

# SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

## MEMORANDUM

5.76-148

To SENATE

From

Subject CANADIAN EDUCATIONAL POLICY  
- FOR DISCUSSION -

Date October 18, 1976

MOTION 1: "That the Simon Fraser University Senate call upon the federal government, in consultation with the provincial governments, to establish a national inquiry into current issues, long-term direction and goals, and financing of post-secondary education in Canada. This inquiry to invite public submissions on the following areas of concern:

1. Issues relating to accessibility to post-secondary education in Canada.
2. The quality, scope and function of post-secondary education.
3. The degree of public financial committment to post-secondary education."

MOTION 2: "That this proposed national inquiry be conducted by a Board of Inquiry consisting of: federal and provincial government representatives; representation of the academic community including students and faculty selected by their representative national bodies; labour; business; and community representatives."

MOTION 3: "That this Board of Inquiry hold public hearings across Canada and make public their findings and recommendations."

**ASSOCIATION des ÉTUDIANTS | SIMON FRASER  
de SIMON FRASER | STUDENT SOCIETY**

**MEMORANDUM**

To.....Senate.....

From..Ross..Powell,..B.C..representative.....

..on..the..NUS/UNE..Central..Committee.....

Subject ...Canadian..Educational..Policy.....

Date .....18..October..!76.....

Delegates to the National Union of Students/ Union Nationale des Etudiants conference in Ottawa on October 3 passed the following motion after attending intensive information workshops on tuition, student unemployment and the current renegotiation of the Fiscal Arrangements Act. As you may be aware, NUS/UNE is engaged in an educational campaign on issues in post-secondary education which will culminate in National Student Day on November 9. This call for a National Inquiry into post-secondary education is, in part, the result of the information campaign to date.

MOTION:

WHEREAS accessibility of education is threatened by regressive fiscal policies at all levels of government;

AND WHEREAS this is having serious effects on the quality of post-secondary education;

AND WHEREAS there is no national or provincial educational policy in relation to post-secondary education;

AND WHEREAS both federal and provincial governments have failed, to date, to develop, in a public and accountable manner, a comprehensive educational policy;

AND WHEREAS the total absence of discussion and articulation of educational policies in this country has led to a disjointed, incoherent pattern of development in post-secondary education, resulting in irrational educational policies implemented by default;

AND WHEREAS the present renegotiation of the Fiscal Arrangements Act has long-term implications for the future direction of post-secondary education in Canada;

AND WHEREAS the public has a right to know and, further, to participate in the development and direction of post-secondary education for all Canadians:

BE IT RESOLVED that the Simon Fraser University Senate call upon the federal government, in consultation with the provincial governments, to establish a national inquiry into current issues, long-term direction and goals, and financing of post-secondary education in Canada. This inquiry to invite public submissions on the following areas of concern:

1. Issues relating to accessibility to post-secondary education in Canada
2. The quality, scope and function of post-secondary education
3. The degree of public financial commitment to post-secondary education.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this proposed national inquiry be conducted by a Board of Inquiry consisting of: federal and provincial government representatives; representation of the academic community including

students and faculty selected by their representative national bodies; labour; business; and community representatives.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this Board of Inquiry hold public hearings across Canada and make public their findings and recommendations.

The motion outlined above is currently being circulated to university Senates and Boards of Governors, College Councils, faculty associations, student unions and on-campus staff unions across Canada in an attempt to draw attention to the need for a comprehensive national policy on education which will clarify the purpose of post-secondary educational institutions in contemporary Canadian Society.

We have included the External Examiners' Report on Educational Policy in Canada of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development which provides considerable background on this question as well as a rationale for the National Inquiry. To quote the report:

329. The further development of Canadian educational policy is therefore clearly approaching a danger zone, in which more is at risk than simply the quantity of finance available. The virtues of an essentially pragmatic educational policy will be tested in the extreme. If those responsible for educational policy are not promptly able to base the development of school and education on a firm goal oriented footing, then they risk being pushed to the side in the general political competition for resources.

MOVED: Richard Ironside

*Richard Ironside*

SECONDED: Ian Wemyss

*Ian Wemyss*

OECD

External Examiners' Report on

576-148

EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN CANADA

Nov 1975

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development is a club of twenty-four rich countries, headquartered in Paris. Founded in 1960, OECD promotes policies to expand economic growth and to promote world trade.

In addition to its economic objectives, OECD also promotes the development of innovative policies among its members in such matters as science, technology, manpower development and education.

One of its ongoing activities is to study major policy areas on a periodic basis within each of the member countries. In 1975 the OECD undertook a study of educational policies in Canada.

"Over the last few years", according to James R. Gass, the OECD Secretary General, "the OECD has endeavoured to assist member countries in developing specific policies for education and employment in response to rapid social and economic change". The study of Canadian education, as a contribution to this purpose, began, as is the custom in similar studies elsewhere, with the preparation of background reports on the state of Canadian education policies by "the Canadian Authorities", the ten members of the Council of Ministers of Education and the Secretary of State.

In April 1975 a six volume, 700 page report was published giving the internal Canadian perspective on issues and trends in Canadian education (available from the Council of Ministers of Education, 252 Bloor St. W., Toronto, \$5.00).

During the second stage of the study, five external examiners came to Canada to undertake their own investigation of the state of Canadian education, working from the basis of the reports prepared by the various Canadian governments. During the month of June, these examiners travelled throughout Canada, meeting with governments and various interested groups in order to form their own opinion of the state of Canadian education.

Following this investigation, the examiners prepared their own assessment of the state of Canadian education policies (Examiners' Report) in the form of the present document as a basis for discussion and debate with the Canadian authorities at a "Confrontation" which took place behind closed doors in Paris on December 10-11, 1975.

Several non governmental Canadian organizations sought to participate in this Confrontation without success, including the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE), the Institut Canadien

d'Education des Adultes (ICEA), the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) and the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC).

Unofficial reports from the meeting and from inter-provincial preparatory meetings within Canada before the Confrontation suggest that some of the Canadian authorities reacted to the Examiners' Report with a surprising defensiveness, concentrating upon small details in the document rather than responding to the important policy comments and criticisms it presents.

The final phase of the study process is supposed to be the publication of an official report which is probably now being drafted for eventual publication.

The Canadian Association for Adult Education has obtained a copy of the Examiners' Report dated November 18, 1975, Paris and labelled "Restricted" and we now release it in order to promote a vigorous and informed discussion within Canada of the important policy issues facing Canadian education in the immediate future. We do so in the belief that the confrontations on future directions of Canadian education ought not to be restricted to closed meetings in Europe, but should instead involve the very persons whose future access to educational opportunities will be determined in some measure by the results of these debates - the people of Canada.

We further expect that many will agree that Canada should be exceedingly grateful to the external examiners from Norway, Bavaria, Belgium, France and the United States whose insightful comments, critiques and sometimes praise offer an invaluable departure for public discussion on the future of Canadian education. This Report may be the most important document in Canadian education since the Massey Commission in 1951.

We note with some optimism the statement of the Chairman of the Canadian delegation to the Paris Confrontation meeting, the Honourable Ben Hanuschak (Minister of Education and of Colleges and Universities Affairs, Manitoba) in the only public statement released in Canada after that meeting: "the Confrontation exceeded our expectations in terms of its comprehensiveness and identification of issues." The OECD review "has already stimulated us to reassess our policies." It contains "a scope and depth not heretofore attempted in the history of Canadian education."

Since October 1975 drafts of the Examiners' Report have been in the hands of each of the provincial ministers responsible for education policies and the federal Secretary of State. On December 19, Mr. Hanuschak said the review would be published by OECD "at a later date."

It is CAAE's confident expectation that public consideration of the views of so distinguished a panel of examiners will contribute to improvements in Canadian education in the interests of both present and potential learners.

Member Countries of the OECD:

Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States.

The OECD Secretariat is based at 2, rue Andre Pascal, 75775 Paris Cedex 16, France.

The Council of Ministers of Education maintains an office at 252 Bloor Street West, Suite 500, Toronto. The newly appointed Executive Director is Lucien Perras.

The document starting on page 2 is a verbatim copy of an OECD paper dated November 18, 1975, Paris, and labelled "Restricted". The pagination references have been changed, but the paragraph numbers follow the original text. All italics were originally underlined. The duplication of paragraph 181 was in the original.

Members of the Council of Ministers of Education:

The Honourable Patrick McGeer  
Minister of Education  
British Columbia

The Honourable Julian Kozlak  
Minister of Education  
Alberta

The Honourable Bert Holub  
Minister of Advanced Education and Manpower  
Alberta

The Honourable Ed Teborzewski  
Minister of Education and Continuing Education  
Saskatchewan

The Honourable Ben Hanuschak  
Minister of Education and Colleges and Universities  
Affairs  
Manitoba

The Honourable Thomas I. Wells  
Minister of Education  
Ontario

The Honourable Harry Farro  
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Minister of Education  
Nova Scotia

The Honourable Bennett Campbell  
Minister of Education  
Prince Edward Island

The Honourable H. Wallace House  
Minister of Education  
Newfoundland

ONTARIO'S REACTION

The Honourable Thomas Wells, Ontario's Minister of Education was quoted by the Toronto Star (February 14) following CAAE's release of the Examiners' Report:

Education Minister Thomas Wells said in an interview that he agrees with the report's conclusion that Canada needs national goals in education.

"We need greater thrust and determination on the part of the provinces to plan together to create national goals," he said. "But until now, I don't think we have suffered that much from not having them."

The report "has to be looked upon as a study by five people from outside Canada who were here for 30 days and some only for 15 days," he said. "It is not an authoritatively researched report on education in Canada, and it is not supposed to be the last word on education."

THIS PUBLICATION

is a joint project of the Canadian Association for Adult Education and the University of Toronto Students' Administrative Council.

Additional copies are available from either the CAAE or the SAU.

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ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC  
CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

RESTRICTED

Paris, 18th November, 1975

ED7529

Scale 2

Or. Engl.

EDUCATION COMMITTEE

Reviews of National Policies for Education: Canada

EXAMINERS' REPORT

(Note by the Secretariat)

The attached document contains the Examiners' Report submitted for discussion in the review meeting with the Canadian Authorities, which will take place during the 14th session of the Committee on 9th-11th December, 1975. It should be read in conjunction with: (1) the Agenda for Discussion and Examiners' Questions (ED7527) and (2) the Background Reports prepared by the Canadian Authorities, six volumes under the following headings:

Foreword and Summary

Atlantic Region Report

Ontario Report

Québec Report

Western Region Report

Government of Canada Report

19533

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FOREWORD

The official visit to Canada by the OECD examiners on which the following report is based, occupied the entire month of June, 1975, taking us the length and breadth of this continental country, from the Northwest Territories to the eastern-most tip of Nova Scotia. Of course, the main point of this experience was not geography. The Canadian authorities had arranged an intensive round of visits, conferences and conversations with a wide-ranging sample of personalities and groups who in public, official, private or unofficial capacities are concerned with education in Canada. A special committee of the Canadian Council of Education Ministers, the staff of the Council, regional and provincial authorities and Federal officials did indeed attempt to respond to the examiners' searching queries for information from all possible sources relevant to educational policy issues in their areas.

The examiners highly appreciated the participation along the way of most of the 12 provincial Ministers of Education, their Deputies, top administrators, and Federal officials in Ottawa all of whom gave valuable parts of their time to take the lead in an informative round of discussions. Our itinerary included Toronto, Edmonton, Fort Smith, Winnipeg, Québec City, Halifax, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and Ottawa, where we met with political leaders, local administrators, school principals, teachers, students, professional and trade organization representatives, parents and community leaders, often within the physical setting of relevant institutions in these areas. A detailed list of people and organisations included in our discussions will be attached to the final report of this exercise.

We are aware that even with all of these exertions, our experience can only represent a sample of the reality of the Canadian experience in education, but in an intensive process of exchange, illuminating differences of opinion and even controversy, it was also clear that there was a spirit of genuine search for understanding in the field of policy for education in Canada. This search, which was evident, and the generosity and hospitality which were shown to the OECD examiners on

every hand, combined to encourage us in the notion that we might by direct representation of our still developing understandings in this field, contribute in a useful manner to this public search for educational policy in Canada.

The basic document made available to the examiners in preparation for this visit is itself a landmark in OECD country preparation for such a review of educational policy. Published in six volumes, covering each of the major regions in Canada in turn and the Federal activities in the field of education, and prepared in both of the official Canadian languages, English and French, this work represents in itself a new level of inter-provincial co-operation as well as some working out of practical arrangements for communication among Federal authorities and provincial educational authorities toward an understanding of this important sector of social policy. It is on the basis of this carefully orchestrated internal Canadian effort that any usefulness of this review will rest.

This review of educational policy in Canada, perhaps comes at a time which may be considered an exceptional juncture in the development of education. It comes at what seems to be the end of a period of exceptional expansion - an expansion which has allowed for higher expectations, wide-spread experimentation, and perhaps over-idealized hopes for the social transformations that could be brought about through education. As in the case of many countries, education in Canada faces a new era of recognizing realistic limitations of education, a time of bringing education close to concomitant social policies which must be developed in parallel with education for its promises to come anywhere near to the realisation of the objectives that it would be expected to serve. Thus, in all cases major educational issues are seen to require treatment within the framework of larger political and social concerns, concerns for inter-governmental relations, participation in policy-making processes, the participation of minorities, the development of multiculturalism, and the role of education in the development of a national culture alongside the development of a national economy.

The OECD Examiners

Professor Michel Crozier, Professor of Sociology,  
Director of the Institute for the Study of the  
Sociology of Organisations

Dr. Hildegard Hamm Brucher,  
Formerly Deputy Minister of Education,  
Federal Republic of Germany;  
Member of the legislature of Bavaria

Professor Harold Noah, Rapporteur, Economist,  
Professor of Comparative Education,  
Teachers College, Columbia University

Dr. Kjell Eide, Director of Planning and Research,  
Ministry of Education, Norway  
Formerly Deputy Minister of Education

Professor Pierre Vanbergen, Director  
of French Education in the Ministry of Education,  
Belgium, Professor of French Literature,  
University of Brussels

I. INTRODUCTION

1. An OECD Examiners' Report on Canadian educational policies and practices must place more emphasis than do other reports in this series on the specific geographical, historical, cultural and political conditions governing educational policy in the country examined. Otherwise, it is not possible to understand Canadian educational policy, or to do it justice.

2. This is, however, exactly the sense of an OECD country educational examination: not to give abstract advice, however well intentioned, but to render an account of the actual educational scene as seen by the Examiners on the basis of their most sympathetic understanding. Only in this way can it be hoped the Examiners may help educational development in Canada in theory and practice.

3. A few facts are presented below, as indispensable for an understanding of the educational systems of Canada.

Topography and demography

4. Canada is the second largest country in the world. Its 3.8 million square miles extend over an area twice as large as Europe, although Canada numbers a population of only 22 millions. Yet even a comparison of Canada's population density of 6 inhabitants per square mile with France's 240, or the Netherlands 928, does not bring out a point which needs emphasis: the startling contrast between the virtually empty vastnesses of much of the country and the tightly packed metropolitan populations of Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Winnipeg, Edmonton, and of a number of other important industrial concentrations.

5. The topographical and climatic differences reflect the vast extent of the country, and is exemplified by the 5 1/2 hour time difference between the

East and West coasts. Until the development of a country wide railroad link the distances even within the boundaries of many of the Canadian Provinces were so great and so difficult to overcome in the face of climatic conditions and interruptions of communications that, for this reason alone, it was impossible to think in terms of a centralised governmental and administrative state. Even today, with the vastly improved communication possibilities provided by air and road transport, radio, television and telephone links, the geographical distances and the topographical and climatic conditions remain a factor with strong political and cultural implications that should not be forgotten. In particular, the concentrations of population in the belt along the southern border with the United States has meant that north-south links with United States neighbours have often been as strongly, or almost as strongly, forged as east-west links with the next door Canadian Provinces.

Some consequences

6. One consequence of these factors has been a preference for *decentralised* solutions that has deep traditional roots. This predilection for decentralised forms developed out of the natural conditions of the country and, firmly rooted in the historical development of North America, has been marked by the specifically Canadian form of confederated state.

7. A second consequence has been that Canadian federalism has been strongly influenced by the United States' example, but it is far from being a mere copy of the federal forms adopted by Canada's southern neighbour. On the contrary, many Canadian political and administrative practices can even be regarded as originating in a desire to demonstrate that Canada marches to a different drum.



Full-time enrolment related to the relevant age-groups has changed, as follows:

	Kindergarten and 5 Year Olds	Grades 1-17 and 6-17 Year Olds	Post-Secondary and 18-24 Year Olds
1961-62	36.7	96.4	10.6
1971-72	81.6	100.3	18.5
1972-73	88.3	99.7	18.4

31. The signal growth of kindergarten provision and post-secondary participation is evident. In ten years, the retention rate of pupils as measured by Grade XII enrolment related to Grade II enrolment ten years earlier, had been doubled:

1961-62:	36.4 per cent
1966-67:	52.0 per cent
1971-72:	71.3 per cent
1972-73:	71.0 per cent

32. More children were entering school, more were staying longer, and more were re-entering (often as part-time students) after a period out of school.

33. An international comparison shows Canada's position, as among the leaders in the development of post-secondary opportunities:

Enrolment Ratios for the 20-24 Year Age Group, Selected Countries

	1960	1965	1969
Canada	13.5%	20.9%	25.3%
France	7.4%	13.9%	15.9
Japan	8.6	11.9	15.8
England and Wales	6.2	8.7	9.8
U.S.A.	32.2	40.4	48.4
U.S.S.R.	11.0	29.5	26.5
West Germany	5.8	9.2	12.1

Source: David Munroe, The Organization and Administration of Education in Canada Ottawa, Secretary of State, Education Support Branch, 1974, p. 212

34. The proportion of full-time women students in total full-time post-secondary enrolment has remained constant over the period 1962-63 to 1971-72 at roughly 39 per cent. There have been marked rises in the proportion of full-time women students in total university enrolment and a fall in women's share in total post-secondary non-university enrolment, taken separately, but these changes reflect mostly the consequences of transferring teacher training colleges from the non-university to the university sector.

35. The proportion of post-secondary teachers who were women did not rise much during the decade:

1960:	11.7 per cent
1970:	12.8 per cent

Nor did the proportion of women receiving the doctorate at Canadian universities increase notably:

1960:	8.8 per cent
1970:	9.3 per cent
1973:	11.6 per cent

#### Teachers

36. The rapid expansion of the school population led to a sharp rise in the size of the teaching staff at all levels. Since 1971-72, there has been a small decline (which is projected to continue for some years) in the number of elementary secondary school teachers, though the number of post-secondary academic staff has continued to grow.

	Full-Time Teaching Staff			Total
	Elementary Secondary	Post-Secondary University	Non-University (E)	
1961-62	173,877	8,755(E)	4,376	190,008
1966-67	223,264	16,675(E)	6,266	246,205
1971-72	272,162	26,218(1)	14,133	312,613
1973-74	268,492	29,210(2)	16,528	314,230
1975-76 E	261,260	30,610(2)	18,270	310,140

(1) Excludes sabbatical leaves.  
(2) Includes sabbatical leaves.  
E Estimated

37. Because the number of full-time teachers grew more rapidly even than did enrolments, pupil teacher ratios have improved from 25.7 in 1960-61 to 21.5 in 1970-71, elementary and secondary schools combined. The ratio has remained fairly stable since then. (The estimate for 1975-76 is 21.9.) At the post-secondary level, too, the universities have exhibited an improved student-staff ratio: 1961-62-14.6; and 1975-76-11.9.

#### Expenditures

38. The last 16 years have witnessed an almost eight-fold increase in the funds spent by or on behalf of education institutions in Canada (see Table 2, Part A).

39. Part of this increase is attributable to increased wage and salary levels and higher prices paid for the goods purchased by schools, colleges, and universities. A simple education price deflator, prepared at the request of the Examiners(4) helps to provide an estimate of the increase in expenditures in constant-dollar terms, i.e., net of the effects of wage and price inflation (see Table 2, Part B). This procedure deflates the increase in total educational expenditures from nearly six-fold between 1960-61 and 1973-74 to nearly three-fold, still an impressive increase.

40. A measure of the improved "quality" of the educational effort made by Canadians is in the figures of per pupil and per student expenditures, in constant-dollar terms. Using the same deflator as in Table 2, Part B, the following figures are obtained:

	Per Pupil/Student Expenditures (constant, 1960-61 dollars)		
	Elementary and Post-Secondary Secondary Non-university		University
	\$	%	\$
1960-61	\$305	\$915	\$1,603
1965-66	387	884	1,787
1970-71	522	1,218	2,539
1971-72	531	1,296	2,494
1972-73	509	1,147	2,375
1973-74	504	1,162	2,264

Over the decade of the 1960's, Canadian education authorities not only accommodated in the schools, colleges and universities roughly 50 per cent more pupils and students, they also spent 50 per cent more on average on each of them in "real" terms. (5).

(4) See Appendix A for details.

(5) The figures given do not reflect the rise in the real salaries and benefits of teachers since 1960-61. Hence the increased real expenditures on education may not have covered the pay of proportionally more teachers than in 1960-61. However, part of the increased real pay of teachers must be attributed to their higher overall levels of qualification and preparation. The Examiners have not been able to identify the relative weights to be given to these two considerations.

41. Another graphic way to describe this "effort" is to trace the share of educational expenditure in the country's Gross National Product:

1960	1.4 per cent
1966	6.1 per cent
1970	9.0 per cent
1971	8.9 per cent
1972	8.4 per cent
1973	8.0 per cent
1974	7.5 per cent

42. Comparing Canada's figures with those of other countries, and though there is a marked downturn evident for the most recent years, one sees immediately that, in international perspective, Canada's allocations of resources to education have developed from a clearly generous level to an extraordinarily generous one:

Share of GNP devoted to Public Expenditures on Education

	1961	1969
Canada	4.6 per cent	8.3 per cent
France	2.4(a)	4.5
Japan	4.1(a)	4.0
United Kingdom	4.3	5.6
United States	4.3(b)	6.3
U.S.S.R.	5.9(a)	7.3
West Germany	2.9	3.6

(a) Figure is for 1960.

(b) Figure is for 1959.

Source: David Munroe, The Organization and Administration of Education in Canada, op. cit., p. 212.

43. Not only did educational expenditure become more important in the economy taken as a whole, it also became more important as an element in total government expenditure:

Total Governmental (1) Expenditures on Education and Other Major Functions (Percentages)

	Education	Defence	Health	Social Welfare	Transportation
1960-61	14.0	17.0	7.8	15.1	13.5
1965-66	18.5	12.2	9.9	15.0	12.8
1970-71	21.6	6.8	13.4	17.2	10.3
1971-72	21.2	6.3	13.4	19.3	10.2
1974-75	17.8	...	...	...	...

(1) Federal, Provincial and Municipal

#### Some Results

44. The expansion of the last 16 years has had many consequences for the educational attainment of the Canadian population. Between the 1961 and 1971 Censuses, the proportion of the population with an elementary education, or less, fell sharply, while the proportion with a university degree doubled:

Comparison of 1961 and 1971 Census Population Not in School at 5 Years of Age and Over by Educational Level

	1961		1971	
	(000)	%	(000)	%
Less than grade 5	1,557	21.7	1,426	10.3
Grades 5-8	4,172	34.9	4,102	29.7
Grades 9-10	2,307	18.5	2,996	21.7
Grades 11-13	2,809	20.0	2,953	21.4
Post-Secondary				
Non-university	N/A	N/A	1,045	7.6
University (some)	344	2.7	678	4.9
University Degree	327	2.2	614	4.4
Total:	11,616	100.0	13,814	100.0

Table 2 EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION, SELECTED YEARS

	Part A: in millions of current dollars									
	Elementary & Secondary		Post-Secondary Non-university		University		Vocational & Occupational Training		Total	
	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%
1960-61	1,328.3	77.9	57.6	3.4	272.9	16.0	47.2	2.7	1,706.0	100.0
1965-66	2,410.8	79.9	98.8	2.9	736.6	21.7	153.4	4.5	3,399.5	100.0
1970-71	4,880.4	63.6	430.0	5.6	1,790.8	23.3	574.8	7.5	7,676.0	100.0
1973-74	6,200.6	65.2	635.3	6.7	2,029.3	21.3	649.5	6.8	9,514.7	100.0
1975-76	7,885.3	64.5	892.0	7.3	2,641.2	21.6	809.5	6.6	12,228.0	100.0
Part B: in millions of constant(1) 1960-61 Dollars										
1960-61	1,328.3		57.6		272.9		47.2		1,706.0	
1965-66	2,050.0		84.0		626.4		130.4		2,890.7	
1970-71	3,132.5		276.0		1,149.4		368.9		4,926.8	
1973-74	2,949.9		302.2		965.4		309.0		4,526.5	

1 See Appendix A for details of the construction of the price deflator

45. The development and progress of educational policy is to be seen only partly in statistics. The qualitative aspect of these changes must also be stressed. All across Canada a series of profound changes in curricula, school organisation and governance, and the educational expectations of the population have been taking place. Nowhere has this been more marked than in francophone Canada.

46. An unprecedented change has been accomplished in Québec and in neighbouring New Brunswick and in Ontario for the French-speaking part of the population. In Québec, especially, an entire educational system has moved from a closed, fragmented and elitist structure to a unified and open one, from an archaic narrowly-centered classical curriculum to a modern and comprehensive one, from a church-dominated, restrictive philosophy to a laicised and permissive one; this move has accompanied but has also triggered a movement of the whole society which in the process has been profoundly changed.

47. Other parts of the Canadian educational system have not undergone comparative qualitative changes, especially since the French-speaking community was lagging behind and has now caught up in its own special way with the general evolution of the rest of the country. The same process has been at work everywhere for the regions and to some extent for the social groups that were lagging behind.

48. Specifically, the most important development in the educational system of Canada in the last two decades has been the systematic build-up of a public comprehensive school system in all of the 10 Provinces and in the two Territories administered by the Federal Government. This system is intended to offer to each child, irrespective of social origin, talent, race and sex, the same access to education, and a course of studies that is usually 12 years long, plus an introductory one-year kindergarten. (There are certain exceptions: Québec and New Brunswick offer an 11-year school; Ontario a 13-year school, though many children leave school after the twelfth year if they do not aim at entering university immediately; and there are other exceptions, too.)

49. There follows upon this comprehensive system an intricately developed tertiary sector, to which is attached a multitude of special provisions for adult education, continuing education, life-long learning, and so forth.

50. There are also many opportunities offered for adult education outside the limits of the formal tertiary education system. Thus, the most impressive aspect of educational organisation in Canada—and this is common to all the Provinces—is the high participation rate in the system. The completion of 12 years schooling is a normal expectation and the opportunity for education after this level is quite widely used. Formal hindrances to educational access are limited (relative to other countries), yet the existence of certain restrictions upon access to given universities helps maintain a noticeable institutional pecking order, which serves as a selection mechanism. The Examiners' impression is that this phenomenon is somewhat less marked in the Western Provinces. Probably the system of aid to students in higher education is sufficient to prevent economic considerations from stopping students motivated for education at this level. The lack of financial aid at the secondary level may, however, prevent quite a few from reaching higher education.

51. If one remembers that, at the end of the 1950's, the secondary school sector in many of the Provinces was rather poorly developed (in Québec, almost only in private, church-related institutions), and that the tertiary sector was almost entirely represented by private institutions, the development of education in Canada appears as an enormous organisational, administrative and staffing achievement. To say nothing of the financial efforts that were made. It is hardly an exaggeration to talk about a second great Canadian pioneering achievement.

52. In most of the Western industrialised countries, the educational expansion of the 1960's relied upon an experienced and smoothly running educational and administrative system. In Canada, on the contrary, the problems of expansion were multiplied as a result of a paucity of basic structures, a lack of experience in organisation and in administration and a consequence of decentralisation—very different conditions under which reform took place. Not without justification did the Economic Council of Canada speak of education as the "Ten Billion Dollar Enterprise". Indeed, in the use of the term "enterprise" is to be seen just the difference between the Canadian educational system and those

of most European countries. Canadian educational development has exhibited in its rapid growth a high degree of entrepreneurial risk-taking behaviour, as well as openness, flexibility and the capacity for improvisation. The comparison might be a little less favourable to Canada, only if one thinks of the spirit of co-ordination, co-operation and rationalisation that is also demanded of modern, large-scale entrepreneurs.

#### The Schools

53. The development of Canadian education has gone forward, in its individual parts: a kindergarten year, offered on a voluntary basis to all five-year olds, is now widely available, especially in the urban areas. (According to the statistics, about 80 per cent of five-year olds are enrolled in either kindergarten or in Grade I of elementary school.) In addition, about 30 per cent of the four-year olds are in kindergartens. However, pedagogical and staffing provision in kindergartens remain highly variable in quality.

#### Elementary schools

54. Grades I to VI, and sometimes Grades I to VIII are now permeated with the basic concepts of the ungraded school, continuous progress, open teaching and learning areas, and are often well supplied with equipment, books, films and other materials. They are on the way to finding the most desirable forms for the education of individual children and improving their chances of school success.

55. Visits to elementary schools in Québec, Ontario and the Western Provinces provided the Examiners with some most favourable impressions. (Certain critical observations will be found below.)

56. Some important new approaches are being made in the secondary schools. According to basic policy goals, they are open to all children and are expected to avoid elitism and selectivity.

57. Secondary education exhibits, along with elementary, widespread examples of excellent, interesting new educational models. These are often the result of many years of diligent planning work, involve the enthusiastic co-operation of many participants, and yield a mass of important results. It is, however, one of the real weaknesses of the Canadian system of education that it has so far not been possible to make these models and their results widely known, to have them evaluated and to use them as a basis for further development.

58. There are obvious difficulties in the Senior high schools, with respect to the curricular and pedagogical integration of the two main courses of study: the academic, general education course and the practical, handiwork, vocational courses. In practice, it remains customary to direct the weaker and less motivated pupils toward the latter, with the result that these offerings become too unattractive for the other children.

59. It is a doubtful practice, too, to view the practical courses more as "busy work" for children rather than as a basic, vocational training of real value to the children.

60. There may be a connection between this latter failing and the fact that the percentage of the population above compulsory schooling age attending school seems to have declined slightly in the latest years for which data are available (see Table 3). This is occurring in spite of the many efforts by the responsible educational policy makers to find new alternative educational routes for this group of young people.

#### University and community college

61. Clearly the greatest and most expensive achievements during the last 15 years have been

in the tertiary post-secondary sector. The universities and community colleges provide an extended network of post-secondary institutions. There are 66 universities chartered formal and informal joint operating arrangements reduce the effective number of institutions to about 100 and 110 community colleges (many with satellite campuses). The practical work-oriented training courses of the community colleges are enjoying a growing popularity, especially. Enrolment figures in both the university and non-university sectors continue to grow, though generally at a lower rate in the former sector. It may be worth noting, though, that the figures given in Table 4 imply that full-time enrolments in universities grew almost as fast (5.7 per cent) between 1974-75 and 1975-76 as did full-time enrolments in the non-university sector (6.0 per cent). Recently it has been observed that in some Provinces more university students switch into colleges, than college students proceed on to the universities. Moreover, increasingly, high school graduates decide immediately to opt for a college training. Older, so-called mature students are to be found in growing numbers, both in university and non-university institutions, with a first or further qualification.

62. Judged from the viewpoint of social policy, this complex, variegated, community based and open access tertiary educational sector in Canada means more than just a quantitative and external enrichment of the educational landscape, though the numerous buildings of the post-secondary sector seen by the Examiners were impressive, and their furnishing and equipment were on a generous scale. More importantly, the scale of post-secondary provision signifies the massive commitment being made to the educational base of an open, democratic society—a commitment that goes well beyond that of most of the other OECD Member countries.

Table 4  
Post-Secondary Enrolments, Full and Part-Time  
1970-71 to 1975-76

	Non-university institutions		Universities	
	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time
1970-71	118,812		308,135	168,726
1971-72	173,779		323,026	155,387
1972-73	190,954		321,417	153,772
1973-74	210,850		332,412	163,256
1974-75	225,080		342,380	171,310
1975-76	238,560		362,010	177,850

#### Adult Education

63. The open nature of the tertiary sector in most Provinces and of its two most important constituent parts, the universities and the community colleges, is enhanced by the growing number of part-time and mature students, through the *education and incorporation of all levels of citizens*, described nowadays as *adult education, continuing or further education*, all summarised under the slogan "life-long learning". Without doubt, educational institutions in Canada appear to have been exceptionally successful in establishing programmes that attract adults and meet some of their needs. This must be seen, however, against the background of a rapidly expanding educational system that has caused large gaps in educational levels to open between the different age-groups.

64. The mode of adult education also appears to be a reflection of certification orientated institutional training. Adult education has generally followed the model set by the established educational institutions, leaving little room for more flexible organisational arrangements directly orientated towards individual, personal needs. Public financial support of adult education is biased towards development of specific manpower skills and the earning of established formal school certificates and this reinforces the dominant position of the traditional institutions in this field. None of these comments should, however, be taken to deny the fact that the financial arrangements making it profitable for regular educational institutions to expand in the direction of part-time adult education have proved effective in promoting broad opportunities and participation.

65. Libraries, museums, and general cultural and artistic provisions are to be noted as supplementary, non-school public institutions. In spite of many elements of progress, especially in the public library field, the Examiners must still agree with the criticisms levelled by cultural organisations in Canada that, in this sector, too little has been done.

Table 3  
Percentage of the Population Aged 15 to 17  
Years Attending School, Selected Years

	15 years		16 years		17 years	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1961-62	88.9	87.1	70.9	67.2	50.8	41.5
1966-67	91.6	91.3	83.4	80.7	63.2	55.1
1971-72	95.9	95.8	87.6	87.1	66.6	63.1
1972-73	95.5	96.0	86.2	86.9	66.1	62.7

Note: Most Provinces mandate school attendance until age 16. Some permit leaving after 15 years of age.



66. Although the Examiners' final judgement of the expansion of Canadian education is definitely and over-whelmingly positive, they have the task also to point to the problems and difficulties which stand out. They are the inevitable result of rapid, sometimes even impetuous quantitative growth; they are also the result of those complicated conditions of development, referred to above (6).

#### Major problems

67. The Examiners have identified a number of problems that appear to be of major importance for the future development of education in Canada. They are presented at this point in rather summary fashion, and they are dealt with more extensively in the succeeding chapters of this Report.

68. The problem of the *under-privileged* groups: The schools as presently organised do not seem to be the best possible instruments for providing under-privileged groups with equal opportunities. Should the schools be changed and, if so, how is this to be done? and at what level of costs? Should the goal of equality of opportunity be at least temporarily abandoned, because it is not feasible; or should other broader approaches be tried, in which the school will not be the only institution involved?

69. The problem of the *status of manual work*: Should the school tackle more directly and forcefully one problem which has deep cultural and social implications and which seems to be at the root of social stratification among and within schools, as well as being one basic cause for the rejection of socially under-privileged children? Are Canadians ready to tackle the problem of developing a "new humanism", which would encompass manual work, the fine and liberal arts, technology and science, integrating these major strands of human activity into a new synthesis? And what role should the schools play in this task?

70. The problem of providing full educational opportunities to *handicapped children*, a task that has, with a few honourable exceptions, been grievously neglected in Canada.

71. The problem of the *quality of education*. This seems to have become a public issue precisely because of the high costs that have had to be paid to ensure equality of access; taxpayers everywhere want assurance that what appears to them to be extraordinarily generous levels of school financing are yielding commensurate returns. But, in fact, the problem of quality is of fundamental importance more because the term "quality" has a very different meaning in the new complex permissive schools than it did in the uni-dimensional educational institutions of the past. Now, the term has taken on connotations of the quality of human relations and the supportive quality of the school environment for achievement, expression and creativity. To meet the challenge of "quality", thus defined, will partly involve training for the practice of new social skills, interpersonal relationships and modes of group action in a context of individualised learning and the disappearance of the traditional threats, discipline and external sanctions of the school. Canadian schools must begin to face this problem, even if in the most tentative way.

72. The problem of the relationships of the school to the community, of its development as a cultural centre and as the leadership element in adult education. Is it better to let different, perhaps conflicting, initiatives develop that will motivate people more; or should one try to take a broader comprehensive approach with the school playing a leadership role? Canadian education is already facing these problems well ahead of most European countries.

73. The problem of local involvement in decision making, which is often posed (incorrectly in the Examiners' view) as a choice between "centralisation" and "decentralisation", or Provincial authorities *versus* the local school boards.

74. The problem of defining goals for education that fit a vision of the national interest, and of devising mechanisms to assist in the process of definition and implementation, in a national framework. During the beginning stages of a great social movement, such as the massive re-development of an educational system, a pragmatic approach may permit a great variety of different forms of progress and results to be achieved (as the Examiners observed again and again in Canada). Yet, in the longer run, it will certainly be necessary to direct the upsurge of change in the direction of a co-operatively planned path, for there are signs that the impetus of reform is slackening, even in Canada. The sooner a workable path toward stating definite goals is found, the sooner acceptable criteria for making reform decisions will be discovered, and the better will things be for the further development of the Canadian educational system.

75. For, although a great deal of optimism persists and pragmatically relaxed attitudes abound, the educational policy climate has changed fundamentally in the last few years. The reformers who sailed gaily ahead of the wind (and who spent money freely) for the past 20 years, now find that the wind is blowing directly in their faces. The turnaround is not as sharp as in many other countries, but it is distinctly there to be seen. Everywhere the talk is about economies, and restrictive measures have become common. Care is taken not to further anger unwilling taxpayers; the great enthusiasm of the 1960's is muted; and new public tasks are coming to the fore (together with their financial demands), in place of education.

76. In this new climate, a quite proper sense of optimism about the medium and longer term future of education in Canada is tempered now by a realistic appraisal of future tasks and possibilities, and by occasional expressions of nostalgia and disappointment. This Examiners' Report is presented with the hope and aim of assisting that process of appraisal.

### III. REALISATION OF EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

77. All over the world, the school reform movements of the last 15 years have taken their point of departure from the demand for equality of educational opportunity for all children, irrespective of their origin, locality, race or sex. The succession of efforts that has been made to serve this goal may be divided into three phases.

#### Three phases

78. In the first phase, it was hoped that equality of educational opportunity could be achieved by affording children free access to all schools in their localities. The belief was that this approach would suffice to open to all children - even those from the submerged social groups - access to schools that would lead on to further opportunities, and that this would be the way to remove inequalities and injustices. In most countries, these hopes were not realised. Most of these children were not able to succeed in the traditional programmes of the schools, or showed themselves so little interested in them that they dropped out at the end of the period of compulsory schooling, or sometimes even earlier.

79. After it had become evident that, wherever it had been tried, wider access to schooling would not alone guarantee equality of educational opportunity, a beginning was made to understand the exceptionally complex causes of inequality and to try remedial measures through compensatory education.

80. Emphasis on pre-school education came also in this second phase, although much of the drive to establish pre-school provision derived from the desire to free women for work in the labour market. Moreover, there is no clear evidence that pre-school education, as usually organised and practised, promotes equality.

81. In addition, the second phase saw the introduction of more practice-oriented courses, which certainly did help produce a perceptible decline in the number of dropouts, especially when used in conjunction with the adequate counselling and appropriate changes in teaching methods, curriculum materials, and the like.

82. However, even the most comprehensive programme of in-school efforts has not alone sufficed to eliminate the many-sided forms of disadvantage and inequality of opportunity that children experience. Thus began the third, and certainly most difficult phase. The attempt was made to overcome the important external causes for school failure by providing within the school an array of specific social, health and welfare measures. Even more important has been the recognition that the right to equality of educational opportunity should not remain confined to the short period of childhood and youth, but should be a life-long, recurrent principle, aimed at making up on lost chances, and at opening up new opportunities.

83. The present educational policy is an open educational system, that is, unhampered institutions and curricula that are designed to be a system that avoids wasting children's talents and that encourages "drop-in" at all compulsory ages.

84. Canadian education policy has completed the first two phases of this development, having made a vast investment of material and intellectual resources, and is now embarked on the third. As a result, Canadian education has changed from following a basically selective principle of operation to one of trying to aid young people to develop their knowledge and skills in ways that differ according to their needs and capacities. It cannot be doubted that the results have been far-reaching.

in many European countries. But that the efforts require still further improvement is the firm opinion of all knowledgeable observers. The Examiners are of the same opinion.

85. While recognising the limitations imposed upon them by the shortness of the four weeks of their visit to Canada, the Examiners have paid special attention to the question: how far and by what means can the principle of equal educational opportunity be realised in the theory and practice of Canadian education?

86. In trying to achieve equality of educational opportunity, Canada faces a number of specific difficulties, not shared by most other countries: in either severity or extent: geographical distances, firmly established and wide-spread decentralisation of responsibility, strong regional disparities, and a multiplicity of cultural and linguistic minorities. These difficulties are not to be underestimated and must be taken into account.

87. In addition, any discussion of inequality of educational opportunity must be conducted in the context of inequalities in economic circumstances and political influence. The relationship between inequalities in the school and inequalities in society is often clear and exceptionally difficult to eliminate, no less so in Canada than in other countries. The Examiners wish to avoid giving the impression that they believe that the problems of broad societal inequalities can be fundamentally solved by school-related measures only, though there is no doubt that they can often be palliated somewhat by educational opportunities. It complicates matters, too, to recognise that many of the school-related practices that reinforce societal inequalities have occurred and endure precisely because they serve certain economic and political interests. All the good will in the world among educators will not then suffice to eradicate such practices, for that requires a more profound change in the distribution of power in society and the goals which power is made to serve.

#### An overview

88. Whatever may be their disagreements on other matters, all those working in education in Canada appear to agree on the basic features necessary for an educational system to provide maximum equality of educational opportunity. They agree upon a common school system for all children, made up of a one-year voluntary kindergarten, a six- or sometimes eight-year elementary school, and a (normally) two-stage secondary school. Compulsory education through 16 years of age is considered the norm. This provides for eleven or twelve years of compulsory education, depending on the age of entry. In addition, as many children as possible should be assisted to complete the secondary school with a diploma, by providing necessary pedagogical, curriculum and other relevant help. (The rates of retention from Grade II to Grade XII have risen from 36 per cent in 1961 to 71 per cent in 1972.)

89. An equally open and broadly accessible tertiary sector is attached to the secondary school. During the last 15 years, alongside the traditional university institutions, 146 community colleges have been established, offering new, well-attended practice-oriented courses of study. Both the universities and non-university institutions seek to attract part-time and mature students. In addition, there are offerings of self-study programmes, summer courses and countless further possibilities for general and vocational further education, in the form of credit and non-credit courses.

90. This entire structure receives wide publicity and serves the cause of the equality of educational opportunity, from kindergarten to adult education.

91. A number of comments on each stage of the system are in order. The importance of pre-school education for the moral, physical and creative development of children is fully recognised in Canada. With some few exceptions, the network of public and/or private kindergartens is such that most five-year olds can find a place, if their parents so desire.

92. The pedagogy of the kindergarten follows to a great extent English and United States models, individual provision and small group work, social learning, creative activity, strengthening acquaintance with nature and the environment. On occasion, immersion courses in French (or English) adapted to young children's abilities are also offered. Such additional measures as, for example, the Alberta Early Childhood Services Plan seems to the Examiners to merit widespread copying, as they promise to bring about the necessary co-operative activity of kindergarten, parental home, and social and health services.

93. The usual kindergarten day for a child is 2.5 hours (which permits each kindergarten to have two or sometimes three groups).

This allotment of time seems to be too short to fulfil all the tasks prescribed for pre-schooling, without seriously overloading the children. On the other hand, 2.5 hours is too long a period if it is to be used simply for pre-school instruction. Finally, for working mothers it is inconvenient to have their children looked after for this short time each day. The Examiners are of the opinion that provision beyond the usual 2.5 hours a day should be available for those parents who desire it.

94. In addition, it appears to the Examiners that the early recognition and treatment of learning handicaps or disabilities is still not given sufficient attention.

95. After the kindergarten, the curricular and pedagogical arrangements of the elementary school have an important role to play in the elimination of deficits and the achievements of equality of educational opportunity. The formative years should be child-oriented and intensively used. In this respect everywhere in Canada great efforts are being made and some noteworthy results have been achieved, especially in comparison with the state of affairs 15 to 20 years ago.

96. The forms that have been chosen are numerous. The principles and practice of non-grading, continuous progress, and open-area classrooms and team-teaching are in evidence, as is the promotion of independent learning through new curricula. In the elementary schools they visited, the Examiners were often impressed by the friendly and relaxed atmosphere evident, that seemed conducive to the development of independence, initiative, and co-operation without anxiety and pressure. The structuring of work in the elementary school became even more exemplary when it represented clear planning and evaluatory goals established as a result of the co-operative work of the teachers. Also, when parents are drawn closely into the work of the schools (as the Examiners saw, for example, in Ontario), and when children are given a share in exercising initiative, participating in decisions, and in self-evaluation (as was seen, for example, in Quebec), important models for imitation elsewhere have been developed.

97. Many schools are trying, with the best of intentions, to improve the welfare of their children by bringing in a host of specialists. This produces no new disadvantages as long as it does not contradict the young child's needs for belonging and for a stable reverent person; and as long as it does not disperse the general responsibility for his progress among a multitude of specialists-in-detail who fail to work together for his benefit. Certain tendencies in this direction should not be overlooked(7).

98. Naturally, the Examiners heard some voices of scepticism, concerning the new elementary school methods. It is certainly true that general evaluation of the experiences to date, concerted effort in the improvement of teachers' skills, and the fullest development of co-operative work with parents are all lacking. We met teachers who were not willing or able to come to terms with the new approaches. We met parents who could not understand why their children should learn more than, or something other than, the basic skills. Now and again, the opinion was expressed that continuous progress overburdened the less talented child. We heard complaints from school trustees that the financial demands made by the new elementary school were impossible to fulfil. None of these objections should be underestimated. But in no way should they be allowed to lead back to rigid course prescriptions, classes insulated from each other behind closed doors, and children being made to repeat entire years. None of these relies of the selective school should be allowed to reappear, for they work mostly to the disadvantage of the socially handicapped or disadvantaged child.

99. Educators and parents everywhere recognise the problems of the secondary school, which has to devote very large quantities of time and energy trying to meet the demand for equality of educational opportunity, retaining children with widely disparate levels of talent and inclination through and beyond the period of compulsory schooling, and enabling them to complete high school successfully.

100. The difficulties appear first with the disadvantages of schools of 2,000 pupils and more. The size is a result of the effort to offer a broad array of courses. But some schools often seem to be too large for pupils to obtain an overview of their education, for teachers to work together effectively, and for both to conduct decent interpersonal relations. If the result is that children take a somewhat aimless smattering of courses, the question must be raised of the value of what the Examiners heard termed as a "supermarket" style approach to education(8).

101. Moreover, doubts have grown in Canada in the past few years about the wisdom of keeping young people in school at any cost, if the schools clearly are unable to offer them an acceptable curriculum. This poses the question of alternative ways of offering education: in vocational schools, or in the form of varied, freely accessible opportunities to engage in further education. The Examiners were able to acquaint themselves with numerous alternative possibilities, which could certainly be expected to remove much of the opprobrium usually associated with dropout. The principle of life-long educational opportunities makes possible (and necessary) a quite new interpretation of what constitutes school "success" and what constitutes "failure".

102. With reference to the improvement of educational opportunities, the present quality of practical and vocational courses in high schools is not generally adequate, even if one is thinking only of a well-grounded preparation for a vocation. Often practical courses turn out to be only an appendage, perhaps even a basement department, of the academic high school. Such courses generally have a solely practical orientation; a theoretical, reflective approach to technology seems to be excluded. The content of courses is not deep, and the term "pre-vocational activity" is often used. Very rarely are these vocational activities given credit; they are always seen as fitted for those pupils who are weaker in the "academic" courses. In Quebec, the fact of being placed in the high school vocational stream (long or short course) has, until recently, even precluded enrolment in the CEGEP after secondary education.

103. For these reasons, the composite school appears to be a general school that has had attached to it an appendage (the so-called industrial or vocational courses, varying in number according to the particular Province and the particular school). The composite school has not been conceived as a school that closely integrates technical and humanistic materials in its goals, in order to transmit the basis for a new culture - which, in the Examiners' view, is its central mission.

104. In the light of this situation, the establishment of separate vocational-technical schools, mainly for 16-19 year old students (as they were seen by the Examiners in Edmonton, Winnipeg, Toronto, and Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, for example), is on occasion to be welcomed, especially if they are not used to shunt aside the more difficult and less academically talented high school students. They need also to ensure that, alongside the vocational courses, there is a generous portion of general education provided. Moreover, pupils who are interested should be able to obtain an equivalent high school diploma, if necessary with the help of supplementary courses. And, with all this, the vocational schools should in no way contribute to the sacrifice of the principle of the comprehensive school.

104a. In fact, such vocational schools should be valued in the context of their relationship to the development of composite or comprehensive schools, and this could have practical meaning. An example would be broader recognition of academic success when it is achieved by vocational technical schools; or, a second example, a determination that the large resources going into a few expensive vocational-technical schools would be much more than matched by additional resources needed for the improvement of the composite schools.

105. In practice, the vocational schools, subsisting on the margin of the comprehensive system, are having to face a surge of requests for admission. They tend to admit only those who give promise of succeeding in the training course chosen. These applicants are either students who could not find an appropriate education in a composite school, or adults.

106. On the other hand, dropouts are numerous before the last year of the composite secondary school. One cannot flatly claim, then, that the secondary school system has succeeded in reaching its goal: offering to all youngsters from twelve to 17-18 years of age an education fitted to their needs, which permits them to develop and broaden themselves by practice at an array of activities tailored to their different talents and temperaments, tastes and aptitudes.

Pedagogical innovations

107. An important pedagogical tool for the individualisation of school learning and for dealing with different levels of talent and interest is the principle of continuous progress. In many Canadian schools this principle has entirely or partially superseded the concepts of age-grouped classes, promotion, and retention in grade. Instead, the length of schooling until graduation from high school depends upon the accumulation of the necessary number of credits. In the final development, external graduating examinations have been mostly abolished, and admission to the universities and community colleges left to these institutions themselves.

108. From the point of view of educational policy, the principle of continuous progress can be an important aid in attenuating the school effects of most socio-economic disparities. Whenever the result is that individual achievement is encouraged, without pressures of time and external sanctions; and if application of the principle of continuous progress can guarantee a well-defined corpus of general education for all, then the school will have achieved a decisive step forward in the task of equalising opportunities. Here, as elsewhere, the need for evaluation of experience and the exchange of information is urgent.

109. The practice of "flexibility" has a potentially dark, as well as a light, side. Well equipped schools clearly have a variety of possibilities for "adapting programmes to pupils". The opportunities for differentiated treatment of individual children are to be appreciated. Such reservations as the Examiners have are related to the possible effects of such individualised measures on the future educational development of the children. "Adaptation of programmes to pupils", especially when it is based on more or less understood diagnostic instruments, may easily prove to be a form of selection built into even the primary school at the early stages, with mostly irreversible effects on the development of individual pupils.

110. In many instances in Canada the form of adaptation looks suspiciously like traditional streaming in ability groups, already from Grade 1. The choices made for pupils, at least at the elementary level, appear primarily to be regarded as a matter for decision by "pedagogical experts", with only limited possibilities for parental participation. At the secondary level, choices of direction may be more susceptible to influence by individual pupils and parents, though the "advice" of teachers probably counts heavily at this level, too, and may be decisive in terms of relegating children to vocational streams at an astonishingly early stage. In spite of those doubts, however, the Examiners feel that the achievement of a genuine range of choice must be acknowledged, including the fact that relatively open access to further education may to some extent reduce the bad effects of early streaming.

111. It is, of course, entirely probable that the schools visited by the Examiners have been above average in terms of pedagogical practices. Yet it seems reasonable to conclude that the system has come far in the direction of a reasonable openness in the mode of teaching and provision of a considerable variety of choice options. These characteristics were apparent in all the Provinces visited. Some of the "show" schools did seem to be almost extravagantly endowed with open space, which is neither necessary for, nor a guarantee of, "openness" in pedagogical terms(9). The Examiners do conclude, however, that new schools are built in a way that permits a considerable amount of flexibility. When properly used they should provide a good working situation for teachers and pupils.

112. The Examiners have not been able to get a clear picture of the relative allocation of resources within schools to children with special difficulties, or simply of below average performance. There is still a distinct possibility that "flexibility" and "adapting programmes to pupils" are slogans to cover devoting the best teaching resources to the most gifted children. Furthermore, even in the schools visited, flexibility does not go beyond options within each grade. Although formal repetition of grades is said to be rare, the programmes for individual development of groups of children are categorised as pertaining to specific grades, even to the extent that a child may be regarded as staying in the same grade for several years. It is an open question to what extent this "open" and "flexible" system really solves the key problem of the more traditionally organised school.

113. Thus, in spite of many difficulties, that are, of course, not unique to Canada (the Canadian form of high school (comprehensive composite polyvalente) is in principle unopposed within Canada - unlike the opposition that the comprehensive principle has had to face in other countries, the Examiners are convinced that all the difficulties that remain can be dealt with, given carefully planned work and patient cooperation among teachers, researchers and administrators. A beginning has already been made and is evident in the numerous proposals extant for improving the quality of education

(7) These points are developed more fully in Appendix B

(8) But see also Appendix B, where doubt is cast upon the analogy of a supermarket as fitting the organisation of secondary education in Canada

(9) The necessity to evaluate curricula programmes, with relevant results and in a significant form, was underlined everywhere. The attempts to develop appropriate evaluatory instruments have had varied success. The results that have been obtained so far, with them, are clearly not satisfactory. One promising example of new developments seems to be the Co-operative Evaluation Programme of the Province of Ontario, that is carried out by school systems in co-operation with the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education under the licence for Co-operative Evaluation of School Systems

This process can be helped forward greatly by the evaluation of high schools that provide examples of "best practice", and dissemination of knowledge about them.

**Access to post-secondary education**

**114.** As already remarked, entry to post-secondary education has been widely opened to new groups of all ages in the population, by the abolition of Province-wide examinations. There is an obvious symbolic meaning when Provinces offer tuition-free admission to higher education to its senior citizens: the universities and colleges wish to be regarded as more than places for research, teaching and vocational preparation. Within and through them, the principle of equality of educational opportunity is to be actualised, in the form of life-long educational availability, even though from declared political intention to full realisation in practice there certainly has to be a long path, as was freely acknowledged by all the representatives of the tertiary institutions in their discussions with the Examiners.

**115.** The number of part-time students (working towards degrees or for credit) at the universities rose from 86,000 in 1966 to 178,000 in 1975, that is, more than doubled in less than ten years, and the number of mature students is also estimated to have multiplied many times over. It is estimated that the total number of part-time students in continuing education courses in Canada in 1973-74 was over 1.3 million persons, or more than 5 per cent of the entire population of the country (see Table 5).

**Table 5**  
**NUMBER OF PART-TIME STUDENTS**  
**BY TYPE OF STUDY IN**  
**CONTINUING EDUCATION COURSES IN**  
**EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, 1973-1974**

School Boards and Departments of Education (1)	Credit	Non-Credit	Total
	(In Thousand)		
Post-Secondary Non-University	141.9	142.7	284.6
University	280.0	208.8	488.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>618.3</b>	<b>711.5</b>	<b>1,329.8</b>

1. Includes Provincial correspondence schools.

**116.** In an attempt to improve accessibility to higher education opportunities for young people who would otherwise find it difficult to finance their studies, the Provinces and the Federal Government have developed a series of loan and outright (non-repayable grant) programmes. The Federal loan plan began in 1964 with loans totalling \$26 million made to 12,000 students; in 1972-73, loans totalling \$100 million were made to about 122,000 students. Non-repayable grants from Federal sources to students amounted to \$186 million in 1972-73. Provincial provisions for student aid vary widely.

**117.** The proportion of the student body in receipt of loans for study has fallen in recent years from 38 per cent to 35 per cent. In general, part-time students are not eligible for aid, though discussions were proceeding at the time of the

**Table 6**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY INCOME OF POST-SECONDARY STUDENTS BY LEVEL OF STUDY**  
**1968-69,**  
**AND OF CANADIAN POPULATION**

Family Income Group	University Graduate	Undergraduate	Community Colleges and CEGEPS	TOTAL	Canadian Population
	%	%	%		
Less than \$2,000	1.4	1.0	0.9	1.0	--
2,000 - 2,999	5.1	4.1	4.3	4.2	--
3,000 - 3,999	6.7	4.9	6.3	5.2	--
4,000 - 4,999	4.8	6.2	8.8	6.5	--
5,000 - 6,999	21.1	20.7	29.7	22.0	--
7,000 - 9,999	21.7	24.6	27.0	24.8	--
10,000 and over	39.2	38.5	23.0	36.3	--
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	--
Median family income	\$8,502	\$8,600	\$7,003	\$8,349	--

**Table 7**  
**EXPENDITURES PER PUPIL OF ENROLMENT**  
**IN REGULAR PUBLIC SCHOOLS,**  
**CANADA AND REGIONS**  
**1969-1970, 1971-1972, and 1972-1973**

	1969-1970		1971-72		1972-73	
	Of school boards only	Including department services	Of school boards only	Including department services	Of school boards only	Including department services
<b>Provinces:</b>						
Atlantic	\$387	\$485	\$512	\$693	\$573	\$759
Quebec	655	701	762	933	830	1,010
Ontario	734	803	896	970	971	1,043
Western	647	698	776	847	848	917
Canada	653	717	791	903	863	976

Notes: The figures overstate expenditures per pupil in some extent because school board expenditures include amounts spent for various evening programmes. The figures for Canada include figures for Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Examiners' visit to change this, at least as far as Federal loan eligibility is concerned.

**118.** Since 1961, Canadian income tax law has permitted students to deduct tuition from their income, for the purposes of computing their taxable income. Since 1972, education expenses up to \$50 a month have been deductible also. It is estimated that these two provisions cost the Treasury about \$84 million in 1972. Since the dollar value of the deduction privilege is higher for those in the higher income tax brackets, the deduction provisions are not an efficient way of allocating tax receipts to assist lower income persons to attend college or university.

**119.** It is not presently possible to report whether or not the array of student financial aid provisions has, in fact, widened access to higher education for students coming from the lower half of the family income range. The Examiners understand that an inquiry on this point is presently underway. The data presented in Table 6 for 1968-69 would indicate that Canada is probably no exception to the rule that children from the upper half of the family income range are represented in the student body disproportionately to their numbers in the total population.

**120.** The noteworthy developments in the field of community colleges, where 146 have been established, constitute evidence of the vigorous policy measures taken to improve educational opportunities. Each Province has developed its own variant on these programmes. Community college enrolment has expanded rapidly: 53,000 in 1961, 80,000 in 1966, and 239,000 in 1975. The balance in tertiary sector enrolment between university and community college has tilted in favour of the latter. In 1961, full-time university enrolments were 2.5 times as large as full-time college enrolments; in 1975 they are estimated to be only 1.5 times as large. It is expected that community college enrolments will continue to grow, but probably in the future at a rate only slightly higher than that of the universities.

**121.** Community college programmes lead to vocational training qualifications in courses of two to four years in length. The opportunities for transfer

to universities vary from Province to Province. Access to community colleges is promoted by their wide dispersion over the length and breadth of the country. The principle that guides them is that every young person shall have tertiary education available to him, *à la carte*. Even with respect to the social origin of community college students, a definite breakthrough has been achieved. A much higher fraction of the student body comes from the lower half of the family income range than is the case for the universities' enrolment (see Table 6).

**122.** It should be borne in mind that, with the prevailing emphasis in general subjects in secondary schools, vocational training of the kind often found at the secondary level in some other countries (for example, West Germany, France, the United States and the Soviet Union) has to a considerable extent been pushed upwards in Canada to what is formally a post-secondary level. Thus, the community colleges often serve the same functions secondary vocational schools do elsewhere. This partly explains both the social composition of their student body and the difficulties that are met when, as in some Provinces, attempts are made to do other such colleges into viable alternatives to the universities.

**123.** The Province of Quebec has produced the most far-reaching development of a tertiary educational system based on the principle of equality of opportunity in a common school system. This has been done via the instrumentality of the *Collège d'Enseignement Général et Professionnel (CEGEP)*. They are built on the basis of the eleven-year *école polyvalente*, and lead in a two-year course to the university, or in a third, finishing year course to a professional qualification. In a few years there have been established 32 CEGEPs to serve the approximately 6 million inhabitants of Quebec. They have been established on the principles laid down in the Parent Commission (Volume IV), expressing the Commission's conviction that the traditional differentiation in the value of academic compared with vocational education would only be overcome when the two forms of study are kept together for as long as possible, with students of both curricula housed under one roof, and educated as integrated a manner as possible. Exact figures are not available, but official estimates place the proportion of the relevant age group attending CEGEPs at about 60 per cent.

**124.** It is not surprising to the Examiners that the bold idea of a "comprehensive" college has not been put into practice in so few years without a good deal of friction and *opposition*. One can hope, however, that those responsible for educational policy and the teachers and students in the CEGEPs will succeed in overcoming the difficulties that have appeared. The CEGEP is an educational and socio-political model of highest international importance. Abandonment of this achievement would mean a defeat carrying unfortunate consequences not only for Canada, but for many other countries.

**125.** A further variant of the community college has developed, particularly in Saskatchewan, though also elsewhere. In Saskatchewan, the main task of the community colleges is viewed as the satisfaction of local educational needs and the offering of vocational, personal and social educational opportunities, all the way from the arts to tractor driving. The credit courses in colleges and preparation for university courses play a subordinate role. The manner in which information and the offerings are brought to the attention of the population exhibits variety and imagination.

**Table 8**  
**EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION PER**  
**FULL-TIME STUDENT (ALL LEVELS),**  
**CANADA AND PROVINCES, 1971-1974**

	1971	1972	1973	1974
Canada	1,310	1,396	1,533	1,712
Newfoundland	827	962	1,134	1,291
Prince Edward Island	1,049	1,258	1,441	1,672
New Brunswick	1,091	1,158	1,314	1,586
Nova Scotia	1,099	1,167	1,285	1,460
Quebec	1,265	1,332	1,525	1,740
Ontario	1,440	1,510	1,616	1,751
Manitoba	1,267	1,338	1,535	1,717
Saskatchewan	1,124	1,194	1,354	1,526
Alberta	1,388	1,462	1,599	1,750
British Columbia	1,186	1,251	1,393	1,612
Territories and undistributed	--	--	--	--

### Regional inequalities

**126.** The democratic right of the citizen to equality of educational opportunity is neither confined to nor fulfilled entirely within an educational system. There is also the question of regionally equivalent and regionally equally-distributed educational offerings—a task that is exceptionally difficult to fulfil in Canada. The fact is that the federal structure of the educational system, and, far reaching decentralisation within each Province, have resulted in significant differences in the material and staffing levels of the schools. Toleration of disparities that are very large can greatly hinder or even damage educational opportunities. The Examiners have gained the impression that local and regional disparities are certainly recognised, but still too little proper attention is paid to them. In the discussion that follows the focus is upon average disparities across the Provinces. However, the Examiners gained the impression though they received no firm evidence that disparities within each Province are considerable, and may even be more striking than those existing among the Provincial averages.

**127.** Inter Provincial differences are clearly marked in the differences in the retention rates in schools, the proportion of pupils who remained in school until Grade XII, as a proportion of Grade II enrolment, varies from 58 per cent in the Atlantic Provinces to 69 per cent in Ontario, and 75 per cent in the Western Provinces. The differences in financial resources used per pupil are another index: in 1972, average expenditures of school boards per school pupil in regular public schools were as follows:

Atlantic Provinces	\$573
Western Provinces	848
Quebec Province	830
Ontario	971
Canada	861

**128.** Table 7 provides figures for 1970/70 and 1971/72 as well as for 1972/73 on per pupil expenditures by region and for Canada. In addition, expenditures including those made by departments of education are shown. For universities, the average expenditure per full-time student in 1970 was:

Atlantic Provinces	\$3,019
Western Provinces	3,646
Quebec Province	4,099
Ontario	4,865
Canada	3,949

For non-university tertiary institutions, the corresponding figures in 1970 were:

Atlantic Provinces	\$2,147
Western Provinces	2,337 <sup>10</sup>
Quebec Province	1,477
Ontario	2,306
Canada	1,928

<sup>10</sup> The figure for Saskatchewan alone is \$1,697—double the other Provinces.

**129.** Table 8 provides data on expenditure of each Province for education per full-time student at all levels, 1971-1974. The inter-Provincial disparities appear to have been closed a little, but they are still considerable. Newfoundland's expenditures of \$1,291 per student in 1971, with Ontario's \$1,751

and Alberta's \$1,750. Proportions of students, as percentages of the 18-24 year old population, were as follows in 1972/73:

Atlantic Provinces	15.1 per cent
Western Provinces	16.3
Quebec Province	20.5
Ontario	19.2
Canada	18.4

**130.** These are all quite weighty differences, and certainly not to be ignored, in view of the goal of equal educational opportunities. Indeed, the Federal government has made efforts during the past decade to equalise the tax resources available to Provincial authorities for school purposes. In 1973, the amounts transferred for school tax equalisation alone totalled \$160 millions.

**131.** To what extent, and whether, Federal transfers can effect the necessary elimination of disparities of resources and, hence, educational provision are questions that must be decided in the immediate future.

**132.** Alongside the measures so far discussed for a general equalisation of educational opportunity, the special problems of specific minority groups among the pupils need attention.

**133.** In this Report, we deal with the five most important groups:

- children with different types of handicap;
- native populations, and other under-privileged groups;
- linguistic and cultural minorities;
- highly talented and gifted children;
- females.

### The handicapped

**134.** The Examiners heard a steady refrain of criticism about the inadequate provisions for *handicapped children*. The measures undertaken so far to help this not inconsiderable number of children (estimated at between 5 per cent and 10 per cent of all pupils) were deemed inadequate by teachers, parents and the public.

**135.** The Examiners drew the conclusion that, only after voluminous (and usually private) investigations and revelations, and sometimes even vigorous attacks in public, did the responsible public authorities undertake the necessary planning and take some measures commensurate with the problem.

**136.** The Examiners agree completely with the official goal expressed in a number of Provinces, that handicapped children should be retained in a regular, common school as long as possible, and whenever possible.

**137.** However, most Provinces fall far short of adequate provision in public schools for handicapped children. The result is that, typically, these children must either be sent to expensive private institutions (with the parents bearing all or most of the costs), or the children are simply kept at home (which is quite legal). Thus, the key pressing issue is, in reality, not integration in regular schools of special provision, but adequate provision for handicapped children *someplace*.

**138.** Most school administrators do not seem to be aware of the extent to which very large infusions of resources are needed within the schools for the proper treatment of handicapped children. In particular, without such resources, returning handicapped children in regular schools will most likely

produce severe difficulties for the children, especially if:

- the regular teachers are not in a position to recognise handicaps, and to undertake remediation in less severe cases;
- the use of numerous specialists in fact produces effective isolation of the children under their care from non-handicapped children and from children with other forms of handicaps;
- locally based arrangements do not in fact suffice to provide the best possible aid for the child.

**139.** In such circumstances the goal of integrating handicapped pupils in ordinary schools may simply lead to a worsening of their position.

**140.** In general, one can say, *special schools* are necessary not only for the blind, the deaf, and the dumb, at least for the elementary school years (and here the developments at the last few years have been good), but also for children with severe or multiple learning disabilities. These children certainly cannot receive the necessary, carefully monitored care they need, except in special schools. Inspection of such a school in Winnipeg underlined the justification for these schools, although here, too, resources were less than adequate.

**141.** Accordingly, not only were there complaints voiced that few such special elementary schools exist, but also a lack of sufficient specially trained staff was evident apart from the principal, none of the teachers and auxiliary personnel had a special training in this field! In consequence, there was little possibility of sending out staff to work on individual cases in the regular schools.

**142.** There is hardly an area in which *lack of cooperation* among the various levels of government, and between professionals and parents, produces such harmful results as in the case of the handicapped child, whether the handicaps are concerned directly with learning difficulties or with psychological or physical problems. The life chances of these children depend so decisively on the early recognition and proper treatment of their difficulties that the responsible authorities should delay no longer in removing the obvious deficiencies in provision.<sup>10</sup>

**143.** The following deficiencies seem to the Examiners to be especially grave:

- there is a far-reaching lack of necessary provision for early diagnosis;
- elementary school teacher training takes too little, if any, account of the necessary basic knowledge required in this area for teachers;
- the training of teachers for the blind, the deaf, and the dumb, via seminars in these schools, is only just beginning. One of the few model training establishments of this kind that the Examiners saw is the Inter-Provincial School for the Training of the Deaf, Amherst, Nova Scotia;
- there is a lack of regional and trans-regional co-ordination and information centres, for assisting parents and interested educators, etc.;
- there is no, or not sufficient, financial support of voluntary organisations, who have done remarkable things in the past few years to improve the situation and whose cooperation in the future will be indispensable;
- the education of handicapped children must be fully accepted as a public responsibility, and adequate public resources be made available to discharge that responsibility properly, either within the regular schools or in special schools.

### The socially disadvantaged

**144.** Next to handicapped children, the children from socially disadvantaged and underprivileged families (and especially immigrants) deserve aid. In April, 1975, a study undertaken by the Quebec Ministry of Education, entitled *Education et Développement* (11), contains some important evidence on the number of such children, the causes

<sup>10</sup> Attention is directed to the fact that the Commission on the Equality of Opportunity for Handicapped Children (A Committee of the Canadian Council on the Environment and Learning Disabilities) issued by the Commission on the Environment and Learning Disabilities in 1974, the report "The Equality of Opportunity for Handicapped Children" (1974). The report contains a number of recommendations for the improvement of the situation of handicapped children in Canada. The report is available from the Commission on the Environment and Learning Disabilities, 1100 St. James Street, West, Montreal, Quebec H3T 1M1.

of their disadvantages, and proposals for necessary measures in this area. It would seem desirable that similar investigations should be undertaken in other Provinces, insofar as that has not been done already. Taken together, they could provide a comprehensive view of this complex problem, and would be of greatest use. For Canada, like most other countries, is still a long way from breaking the vicious cycle of poverty, leading to inadequate education, meagre job opportunities, and continued poverty in the next generation.

**The native people**

**145.** A special case of perpetuated under-privilege is presented in Canada by the children of native people and those of mixed blood (Métis). A sharp distinction must be made between so-called "Registered" or "Treaty" and "Non-Status" Indians. The former are organised in over 500 Indian bands and have retained their rights under treaty to Federal government protection and support. The latter have become Canadian citizens and enjoy no such special protection and support. There are, in addition, 17,000 Inuit who are Canadian citizens, but who do receive educational support from the Federal government.

**146.** Educational provision for non-status Indians and Métis is treated as the sole responsibility of the Provinces and their local school boards. It is not possible to say how many non-status Indian and Métis children are attending schools, nor is it possible to cite data on their retention and success in school. No authority is responsible for collecting such data. The Western Provinces report that they estimate that about 50,000 non-status Indian and Métis children are enrolled in the schools of the four Western Provinces compared with 43,000 registered Indian children.

**147.** There appears to be a good deal of dissatisfaction with Provincial efforts to accommodate their Indian and Métis minorities. Most have assumed that the standard Canadian school structure and curriculum is an adequate offering, when clearly that is not so. Some efforts are being made to adapt the standard Provincial curricula to the special needs of Indian and Métis children, and there are welcome signs of a much greater appreciation of the need to consult with Indian groups before taking action.

**148.** The Federal government organises educational provision for registered Indians through the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. In 1971-72 the Department devoted \$130.6 million to education, and supported 32,000 pupils in Federally-operated schools on Indian reserves and about 40,000 pupils in Provincial public or private schools if the Federal government paying for the places provided in the Provincial schools. Of this total of 72,000 pupils, some 4,700 were in the Yukon, 9,000 in the Northwest Territories, and 58,000 spread out over the Provinces.

**149.** The Examiners were able to appreciate the extraordinary difficulties which schooling provision has to overcome in the sparsely populated, vast and remote areas of the Yukon, the Northwest Territories, and the northern regions of Québec Province, Ontario and British Columbia, where many of the Treaty Indians are settled on reservations. Whatever the shortcomings of the Federal government in this area, Indians apparently feel that they would prefer education to remain a Federal responsibility, rather than be handed over to the Provinces, a proposal that was mooted in 1969. Only in British Columbia does there seem to be development of vigorous tripartite co-operation among the Indian representative groups, the Provincial authorities and the Federal government, aimed at defining and executing programmes for Indian educational and cultural advancement.

**150.** There are few exact data on educational conditions. In any case they are not satisfactory. Estimates are that there are many illiterates, and the dropout rates before the end of high school are somewhere between 70 and 95 per cent (12). Probably only one registered Indian child in six today completes twelve grades of school.

**151.** In spite of this, it would be wrong to conclude that the Federal government in the past few years has made no special effort to remedy the situation. The Examiners were able to see some fine examples of vocational training and retraining in Fort Smith (N.W.T.). There were general education courses for adults, as well as up to 18 vocational

training offerings. Even the otherwise militant Indian Brotherhood admit to the progress that has been made in this respect. They criticise though, just as emphatically, the lack of appropriate curricula, and inadequate participation by native people, themselves. In sum, the Examiners could not escape the conclusion that *there is no overall concept on for the improvement of the educational opportunities of native children, and for their steady and devoted realisation.* It makes little sense that there are still far too few (about 15 per cent) native teachers, and that only 19 schools are native-controlled.

**152.** The enormous disparities in opportunities for school success are continued in the degree to which natives are represented in their own, Federal-created, governing authorities. Official statistics report that only 53 full-time and 18 part-time employees of the central office of the Department of Native and Indian Affairs were natives; including all regional and local offices, the number was still only 1,200.

**153.** Native children suffer, as do handicapped children, from the splintering of responsibility for their education among several sectors of government. Much more co-operation among Federal, Provincial, Indian and local school board groups is needed, in the interests of the children and their futures. At present, such co-operation is being sought, but is far from being attained.

**154.** A final point seems inescapable. The schools for Indian children administered by the Federal government represent in both their structures and their instruction much the same model as the regular schools for Canadians. The Examiners find it hard to understand why the Federal government has not taken the opportunity to develop here striking new models of school reform, demonstrating "best practice" pedagogy in difficult conditions. Moreover, such a project could provide an excellent locale for developing the arts of co-operation among Federal, Provincial and native authorities.

**Bilingual policy**

**155.** The official bilingual policy is a further fact of Canadian life, greatly influencing the policy of equality of educational opportunity. It is important, moreover, to consider linguistic policies not only in the light of their effects on equality of *educational* changes, but also from the perspective of social and occupational mobility and relations among people.

**156.** About 60 per cent of Canadians speak English, 27 per cent French, and 13 per cent a variety of other languages, as their mother tongues. The French-speaking population is by no means confined to Québec Province. In New Brunswick and in Ontario, there are regions with predominantly French-speaking populations.

**157.** To the major English-French linguistic division must be added the language differences of the populations of Indian or Inuit origin, as well as those of other very diverse groups, who wish to maintain contact with their original culture. Nearly three million people are in this category. Thus, one has to add the realities of multiculturalism to the official fact of bilingualism.

**158.** The Examiners were reminded many times in Canada that the Confederation was founded in an agreement made between two distinct linguistic communities, a point that is noted particularly in Article 133 of the British North America Act.

**159.** The Federal Law on the two official languages (1969) reinforced the bilingual character of Canada. The chosen option is to recognise that there is room in Canada to permit both languages and, hence, both cultures, the English and the French, to participate in economic, social and political life across the entire length and breadth of Canada.

**160.** To this end, the Federal government has established a programme of considerable assistance to the Provinces, to aid them in:

- (a) developing education in the minority language (English or French);
- (b) developing education in English or French, as the case may be, as a second language.

**161.** For the period 1970 to 1974, Federal aid amounted to \$70 million a year. A further programme is in operation, 1974-1979, and offers approximately \$100 million a year in aid.

**162.** In conformity with Canadian practice Federal programmes for support of bilingualism are executed by the Provinces. The bilingual policies are therefore applied in many diverse ways, using different structures (14).

**163.** In the question of aid to bilingual education there is exemplified the whole realm of murky and tortuous relationships between the Federal government as supplier of funds and the Provinces, who on constitutional grounds often wish to avoid even the appearance of co-operation.

**164.** Whether the educational policy goal of aid to bilingualism can be achieved adequately, given such difficult relationships, is an open question (15).

**165.** Realisation of bilingualism in the schools has made varying progress. The Examiners were able to see some outstanding immersion language programmes in kindergarten, elementary and secondary schools. However, they were informed of the quite insufficient quantity of course offerings, with inadequately prepared teachers. Again and again, the complaint was made that the resources provided for language programmes by the Federal government were not being used for that purpose. From the official standpoint, it was often stated, for example, in Québec that the Ministries of Education in that case would spend more on language instruction than the Federal government was providing. Federal authorities complained that they had too little control in the preparation and execution of the programmes.

**166.** The non-Québécois francophones whom the Examiners met have everywhere noted that great progress has been made in bilingual education during the past five or six years, while at the same time insisting that there are still some serious problems. The most notable were seen as being:

- Lack of administrative and pedagogical structures at the Provincial and the local level, which could furnish necessary help to the schools and could improve the quality of instruction and professional knowledge, development and attainment of our culturally rich.
- Certain local problems, in those Provinces where more bilinguals are to be seen than elsewhere. Some times, the latter are not disposed to give the structure of schools and/or of courses that would be the most rational one for French.
- Adoption, quite frequently, of methods of education for the francophones that are weak as their knowledge of their own language and is not necessarily supported by their knowledge of English.
- Apprenticeship and career development are nowadays no longer the mainstay of the schools, but are assisted by radio, television, cinema, and other cultural activities. The maintenance of bilingualism in an area of multilingualism is a serious problem was expressed by some of our witnesses. The future proposals that solutions will have to be based on institutions other than the school, though not excluding the school.

**167.** It cannot be doubted that local tensions are still one of the basic political problems of the Canadian Federation and that, although great progress has been made, the issue has still politically the most important role (though and public implications) (16). The basic difficulty comes from the fact that, although French is constitutionally with English one of the two founding languages, its position is not symmetrical to English, because French (in the English in Canada and North America in general) is certainly not equivalent to learning English for the French. For this reason, explicitly or implicitly, the French-speaking minority in Canada as a whole demands more protection against the risks of anglicisation than simple, formal, mutual "reciprocal" equality would provide.

14. It has been pointed out by the Examiners that the Province of British Columbia has taken no special measures to promote bilingualism.

15. In 1971-72, in the predominantly anglophone areas of Canada the following percentages of the enrolled pupils were learning French:  
in the elementary schools: 1971 20.6 per cent  
1972 14.6  
in the secondary schools: 1971 51.2  
1972 45.7

16. Thus, in the elementary schools, there was a marked decline in the percentage of anglophone children learning French.

17. See Appendix D to the Report of the Examiners.

12. The information was given on 4th December 1974 in an answer to the Federal Parliament in Question No. 176 to 22. It is noted, who asked for the number of natives in segregated and integrated schools. In 1971 24,536 pupils attended segregated native schools at the high school level. The number was 962 in the same year 27,347 in integrated schools.

13. The Official Languages Act came into force in September 1969. It provides that the English and French languages are the official languages of Canada and that they possess and enjoy equal status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all the institutions of the Parliament and

168. At the same time, the English-speaking minority in Québec Province demands more protection against what it views as an over-active French-language policy of the Provincial authorities, threatening to extinguish deep-rooted anglo-elements in Québec culture and society. Francophones claim, not without justification, that the French-speaking component of the Canadian Confederation is essential for the creation and maintenance of a distinct national identity, which would otherwise have tended to dissolve in the larger context of English-speaking North America if it were not for a stubborn adherence to their language and culture by the French-Canadians.

169. For this reason alone, positive measures for developing French culture in Canada with Federal financial assistance may be the true road to a sense of Canadian nationhood, that incorporates both linguistic cultures, paradoxical though that may seem. Spending large sums of money to improve the teaching of each other's languages as a second language may have to be subordinated to giving help on a grand enough scale to maintain the French language as a living language in all the regions within each Province where the French-speaking community is strong enough.

170. The Examiners would favour the creation of a national council for French cultural development, created with Federal money. The rationale for such a council would be the need to develop the cultural content of a new Canadian national identity, based on the co-existence of two interacting cultures.

171. In addition, it would be most helpful if substantial Federal resources were made available, specifically to promote the development of one or two of the francophone universities to the point where they would be fully competitive with the best anglophone universities in North America.

#### Artistic talent

172. The principle of the best-possible advancement of all children must be applied not only to handicapped and disadvantaged children, but also to those with artistic talents.

173. In this case, we are dealing not with a task which has special social urgency, but with one having great cultural and socio-political significance. This is more pressing for a young nation, like Canada, that is just beginning to develop its own identity. The content of such an identity is surely not only defined by technical and economic achievements and the fact of a national political entity. It is also composed of common cultural and artistic achievements and ties, which contribute to the continuing and firm sense of national identity. Where else but in the schools can the requirements for this be created?

174. In an egalitarian society (which is a formal goal towards which Canada seeks to aspire), there is a tendency to regard a provision that might have as its consequence the nurturing of special gifts among a few as in some way undesirable. A policy of "benign neglect" may however run the risk of producing some undesirable consequences.

175. Complaints concerning the lack or inadequacy of art and music education, and about the scarcity of qualified teachers and of appropriate programmes, were made forcefully to the Examiners. Art and music education is often seen as an expendable "frill" in the schools. Out-of-school programmes for the development of artistic talents are not broadly in evidence either, though there were some notable programmes cited.

176. If, in general, among the educated groups in Canada, there is heard a constant complaint concerning the predominant influence of the United States and Europe in cultural and artistic affairs, this is surely one consequence of the neglect within Canada of the nurture of artistic talents in schools and in educational efforts generally. Certainly, talented creativity cannot be made out of thin air, and artistic interests and demands cannot be forced into existence. But a patient and steady development effort would surely produce a rich harvest in the foreseeable future, and make a positive contribution to the formulation of a Canadian national identity.

177. The Examiners must also state their conclusion that there is a similar neglect in the area of physical education. Not only is there a lack of teachers and of a broadly based programme throughout the entire school curriculum.

178. Physical education has too often been viewed simply in terms of the development of team sports, or of "physical jerks". Its contribution to the aesthetic and rhythmic elements in young people's lives has been broadly neglected and needs serious attention and development.

#### Opportunities for women

179. The principle of equality of educational opportunity is valid for both sexes. There are slightly more females than males enrolled in the senior high schools, but in the tertiary sector, the proportion of females falls. The proportion of females in college enrolment is 45.8 per cent; in the universities it is 38.9 per cent. Only 24.7 per cent of graduate students were female in 1971-72. Only 12.8 per cent of full-time university teachers are women (1972); 3.4 per cent of the full professors, 13.8 per cent of the associate professors, and 30 per cent of the assistant professors. Moreover, many of these are teaching in the so-called "women's subjects" (home economics, nursing, and languages), so that the under-representation of women in the teaching staffs of the tertiary sector is much worse in many subject areas than the figures cited above convey. The share of women in leading positions in administration and policy-making in universities and colleges is as low as it is elsewhere.

180. In addition, although there are approximately three women for every two men serving as teachers in the elementary and secondary schools, there appear to be few women holding positions of administration and policy-making in the school system.

181. It is possible to conclude that access to all educational institutions is certainly open to females, but that there are few measures taken to open access to the higher (let alone the highest) positions in teaching and administration. The Examiners were assured that efforts are being made to remedy this. It is to be hoped that the women themselves will take thought and action to support these efforts.

## IV. DEMOCRATISATION AND PARTICIPATION

181. Alongside the principle of the realisation of equality of educational opportunity to general goals stands the principle of democratisation process.

182. Democratisation is an exceedingly ill-defined concept, embracing notions of representation of interest groups, participation in planning and decision making, openness of deliberations, and co-operation among groups in programme execution.

183. We shall be concentrating here on democratisation, participation, and the like, as they are demanded and required in school governance. We shall, therefore, not be considering the partial autonomy of the community colleges and the very far-reaching autonomy of the universities; nor the internal democratic forms of Canadian tertiary institutions, and participation in their governance by the several groups, including students.

184. Conventionally in Canada, it has been assumed that demands for democratic participation in education would be, and are, met by the deep-rooted tradition of decentralization of school control and administration. Yet, demands for democratisation and participation are manifestly in the air in Canada, apparently unsatisfied by the conventional approach via decentralisation.

185. However, the goal of democratisation does not appear in Canada to be associated with a precise conception of particular social relations, but is more often a matter of concerns and intentions that are expressed in fairly general terms. Hence there is a certain amount of scepticism expressed on this subject in Canada, as elsewhere.

186. The starting point for a reconsideration of the forms and processes of school governance should be recognition of the extent to which the school of 1975 is no longer the school of 1950. It is no longer an institution generated by a fairly restricted community, receiving from it a clear mandate, and organising its education around a limited number of generally accepted fundamental values. Today, the schools are situated at the intersection between the society of today and the society of tomorrow - something which does not yet exist and which no-one can clearly define.

187. In a very short period of time, the school has taken on new responsibilities and its role at the very centre of society has been considerably modified. In vain, the school searches for a particular specified set of knowledge, attitudes, and values that it should impart. Today, it has to strive to teach young people how to learn; it must prepare them for autonomy, liberty, flexibility, creativity, difference and divergence - that is, for nothing that is already in place in society. Its terms of reference can no longer be society as it is at present, and even less can they be simply given

by the local community in which the school is situated.

#### Instruments for school governance

188. The increased involvement of Provincial authorities in educational development all over Canada in recent decades has quite logically led to the development of a number of legal, financial and informational instruments for school governance. These are considered in turn below. Although generally speaking, legal instruments may be somewhat less used by the Canadian Provinces than by highly centralised governments in other countries, there is still a fairly wide range available. Ontario and some of the western Provinces may have come to a point at which a certain substitution of other policy instruments for the legal ones is seriously considered. In Québec and the East, such considerations, are hardly more than verbal as yet.

189. The organs of local school administration are the school boards. The Provincial authorities delineate school board areas, and their number has been drastically reduced in recent years, by Provincial action, for example: in Ontario from about 4000 to 200; in New Brunswick from 422 to 33, in Prince Edward Island from 217 to 5. School boards today are not coterminous with local political divisions, and their jurisdictions often extend over so extensive an area that their relationship to the school and to the political community becomes somewhat nebulous. The school boards are controlled by elected, or appointed in many cases, both elected and appointed, and, often, voluntary trustees. However, especially in Ontario, voting right in school board elections are subject to limitations and weightings according to wealth, as measured by local taxes paid. The administrative head of the school board is the Superintendent of Schools, appointed by the trustees under conditions of greater or lesser influence of the Ministry of Education.

190. Each Province has different regulations for such matters as the number of trustees, their duties and rights. There are also many variations in the patterns of relationships between school boards on the one side and schools, parents and teachers, on the other. Judgements about their range of activity and their possibilities for action, are equally diverse: many trustees feel isolated both from above and from below, others complain about their reduced powers.

191. Provincial governments are usually heavily involved in curriculum development. They not only provide curriculum guidelines, but also exercise rights of approval over new courses, textbooks and other material. The key role of Provincial administration in deciding the terms of teacher certification is an essential instrument for control, and strongly influences the content of teacher training. Increasingly the Provinces are taking over the function of negotiating salaries and working conditions for teachers, and other staff, and setting upper limits to staffing ratios.

192. Notwithstanding this plethora of Provincial legal instruments, freely used by the "central" authorities, the official policy of all the Provincial governments, no matter what their party composition, insists on the value of decentralisation and the local autonomy of local school boards.

193. In addition, financial instruments are being used increasingly to control decisions that formally speaking, rest at local levels. To some extent, such instruments may gradually replace more rigid legal regulations. Typical examples of such financial instruments in elementary and secondary education are

- The formulas used for calculating Provincial contributions to school boards, and to some extent even to individual schools, are based on intricate weightings of cost components and various types of courses, in a way that inevitably serves to direct local choices.
- New courses and programmes are not automatically financed even if they are kept within the framework of formula-based funds.
- In addition to the formula financing, which is intended to secure a minimum standard, "extraordinary" grants for a variety of purposes are given. At least in some Provinces the relative share of such extraordinary grants is increasing and they constitute a direct method of regulating local activities. The need for local school boards to negotiate about such grants is in itself a mechanism helping to create school board conformity to Provincial authorities.
- Capital grants are mostly fully controlled provincially so that the extent and direction of expansion within the system, including

institutional location and size is fairly well controlled.

- Provincial subsidies for school buses are usually provided separately, and in such forms as to guarantee an exceptionally low local burden. The formulas also generally do not compensate school boards for the high cost levels associated with small schools in rural areas. Both factors encourage the establishment of large schools (it is worth noting, in passing, that the formulas do typically take into account the higher salaries paid by wealthy school boards. Hence, the wealthy districts may expect to draw more per child from the Provincial treasury than poorer districts.)

194. The array of grants from Provincial (and Federal) authorities has produced a situation where, in two Provinces (New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island), all public elementary and secondary school expenditures, are borne by the Provincial or Federal authorities, and in Newfoundland the local share is less than 1 per cent of the total. Only in British Columbia is the Provincial share less than one-half of the total, and even there it exceeds the local share. On average in Canada, the Provincial authorities pay roughly two dollars for every one dollar spent on schools by the local authorities (see Table 9). Nevertheless, the value of decentralisation continues to be insisted upon, perhaps in recognition of the fact that the degree of centralisation or decentralisation of the provision of financial resources may bear little relationship to the degree of centralised or decentralised decision-making.

195. *Informational policy instruments* also appear to be increasingly used by provincial governments. Some of the most common are:

- The central production of curriculum materials reaches substantial levels in many Provinces, which partly explains the large central staff found in some of them.
- "Supervisory" functions at central and regional level employ a large number of people, many of whom act as "expert consultants" with a de facto combination of advisory and controlling functions.
- Forms of evaluation of local programmes, schools and school boards are being developed, as an "objective" specialist activity.
- Extensive guidelines for all sorts of school functions, including "models" for school organisation are disseminated.

196. It follows from all the above that Provincial governments have at their disposal a wide variety of policy instruments, capable of shaping policies not only at the school board level, but even within the individual school and classroom. It is also evident that Provincial administration does not hesitate to use such instruments when the need is felt. Local weaknesses are therefore rarely to be attributed to observance of some general principle of Provincial respect for local autonomy, but either to a lack of concern for such weaknesses or, in some cases, to political weakness preventing the use of available instruments to achieve unpopular ends.

#### School boards and participation

197. The predominance of power in policy-making (and in many cases in administration) lies with the Ministry of Education - putting aside all protestations by Ministry officials that this is not so. The influence of Parliament is limited, as far as one can ascertain, to quite formal matters of legislating and passing budgets, and there is no expectation that they will be the source of any strong political influence or administrative decision.

198. This obvious discrepancy between Ministry lip-service to decentralisation and a reality that is moving continuously in the direction of less decentralisation, lends the entire discussion about local participation a somewhat insincere tone and, perhaps more importantly, pushes it in the wrong direction. The question is not whether more or less decentralisation means more or less democratisation, but: *how can it be arranged that open decision-making and execution of affairs in the educational realm be brought about in a democratic manner?*

199. As presently constituted, school boards deal largely with fringe elements of the school operation, such as fund raising, details of school construction, meals for pupils and additional optional programmes. The boards appear little involved in the more basic features of school organisation and the main components of curricula. The main function of "autonomy" may indeed be to provide a means whereby wealthy school districts can equip their schools better than poor ones.

Table 9  
EXPENDITURES ON ELEMENTARY AND  
SECONDARY EDUCATION BY SOURCE OF  
FUNDS FOR PROVINCES AND CANADA, 1973

	Total Government Sources (\$'000)	Federal %	Provincial Territorial %	Municipal %
Newfoundland	105,913	3.5	95.4	0.9
Prince Edward Island	22,747	4.9	95.1	--
Nova Scotia	175,106	4.2	58.9	36.8
New Brunswick	185,535	3.3	96.7	--
Quebec	1,753,853	1.1	62.0	36.9
Ontario	2,312,472	2.6	70.3	27.1
Manitoba	263,900	8.9	57.9	33.2
Saskatchewan	227,268	7.0	54.9	38.0
Alberta	464,625	3.5	60.0	36.5
British Columbia	541,558	3.5	48.9	47.6
Yukon	9,018	8.3	91.7	--
Northwest Territories	33,683	--	97.6	2.4
Canada(1)	7,193,348	3.2	63.9	32.9

(1) Canada includes overseas and undistributable expenditures (= \$20 million in 1973)

Source: *Review of Educational Policies in Canada, Foreword and Introduction, Table 10*

200. Probably the traditional small school boards had far better contacts with the local community, and also more influence on the relatively small schools themselves. The consolidation of school board areas is bound to create a considerable distance between elected representatives and their constituencies. This may partly explain the high frequency of election by acclamation, and the low participation rate in school board elections. Added to this, however, is the general absence of election "platforms", specifying the candidates' particular academic and pedagogical proposals. Voters in school board elections very rarely have a sense that they are choosing among alternative policies for their schools. The fairly heavy work burden on active school board members, especially in large school boards, is another hindrance to broad participation.

201. In total, the school board institution appears to function as a guarantee, of control by established local interests. Increased autonomy for local school boards (which, incidentally, does not necessarily depend upon a larger share of the local property tax in school financing, or such forms of financing at all) may create some more variation within the school system, though largely in terms of inequality of resources that are devoted to school provision. Moreover, it is rather doubtful whether more power for the school boards would in any real sense mean more community involvement.

202. An alternative, tentatively tried in some Provinces, would be to establish direct relationships between the individual school and the parents involved. This may, in fact, lead to more community involvement, though probably the social biases built into the school board institution could well prevail in such new parental bodies.

203. Essential to the question of community involvement is the lack of formal lines between local school administration and local administration concerned with non-school affairs. The ensuing lack of coordination is quite evident both in terms of provision for children needing help from a variety of local services, and in the isolation of the school itself and its facilities. Unless the segregated position of the school system in general is broken, it is difficult to see how any extensive form of genuine community involvement can develop.

#### Professional participation

204. If less emphasis is put on community involvement, and more simply on a certain amount of decentralisation in order to avoid some of the most rigid features of central bureaucracy, the professional groups in and around the schools would be natural candidates for more autonomy. If school innovation is a major objective, this appears to be the most promising road to take. Whether such a road would also lead to more commitment to social concern, is a more open question. In some other Provinces this may, however, actually be the case at present.

205. More "professional" autonomy puts in the forefront the rather obscure term "professionalisation". Appendix B, on "Industrialisation of

Education", outlines certain features of one version of a professionalisation process, not atypical of the Canadian scene. Such features point towards a rather hierarchical bureaucratic structure within the profession, and certainly not one which would ensure broad participation in decision-making even among the people professionally involved in school affairs. If this form of "Professionalism" is going to prevail, it is highly unlikely to produce innovative ideas on its own, though it may be reasonably effective in implementing innovations dictated from above. "Professionalisation" may certainly take other forms, and some of the Provincial teacher organisations may be aware of this, though the evidence for this is not absolutely clear. At present, the chances of achieving significant levels of local initiative through increased autonomy for the school community in the more narrow sense, appear slim. They are not helped by the rather heavy workload imposed upon ordinary teachers. The overwhelming likelihood is that "professional autonomy" will lead to a predominance of "expert" control external to the individual school.

206. It goes without saying that under the present circumstances, and particularly with the present tendencies in school organisation, a genuine student participation in decision making is very restricted, if not practically impossible.

#### Prospects ahead

207. Taken together, all this presents a rather gloomy picture of the potential for progress via a genuine decentralisation within the Canadian school system, either in the direction of more community involvement or of more institutional autonomy. Moreover, the recent tendencies towards more centralised decision making obviously lead to a feeling of increasing distance, apathy and disenchantment towards schools among most people.

208. There is hardly any way out of this dilemma unless the traditional conception of the school system as an internally governed, "professional" exercise mainly dealt with at a rather high level of confidentiality, and kept well out of "politics" is replaced by a general acceptance of education as an essential social phenomenon, relevant to everyone, and reflecting all the divergencies of views represented in a normal political spectrum, currently even acquiring some quite novel dimensions.

209. There are numerous warning signals that all is not well in the world of school governance. The warnings are reflected in virtually universal complaints about lack of information, numerous protestations that the decisions of the Ministry are never heard about at the grassroots (parents and teachers' voice) (this complaint), and fulmination against apparently arbitrary decisions made by the Ministry, over everyone's head. Parents complain that the school boards are remote and take no notice of them. School boards feel that, paradoxically, "nobody is listening out there", at the same time that they also feel they cannot make an important move or decision without the world caving in on top of them.

210. More decentralisation must not be taken as a synonym for more democratisation, especially if local administrations do not pay sufficient attention to the rules of the democratic process (which seems to happen). More centralisation does not have to mean less democracy, if the central authorities involve all participants and parties affected by decisions in a timely manner, and then delegate to them the execution of the decision.

211. A Ministry can, for example, easily agree unilaterally to more decentralisation, but by reserving carefully the powers that will inevitably remain in its hand, can make its decisions in an autocratic manner as before! And quite independent school boards can behave in exactly similar fashion toward their schools, teachers, parents and pupils: decentralisation does not automatically guarantee democratisation.

212. Certainly, these failings are not peculiar to Canada, but what is needed is observance of the following principles, that might lead to genuine co-operation:

1. Participation of all parties should be a generally observed procedure in decision-making, in order to eliminate systematically the universal complaints of lack of information, ineffectuality, excessive friction and lack of co-operation.
2. School boards, trustees and all concerned parties must be involved in a timely fashion in all decisions affecting their work. They must be properly and punctually informed about the details of decisions.
3. When decisions are taken, their execution should be as decentralised as possible and should be completed independently. The Ministry can be involved in an advisory capacity.

213. In the Examiners' opinion, a procedure like this would produce a more meaningful and lasting democratisation of school administration in Canada, than will continued debates over more or less decentralisation, which can hardly help matters further in the present circumstances.

214. One may summarise under three basic points the goals of participation:

- To rediscover a certain form of direct democracy, i.e., the exercise by the largest number of citizens possible, powers of administration over public matters;
- To bring citizens into a more direct relationship with decision-making than is possible under a system of electing representatives;
- To improve administrative procedures, by transferring to intermediate and local levels those decisions which must be taken rapidly, and flexibly, to take account of specific local circumstances.

215. In sum, participation should afford citizens possibility of action and initiative in the domain of public life. It should also give to all those participating in a particular public enterprise the possibility of sharing in the definition of its goals and in its administration.

216. This is particularly valid for the pupils, who have the most interest in knowing where the school is taking them, and how. And this becomes even more pertinent, if an aim is to have pupils regard the years they spend in school as an important element in their lives. Surely, it is a strange approach to preparing people to take responsibility, to arrange that they have none during the entire period of their preparation!

217. Participation requires a double series of structures:

- Local administrative structures, as close as possible to the problems that must be decided, and embracing all the interested groups (pupils, teachers, parents; and, outside the school, business interests, trade unions).
- Modes of consultation and participation that allow for discussions, and then confrontations with the results of decisions in a feed-back process.

218. Participation also requires that the levels and location of power and competence for the various tasks be well-defined, the principle being that administrative autonomy be guaranteed in a framework of agreed and well-defined goals.

219. If these approaches are accepted as instruments for the functional democratisation of planning, decision making and executive action, then not only must all participants exhibit a high degree of competence and responsibility, but they must also be ready to work together constructively at those forms of co-operation. To achieve this, the relationship between the "upper" and the "lower" authorities must be reconstructed,

as well as the relationships between all authorities and the various organisations, unions, confederations, and so forth. (The richly cynical sentence in the brief of one influential organisation, commenting on the Background Reports, deserves quoting: "Everywhere where the words Co-operation and Communication stand, honest reporting would demand the words Confrontation and Conflict." Even though this generalisation may have been somewhat exaggerated for effect, the comment fits the general atmosphere. Certainly it is not a climate in which real co-operation can flourish).

#### Educational administrations

220. The importance of educational administration for the functional and innovative efficiency of an educational system can hardly be overestimated. Through a correct understanding of its role it can achieve much more than is generally recognised. However, if administrations let bureaucratic procedures develop unchecked they can do severe damage to a newly developed educational system.

221. The Examiners received indications of tendencies in both directions. In general, they have the impression that educational administration in Canada has still not set in any rigid mould and that many different possibilities for change exist.

222. Educational administration has played a great role in the enormous progress that Canadian education has made in the past 15 years. Although there are present, as almost everywhere else, tendencies towards uncherked bureaucracy and overstaffing, it is one of the strengths of Canadian educational administrations that, in contrast to most well-developed bureaucracies, they not only are able to bear criticism, but they are able to take it into account, also. This became very clear in the countless hearing sessions and conversations during the Examination, in which representatives of organisations and institutions often levelled sharp criticism against the Background Reports, alleged that they were full of "whitewashing", and complained about lack of information, co-operation and co-ordination. There was not a single attempt made on the part of the administrators to suppress such critical expressions, or even to correct them. The Examiners thus had ample opportunity to obtain a full picture of the range of views held on the relevant problems, their dark sides as well as their light sides.

223. The capacity to bear with open dissent is viewed by the Examiners as a sign of strength on the part of the administrations, and of their genuine attitude that toleration of different positions is necessary. It has proved to be extraordinarily useful that the Canadian organisers of the programme for the OECD Examination in no way attempt to eliminate or to minimize these different positions. The Examiners wish to thank them expressly for this.

224. The Examiners do not believe that educational administration in Canada is in general sufficiently conscious about itself: its roles, duties, modes of operation, social significance, and so forth. Because Ministers of Education in Canada change quite frequently to three year tenure is quite usual and do not usually bring with them into office much administrative experience or deep specialised knowledge of education, and because the educational administrations themselves are relative novices in a number of areas, it is quite important in the next few years that they take thought not only concerning general educational policy problems, but also for their own roles and responsibilities. To this end, a certain critical stance and perhaps also some advice from outside may be helpful.

225. It has appeared to the Examiners that the administrations have not been able to digest even a fraction of all the material that has poured in on them from the commissions, councils, working groups, and so forth the administrations have themselves set up. If one adds to this all the more or less ignored educational policy literature, then it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that something has gone dreadfully wrong. Either one admits that all the consultative activities were simply *pro forma*, an exercise undertaken solely to pacify the public; or they should be made use of, either positively or negatively. If the latter, the need is for more focussed and task orientated reports and for more attention to the evaluation of reports than has generally been the case to date. One might recommend more seriousness on the part of those commissioning reports, and less eagerness for sheer quantity of output, for Canadian educational administration threatens to drown in a sea of unread, unstudied and unevaluated reports.

#### The contribution of interest groups

226. It would certainly be desirable if the authorities also made more use than they appear

to do of the analyses produced by a number of interest groups. These analyses, reviews and reports often go far beyond the limits of the interest groups' immediate constituency.

227. An example is pertinent here. The Examiners received briefs and commentaries from organisations and interest groups (representative teacher, parental, trustee, student, and tertiary sector organisations) reacting to the six governmental Background Reports for the OECD Examination. These comments were a valuable and necessary supplement to the official statements. They provided a very important aid to the Examiners in rendering their judgements, and a necessary antidote to the sometimes blandly positive picture of the situation given in the official statements. The question arises: *Why were these briefs not solicited earlier by the Ministries so that the Background Reports could be given a more rounded approach?*

228. It is impossible within the limits of this Report to describe in detail and to evaluate the work of all the interest groups and organisations that the Examiners have met. For this reason, only a summary of their functions and their overall significance can be given here.

229. The educational policy *interest groups* play a significant role at the local, regional and national levels. They regard themselves, quite rightly, as an important factor in democratic society and contribute to its liveliness and variety.

230. In the process of educational policy decision-making and its actual execution, the *teachers and their organisations* play a special role. The Examiners wish that only a fraction of the tireless fundamental work that they do in matters of school policy (e.g., in further qualifications of teachers, and in all areas of pedagogical, school organisation and curricular affairs) might receive its proper acknowledgement and attention on the part of the authorities and the administrations. Fading this, expressions of frustration and hostile counter-reactions on the part of the teachers' organisations and their members are only too comprehensible.

231. The functional ability of the school depends to a great extent on the person of the *teacher*, his subject-competence, his conditions of work, his understanding of his role, and his attitude to society. In the limits of the Examiners' Report, we can only comment in general on these complex matters.

232. The number of full-time teachers in Canada has increased markedly in a decade and a half, from 174,000 to 261,000. The number of university teaching staff has almost quadrupled and the fraction of teachers with university degrees has doubled. A poorly qualified, underpaid and little respected group has been transformed in a matter of two decades into a respected, well-qualified, excellently organised, and influential profession.

233. If teachers and their organisations nevertheless today give the impression of discontent, it cannot be primarily as a result of dissatisfaction with their material progress. It is estimated that the last few years have witnessed a 49 per cent increase in teachers' salaries, largely as a result of vigorous teachers' union activity.

234. The reasons for the discontent among teachers go deeper, and must be taken seriously. They seem to be principally in the painful discrepancy between teachers' educational hopes and expectations and their disappointment face to face with reality. In addition, teachers often consider that the demands made by society upon the schools are hopelessly exaggerated. Teachers feel that the public now takes the attitude: "If something's not right in society, let the schools and the teachers take care of it"; and, "Whenever the family, church, or society in general have failed, the school will be held responsible!" These are only two quotations from the many conversations which the Examiners had with teachers.

235. However, teachers' organisations should take care that, insofar as they necessarily represent certain definite material self-interests, they need to separate these from their general educational policy approaches and interventions. Many of the contemporary tensions (which happen to damage the respect and the trust afforded to the interest groups) can be traced back to such confusions of purpose and obliteration of proper boundaries. They could be eliminated with great benefit to the notion of co-operative collaboration among the relevant groups.

236. There is also evidence that the interesting concentration of teachers' organisation activity on questions of salary and benefits is undermining their reputation as a professional group interested in furthering specifically educational (as distinct from teachers') interest. This turning toward economic and financial concerns is, of course, understandable in a period when declining school enrolments cause many teachers to fear that their jobs are in jeopardy.



and when rapid inflation of prices hits hard at the real incomes of public service employees.

237. With reference to the open frustration that exists, the Examiners have only the following general observations to make:

- At every appropriate opportunity, teachers should be given the ample encouragement and praise of school authorities, parents and the public that their heavy responsibilities lead them to deserve.
- Teachers' organisations should be drawn into consultative and advisory functions in the decision-making process more than they are at present, in the interests of higher levels of participatory decision-making.
- In the present period of economic recession, they should use traditional trade union sanctions (strikes, go-slow policies, etc.) with extra restraint.
- Instead they should make every effort, internally and vis-a-vis the public to provide an example of democratic procedure and readiness to co-operate.
- They should continue with undiminished efforts the improvement of professional qualifications<sup>(17)</sup>, and should not reduce their commitment to educational policy affairs.

238. *Parent and trustee organisations* are similarly performing a valuable service as they pursue the self-education of their members and the propagation of understanding of their functions and work. Their efforts form an indelible part of Canadian democratic life. One might point to the Canadian Association for Children with Learning Disabilities, as an example of success in bringing to fuller public attention the inadequate provisions for helping children with handicaps of a particular form. Or, to the activity of those school trustees (usually housewives and other idealists) who, in spite of all obstacles, manage to discharge faithfully their duty to be "good stewards" of the schools, their needs and their cares. But, there are scores of examples that might be cited.

239. The attitude of the Canadian authorities to the interest groups seems to the Examiners to be strangely ambivalent. On the one hand, interest groups were, if anything, over-represented in the hearings arranged by the Ministries that the Examiners conducted. On the other hand, it was observed that the authorities usually took a rather negative position, whenever the Examiners suggested that it would help if the interest groups had a stronger and more secure role in the process of educational decision-making.

240. This can certainly be understood, if specific bad experiences during struggles over teachers' pay or legislative matters have left their marks. But it is not really understandable when the question is about other matters, especially on fundamental issues, such as more universal participation in decision-making.

241. *Pupils and students* must not be omitted from discussion of participation in educational policy and administration.

242. In all of the Canadian secondary schools, representative school councils are elected, whose engagement and effectiveness depend not only on the interest of the pupils, but also upon the attitudes of the school.

243. Complaints are general about the small interest that most pupils show for internal school affairs and for political questions. The Examiners received much the same impression. In one isolated case, they met two newly elected pupil representatives, who were full of ideas and plans for a broad programme of stimulating their colleagues. All such students should receive as much encouragement as possible, in the interest of active democratic development in the future in Canada.

244. Besides this, as already noted above (238), it seems to the Examiners to be very important that the opinion of the "final consumers", the pupils, be sought and attended to, whenever there are evaluations, consultations, and so forth, in questions of school organisation.

245. The likelihood of engaging most college and university students does not look at present much more hopeful. "Students are more concerned with

their own future, than with society's problems", was the resigned comment that the Examiners heard frequently. No doubt this "turning inward" is to be expected at a time when immediate employment prospects for many of the graduates of the post-secondary institutions look dim. The pressures of competition to succeed personally in study and jobs leave students with less time and interest for taking care of institutional and general social affairs.

246. There is a special complaint made in the university sector by students, relative to the withdrawal under budgetary pressure of some new creative and interdisciplinary courses, and alleged revived tendency towards "secrecy of university administration", and the loss of so many of the "hard-won achievements" of the 1960's.

247. Students have re-established their national organisation, which went out of existence for a number of years, but there are political and social problems remaining.

248. The Examiners regard the treatment of student organisations by the Ministries as too formal (18), too distant, and not sufficiently supportive in terms of money and encouragement. Here, too, the remarks made with reference to encouraging the interest of school children are in order: In a democracy it is not enough that those in authority bethink themselves constantly in the interests of students. They must create the situation where students have the opportunity to think their own thoughts about their own welfare. And for this purpose, student organisations are relevant. They should not simply be tolerated; they must be supported, if they are not to wither away, or indulge themselves in violent reaction to frustration that serves only to fulfill the authorities' worst fears.

249. In a number of Provinces a new link between the people and the school is being developed in the form of *community schools*. These are schools that are open to the local community, or to the city district. Not only are all the school resources, from the gymnasium to the library open to the citizens. Even more important is the opportunity for parents to take part in school activities at any time, as well as the chance for older people to take part in novel programmes of adult education, work with young people and so forth. In addition, the frequent use of schools for adult education activities is a step in the right direction. A well-run community school can bring community and school nearer together than can any theoretical discussions. Such models can be emphatically recommended for imitation and further development.

## V. TERTIARY EDUCATION

250. Some reference has been made already to the tertiary sector, particularly concerning the expansion in size that has taken place, as well as the contribution the sector is making to achieving greater equality of educational opportunity.

251. This chapter presents the Examiners' judgements on a number of further issues in the tertiary sector that have impressed them as being of prime importance:

- provincial policies in higher education;
- inter-university co-operation;
- financing and "rationalisation" of universities;
- development of graduate programmes;
- community college development.

### Provincial policies

252. The Provinces seem to have been successful in their efforts to limit the Federal role in higher education and it appears unlikely that they will yield much on this point in the future. Under the pre-1967 practice, the Federal government made grants, in effect, directly to institutions, by-passing the Provincial authorities. The latter complained that this mode of financing made their Provincial treasures virtual hostages of Federal decisions over which they had no control. Now, Federal funds for higher education teaching go through Provincial treasuries on their way to the universities and colleges (university research still received direct funds from Federal sources).

253. The idea that institutions at the tertiary level should somehow relate more closely than they have to their surrounding communities has taken firm hold. Many community colleges and other non-university institutions have embraced this proposition with vigour, while most universities have been content to leave this function to such institutions, insisting

upon primarily serving a "national" and even global function. Most universities seem to hope for Federal support in their fight to avoid being submerged by commitments to local (or even provincial) concerns, yet it is doubtful whether their aims in fact serve any more of a national purpose than the idea that universities should be more firmly rooted in their immediate social environments.

254. Provincial administrations have secured a firm control over community colleges and other non-university units, and their orientation is effectively constrained towards serving strictly local interests. Moreover, to a considerable extent, the definition of local needs appears to be made centrally by Provincial authorities.

255. As to the universities, Provincial governments have in many cases established rather detailed controls in recent years. Universities have traditionally used control over entry requirements as a means of bolstering institutional autonomy, but the "formula" financing patterns applied by the Provinces have undermined this control.

256. The weightings built into formula financing have considerable influence on institutional decisions; the formula offers considerable inducements for expansion; and tight Provincial control over capital investments regulates fairly well the level and direction of expansion. Increasing control over the establishment of new programmes in individual institutions offers further opportunities for Provincial control, which may be extended through processes of evaluation of ongoing programmes. Although the sharpness of such controls is modified by the existence of such intermediary institutions as Higher Education and Grants Commissions, and the Examiners are of the opinion that some Provincial authorities go too far in their attempts to control institutional decisions, particularly in Alberta and Quebec, Universities may not be too trustworthy in their definitions of what "quality" in education should be but they are probably better at this than one might expect at the Provincial level. The frequent Provincial references to "duplication of programmes" and the "need for rationalisation" are not terribly convincing (at least as concerns undergraduate teaching) unless one accepts the idea that the main purpose is to have a few prestigious institutions in each main field<sup>(19)</sup>. Reasonable controls over the general financial level of each institution and some direction in terms of capital investments should be quite sufficient in terms of securing the genuine interests of Provincial policies. If universities are not permitted to commit their own errors, even to a somewhat greater extent than other institutions, there would really be reasons to doubt their right to exist. To some extent, the same applies to other non-university institutions at this level, in spite of the fact that their strictly academic standards may be low. A loosening of Provincial controls over such institutions is probably desirable, although the idea of a solution that such institutions could offer viable alternatives to traditional university studies still seems to be remote.

### Inter-university co-operation

257. Most Provinces have established higher education Councils or Commissions, to assist the Ministries in the complicated questions of financing and organisational forms. There exist also the universities' own conferencing groups at Provincial and national levels. Some good beginnings in inter-provincial co-operation are evident, for example, in the work of the Maritime Provinces Higher Education Commission. All these efforts point to the need for better co-operation, but do not seem to be able to achieve exactly what is needed<sup>(20)</sup>. The

(19) Graduate training, particularly doctoral programmes, requires concentration of resources in a relatively limited number of institutions to build centres of excellence. But this must not be achieved at the expense of institutions catering for undergraduate students. The Examiners would favour a relatively equitable inter-institutional structure requiring active measures to counteract the tendency towards increased quality differentiation. The presence of well-qualified students at all institutions at the expense of institutions catering for the great mass of students at the under-graduate level is far too high a price for a very dubious gain. Acceptance of this viewpoint would imply doubts about the validity of prevailing notions that the emergence of a few prestige institutions is of national interest.

The reader will have noted that the Examiners conclude that efforts might be well spent in building the quality and prestige of the French language universities to equal their standing in a way the best of the English language institutions in North America.

(20) An informative and insightful discussion of what has been done and what is still needed in building the quality of university planning is to be found in *Planning for the Future: A W.R. Councils' Planning for Planning: Relationships between Universities and Government* (Qualities of Progress, Ottawa: Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, 1974).

(17) The Examiners recognised, however, the importance of intensifying teachers' further education and training (via master's training, upgrading programmes, etc.). The requirement in Quebec that every teacher must spend 22 days a year in further education and training deserves general attention. This cannot be accomplished solely by the private, voluntary efforts of the Teachers' unions, or by reliance on the often piecemeal offerings provided by school administrations. Instead, there must be carefully

(18) The Examiners were not favourably impressed by the fact that a number of contacts that they desired with students were deemed to be not possible on purely formal and neutral grounds.

regional commissions and university associations tend to avoid discussion and decision in contentious areas, and their resolutions are apparently often ignored, when so desired, by individual institutions. It is noteworthy that this year some universities have refused to pay their membership dues to the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, as a signal of their dissatisfaction with AUCC performance. In addition, the Examiners received the impression that such organisations as AUCC are too often ignored by the relevant authorities when decisions concerning universities and colleges are made, and they are not drawn closely enough into partnership relations with governmental authorities.

258. The universities have so far not succeeded in defining unambiguously their joint and common role in society, and making clear and persuasive their case for a particular degree of institutional autonomy and an unchallenged claim on society's resources. Canadian universities and their costs have been exposed to a growing level of criticism. To the degree that these attacks are unjustified they need to be opposed collectively with all necessary firmness and determination. This requires a strengthened co-operation and solidarity among the universities, and at all levels.

259. The most serious aspect of the tendency to tighten access to the universities may be the abandoning of efforts by the universities to reach new, and usually less-privileged, groups. Behind many of the critical comments the Examiners heard, referring to "universities recruiting off the streets", lies discomfort exactly with the efforts of some universities and Provincial administrations to encourage universities to undertake and persist in recruitment from ever wider social milieux.

260. Institutions of higher education need to face together the problems raised by wider recruitment patterns, and the Examiners fully concur with the conclusion of the Economic Council of Canada, in its Annual Report for 1970: "It is urgent that strong and continuing efforts be made to define and clarify the aims and objectives of post-secondary education - both of particular institutions and of the larger systems in which they operate".

#### Financing and "rationalisation"

261. The growth of university enrolments that marked the 1960's has now subsided. Many universities, and especially the more renowned ones have reduced their intake. The financing formulas that encouraged expansion are everywhere under reconsideration. The Federal government bears about 55 per cent of the costs of financing the universities (direct Provincial grants provide about 31 per cent, and about 14 per cent comes from university fees, endowment income and the like). At the present time, discussions are going forward between the Federal government and the Provincial governments concerning amendment of the arrangements for Federal aid that have been in operation since 1967, and which will terminate, unless renewed, in March, 1977. These discussions ought to provide an occasion for improved exchange of information and co-operation between the Federal and Provincial governments.

262. These discussions ought, though, to be more than this. It is to be hoped that the opportunity will be taken to think through the advantages and disadvantages of the present system of providing the Federal funds that eventually go to support university operations in the Provinces. At present, entitlement to funds from Ottawa are calculated as a percentage (50 per cent) of the expenditures in each Province on higher education, though there is a somewhat transparent convention that these Federal subsidies are not transfers for higher education. They are supposed to disappear into each Province's treasury, where they commingle with other funds, and emerge in some way "provincialised" and no longer distinguishable as Federal funds. All this is harmless enough - except that it has the unfortunate effect that, while the Provinces relate to the Federal government *financially*, this form of relationship has not included a careful and systematic co-ordination by the provinces of their higher education plans. This was never in Canada a very strongly developed approach, but in the Examiners' view, it would be unfortunate if present discussions about the extension of the 1967 Federal subsidy arrangements simply confined themselves to bargaining over the exact percentage to be fixed to the cost-sharing formula, and did not grasp the necessity to establish ways of defining and co-ordinating Provincial, Federal, and national interests and policies in higher education.

263. While the financing of the current expenditures of universities should certainly continue to be a largely Federal-Provincial matter, in the financing of research there are great advantages to be had from direct contacts between the universities and the relevant Federal authorities. Other ways of transacting business are too complicated and time-wasting, and in questions of research

financing the granting agencies need to have special technical expertise. The attention now being given by the Federal authorities to strengthening the financial support given to the humanities and the social sciences (until now somewhat neglected) meets with the Examiners' emphatic approval.

264. The demand for greater economy and more "rationalisation" in the operation of the universities is understandable in times of financial stringency. But one has to proceed carefully here. "Efficiency" versus "quality" are not helpful alternatives for universities. The leading principle of the academic university is variety and complexity, and not the isolation of specialised disciplines. During the decade of expansion, growth of research and teaching often took place without much regard for the costs which would ensue, and it may now be necessary (and possible) to eliminate some offerings, through better co-ordination and the avoidance of unnecessary duplication. But this should never result in the failure to introduce important new teaching and research ventures, simply because one does not have the courage to go forward given new restrictions on expenditures. It would be especially unfortunate if financial constraints were used as an excuse for not pushing ahead vigorously with the development of bilingual training programmes and course offerings in the minority language.

#### Graduate programmes

265. Until quite recently, Canada relied on foreign programmes at the graduate level to supply much of the highly trained manpower needed. Canadians went abroad to seek graduate studies, and there was large-scale immigration of graduate-trained personnel for the universities, industry and government. Thus, as late as 1960, enrolments in Canadian universities at the graduate level (master's and doctoral degree student combined) equalled only 6,500 persons full-time and 3,800 part-time. The intervening decade and a half since 1960-61 has seen a very large growth from these low levels. In 1974-75, it is estimated that full-time graduate students numbered 37,350, and part-time nearly 24,000 - a six-fold increase. Modest increases are projected for the immediate future, too. In 1973-74, nearly 2,000 doctoral degrees were granted in Canada, compared with 300 in 1960-61.

266. There is a high level of geographical and institutional concentration in doctoral enrolment; a recent survey showed one-half of all doctoral students in 1972-73 as enrolled in Ontario (though it appears that the sample substantially under-represents enrolment in Québec universities).

267. Given that there are no less than 3,000 different graduate programmes (one-third of them at the doctoral level) listed at over 40 Canadian universities in the 1974-75 academic year, a certain dispersion of effort leading to problems of cost and quality of programmes may be assumed.

268. Qualitative improvement of the teaching staff at Canadian universities has gone ahead steadily. In 1960, only 38 per cent of the full-time faculty had a doctoral degree. That figure now averages about 60 per cent, though there are wide variations according to discipline. For example, in chemistry, 90 per cent; in the other natural sciences, typically over 80 per cent; in the humanities and social sciences, from 50 per cent to 70 per cent; in nursing, law, and architecture, well under 20 per cent. Thus, the prospects for university employment of holders of new doctorates in the natural sciences are quite poor, for these departments are well stocked with relatively young faculties a long way from retirement age. However, many of the humanities and social science areas can still expect to absorb more doctoral graduates as the process of upgrading the qualifications of teaching and research staffs proceeds. However, it is difficult to be at all certain about employment prospects in general for new graduates, and there is need for comprehensive research into the job opportunities for highly qualified academics inside and outside the universities and colleges.

269. It is estimated that in 1972-73 approximately 64 per cent of university teaching staff were Canadian citizens, 15 per cent were citizens of the United States, and 9 per cent were from the United Kingdom. Hence, the much discussed problem of the large numbers of non-Canadian university teachers will presumably solve itself as more young qualified Canadians are trained and become available. Nevertheless, it should be noted that in 1972-73 about 46 per cent of the full-time students enrolled in Ph.D. programmes were not Canadian citizens.

#### Community colleges

270. All forecasts estimate that the notable growth of community colleges (from an enrolment of 53,000 to 239,000 in 15 years) will continue at least

271. If community colleges are sensibly developed, they will represent the most attractive educational policy achievement made in Canada. Already they are taking on the aspect of an oasis, to which old and young who have a particular need may turn at any time. Their strengths lie in:

- Access for the widest group of citizens;
- Adaptability to local and individual demands;
- Capacity to perform "general services" for the community.

272. Further development of the community colleges and the other non-university higher education institutions requires attention to the following points:

- Elimination of the conception of community colleges as waste baskets or holding areas for students unwanted by the universities. This will be a major task in a number of Provinces, where the hierarchical division between universities at the apex and the community colleges at the base is much in evidence.
- The co-operative links between all the community colleges in a Province, and also across Provincial boundaries, should be significantly strengthened. A beginning has been made by the Association of Canadian Community Colleges, but it is not as yet sufficiently financed and staffed.
- There should be regular discussions among the Provincial Ministries concerning future plans and the evaluation of experience. There should be reciprocal recognition of diplomas and certificates of completion. A general improvement of statistical series relative to community colleges is urgently needed.
- The governance of community colleges is often tied closely to local or Provincial education authorities. In order to facilitate the development of the colleges, a greater degree of autonomy is desirable in many instances. Boards of governors need to be created, where necessary, and existing boards should be strengthened. It is particularly important that student and faculty representation be strengthened.
- There is need to strengthen community college offerings in many of the courses that are not directly connected with vocational skills, and attendance at these courses needs encouragement. Rehabilitation of the Canadian (intention to become a bilingual nation requires the contribution of community colleges, in providing programmes that are tied to life experience.
- Co-operative work with neighbouring universities should be intensified. This can be done through improved exchange of information, improved channels of transfer of students in each direction, and better utilisation of costly equipment and facilities. All this needs to go forward on both Provincial and Federal levels.
- The qualifications of teachers in community colleges and their career-long educational up-grading need to be improved.
- As far as not already offered, all community colleges should arrange for part-time, as well as full-time opportunities for vocational training, and further adult education offerings.

## VI. GOVERNMENTS, GOALS, AND POLICY MAKING

273. The final chapter of the Examiners' Report is devoted to the questions of the Federal government's role in education, interprovincial co-operation in educational policy making, and the importance of spelling out goals for educational policy in Canada. These are all questions of the greatest political sensitivity. The Examiners do not wish to avoid them, nor could they, because in the course of the Examination they arose much more frequently than one could have predicted simply from a reading of the six Background Reports that were prepared for the OECD Examination.

274. The following observations, therefore, should not be regarded as trying to interfere in political matters, nor as an exercise in superior wisdom, but as a necessary part of the fulfilment

**The Federal government and education**

275. Officially, there is no Federal presence in the area of educational policy, and the Federal government behaves (at least in public) as if there were none. Not only is there no Federal authority with the word "Education" in its title, but the Federal Parliament eschews all debates that might bear on educational policy. Even reflection on educational policy happens at the Federal level only behind closed doors<sup>21</sup>.

276. In reality, though, the educational policies of the Federal government, and the financial concomitants of that policy, cannot be overlooked. A considerable Federal presence in educational policy making is indeed tolerated by the Provinces and arouses no hostility, as long as nobody calls it educational policy, and as long as there are no overt strings attached to money coming from Ottawa.

277. This "Do-One-Thing-As-If-It-Were-Some-Thing-Else" attitude does not please all Canadians, some of whom describe it as "intolerable" and "almost schizophrenic". But to some extent, behaviour that strikes outsiders as elaborate make-believe may, in fact, be a necessary price, willingly paid to hold together a political confederation of disparate Provinces - and therefore understandable and even functional. Certainly, no change can come from the Federal side. This means that nothing will be changed, unless some far-seeing Provinces make use of an appropriate opportunity to make the first step in the direction of open co-operation, openly acknowledged; or unless the public becomes aggressively dissatisfied with the present reluctance to call a spade a spade, and forces those responsible to make changes.

278. Federal funds, granted for wholly or largely educational purposes, either through the Provinces, or directly to institutions, are made available in large amounts under many programmes (see Table 10).

279. The subsidies of the Federal government, most of which are channelled through the Provinces amounted to almost \$2 billion in 1972-73, comprising about 20 per cent of educational expenditures at all levels of government (see Table 11).

280. Why does the Federal government do this? Are these expenditures really only "Aid for the solution of other political tasks," as the official explanation runs, or is it that the education of a modern nation represents a basic national interest, for which there must inevitably exist a considerable national responsibility?

281. Clearly, some basic elements of national responsibility arise because, in Canada today, as in all modern states:

- education is a right of each citizen, due to each citizen irrespective of his place of residence;
- the standards maintained by schools and universities are of national interest, because a large part of scientific-technical achievement and hence economic and social well-being may depend on them;
- unity of the educational system is a national interest, in order to maintain and guard the freedom of choice (via mobility) of citizens;
- the educational philosophy of an educational system and the principles underlying its operation are matters of national interest, because cultural and national consciousness depend on it.

282. Each of the tasks listed would almost compel some participation by the national government. The last named task is of such great importance for the future of Canada, that it must be emphasized. The search for a "Canadian identity" will not be fruitful if it is not grounded firmly in education. While efforts to develop a curriculum for instruction in Canadian Studies are praise-worthy, it is widely recognised in Canada that such courses and other related activities, such as playing the national anthem at the beginning of the school day, will not suffice. Again, a specifically Canadian identity is not likely to arise simply out of a wish to be different from the United States. It will come permanently only when knowledge, values and attitudes have so taken root that a critical mass of common attitudes has been guaranteed<sup>22</sup>.

283. The fact that there is, and apparently can be, no Federal Department of Education has created a kind of vacuum in educational policy at the higher Federal decision making level. This empty space is invaded by Federal agencies responsible for "neighbouring" policy areas: manpower policy, general economic policy, regional development policy, science research policy, social policy, foreign policy, and so forth. Typically, such agencies tend to view education as an instrument for their particular missions, and not as a field of policy in its own right.

284. Education is always seen as a tool for "something else" and decisions relating to education are mostly made by "someone else". The absence

of an agency primarily concerned with balancing out the variety of interests concerned with educational activities (which is, in fact, a definition of educational policy making) leaves the arena open for conquest by the strongest neighbouring agency, without the checks and balances usually found in public administration.

285. The assignment of a coordinating role for educational activities at the Federal level to the office of the Secretary of State may be viewed as an effort to police Federal administrative competitors in their penetration into the educational no-man's land. Yet there is to date no sign of a coherent Federal policy for education emerging, nor much evidence of success in ironing out inconsistencies and even outright contradictions among various parts of the total Federal effort in education. Interministerial co-ordination, conducted at a middle level of civil servants, probably cannot be expected to offer more. Though the present Secretary of State appears to have a high interest in education matters, it seems highly unlikely that he could exercise an influence that would have any major impact on the educationally relevant programmes of his fellow ministers. Moreover, the current trend of curtailing the budget and manpower allocations for the educational section in the offices of Statistics Canada does not augur well for the development of consistent Federal policy in the educational realm. Above all, there is need for comprehensive, policy oriented and timely statistical data on just what is transpiring in education in Canada. Statistics Canada cannot do that job properly unless it allocates sufficient resources to its education related endeavours.

286. In the Canadian case it is clear enough that the strongest concerns which have justified Federal penetration into the education field, have been those of economic policy. This is quite naturally a major political concern in Canada, as well as in other countries. In addition, however, the Canadian situation is characterised by an extra emphasis on economic concerns at the Federal level, probably because the undisputed mandate of the Federal government in this area forms an essential basis for the assertion of Federal competence in many other areas. The tendency to see in Federal programmes as auxiliaries of economic policy appears to be strong, and more recent concern for aspects of the "quality of life" other than those measured by GNP statistics, does not seem to have had a marked impact on Federal policy thinking. Political philosophies deeply entrenched in an existing bureaucratic are not that easily changed, especially emerging new signals in political circles.

287. More concretely, it is fairly obvious that the massive Federal support to higher education in the late 1960's was mainly motivated by factors of education as an important factor in economic growth. Present doubts about the value of continued support on this scale are not caused by any failure of

<sup>21</sup> Looked at in this way, the absence of a coordinating mechanism for education is not surprising. There is undoubtedly necessity for a national government to be concerned with the education of its citizens, but the underlying and overriding strength of the educational system is local, and often local. Canada is not, without the aid of the provinces, a united educational entity.

<sup>22</sup> The only way to ensure that the education of a modern nation represents a basic national interest, for which there must inevitably exist a considerable national responsibility, is to ensure that the education of a modern nation represents a basic national interest, for which there must inevitably exist a considerable national responsibility.

**Table 10  
STATISTICAL OVERVIEW OF FEDERAL  
EXPENDITURES IN SUPPORT OF EDUCATION  
AND UNIVERSITY RESEARCH  
1972-73**

DEPARTMENT AND OR PROGRAMMS	TOTAL (\$'000)
Fiscal Transfer for Post-Secondary Education	987,030.0
Department of Indian and Northern Affairs	105,235.0
Department of National Defence	62,779.0
Federal Prison Service	116.0
Occupational Training of Adults	310,611.3
Citizenship & Language Instruction Agreements	775.7
Textbook Agreement	120.6
Teaching of Official Languages	62,883.2
Department of Regional Economic Expansion	13,313.0
Research Grants and Fellowships	121,302.0
Contracts	7,501.7
Excise Tax Exemption	23,000.0
Canada Student Loans Plan	34,023.0
Allowances, Bursaries, Scholarships and Fellowships	28,380.3
Income Tax Reduction	81,000.0
Other Programs	98,911.7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,940,328.5</b>

**Table 11  
EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION (INCLUDES  
ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY, TERTIARY AND  
FURTHER EDUCATION) BY SOURCE OF FUNDS  
FOR PROVINCES (1973) AND CANADA (1975)**

	Total (\$'000)	Federal (%)	Provincial (%)	Municipal (%)	Fees & Other (%)
Newfoundland	173,503	14.8	75.4	0.6	9.2
Prince Edward Island	38,421	18.6	75.9		5.4
Nov Scotia	308,124	15.4	75.9	20.9	8.0
New Brunswick	263,135	14.7	82.9		5.4
Quebec	2,720,718	9.6	66.8	17.4	6.2
Ontario	3,676,588	7.0	59.7	23.2	10.4
Manitoba	118,121	12.9	57.9	21.0	8.1
Saskatchewan	310,851	14.5	52.9	25.4	7.2
Alberta	747,511	9.7	61.0	22.7	6.6
British Columbia	831,688	10.4	50.7	31.4	7.8
Yukon	10,248	12.2	81.5		3.2
Northwest Territories	39,257	9.3	88.2	2.4	0.1
Canada (1975)	11,487,794	9.8	61.6	20.6	8.0

<sup>1</sup> Excludes Federal transfer to the Provinces for post-secondary education and the Department of Regional Economic Expansion. Total Federal expenditure on education in 1975, being a total of \$1,940,328,500, includes \$1,148,794,000, or 59.2 per cent, of total expenditure from the Government of Canada and \$791,534,500, or 40.8 per cent, from the Provinces and Territories.

programme, which has certainly produced a major expansion of post-secondary education. Nor is the argument that success now has made the programme too costly very convincing. The slowing down of post-secondary expansion in recent years does not indicate a programme that has run out of control financially. References to inflation in this context are probably quite irrelevant to Federal allocation priorities, and complaints about "lower quality" and lack of "accountability" have the ring of weak excuses. Nothing that has happened in post-secondary education was not more or less foreseen when the present support programme was initiated. It is reasonably clear that present doubts about the continuation of financial support for post-secondary education stem from a loss of faith in education as a direct promoter of immediate economic growth, possibly reinforced by the fairly global disenchantment in established circles about the behaviour of students and intellectuals.

288. The present arrangement whereby the Federal government helps equalise local property tax contributions for primary and secondary education appears primarily to be an encouragement for greater use of this local fiscal source.

289. As far as the Examiners were able to penetrate the complexities of Federal equalisation of Provincial tax resources, the present arrangements seem to go only a small way toward the goal of equalisation and may in some respects (and particularly with respect to higher education provision) actually reinforce rather than attenuate inequality among the Provinces. This is a not unexpected result of Federal cost-sharing programmes, that reward the wealthier Provinces with more dollars, the more they spend on approved purposes, such as higher education. It is important, too, to bear in mind the possibility that Federal money is used simply to replace Provincial funds, and may not produce any total expansion of spending for education at all.

290. The application of the so-called "active manpower policy" through Federal inputs to manpower training seems primarily oriented towards adapting existing manpower resources to whatever needs the economy might have at the moment. There are few signs of change in this orientation. Thus, Ontario still strongly emphasizes more "employer oriented" training. The social elements involved in the principles advocated by the OECD, both in terms of reaching severely underprivileged persons, and as a direct attack on unemployment, do not appear to be the prime motives of Federal efforts in this field. Concern for increasing the GNP takes precedence over socially oriented employment policies.

291. Federal research policies were introduced to the Examiners with a strong reference to the Review of Science Policy in Canada conducted by the OECD in 1969, which saw a Federal role in research policy primarily as a means of promoting economic growth and technological expansion. In practice the procedures actually established by the research councils may have considerably modified such policy concerns, to conform better with traditional university ideas related to the basic sciences. Yet, the overwhelming emphasis is on the natural sciences and technology, and special measures by the Federal government beyond research council operations are clearly technology oriented.<sup>(23)</sup> The policies followed in granting Federal research support clearly enhance quality differentiation among higher education institutions, in an attempt to create a few "centres of excellence" of international standing, inevitably at the expense of the majority of higher education institutions. The Examiners could not determine how far such approaches are opposed and how far they find support in academic circles, and also at the political level. Nevertheless, such policies are clearly supported by Ontario and Nova Scotia, and probably also by Alberta, and there is no doubt about the actual effects of the current Federal research programs in this respect.

292. Even the Federal programme of loans to students seems, at least initially, to have had a strong economic motivation, based on the assumption that it would help to release untapped reserves of talent. As in many other countries, such concerns probably conformed well with more general social objectives.

293. Currently Federal policy faces two main questions regarding continued financial transfers for educational activities:

- Should Federal efforts in this field be more oriented towards goals other than the maintenance of a high rate of growth of the GNP?
- Will the forms of support chosen be constructed in a way more compatible with the official

statements concerning the objectives of education in general?

294. Underlying these two questions may be a third: Should Federal resources presently devoted to education and training be reallocated to other fields of policy, which may now have a higher priority? In the Examiners' view, it would be most undesirable if consideration of these important questions were to go forward at the Federal level alone, without systematic consultation with the Provinces as a whole.

295. At present, discussions, negotiations and agreements between the Federal government and the Provinces in educational matters tend to go forward on a bilateral, or piecemeal, basis. This procedure may answer certain Provincial (and Federal) political needs, but it has unfortunately also made much more difficult the task of making something more systematic out of the highly fractionated structure of education in Canada. The need now is to put in place greatly improved mechanisms for inter-Provincial co-operation, and for Federal-Provincial discussion and co-operation on a multilateral basis.

#### Inter-Provincial co-operation

296. In the framework of the OECD Examination it is not possible to inquire to what extent Section 93 of the British North America Act is in fact an insuperable barrier to change. However, there have been some interesting statements made in this regard, notably by J.A. Curry, a respected constitutional lawyer, who doubts that this is so, and has said so in the following words:

"...So whatever the dilemma about education in the Canadian federation is, it is not a constitutional one. Indeed S.93 is a model of flexibility. Whenever it becomes clear that special educational provision is needed to carry out responsibilities undertaken by Parliament in the exercise of its exclusive powers in S.91, Parliament is entitled to make that provision by whatever means and instrumentalities are required in the circumstances. As so often turns out in this country, obstacles to action that are declared to be formidable constitutional barriers turn out to be merely political. That may not make the problem any easier to deal with but at least one can make a start by removing the "no trespassing" signs and opening up Federal-Provincial consultations."<sup>(24)</sup>

297. Indeed, who can maintain seriously that the fathers of the BNA Act had ruled against sensible inter-Provincial and Federal-Provincial co-operation in the field of educational policy?

298. What can and what should happen, then? In the face of publicly expressed uncertainty concerning future developments, in the face of new problems and ever more rapid changes, can one go on as before? Or is it not a matter of the times calling for a search for new ways of co-operation?

299. The political situation at present absolutely excludes the possibility of a solution via constitutional change. That a single educational authority should be established, under the auspices of the Provinces and the Federal government (as a number of respected organisations are demanding), may be highly desirable, but it is not likely to happen. That the mostly diligent and responsible national interest groups in the educational policy field (for example, The Canadian Education Association), which form at the moment the main all-Canada educational policy forces, could undertake this catalytic task on a permanent basis, is an illusion. Nevertheless, all their projects and efforts leading to more co-operation and a wider perspective should receive undiminished support.

300. In the end, there remains only the path of an insightful, careful, but nevertheless purposeful *approachement*, as it was put to the Examiners in numerous conversations. Mechanisms for co-operation have to be developed. This appears to the Examiners to be a good definition of the next step to be taken.

301. The first phase of this would be a Council of Ministers of Education that was more able to function effectively, and with a staff that must be greatly strengthened in numbers. The Council of Ministers, now eight years old, stands at a critical decision point. Either it will continue to confine its functions to virtually that of a private meeting place for Ministers and their representatives (which is the impression conveyed to the Examiners by many groups and representatives, who did not conceal their disappointment at what they termed the ineffectiveness, secrecy and lack of accessibility with which the CMEC has conducted its business); or the Provinces must decide to develop a Council in which

all important matters are co-ordinated, receive further development, and are then presented to the public and to the Federal government.

302. The minutes of the Examiners' meetings and conversations reveal that without exception all organisations, as well as most spokesmen for educational institutions are demanding more and better trans-Provincial co-operation and goal setting. There was not one voice that regarded such co-operation as an infringement on Provincial sovereignty and independence<sup>(25)</sup>.

303. The second phase should lead to tangible co-operation between the Council and the Federal government in settling specific questions: for example, the improvement of bilingual instruction in schools, the elimination of socio-economic disparities via school-related measures, the integration of vocational and general education, the systematic support of educational research, the restructuring of university and college financial aid, and so forth.

304. Close attention should be paid to the desirability of developing the Council of Ministers of Education into a national forum for the working out of educational policies, so that the Federal government may be involved in a systematic and open manner in discussions of educational policy that transcend Provincial boundaries.

305. In the third phase this co-operative work should be extended to educational policy elements having an all-Canadian viewpoint. The task is to accommodate the different, and often conflicting, aspirations of francophone and anglophone Canada, of the older Eastern regions and the new Western areas, of the taxpayers and the professional groups in education - to mention only the most obvious sources of disagreement about policies. The disagreements cannot simply be glossed over, and no amount of simple goodwill can eliminate them as sources of conflict. But, given that they are faced openly for what they are, the Examiners are confident that Canadian political acumen can deal with them in a constructive and positive way.

#### Goals and educational policy

306. Judging from the Examiners' experience in Ontario and the Western Provinces the lack of educational policies for the future is striking. Some exceptions to this general experience, primarily in Manitoba and British Columbia, are to be noted. The general tone of policy making appears to be adaptations to short-term pressures, doing a little more of what already has been done, and above all pressing for economies and reductions of expenditures. Closely tied between the output of the educational system and assumed manpower needs may be an example of such short-term adaptations, while repeated references to "quality education" seem to be more a reaction to reduced selectivity within the educational system, than a carefully thought through educational policy.

307. It is a fairly general experience that policies firmly controlled by established power groups rarely need to be based on long-term planning orientated towards alternative future scenarios. Planning in such a situation is usually restricted to the programming of policy implementation in order to secure coherence within the system, possibly supplemented by long term projections, typically in the form of linear trend prolongations. "More of the same" is the usual future vision under such circumstances.

308. Planning for alternative futures implying more profound system changes is usually only initiated by groups without an established power position. They may be opposition groups whose access to power has been recent and whose hold on office is uncertain. This would explain the elements of genuine long term thinking found in British Columbia and Manitoba. It may also be a case of permanent minority groups fighting against superior forces to maintain their minority rights, as Quebec Province sees its position in the country as a whole.

309. Such factors offer a more convincing explanation of the apparent general lack of future perspectives in Canadian educational policy than jurisdictional peculiarities, particular features of the Canadian economy (a natural resource based economy, and economic dependent upon the United States), "traditional attitudes", and so forth.

310. The lack of future perspectives is also reflected in the absence of clear, detailed statements of goals for the educational system.

311. The Background Reports for the OECD Review state goals in very general terms. Only Quebec's Report is an exception.

(23) This was clearly an important element in motivating Federal involvement in creating a market for the electronics industry in Canadian education.

(24) J.A. Curry, *Jurisdiction under the Constitution in Education in Canada*.

(25) In the development of this article, the steadily increasing educational statistics (sources published by Statistics Canada) have made a decisive contribution to the support of this theme. The facts about education in Canada are what they are. Also see comments of paragraph 265 above.

312. For example, the Ontario Background Report states (para. 60):

"...there are likely as many statements of goals and objectives as there are educational agencies,"

and, para 68:

"The stated goal of the Ministry of Education is 'the attainment of educational quality and equality for all'. The Ministry fosters a wide range of opportunities so that every individual may experience a worthwhile education and may have access to further educational experience consistent with his needs and those of society."

313. But the reality is not that simple. For, in paras. 70 and those following, the Ministry views itself as having a great deal of initiative (no bad thing, of course), and also of control (which fits somewhat less the picture given of the supposed system: inspection, evaluation and approval of programmes, control over teacher training, evaluation of curriculum materials, and so forth. Then the question arises: How can one control (which means to say: accept/refuse/impose/delay/limit) without having some criteria, some standards? And how can one have some criteria without having goals? Para. 71 affirms rather complacently:

"...since these objectives are essential to any good education system, it is probable their intent is in some way expressed in any statement of school board objectives."

The Background Report for the Western Region (para. 45) states:

"Official statements of provincial educational authorities, while replete with detailed descriptions of aims and objectives of basic education, do not ordinarily emphasize or elaborate the general aims of the educational system as a whole, probably because the very nature of the relationship of education to society does not permit the luxury of a definitive statement which will be valid even in the short run future...In the realm of higher education, traditionally further removed from the scope of public education authorities, official statements of general purposes are even less common and definitive."

314. The Background Report of the Atlantic Provinces is also not explicit concerning goals. After having emphasized that institutions of education confront the difficulty of locating education within many social uncertainties and of reconsidering their traditional role as an instrument of society, the Report falls back upon the following as the general goal of the system:

"...to provide equal educational opportunity for all educable youth and adults to the extent that skills and abilities may be instilled or developed."

The double restriction on equal opportunity is worthy of note.

315. Thus, the educational goals pursued by the Provincial authorities (except Québec) are expressed only in general terms: supporting quality education; assuring equality of access, etc. This approach, which is reaffirmed more or less in all the Reports, contains some problems.

316. First and foremost, it is in contradiction with the facts: the Provincial authorities have played a very important role in determining not only the quantitative development of the system, but also the educational orientation taken since 1960. At the local level, in most cases, the school boards have been reinforced by administrative and pedagogical services which, in effect, exercise the real power either under the control of the Provinces, or in any case in close liaison with them. This creates a somewhat ambiguous situation and may be the source of a certain "bad conscience" on the part of the central authorities and of bad temper among the local authorities and those who are the objects of central administration.

317. Absence of a carefully stated guiding purpose could be accepted in an era when the school was considered to be representative of the social will of the community (whether large or small) out of which the school had originated. But is it any longer justified in an era when it is widely recognised that society is caught up in profound change and uncertainty?

318. Put another way: Do not the responsible central authorities have to take the necessary steps to reconstitute the lost consensus, to help find something which could take its place, that could serve as the general goal of, and thus the criteria for, educational decisions?

319. Failing this, there is the risk of mistaking the means for the end; that is to say, of taking as goals matters which are really nothing but means, of falling into a sort of methodological formalism, where innovations of structure, and new methods of

instruction follow one after the other, because they have been judged only by reference to themselves, and their immediate practical results, without reference to any overall philosophy of education.

320. A general philosophy of sorts does appear to be presented in the Background Reports and in the discussions the Examiners had, though in a rather diffuse fashion. There is a new consensus emerging, for example, around the necessity to lead pupils and students towards autonomy, liberty, creativity and, therefore, on the necessity of educating them with an eye to flexibility and divergence. The question is: What strategy is to be adopted to achieve this goal?

321. Three elements of such a strategy appear to the Examiners to be basic. They are: *Building Knowledge*, *Building Capabilities* and *Building Consensus*.

322. *Building Knowledge*: Research is certainly one of the weakest areas of the Canadian educational system. There is a considerable amount of research but it is either narrowly pedagogical or vaguely philosophical. There is very little research on the basic socio-pedagogic problems that have emerged. The Examiners strongly recommend that research be strengthened in these areas, especially on the opportunities of using education by underprivileged groups, and the limits to that use; on the schools as complex social systems with alternative modes of social control; and on the relationships between schools and communities.

323. *Building Capabilities*: Great attention must be given to teacher training. Some most difficult social problems are emerging in Canada. The need to build the human resources to face them is pressing. This is nowhere more evident than in education. Similarly, institutional capabilities should be recognised as a basic problem and attempts to improve it should be made consciously.

324. *Building Consensus*: Knowledge and capabilities are necessary to create the climate for change but they cannot be effective and will not even be developed beyond a certain point if no consensus among those interested in education develops.

325. To build consensus, broad publicity should be given to the exploration of *alternative* ideas for dealing with newly emerging problems, especially in the areas of the life chances of underprivileged persons, the school as a community institution and the provision of high quality educational services for *all* groups in the population.

326. The aim should be to raise such problems from the level of diffused public feelings of dissatisfaction to that of a definite and active public concern, combined with a consensus about how these problems will be dealt with. The road to broader consensus inevitably runs through a period of more explicit recognition of basic differences, when latent conflicts are brought out into the open. Only through such a process can it be expected that a more broadly based consensus will be reached.

327. It is at once obvious that discussion of such goals and of the means to achieve them are highly political activities. There is a rather fearful, even tortuous avoidance of "politics" in Canadian educational discussions which appears to occur not simply from a feeling of respect or inadequacy vis-à-vis the complexities of the Canadian scene.

328. This is the real crisis of Canadian educational policy - that it cannot maintain its non-political stance. The crisis could remain hidden, as long as it was overshadowed by the impressive quantitative expansion of education. But now, in a period of slower expansion, the lack of generally binding propositions concerning the socio-political goals of education has the effect of producing a damaging uncertainty about the meaning and purpose of the vast Canadian educational enterprise.

329. This uncertainty may be noted in other countries, too by probably a little less openly evident and unchallenged as in Canada. The perceptibly growing public unwillingness to support seemingly endless increases in expenditures for education, especially in the face of new, perhaps even costlier, social tasks, is a warning that should be taken seriously. This unwillingness will continue to increase as long as the public is not given a clear understanding of the social goals of real importance that are to be achieved using this expensive educational enterprise.

330. The further development of Canadian educational policy is therefore clearly approaching a danger zone, in which more is at risk than simply the quantity of finance available. The virtues of an essentially pragmatic educational policy will be tested in the extreme. If those responsible for educational policy are not promptly able to base the development of school and education on a firm

and sensible basis, then the very expansion of education to the point of general political acceptability may be reversed.

331. Some of the national advisory groups, for example, the Canadian Teachers' Federation, are already active in this matter, but such groups cannot be expected to relieve the politicians and the governments from this responsibility (20).

332. Politicians, parties and governments will not be able to avoid much longer taking some political stands, and that means also nationwide and not simply Province-orientated positions. They need to give Canadian answers to Canadian problems. *Without political leadership paid to sponsor, let alone alter all members of the so-called hidden order, the RNA Act, a serious backlash against future educational development in Canada may be unavoidable.*

333. The obvious location for the work that is necessary in this leadership role is the Council of Ministers of Education. The Examiners earnestly hope that the Council will be moved at the immediate future to recognise the problem and act on it.

334. The well-known question in *How To Wash Your Face* ("Cheshire Puss", also begun, "Would you tell me, please, which way I ought to go from here?"). It was answered, as always, by, "That depends a good deal on where you want to get to." And this exchange fits exactly the present Canadian situation. Before the goal has been explicitly decided, no one, and certainly not the Examiners, can advise a *best* way. Canadian educational policy should go. And this goal cannot simply have a pragmatic content. However much up to now, controversy may have been avoided, and energised by concentration largely on quantitative expansion these times are coming to an end. Decisions now have to be taken concerning the destination of the Canadian school system within an ordered view of the future of Canada as a nation.

## APPENDIX A

### AN EDUCATION-EXPENDITURE DEFULATOR (27)

1. There is no suitable common index currently available to handle inflation in education.
2. The deflator used to give all prices a constant 1960-61 dollars was developed from two indices.
3. Since wages constitute two-thirds of the Board of Education operating costs, the Industrial Composite Index of Average Weekly Earnings for Canada was used with a weighting factor of 2/3 (Ontario Statistical Review, 1973-9).
4. Since Boards of Education are able to buy in bulk, the General Wholesale Prices Index was taken to cover all other expenses, with a weighting factor of 1/3 (Ontario Statistical Review, 1973-9).
5. Both indices were taken to base year 1960-61.
6. For each index values of two years were averaged:

	Industrial Composite	Wholesale Prices	Weighted Education Deflator
	per cent	per cent	per cent
1960-61	98.5	99.5	98.8
1965-66	197	171	116.2
1969-70	202	170	111.8
1970-71	169.0	146	153.9
1971-72	185.9	87	169.5
1972-73	204.8	73	185.6
1973-74	221.8	129.5	207.7

7. The Weighted Education Deflator was then adjusted so that 1960-61 became the base year (i.e. 1960-61 = 100 per cent).

1960-61	100.0%
1965-66	117.6
1969-70	116.6
1970-71	155.8
1971-72	169.5
1972-73	187.8
1973-74	210.2

26. Use three-part adjustment. On educational finance, of the C.I.B. is a thoroughly thought-out, comprehensive and impressive example of the method proposed.

27. Prepared by the Planning and Research Branch, Ontario Ministry of Education, Dec. 1974. Mr. D.E. Nelson, at the request of the Examiners.

Statistics Canada might wish to consider the construction of a more precise set of education-cost indicators, tailored not only to the major inputs purchased by educational institutions, but also to each of the major levels of education. This would greatly improve the effort to keep track of changes over time in the level of real resources used, not of the effect of changes in prices.

## APPENDIX B INDUSTRIALISATION OF EDUCATION

1. It is interesting to note how far many Canadian schools have moved towards a traditional industrial concept of the organisation of educational services. More importantly, nearly everywhere the Examiners found a further development in this direction stated as the ideal model to aim for. It may be worthwhile to consider the main principles of such organisational forms.

### The General Principles

- The starting point within the schools is a traditional hierarchical organisation, often with some paternalistic features. Key concepts in the development towards industrial organisation is division of labour and responsibilities, combined with increasing specialisation. The "ideal" school should have specialist services in such fields as various forms of diagnosis of children, test preparation and interpretation, psychological guidance and counselling, development of curriculum and curriculum materials, documentation and library services, use of audio-visual materials, health services, various forms of learning difficulties and special handicaps, social and recreational activities, etc. The list could easily be made longer. In principle, such functions are assumed to be a service to the teacher in performing his/her job. In practice, however, the authority relationship between the specialist and the ordinary teacher is such that the specialists take over most relevant decisions concerning both the children and the functions of the ordinary teacher. There is little left for a teacher to do except to be with the children and to deliver pre-programmed teacher behaviours.
- In order to restore authority balance, the teachers tend to develop roles as specialists in their own right. The traditional subject teachers can lean on the recognised authority of the established scientific disciplines. At teaching levels where such forms of specialisation are too obviously irrelevant for teaching, one gets the peculiar form of specialisation exemplified by such titles, as, "specialist in fifth grade teaching". We see repeated the traditional features of industrial organisation, where every worker becomes a specialist on a specific aspect of the production process, although to call him a "specialist" is rather meaningless, because it is nearly impossible to see his specialised function in the context of the process as a whole.
- Ideally speaking the various specialists within such a system should work together and find common solutions to problems concerning the process as a whole. In practice, this rarely happens, partly because none of the specialists have the ability to judge their own functions as it relates to the total process, but primarily because each group of specialists demands control over its particular function, without interference from "non-specialists". The so-called "services" or "staff functions" have developed into traditional decision making units with exclusive authority typical of bureaucratic hierarchies. We get a caricature of a "professionalized" system, in which each little specialist group insists upon "professional" authority, as experts on their particular function.
- The "general practitioner" within such a system regularly ends up at the bottom of the prestige hierarchy. Developments in the medical profession illustrate this perfectly. Here the general practitioner is at the point of being completely replaced by specialists on tiny elements of the human body or soul. The generalist function is partly taken care of by the nurses, but even here the specialisation tendency leaves little left for the generalist except carrying trays and smiling at the patients. It has come to a point uncomfortably close to the role of airline cabin personnel, who also carry trays, smile at the passengers and make pre-programmed announcements. They provide a certain human touch, but are safely insulated from any possibility of influencing the system or making any kind of significant decision. As teachers escape from the generalist function within schools, volunteers and mothers may move in to perform a similar low-paid function without any authority.
- It is a logical consequence of such organisations

children will always be taken with respect to a particular aspect of that child. The only persons who may have a chance of knowing the whole child are at the bottom of the decision-making ladder, without any authority to make such decisions. The child is handled as a piece of raw material, the properties of which have to be identified by the proper experts, and the proper treatment to be measured out according to similar expert prescriptions. The authority position of each expert group is in fact based on the assumption that the experts, and only the experts, know what is "right" for each child.

### Consequences of the Industrialised School Organisation

- One set of consequences relates to the social milieu of a school. The conviction that the largest possible number of specialist "services" is necessary, and that children have to be grouped in accordance with specific treatment criteria calls for very large school units. If for various reasons such units cannot be achieved, most essential expert decisions are localised at a higher organisational level, for example, within the school district administration. The principle of "economy of scale" is applied, without any questioning of the validity of the underlying assumption about organisational "technology". The consequences for relationships between schools and their environment will not be discussed here, although placing schools and specialist services long distances from local communities and individual families, involving extensive bussing and the social alienation of pupils, may have harmful physical and mental consequences. In this context we shall concentrate mainly on consequences internal to the school.
- Extensive use of subject specialisation and other specialist groups means that children meet a wide variety of adults each day, all of them more or less strangers. In addition, the introduction of grade specialists means a change of teacher every year, even at the lowest grades. Correspondingly, teachers and specialists see a large number of students every day, without a chance to get in more general contact with more than very few of them. At the same time, peer groups among the pupils are difficult to establish, and they are systematically broken up. Especially the weaker children are deprived of an essential form of support, while the brightest have little chance to communicate regularly with a normal distribution of children at their age. Nearly inevitably, the milieu will be extremely competitive, even when the most obvious symbols of success or failure are absent. It is not accidental that when the pupils are offered physical education - of course by "specialists" - it frequently takes the form of talent hunting for potential future professional stars. If we add to this the practical and human complexities of enormous school factories as seen through the eyes of a child, it provides a picture of a rather depressing social milieu, even if it may be somewhat easier to take for pupils approaching the end of the secondary school.
- The implication in terms of social selection among children is probably substantial. It is conceivable that the differentiated treatment of individual children on the basis of detailed diagnosis as from the first grade, could help children who lag behind to catch up with the others. We have seen few signs, however, that such efforts are really being made. Most schools are deemed to be functioning well if children who are predicted to be slow learners, and who are given "appropriate materials", prove that the diagnosis is correct by lagging increasingly behind others. The kind of groupings applied and the differentiated materials used give little reason to believe anything else. In fact, within a system of this kind, the overwhelming probability is that the best resources will be devoted to the best performing children, unless very specific measures are taken to prevent it. The variety of specialists involved, and the lack of continuous follow-up of the individual child by a responsible teacher, points in the same direction.
- Similar effects stem from the subject specialisation, including the maintenance of vocational programmes as separate and different "subjects". Organisational features as described above leads to the very early establishment of subject-based "departments", among which the pupils commute already from the age of twelve. In fact, the need for special "early childhood" curricula up to grade III in order to integrate subject teaching, indicates that subject specialisation among teachers exists even before that stage. The implications of such specialisation for socially based selection follows from the differentiated value attached to credits in different programmes, especially in relation to further progress in the school system. It seems quite natural that many children at the age of 14 already have come to the point where the school finds vocational programmes as the only appropriate for them, and strongly directive counselling services, which

pupils and their parents. If not, the schools certainly have means of ensuring that it can be proved to have been right. Lay challenges to expertise is generally viewed as a serious matter.

11. This general situation throws considerable doubt about the validity of the ideology of "maximum choice" for pupils. In terms of level of progression, this appears to be a purely "professional" choice made by the school, which again largely determines the availability of relevant choices at later stages in schooling. Performance in fourth or fifth grade will form the basis for location in secondary school, which again determines access to the kind of credits that might open doors later on. Especially in secondary schools, there is a variety of choices based on personal hobby interests, but adapted to the child's assumed level of competence in a way that makes sure that the choice will not influence his future fate in school. Even for the brightest children, choices may be limited simply by the fact that considerations for their educational future more or less determines the more significant choices. The notion of the Canadian secondary school as analogous to a supermarket may have to be considerably modified in the light of the extremely prescriptive "consumer counselling" that prevails.

12. A particular aspect, fully in line with the general philosophy underlying industrialisation of education, is the atomisation of potential collectives within the schools. If organised within the schools, specialist functions are mainly brought together in a separate department, and other varieties of specialisation hamper the development of broader collectives among the teachers. Perhaps more importantly, any tendency towards the forming of collectives among the students is effectively prevented, which again means that effective student participation in decisions about school affairs is practically impossible. Except in minor detail, "participation" becomes a matter of individual choice, and is permitted only in a strictly regulated context.

13. It is interesting to note that in industry, the organisational forms described here as traditional industrial organisation are beginning to go. This is especially true for industrial activities based on the expectation of any form of creative activity, but it is also increasingly so in more traditional forms of industrial production. There is a definite move away from extreme specialisation, towards far more generalist functions, often defined in terms of functions without individual job specifications. Many organised specialist functions are brought back to the "generalist" who is increasingly trained for a variety of functions. Control over a meaningful part of the production process is seen as important for any work group, and personal development in the job, mostly incompatible with specialised functions, is emphasized. Hierarchical structures are modified with the disappearance of certain levels of authority. Remaining "staff functions" are made to offer genuine service to operational units, without prescriptive decision making functions. It is a basic but fairly typical paradox that service industries have adopted traditional features of manufacturing industries at a time when manufacturing industry is on its way away from them.

## APPENDIX C VOCATIONAL-TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

- In two widely separated visits to vocational technical schools in Winnipeg and Dartmouth, Nova Scotia (200 students) ages range from just after compulsory school age to young adults in their twenties), a very interesting parallel was revealed. In both cases the school director applied the same rationale in the operation of these schools: the schools very self-consciously regard themselves as the opportunity - and the only opportunity - for these people to attain success in their schooling life which had, for the most part, eluded them in school up to the time of their entry into the vocational technical school. The two schools prided themselves on their success in establishing the potential for school success of each of their entering students and tailoring their courses of study to the preparation of these students to do specific tasks in the economy - ranging from skills as effective short order cooks to sophisticated techniques of design for bulldozers and other industrial or commercial wares.
- However, what is most important is that in both cases, although these two schools were run in

quite a different manner, the two directors defined the main role of their schools as therapeutic. Success in attaining skills and jobs after graduation were considered of practical importance, but these were regarded as a means to a much larger end - namely, the maturation and development of students' personalities in a way which had not been successfully promoted in the usual school setting. It could be considered significant that in the one case (Winnipeg) the school principal, before assuming this job, had been in the field of special education. However, the other principal, coming out of industry and from the other end of Canada (nor did they happen to know of each other or of each other's school) had arrived at the same conclusion. In almost the same words they announced that the major function of the school was to undo former developmental injury - even, perhaps "school injury" - in a school which constituted a new setting, and that the vocational aspects of the school were considered subordinate to this larger therapeutic end.

3. It is perhaps also significant that in both instances questioning and discussions suggested the conclusion that these schools have acquired exceptional social and political status in their communities, giving the schools a certain level of independence and freedom to develop their programmes.

4. Also in both cases there was evidence of a significantly larger demand for entrance into these schools than could be met. In the Dartmouth school, it would seem that the question of the gap in the educational spectrum at the non-university, post-compulsory post-secondary level was particularly revealed in this demand. However, the demand also seemed to reflect the need and promise of success for any model at the secondary school level in which the characteristics of the students are primary in developing both content and style of education.

5. If a sizeable number of students can be helped by being given confidence in their own capacities once again, this seems to indicate:

- a lack of proper guidance in the regular schools, for the students usually arrive in the schools after having received a number of repeated checks that have strongly affected them;
- certain weakness in the composite schools, as they are generally conceived and organised in Canada. They apparently are not successful in achieving their goal of providing all children with the education that best fits them. A section of the school population is being given short shrift.

The parallel system provided by vocational schools often functions as a means of remedying certain earlier mishandling of a child's education. But the present schools neither suffice to take care of the entire demand, nor are they able, of course, to succeed in every case.

6. As the Examiners have pointed out, the role of practical and technical education in the education of Canada's young people needs vigorous and creative rethinking.

## APPENDIX D THE POLITICS OF BILINGUALISM

1. The Examiners have stressed in the text of the Report their view that the issues of bilingualism and biculturalism are central problems for the very existence of a Canadian nation, as well as for the development of a Canadian national identity. Quite understandably they impose themselves very heavily on Canadian educational policy, as on other aspects of Canadian life. Bilingualism and biculturalism are not simply problems of Federal/Provincial relationships, or of social class and social equality, although there are elements of these more general problems contained within these issues in Canada.

2. The problem has two contradictory aspects. One one side, the situation of the two "founding" languages, French and English, is basically asymmetrical, that is, formal equality between the two languages will further weaken the weaker language of the two, French, which means that, unless it receives help, French is threatened and French-speaking Canadians feel they are justified in asking for special protection and in opposing all measures of centralisation and of reinforcement of the Federal influence over education. This is a source of permanent difficulty for a country whose national identity is quite weak to begin with.

bilingualism and biculturalism within the context of general political theory about integration and segregation. The relevant principle is that when attempts are made to integrate two systems, one of which is weaker than the other, the lack of symmetry in bilateral relations will cause the integration process to weaken even further the weaker of the two parties. It may eventually become assimilated within a structure - in economic, social and cultural terms - not much different from that of the stronger party.

4. The maintenance of two different systems, each based on their own set of values, may in such a situation require a consistent effort at strengthening the weaker party, possibly in a way that would involve a number of segregationist measures. In conflict theory, such a restoration of symmetry between the partners is supposed to reduce tension, but not necessarily to lead to future integration. The latter remains an open question.

5. Applied to the Canadian situation, and particularly to the issue of bilingualism in the anglophone-francophone context, this may explain why a federal policy putting the main emphasis on the mutual acquisition of a second language, in order to permit all Canadians to communicate with each other, may be seen by the weaker partner in the bilingual conflict as a means of increasing the lack of symmetry between the two linguistic cultures. The weaker party would tend to emphasize the need to strengthen its position *before moves are made towards integration* and even claim that integrationist moves towards individual bilingualism run counter to the idea of a generally bilingual country in the long run. The stronger party, the anglophones, may on the other hand point out that some level of integration is needed, even if only to create a better understanding among the anglophones of problems faced by the other party. Otherwise a policy of restoring symmetry between the two parties may appear incomprehensible and unacceptable to the majority of the Canadian population.

6. If the main objective is to maintain a Canadian nation in the abstract, without placing any special weight on the eventual francophone content of Canadian nationhood, it is extremely difficult to judge what strategy would be most appropriate in the present situation. For there is then no *a priori* reason to believe that emphasis on restoring symmetry in the bilateral relationship between the two cultures will necessarily help bring to full fruition the concept of a Canadian identity even in the long run. However, if the main policy emphasis is on developing and strengthening a sense of Canadian identity and culture that necessarily has very strong francophone elements within it (as large as, or almost as large as its anglophone elements), the strategy would be to lean heavily towards some segregationist measures, to prevent the short run integration of French-Canadians into the anglophone North American majority. It is not possible for the Examiners to take a stand on what should be the relative emphasis on the two main elements of policies for bilingualism without implicitly engaging in the weighing of such policy objectives against each other. Canadians must, and will, decide the goals they have in mind when they speak of a Canadian culture and a Canadian national identity.

7. However, it would be totally in line with all recent developments in the cultural politics of Canada if policy were to be based on the understanding that the presence of a six million French-speaking minority is a great asset for the Canadian Federation, and that, therefore, the maintenance and development of such a community should be considered a national commitment.

8. Nor would this approach be in any way out of tune with the social and cultural trends in other advanced countries, where the discovery and redevelopment of basic cultural roots is being increasingly perceived as necessary among people of industrialised countries who tend to feel completely stifled by the standardizing pressures of a tasteless consumers' society. Post industrial societies may find a more viable equilibrium, to the extent they can redeploy their people in more lively communities. Strong cultural minorities are a hindrance only from the perspective of the traditional nation-state. They will become increasingly an asset for the future of the more advanced countries<sup>(29)</sup>.

9. Already now in Canada it is quite clear that

(29) To take just one example. In France, it would be highly desirable that the existence of a Gaelic-speaking minority in Brittany should be considered as a real asset for France, and not just as a "problem." Viewed in a different light the Breton "fact" could help counteract some of the more undesirable effects of deagrarianized French - the more undesirable centralisation of policy making and administration, as well as the rigidities inherent in French bureaucracy. By leading the way, Canada might set an excellent example for others to follow in any event. The path to Canada would be considerable

Montreal has made important gains since it has reinforced its French-Canadian character. However, it might also be argued that Montreal has paid a rather heavy price in loss of economic development to Toronto for this change. But such a loss is not inevitable, and may be well on the way to being recouped. There are encouraging signs in that direction.

10. In an age when communication has become the most central activity of human beings, where education, culture and creativity, whatever their difficulties, are much more important for national viability and the "decency respect" of the world than production or traditional bureaucratic control, it is arguable that the mere existence in North America of a French-speaking metropolis, such as Montreal, is a major hope for the future and that its anglicisation would be unfortunate, not only for the French Canadians, but for Canada as a whole.

11. The general framework applied above, is also relevant in relation to the question of multiculturalism. Apart from recognition of the special linguistic and cultural situation of registered Indians, no formal legal arrangements have been made to support multiculturalism, but it seems that there is in Canada a current which, under the general name of multiculturalism, tends to:

- (a) take account of the particular situations in which the cultural minorities find themselves (there are more than one hundred groups), in their efforts to find a place in the economic, social and political life of Canada (and, especially, as far as educational experiences are concerned);
- (b) consider the diversity of national groups as a source of cultural enrichment, and seeks to support their continued existence.

12. For each minority group the question will have to be asked whether a more segregation oriented policy should be applied in order to build up the strength of the minority before major moves are made towards integration into the broader Canadian society. The answer in terms of strategy is, of course, again a question of relative emphasis on different values. It is also, however, a question of costs imposed. Especially for the smaller groups, segregation almost certainly means reduced chances for individuals to succeed in the broader, main stream society. If possibilities for some form of "success" cannot be offered to a sufficient extent within a relatively segregated unit, a strategy aiming at building up the strength of the minority group may not be based on valid assumptions. The connection between a special minority culture and its location at or near the bottom of a social hierarchy may then become a permanent feature.

13. For Indian cultures, a strategy with strong elements of segregation may appear as the best alternative, simply because the full integration alternative does not seem to function at all at present, except for a very small minority of individuals, who are certainly not typical. The task of building meaningful "success" possibilities within a fairly segregated Indian community is the difficult, but not unwholly unrealistic, task that faces all concerned with Indian cultural development. Geographical isolation may point towards similar solutions for the Inuits.

14. As far as other minority groups are concerned, the situation appears different. The maintenance of their imported cultures may serve as a welcome addition to cultural variety, but it seems highly unlikely that it can form the basis for successful policies involving elements of segregation. Attempts in this direction are probably bound to fail, simply because the alternatives offered by isolated minorities in terms of meeting individual aspirations within a relatively segregated minority framework can hardly compete with reasonably accessible opportunities outside.

15. Thus a policy of increased symmetry between different cultural groups is only feasible when the weakest of the groups has a reasonable chance to build up sufficiently interesting opportunities within its own framework, as compared to accessible opportunities offered outside such a framework. Such a policy is definitely feasible in the case of Quebec Province though it may be more debatable for French speaking minorities in other provinces, unless some extraordinary (but in the opinion of the Examiners wholly worthwhile) efforts are made. The attempt to follow a similar strategy for Indians and Inuits is at least understandable, mainly in view of extremely limited competing opportunities offered by an assimilation policy. For other groups, the use of minority languages in schools should rather be regarded as a valuable pedagogical tool, and hardly as a means of creating genuine multiculturalism, although it is to be hoped that the survival of such minority cultures will for a long time provide an interesting flavour to the Canadian scene.