some of these recommendations were to some extent, and in some partial form, integrated into new curriculum guides. Two possible reasons for the acceptance of recommendations could be: firstly, the recommendations were attractive to those with political power; or, secondly, pressure groups had sufficient strength and influence to exert some influence in curriculum revision (after all, the Ministry is supposed to be democratic, although more of its actions appear to be autocratic rather than truly democratic).

## 9.2. Recommendation: Links to Reports with Recommendations

As reports making attractive recommendations for curricular change had some ability to influence curriculum guides that followed closely after them, particularly when the reports were critical of existing guides and presented attractive solutions, academics and others, such as the Social Studies Provincial

Specialist Association, should continue the process of writing their recommendations. These should be circulated and discussed publicly in order to influence the process of curriculum revision. While the current control of curriculum development by the Ministry minimizes the potential of democratic deliberation, educators and academics must fight all the harder to ensure that their visions of education are heard. They should not close themselves off, for if they do, Ministry officials will develop curricula with impunity. If educators and "public" scholars argue their points well and in public venues with open-minded audiences, they can at least have some influence on public opinion and may perhaps help to sway it away from particular government parties. Naturally, if a truly democratic process is adopted in BC, Ministry officials will not be curriculum developers. At most, they will be one group among many taking part in the process of curriculum development through dialogue.

### 10.1. Conclusion: Copying American Trends

Just about every major change to BC's Social Studies curricula echoed American movements. In 1930, Social Studies was first established as a course. It was an American course, whose major articulation occurred in the NEA's 1916 Report (Nelson, 1994, see Appendix A). At the same time, pedagogy based in progressivist thought appeared in guides. Junior high schools were established, and the 1937 curriculum guide's introduction (Department of Education, 1937) argued for a child centred approach to learning. The philosophy articulated and the textbook used were similar to the "social meliorist" approach from the United States (Evans, 2004) as they aimed to shape good citizens who worked to improve their society. Like in the United States again, the 1950s revision (Department of Education, 1960) was a little more traditional in tone, for it stated that both student centred and teacher centred activities were necessary. It reflected the American movement to more traditional teacher-centred, academic, History and Geography focused courses that occurred as a result of the work of American scholars who criticized progressivism for meaningless and vacuous lessons and as a result of the development of the Cold War, which fuelled demands for a more educated citizenry (Evans, 2004). The 1968 guide

(Department of Education, 1968) is the clearest example of the copying of American trends. It is a perfect example of the "New Social Studies," a discipline-centered academic-based program, which aimed to teach students concepts and the "structures" of History and Geography with the aim of developing mini social scientists through inquiry methods (Evans, 2004). Even the last three guides, which are the most confused and tortuous of documents as they attempt to combine various conflicting ideologies and are layered onto older ideas, still contain echoes of American movements. The 1985 guide (Ministry of Education, 1985) attempts to develop skills and "global village" awareness. The former, while perhaps not as strongly advocated in the United States, was—at root—American.[68] American trends were also found in the 1997 and 2005 guides (Ministry of Education, 1997, 2005). These include "critical theory" concepts such as diversity and equality in uneasy tension with right wing "controlling" features, such as accountability, a focus on assessment, and standards (Evans, 2004).

### 10.2. Recommendation: Copying US Trends

BC curriculum revisions have largely matched American ones, thus illustrating a lack of originality that fails to consider unique contexts. BC's curriculum developers should look more to their own province and its distinctive conditions when making recommendations or curriculum changes. They should consult teachers and educators in schools, who can speak to localized needs and solutions. BC curriculum developers should work together with teachers, other educators, and academics to develop a philosophy of education rooted in BC's uniqueness that the majority of individuals can agree with. This will not be an easy process. It will require discussions, compromise, and debate. Can BC's

[68] According to a discussion I had at a conference, two changes may not be American based. The first is the attention to good global citizenship in the 1950s guide. The concept was linked perhaps to World War 2, although it was found in earlier curriculum textbooks that aimed to develop positive imperialistic feeling. The second was the focus on "skills" in the 1980s guides. However, this focus developed from theories based in behavioural objectives and these arose from the work of American psychologists such as Bruner and Bloom. These combined with the instrumental "excellence"-based climate of the 1980s, as illustrated in the American "A Nation at Risk" report (Hass, 1987). In other words, the root of the movement was American.

curriculum developers change themselves into global leaders by developing their own philosophy of education, rather than being followers who constantly take philosophies of education from others, mostly Americans? As a starting point, for example, perhaps we could agree on what it means to be educated. According to the Ministry of Education's five great goals, one of the most important goals is preparing good workers (Ministry of Education, 2006). Is this truly the meaning of being educated? The few quotes at the end of this chapter present a starting point for discussion. These conversations will lead into explorations of "Social Studies" that will clarify its conflicting conceptualizations.

## Conclusion

Over the 20th Century, Social Studies curricula in BC included more rationalized and controlling language, while conceptualizations of "good citizens" remained similar. This chapter began with Social Studies "debates" and a question as to which side of the debate—the progressivist or the conservative—was found in BC's curricula, developed by government officials. In effect, both sides of the debate are found to varying degrees in curricula, uneasily combined. Sears' and Hughes' (1996) Conception B was instituted largely with the arrival of the Social Studies course in the 1930s. It incorporated within itself a number of elements from earlier (more traditional, Conception A) citizenship programs, such as the use of historical "stories" to build identity and nationalism and a description of "the machinery of government." This conceptualization of good citizens, exhibited in Table 7.1, remained largely the same over the 20th Century. It appears to be a "schematic narrative template" (Wertsch, 2002) embedded in curricula, when an academic and then a Minister (Weir) implemented it.

Continuity is not surprising, for the issue is one of power and control. Government officials desire the cultivation of citizens who "actively" support its continuity. State schooling rose with the rise of the state itself. Increasing bureaucratization of schools was tied to the development of mass public schooling. The government's desire to legitimize and sustain itself is not startling and is not likely to change. And, as teacher subversion of curricula rises in

classrooms and academic thought further splinters from Ministry actions, the Ministry will attempt to control all the more through accountability, testing, and standards. Can the system change? Perhaps, when a new, holistic philosophy of education (re)emerges and sweeps through capturing our imaginations and shattering the inappropriate technocratic means-ends model currently underlying curriculum design. For this study has shown that philosophy, supported by public intellectuals and nurtured in public dialogue, has the power to transform curricula, if not actual teaching practice. This philosophy should emerge from localized, democratic deliberation.

**Epilogue**

My aim in taking this doctoral program was to become a better person (and a better teacher) through education. Have I become so? No, I don't think so, although I have grown in my understanding. I have spiralled up in a circular manner. The end of this study takes me back to my beginning. I have no definitive answers to all my questions, although this study has answered some, such as how Ministry officials changed or did not change curricula over the century, how knowledge was tied and shaped by power, and how democratic the processes used were. I began this program by reading histories of education and the work of philosophers. I scribbled their enlightening, infinite words in my small, black notebook:

> *The Unexamined Life is not worth living.* Socrates
>
> *Character calls forth character.* Goethe
>
> *The heart has its reasons of which reason knows nothing.* B. Pascal
>
> *The only real is relationships.* Whitehead
>
> *Education is life.* Dewey
>
> *Very often the only way to get quality in reality is to start behaving as if you had it already.* C. S. Lewis

I see these quotes in a different light and yet they still resonate with me. This end is a new beginning.

Education is never over. In the words of the poet, T. S. Elliot:

*We shall not cease from exploration*
*And the end of all our exploring*
*Will be to arrive where we started*
*And know the place for the first time.*

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# Appendices

## Appendix A

**This appendix traces the development of Social Studies in the United States, during the early 20th Century.**

### Introduction

My aim is to present a history of Social Studies' formulation and not to describe its actual implementation in schools, *per se*. Naturally, these are different: many writers have commented on how a developed curriculum is different to a taught one (Sutherland, 1986; Snyder et al., 1989, for examples). As the aim is the subject's construction and development, the focus is on key people who developed and had the power to implement their visions through their participation in political activities, such as commissions; their involvement in practical activities including textbook writing; or their development of theoretical philosophies that held appeal for educators and administrators. These individuals were influenced by events within and outside of significant committees, such as special interest groups (Woyshner, 2003), the philosophies and ideologies they inherited and the general context in which they operated.

### Conceptualizing Social Studies in the United States

### Progressivism: Dewey

Dewey was a key figure in the emergence of *progressivism*—the movement out of which Social Studies developed. Dewey famously articulated his influential philosophy in *Democracy and Education* (1916). In it, he wrote that his new philosophy of education arose as a way of trying to deal with current concerns and divisions in education and to suggest a solution. He aimed to create a great and "progressive" democracy, "...the presage of a more equitable and enlightened social order," (p. 319) through education. Philosophy and

education were, he believed, intimately connected: "philosophy is the theory of education as a deliberately conducted practice" (Dewey, 1916, p. 332).

Dewey argued that "education is a social process" (Dewey, 1916, p. 99): society and the environment shape students through real experiences, and the central role of education is that of "socialization," of passing information onto the young in order to sustain a society. However, creating a "progressive" society requires that students are not taught information that simply replicates the existing society. Rather, influenced by scientific thought and Darwin's theory of evolution, life was seen as a process of unceasing change or "growth." Students had to be educated so as to maintain their *plasticity*—their capacity to constantly grow in order to ensure a continually developing society.

Education should be composed of life-like experiences that were relevant and interesting to students. Dewey used the word "experience" to mean real, day-to-day activities around the child.[69] He provided, as an example, making and flying a kite, which taught students about materials and physics, among other subjects. Students should be actively doing in order to learn; facts were to be used by discovering students, not memorized in useless lists. Real experiences led to problems that the student had to solve with thought, the use of support materials such as facts in textbooks, and by working with others. Facilities such as "laboratories, shops and gardens where dramatizations, plays, and games are freely used...for reproducing situations in life" (Dewey. 1916, p. 162) were required. The teacher was a guide. Dewey's approach was very much like a scientific hypothesis: a genuine experience developed an authentic problem that students "solved" using observation and thinking, and then "tested" for validity.

Curricula should be interdisciplinary, and subjects should support learning and not hinder it by being separated from real life. Geography and history ought to provide supporting facts and knowledge for understanding humans that could be used by the discovering student, involved in a purposeful activity. As, by definition, a democracy requires that a cohesive populace participate in the

[69] Dewey, in fact, changed the word "experience" to "culture" in one of his books written but not published during his lifetime (Field, 2005).

community, he viewed a holistic or balanced education as necessary for a true democracy. Consequently, he presented what he articulated as a number of splits in society, such as between liberal and vocational education, which he argued arose in Ancient Greek times. He then attempted to reconcile these by stating that both a liberal focus—the studying of liberal arts subjects—and vocational studies—or work-based activities— were necessary: learning involved both practical preparation for work and intellectual elements.

Even subject matter and method are united, "...since method in study and learning upon this basis is just the consciously directed movement of reorganization of the subject matter of experience" (Dewey, 1916, p. 322). He was able to make his theory complete by including a theory of knowing: learning occurred through the interaction of the student with real experiences and a theory of morals: morals developed from real experience-based, social learning.

Dewey's theory supports an interdisciplinary subject based on analysing current problems in society, for he supported experienced-based learning in which, "...The important thing is that the fact be grasped in its social connections—its function in life" (Dewey. 1916, p. 287-8). By studying current problems in society linked to their historical, social, economic and political origins, Social Studies purports to do exactly that. Additionally, his chapter on history and geography makes these a united study: "while Geography emphasizes the physical side and history the social, these are only emphases in a common topic, namely, the associated life of men" (Dewey, 1916, p. 211). They are only of value as "they provide the most direct and interesting roads out into the larger world of meanings" (Dewey, 1916, p. 218). Material introduced in school should be selected only so far as it is relevant to today: "the segregation which kills the vitality of history is divorce from present modes and concerns of social life...past events cannot be separated from the living present and retain meaning. The true starting point of history is always some present situation with its problems" (Dewey, 1916, p. 213-4).[70] United history and geography, defined

[70] This is exactly the perspective Robinson adopted in the 1916 report (see below).

as a "study of social life" (Dewey. 1916, p. 214), which is how Social Studies was first defined, has an ethical purpose: "the use of history for cultivating a socialized intelligence constitutes its moral significance" (Dewey, 1916. p. 217). As in the 1916 Social Studies report (Nelson, 1994), the overall purpose of Dewey's education was to create good citizens, who would have the intelligence and flexibility to make America a great democracy.

Early in the 20th Century, Dewey was hired by and went to work at Teachers' College, Columbia. It became a centre of change through its many influential and reformist-minded scholars. Connected to this centre, we find the key conceptualizers of the New Social Studies, including such key figures as Jones, Rugg, Counts, Childs and Hanna. Another key figure was Kilpatrick (1987), who developed the "project method," in which students choose a project they were interested in. Curriculum materials were shaped to complete the 'purpose' chosen (Kliebard, 1998, p. 29).

**Social Efficiency: Bobbitt and Snedden**

The second significant conceptual force in the formation of Social Studies was the idea of "Social Efficiency," developed by educational administrators, particularly Bobbitt and Snedden. Scientific, or Social, Efficiency involved the adopting of successful business practices to schools (Callahan, 1962). Taylor had recommended that businesses study the production process in detail in order to find the most efficient and cost effective practices and then institute these. Some American principals and superintendents adopted these ideas and used standardized tests to determine the "efficiency" of schools.

Bobbitt and Snedden's approach aimed at preparing students for life and was not centred on the child's interests. Schools, in short, were to adopt business models in order to run more efficiently (Callahan, 1962). In this way, society could be improved. Snedden, who was at Teachers' College among other university placements and experiences as an administrator, argued for practical, vocational courses in industrial education and preparation for specific jobs (Kliebard, 1992). Critical of the narrow academic focus of schools and a

supporter of Spencer and Ross, he believed schools should prepare students for their appropriate places (leader or worker) in specific programs. Like Bobbitt, he supported a scientifically developed curriculum in which what was useful to society was the most important factor in determining what was taught. Criteria, with regard to social utility, were to be established through scientific methods and stated as specific objectives for students to master.

**The New Psychology: Thorndike, Piaget, Hall**

Psychology was the third conceptual element supporting the formulation of Social Studies. In particular, the work of Edward Thorndike, professor of educational psychology at Columbia, provided theories of intelligence that supported a new approach to education (Strickland, 2001). Conducting a number of experiments in which cats attempted to escape from boxes, Thorndike developed a behaviourist-like view of intelligence: the increasing or decreasing of a behaviour depended on its connection with a particular result, which he called the "law of effect." If the result was viewed as positive, the behaviour was reinforced and vice versa. He also developed a "law of exercise" which stated that practised associations remain. Later research significant for the subject of Social Studies led him to theorize that the traditional justification for discipline-based learning was false, as learning was not transferable to other situations.[71]

Finally, Piaget and Hall's psychological theories, which divided children's development into specific age-related stages, provided a framework on which to hang the new Social Studies curriculum: their theories were used to determine what was (or could be) taught to students at supposedly different stages of intellectual development, matched to children's ages (Kliebard, 1998, p. 28-29).[72] For example, Hall believed that by studying a child, he would be able to identify the natural stages through which the child developed, which would then be used to form a curriculum. He went so far as to believe that a child's development

[71] The traditional justification for discipline-focused subjects was that learning could be transferred to other situations (Strickland, 2001).

[72] See Egan (2002) for an analysis of the limits of Piaget's theory.

matched a society's development over time. He was instrumental in the development of our modern notion of adolescence as a time of trouble and confusion, based on his study of youths in cities (Rogoff, 2003, p. 173).

**Origins of the NEA's Committee on the Social Studies**

Early in the 20th Century, *the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education* of the National Educational Association (NEA) in the United States established, among other committees with the purpose of establishing updated aims for secondary education, the *Committee on Social Studies.*[73] Its members, influenced by the three currents of thought just described, discussed and then released two important documents: the 1915 Civics Education Report and a curriculum report called *The Social Studies in Secondary Education* in 1916 (Nelson, 1994). The latter was an influential document as its recommendations were supported by the Bureau of Education[74], were popular with many reformers and teachers, and served as the basis for the establishment of Social Studies in schools and a number of further curricular developments in future committees.

A number of factors set the background for the issuing of the 1916 report. Firstly, several special interest and pressure groups, including women's movements, advocated "civics" education (Woyshner, 2003), with the aim of managing and solving social issues. The women's movement, in particular, had many teachers as its members. This civics education aimed to develop "community civics": to teach students concern for and involvement in improving the local community (Saxe, 2003; Mraz, 2004; Nelson, 1994).

As well, a number of earlier committees had begun to establish the conceptual underpinnings of the new Social Studies (Whelan, 1991). In 1894,

[73] Formed in 1857, the NEA is a professional association of teachers, academics, and others "committed to advancing the cause of public education" through recommendations to state and federal governments and advocacy. It appears to have been successful in influencing school curriculum (NEA). A 1921 petition demanding the establishment of a federal Department of Education states: "The purpose of public education is to develop good citizens" (NEA).

[74] The Federal "Department of Education," as it is now called, was not established until 1979. At the time, it was called the Bureau of Education. As in Canada, education is a state responsibility (NEA).

the Committee of Ten advocated the teaching of History in schools. It stated this History program should include economics and civics. This was followed in 1898 by the American History Association's (AHA) Committee of Seven, which augmented the previous committee's conclusions by stating that all students in all grades should learn history in schools.[75] The 1909 Committee of Eight added that history was to be studied in order to understand society and should include economics, geography, and civics.

Historians differ over the continuity between the recommendations of earlier committees and that of the 1916 Social Studies Commission. Watras (2003, 2002) emphasizes connection and similarity between earlier History commissions and the new Social Studies; Ravitch (2003, and in Watras, 2003) and Saxe (2003) emphasize discontinuity, by claiming a focus on history in earlier committees as opposed to that of the vision of Social Studies. In fact, the 1916 Social Studies Commission recommendations encompass both perspectives: the spectrum of views was wide both among historians and Social Studies advocates, as were their aims.[76] In addition, the 1916 Report itself shows continuity with earlier reports as its main focus was on civic education, on the making of good citizens in order to improve society, to be achieved primarily through history and geography education, and as committee members included many examples of what they considered to be good examples of curricula practice already occurring in the work of several of its own members. The report gave primacy to history over other social sciences: "The courses in community civics and in History...are rich in their economic, sociological, and political connotations. Even if no provision be made in the last year for the further development of the special social sciences, the committee believes [new curricula]...still provide as never before for the education of the pupil regarding

[75] Founded in 1884, the AHA was a professional association of historians dedicated to promoting History. It also seems to have been successful in lobbying to the government and making recommendations (AHA).

[76] Many earlier documents attest to the interlinked nature of History and the social sciences, even in the 19th Century. To give only a few examples: the AHA's presidential address of 1900 by Eggleston supported the "new History," which was centred on social History. Further, the AHA joined the Social Science Research Council in 1925 (AHA).

the economic and social relations of life" (Nelson, 1994, p. 58). However, as the report presented a flexible and open definition of and curriculum for Social Studies, it was always defined and interpreted in multiple ways, according to the particular ideas of various reformers. It was never uniformly conceptualized.[77]

**The Social Studies in Secondary Education Curriculum Report, 1916**

The NEA's *Committee on Social Studies'* curriculum report (*The Social Studies in Secondary Education*), released in 1916, defined the new subject: "The Social Studies are understood to be those whose subject matter relates directly to the organization and development of human society, and to man as a member of social groups" (Nelson, 1994, p. 17). The main aim was citizenship to be taught through the, at that time, popular idea of "social efficiency." To quote from the report:

> The Social Studies differ from other studies by reason of their social content rather than in social aim; for the key note of modern education is 'social efficiency,'...from the nature of their content, the Social Studies afford peculiar opportunities for the training of the individual as a member of society... the Social Studies... should have for their conscious and constant purpose the cultivation of good citizenship...[to form]..."the thoroughly efficient member" of that neighbourhood...characterized...by a loyalty and a sense of obligation of his city, State, and Nation. (Nelson, 1994, p. 17)

The committee members recommended a practical focus: Social Studies should provide students with knowledge about their world and society, present and past, so that students could be shaped into good citizens, helping to improve society. The report was a product of its key members' beliefs. Many members were teachers, who had begun to see their schools fill with a wider assortment of students and become more complex. As more students of different ethnicities and backgrounds attended school, a number of teachers supported a practical focus that would prepare this varied student body for life.

[77] Indeed, the two main architects of the 1916 report, Jones, the chairman, and Dunn, the secretary, did not have the same definition: "Because of this inability to reach consensus on definitions of "needs and interests," the members chose, or resigned themselves, to a report that offered no such definitions" (Correia, 1994, p. 113).

Several contemporary scholars influenced the committee.[78] These included Dewey, mentioned regarding the importance of modifying the curriculum "...to the pupil's immediate needs of social growth" (Nelson, p. 18, 43-44). Robertson, a prominent social and progressive historian, was a member of the committee. He argued for the reconceptualization of history as "new history." This new history was to focus more on social customs and less on traditional political and military studies and would thus allow students to better understand their history and society (Whelan, 1997 and 1991).[79] Thomas Jesse Jones, the chairperson and a Welsh immigrant, believed in using "social reconstruction" through education to address societal problems. He aimed to create compliant citizens (Dilworth, 2003; Watkins, 1995). Credited with being the first to use the term "Social Studies," he studied at Columbia under the eugenicist, sociology professor Giddings. Prior to serving on the committee, he was involved in educating blacks in poor neighbourhoods for whom he developed a curriculum he called "Social Studies." It attempted to socially engineer them to accept their status in society (Dilworth, 2003; Watkins, 1995; Correia, 1994).[80] He came into conflict with the black leader Woodson, who tried to bring equal status to blacks (Dilworth, 2003).

[78] The committee had 21 members: 2 (Jones and Dunn) from the Bureau of Education, 2 principals, 6 professors, 2 superintendents, 8 high school teachers, and 1 school inspector.

[79] Barnes (1925) provides a detailed description of the "new History." He explains its much-expanded nature beyond that of military and political history and its inclusion of the developing "Social Studies" of anthropology, economics, political science, sociology and psychology. The book is dedicated "to the 'Columbia School' of Historians of a decade ago who did so much to create the new History, and to indicate its fundamental dependence upon the social sciences."

[80] Lybarger (1983) describes the Hampton Social Studies program. It applied evolutional principles to society. The whites were seen as the most advanced group. Jones attempted to create a curriculum that he believed would advance less "developed" ethnicities to become more like civilized whites: "it enables him [the student] to recognize the weakness of his people the more readily, especially those faults overloaded in an ignorance to develop the economic side; and in that it calls his attention to the highest stage towards which he must strive...." (quoted in Lybarger, 1983, p. 461-462). His comparison of the Hampton and the 1916 Social Studies curricula illustrates that the latter was based on the former. In 1913, Jones was involved in changing the committee name from the "social sciences" to the "Social Studies" (Correia, 1994, p. 111).

**Developments During the 1920s**

Unsurprisingly, although the 1916 report was popular, the new Social Studies was not instantly implemented everywhere. Many developments continued throughout the 1920s and 1930s, pushing, pulling, defining and shaping Social Studies in diverse ways; this is in addition to the manner in which it was or was not implemented in schools to varying degrees. The first key development after 1916 was *The Cardinal Principles Report* of 1918. It defined the standards to be used in developing Social Studies curricula as being: health, command of fundamental processes, vocation, worthy use of leisure time, worthy home membership, citizenship (or civic education), and ethical character (Woshner, 2003). In 1919, the Progressive Education Association was established with its own journal (Bowen, 1981). A group of Columbia professors created the *National Council for the Social Studies* (NCSS), as a result of a number of disagreements between teachers and subject specialists in 1921. It aimed to offer guidance, direction, consistency, and credibility to the new subject (Smith et al., 1995). The first major attempt to initiate these ideas in schools occurred through Rugg's textbooks (1931; Mraz, 2004). They established Social Studies as a real and viable part of the curriculum for the first time in a manner that theorized Social Studies as the science of society (Mraz, 2004). As Rugg critiqued *laissez-faire* business practices and advertising, advocated more government planning, and focused on problems in American society, the outcry among some special interest groups grew so high that his textbooks were banned in the late 1930s (Riley and Stern, 2003).

**Developments During the 1930s**

The second major attempt to implement Social Studies occurred when another Columbia scholar, Hanna, developed a curriculum for elementary schools (Stallones, 2003). Hanna blended knowledge learning with children's interests, by organizing the content into units, which he called the "nine basic human activities." These were placed into a concentric circles model that

expanded outwards from the children's worlds (family, neighbourhood...), with the increasing ages of children. His aim was to improve society.

During the 1930s, disagreements continued as to the curriculum and methods of Social Studies: "the tension between the individual's needs and those of society was palpable on the Teachers College campus in those years" (Stallones, 2003, p. 34). Hanna's describes these debates: "And, of course, you had...a wide, wide opinion. There were reactionaries, conservatives, there were radicals, there were those who wanted to go communist right now!" (Stallones, 2003, p. 35).

In 1929, the AHA established another committee to consider how teachers should teach Social Studies. It set up subcommittees and released reports during the 1930s, which illustrated differing conceptualizations of Social Studies, both within and outside of the committees. For example, illustrating varied opinions outside of the committees, some groups, such as the American Legion, criticized Social Studies, arguing that that it attempted to indoctrinate students (Riley and Stern, 2003). Within the committees themselves, two key events serve to illustrate conflicting perspectives. Firstly, in 1932, the commission aimed to establish a charter for Social Studies. On the committee were Rugg, Counts, and Beard. Beard, a social change historian with a more traditionalist view of the subject, wrote its statement, *A Charter for the Social Sciences in the Schools,* which aimed to provide direction for later reports. He disagreed with the views of Rugg (Watras, 2002). In contrast to Rugg, Beard argued that Social Studies should lead to many-sided students and should be problem focused. Further, it should be multidisciplinary and infused with practical situations that aimed to help students overcome biases with the use of good sources of information, judgement, and the scientific method. The report was followed by a 1934 summary report, which led to a "jumble of reactions" (Watras, 2002, p. 47) because of the "...use of the words 'collectivism' and 'indoctrination.' Beard defined collectivism as cooperative control with state facilitation and Counts defended the term, indoctrination, claiming that all schools indoctrinate students" (Watras, 2002, p. 49). Many educational reformers, including Boyd and Bobbitt

disagreed with the report; many teachers opposed it. Four members went so far as to refuse to sign it (Watras, 2002).

As well, in 1936, the thirteenth part of the *Report of the Commission of Social Studies* conceptualized the subject in another way, which also differed from that of Rugg and Beard (Watras, 2002). In that report, the writers argued that students should learn the ways of life of a number of different peoples around the world using a number of themes. For example, students could investigate the manner in which social organization was linked to the economy. The authors' primary aim was to allow students to build on their own experiences and interests, which could then be used to engineer social change.

**Conclusion**

Early in the 20th Century, Social Studies developed in the United States. It was conceptualized by scholars on committees who built on earlier work, but with a "new" focus. It illustrated the attempts of white, well-educated Anglo Saxon Americans to deal, in what they considered the best way possible, with the challenges of the day. It was "born" at a time of great flux and change when the modern school was shaped and developed and when reformists believed in the power of education to form what it believed would be "better" people and thus a "better" society. It aimed to be a new and "modern" subject that would be of value to all students attending schools in increasing numbers. Its key players were related, mostly, to Teachers' College, Columbia and included Dewey, Rugg, Counts, Hanna, Bobbitt, and Jones. While generally linked to each other through Columbia, they had different visions and articulations of the subject.

As Kliebard mentions (described in Woyshner, 2003) Social Studies was the product of the interplay of social forces and differing points of view. It took time to evolve and to be implemented and was always a complex subject, differently interpreted by various reformers, who themselves never fully agreed. Perhaps fittingly for a subject which itself aims to foster critical thinking, it has been replete with varied points of view—fostering debate within and without academia—with regard to what its major aims were (and are) and how it would be (and should be) implemented in classrooms. Overall, the intentions of its

developers were good: they aimed to create a "better" society, which they believed could occur through education. To quote Rugg:

> We stand indeed at the crossroads of a new epoch: in various directions lie diverse pathways to tomorrow. Some lead to social chaos and the possible destruction of interdependent ways of living. One leads, however, to the era of the great society. There is no way to short-circuit the building of this new epoch. There is only the way of education, and its great purpose is that men may understand. (in Mraz, 2004, p. 4)

No unitary vision of Social Studies exists. Complex debates and issues have been, and continue to be, a part of Social Studies today.

## Appendix B

American social efficiency theory included the provision of varied programs for students in order to "fit" them into their supposed places in societies, using principles derived from new scientific research in development psychology to shape a new "scientific curriculum," and having education guided by new educational experts, who were (like middle managers) trained in methods for maximizing efficiency (Kliebard, 1992, 1998; Callahan, 1962). Bobbitt, Cubberly, and Snedden were key advocates. They aimed to achieve efficiency in education through scientific curriculum making and administration, adapted from Taylor's scientific management theory. Cubberly argued, for example, that:

> Our schools are, in a sense, factories in which the raw products (children) are to be shaped and fashioned into products to meet the various demands of life...and it is the business of the school to build its pupils according to the specifications laid down. This demands good tools, specialized machinery, continuous measurement of production to see it is according to specifications, the elimination of waste in manufacture, and a large variety in the output (quoted in Kliebard, 1992, p. 116).

Snedden argued for differentiated curricula, to distinguish between those who were to be "leaders" and all others who were to be "trained" to accept their places in society. New curricula were to be standardized and determined by analyzing the behaviours and knowledge that students were seen to need as adults (Kliebard, 1992, 1998). Bobbitt (1918) applied these principles to curriculum making by rationalizing that curriculum making should begin with the "outputs," the desired adult behaviours aimed at. From these, teaching strategies and methods would be developed.

Bobbitt argued that the "school plant" should be used in a cost effective manner, through, for example, having all working at their maximum efficiencies by being healthy individuals—hence, the argument for hygiene education (Kliebard, 1992). Further, standardized testing, based on intelligence testing, was to be used in order to achieve standardized results so that students could be "scientifically" placed into the most appropriate classes. Efficiency was also to be achieved through teaching: teachers' actions were to be scientifically studied in order to determine "good teachers' " behaviours and these were then to be

taught to student teachers. Cost accounting, the determining of the prices of courses per pupil, was to be used to determine efficiency.

# Appendix C

## APPENDIX B

### Canadian Citizenship

The following playlet was prepared by Mr. H. D. Dee, Vice-Principal of Victoria High School, for use in discussing the Canadian Citizenship Act in Senior Social Studies classes.

I. **Scene**

Judge

Usher Registrar

Table

Counsel Witness box

Applicant Seat for Counsel after speeches

II. **Properties**

1. One person for curtain.
2. Two large envelopes to represent certificates.
3. Oath of Renunciation.
4. Oath of Allegiance.
5. Judge's Speech.

III. **Dialogue**

Curtain.

1. *Registrar* enters court, spends a moment arranging things and takes his place.
2. *Counsel* ushers in applicant, who sits to the right of the judge.
3. *Usher* enters, steps to front and calls "Order in the Court". He is immediately followed by the *judge*.
4. *Audience* rises and remains standing until the judge takes his place.
5. The Registrar will then say,

"The following person

.....

(name)

having duly qualified to become a Canadian citizen, as his name is called, will come forward to take the Oath of Renunciation of Foreign Nationality and the Oath of Allegiance, and receive a Certificate of Canadian Citizenship."

6. The Registrar calls .....

(name)

7. Counsel rises and comes forward with applicant. They both stand and face the judge. (Counsel to judge's left and Applicant front.)
8. Counsel presents Applicant to court,

"Your honour, .....

(name)

has been a resident in Canada for the past ten years, and has resided in British Columbia for half that time. For the past two years he has carried on a successful business in the city. I recommend him for Canadian Citizenship."

9. Counsel steps back, and Registrar asks Applicant to step into the witness box.
10. Registrar administers oaths by saying, "Repeat after me"

(a) Reads Oath of Renunciation (by sections)

Form G

CANADA
THE CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP ACT
RENUNCIATION OF FOREIGN NATIONALITY

I, ..... of ....., Province of ....., as promised in my Declaration of Intention filed with the Court of ..... on the ..... day of ....., 19....., do hereby renounce forever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign sovereign or state of whom or which I may at this time be a subject or citizen.

Signed at ..... this ..... day of ....., 19.....

.....

(Signature of Declarant)

Witness:
Clerk of the Court of .....

(b) Reads Oath of Allegiance (by sections)

# Appendix D

**Table D1. Courses of Study. (Department of Education, 1919)**

| Grade 9 (Senior) | Grade 10 (Junior) | Grade 11 (Intermediate) | Grade 12 (Senior) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Geography:<br>-Sketch maps with physical and economic features | *Matriculation*<br>-Canadian History & Civics | *Matriculation*<br>-Physical Geography<br>-British History<br>-Greek History | *Matriculation*<br>-Roman History<br>-Physical Geography |
| History:<br>-British History<br>-Canadian History | *Commercial*<br>-Canadian History & Civics | *Commercial*<br>-Laws, elementary economics and Civics | |
| | | *Technical*<br>-Rights & Duties of Citizenship | *Technical*<br>-Rights & Duties of Citizenship |

**Table D2. Curriculum in 1927. (Department of Education, 1927)**

| Grade 9 (Senior) | Grade 10 (Junior) | Grade 11 (Intermediate) | Grade 12 (Senior) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Matriculation*<br>-Pre and Greek History<br>-Canadian History | *Matriculation*<br>-Roman History<br>-Europe to the Reformation | *Matriculation*<br>-French Revolution to WW1 | *Matriculation*<br>-Canadian History |
| *Commercial*<br>-Canadian History with an emphasis on recent History | *Commercial*<br>-Civics | *Commercial*<br>-BC and Canadian Economic Geography | |
| *Home Economics*<br>-History<br>*Technical*<br>-Citizenship and Economics (or History) | *Home Economics*<br>-History<br>*Technical*<br>-Citizenship and Economics (or History) | *Home Economics*<br>-History<br>*Technical*<br>-Citizenship and Economics (or History) | |

A comparison of Table D.2 with Table D.1 illustrates that curriculum topics have been inverted. Rather than starting with British and North American History and then finishing with Roman and Greek History, the curricula is now presented

in chronological sequence, with more time dedicated to Canadian History and to modern History. This was the approach recommended in the American 1916 report (Nelson, 1994). This rearrangement may illustrate American influence in BC. This influence is even more obvious in the next curriculum guide.

**Table D3. Program of Studies for High Schools, 1930. (Department of Education, 1930)**

| Grade 8 | Grade 9 | Grade 10 | Grade 11 | Grade 12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| -Geography of BC, the Empire and the world<br>-Mapping skills<br>-The British Commonwealth of Nations & the World<br>-History of Great Britain, Canada's growth & its constitutional development<br>-History of BC<br>-**Civics (Federal)** | -The British Empire & growth of Parliamentary Government<br>-<br>**Government in Canada**<br>**-Vocational Guidance** or Canadian Biography<br>*-Ancient History (to end of Greece)* | *-Roman History*<br>*-European History* to the birth of Modern Science *(including Medieval History, Parliament, Renaissance, Reformation)* | *-Europe,* beginning 17th Century (Despotic Governments, Revolutions, Economic/Political History in 19thC)<br>-Britain and the British Empire | -World History since 1870, WW1 and PostWW1<br>*-Canadian History*, **focused on political, economic and social** since 1839<br>Senior Matriculation:<br>European History from the Middle Ages |

New progressive philosophy is not supported by the curriculum's content. The curriculum remains a detailed list of topics for study, even more detailed than in the previous curriculum. Comparing with Table D.2 above, we can see some changes and continuities. Firstly, the curriculum is now composed of a common core for all students. Further, some of the subjects (those in italics) remain the same, while more subjects have been added. These are focused on British History and the British Empire. The subjects in bold are those that are taken from the American 1916 curriculum. Modern European History is taught in both grade 11 and grade 12. Britain and the British Empire is studied again in grade 11, also following the 1916 report's recommendation to recycle topics presented

in the junior high school program in more detail in senior high school, as is that of presenting European History (from Ancient to Modern) in grades 10 and 11. Finally, in grade 12, after World History is completed, again in more detail, students conclude with Canadian, social, economic, and political History—the recommendation to finish with one's own History was also advocated in the American Report.

**Table D4. Progressive-based Curriculum Guides. (Department of Education, 1936, 1937)**

| Grade 8 | Grade 9 | Grade 10 | Grade 11 | Grade 12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| -European History- struggle for parliamentary control, industrial and Fr. revolution, Napoleon, pol/econ/social reforms, great war<br>*-History of Canada & its constitutional development*<br>*Civics- Development of Canada*<br>*Geography of BC and South America (back in)* | -World War 1 and after<br>*-The British Empire*, British interests in varied parts of the world to Commonwealth<br>-Development of Parliament<br>*-Government in Canada and* post world war problems in Canada (1939-a little modification to the 1936 guide) | -Ancient to Greek History<br>*-Roman History*<br>*-European History (including Medieval History, growth of national states Renaissance, Reformation,* Colonial Empires*)*<br>**-Our social inheritance: our debt to the Past** | **-How to investigate social problems**<br>*-Europe,* beginning 17th Century (Scientific Revolutions, *Despotic Governments, Nationalism, Development of Democracy, Revolutions, Economic/Political History in 19thC*)<br>-World War 1 and post world war problems<br>-Cultural Heritage | |

The italicized topics were found in earlier curriculum guides. Those in bold are new topics, and those underlined have been shifted from one grade to another. The curriculum guides illustrate much continuity in content taught, although content may have shifted location or focus. A few additions or changes were made in 1939, such as adding Geography back in, or changing the focus on the British Empire, perhaps as Canada became more fully independent of Britain, but these were mostly shifts in curricular topics and the main philosophy and approach did not change. The curriculum topics listed here are taken from the

two later guides, of 1939 and 1941, as these presumably illustrate the curriculum as it was accepted after revisions. They are very similar to earlier guides. The largest change made are to grade 9. The 1936 curriculum was primarily based on the British Empire and "Modern Problems." The vocational guidance unit added into the last grade 9 curriculum guide was moved into its own course, "guidance," in which students studied occupations and morals, such as "proper conduct" and the right use of "leisure." Generally speaking, Canadian History is the focus of the junior high school program and international History (European) of the high school program.[81] The second major change was the movement of World War 1 into the grade 11 course, with this becoming the final Social Studies course. Grade 12 courses in History remained, although they are not found in these curriculum guides.

[81] This again follows the American recommendation to begin with the local and expand out from there. The grade 7 curriculum clearly illustrates Hanna's "expanding horizons" focus, beginning with the home, and then expanding out to the school, the local community, and the nation.

**Table D5. Curriculum Guides, 1950s. (Department of Education, 1960)**

| Grade 8 | Grade 9 | Grade 10 | Grade 11 | Grade 12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *-History of Canada & its constitutional development and Civics-Our British and French Background, Geographical features, the* Colonies and American Revolution, *Responsible Government and Confederation,* Expansion West, Modern Development in Canada...including political parties and Civics and Citizenship | **-Geographic principles -Climate facts -Climatic regions -Features of nations -Study of individual regions: -W. Europe -The Soviet Union -China, Japan, India, and Pakistan -Middle East, Africa, SE Asia, and SW Pacific, -S America -N. America** | *European History* **-Crossing the bridge to modern times** ***-The struggle for democracy -Nationalism -Empires Some Peaceful Progress -Colonial Empires*** **-Two World Wars -Our times** | **-Canada today -Geography of -Early historical development -Path to nationhood -Economic expansion of -Machinery of National life (government) -Peoples and Culture of Canada (social problems) -Canada in the commonwealth and the world** | **Modern World History -Detailed History from 1815 to the present, finishing with "current world problems"** |

This table illustrates, in bolded text, some changes; italicized text illustrates continuities. Bolded and italicized texts illustrates continued themes but with new focuses. Smaller text illustrates topics under a general theme. Changes include the movement of ancient History to grade 7. European History has been mostly removed from Social Studies 8, with the primary focus being on Canada (although placed in relation to Europe and the United States) in order to develop "a broad, healthy, enthusiastic Canadian patriotism" (Department of Education, 1960, p. 37).

**Table D6. Curriculum Guide 1968. (Department of Education, 1968)**

| Grade 8 | Grade 9 | Grade 10 | Grade 11 | Grade 12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| -Geography: The Tropical World<br>*-History: European*<br>The Renaissance<br>*-The story of democracy (French Revolution and British Evolution)* | -Geography: industrial/urban regions<br>*-History: European*<br>-Industrialization<br>*Nationalism*<br>-Two World Wars<br>-Our times | -Geography: *Geographical features of Canada*<br>*-History: Canada*<br>-Early historical development<br>-Path to nationhood<br>-Expansion | -Geography: World Problems<br>*-History: Canada*<br>-Autonomy Nationalism<br>*-Machinery of National life (government)*<br>-Economy<br>*-Canada in the world* | |

The first major change is the obvious focus on History and Geography and on Canada in later grades. European History has been pushed down into grade 8 and grade 9. Grade 10 and 11 present the early and later History of Canada and finish with a description of Canada today. The BCTF's recommended curriculum (1959) was not adopted, except for its recommendation of a greater focus on Geography. Much of the same content is taught, just in different places. The "expanding horizons" idea is still present, as is apparent in the movement of Geography content from regions to "world problems."

**Table D7. Curriculum Guide, 1985. (Ministry of Education, 1985)**

| Grade 8 | Grade 9 | Grade 10 | Grade 11 | Grade 12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *-Geography*: Knowledge and Skills *-History: European* Middle Ages in W. & E. Europe, India, China, Japan *The Renaissance &* Reformation Exploration | *-Geography*: Knowledge and Skills *-History: European* *-Industrialization* *-Nationalism & development of democratic ideas* -North America to 1815 | -Geography: *Geographical features of* BC &Canada's relations with Pacific Region and India *-History: Canada* *-Path to nationhood* *-Expansion West* | *-Geography: World Problems* (social/economic) *-History: Canada* *-Machinery of National life (government/law)* -Canadian Constitution & Society *-Canada in the world* | |

Continuity is seen in the themes of past (History) and present (Geography), in a History mostly focused on Europe in the earlier grades of high school and on Canada in senior grades, in the tradition of expanding horizons (finishing with world problems), and in the emphasis on teaching world problems/issues. Noticeable changes include the removal of the "structure of disciplines" approach and the suggestion to unite History and Geography content, a new and large grade 11 unit on Human and Environmental Geography, and new content dealing with emergent concerns such as technological change.

**Table D8. Curriculum Guide of 1997. (Ministry of Education, 1997)**

| Grade 8 | Grade 9 | Grade 10 | Grade 11 | Grade 12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ***-History-European:* 500 to 1600 (*Reformation*), grouped under the themes of society & culture, politics & law, economy & technology, & environment** | ***-History: European* and North America 1500 to 1815 (*Industrialization*)** grouped under the same themes. | ***-History: Canada:* 1815-1914 (*Path to nationhood*),** grouped under the same themes. | ***-Canada in the world/Canada and its changing role in the 20th Century,* grouped under the themes of social, political, legal, economic, and environmental "issues"** | |

The courses remained centred around History, and most of the same general historical topics are present. The categorization of curricula into social, economic, geographic and political themes is maintained, but Geography is given less emphasis and themes are now included in each grade rather than distributed across grades. The teaching of skills, or "applications," is given its own category. The teaching of Canada in every grade is changed again, with the first years of high school (grade 8 and 9) now centred on European History. Grades 10 and 11 concentrate on Canadian History, again.

**Table D9. Curriculum Guides: Grade 8 and 9 (Ministry of Education, 1997), Social Studies 10 and 11 and Civic Studies 11 (Ministry of Education, 2005).**

| Grade 8 | Grade 9 | Grade 10 | Grade 11-Socials | Grade 11-Civics |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ***-History: European or "civilizations": 500 to 1600 (Reformation), grouped under the themes of society & culture, politics & law, economy & technology, & environment*** | ***-History: European and North America 1500 to 1815 (Industrialization) grouped under the same themes as in grade 8.*** | *-History: Canada: 1815-1914 (Path to nationhood),* **grouped under** new themes of "identity, society and culture, governance, economy and technology, and environment" | *-Canada in the world/Canada and its changing role in the 20th Century,* grouped under the new themes of "politics and government, autonomy and international involvement, human Geography, and society & identity" | Informed Citizenship Civic Deliberation Civic Action |

The curriculum guide illustrates much continuity in terms of content taught with that of earlier guides, although thematic organizers have changed slightly.