LOCAL AUTONOMY AND CENTRAL CONTROL IN ONTARIO EDUCATION

LOCAL AUTONOMY AND CENTRAL CONTROL IN ONTARIO EDUCATION: A STUDY OF INTER-ORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

By

JOHN SELBY, B.Sc.ECON., M.A.

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AUTHOR: John Selby, B.Sc.Econ. (University of Wales)
M.A. (McMaster University)

SUPERVISOR: Professor Frank E. Jones

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the changes which have occurred in the relationship between the Ontario Department of Education and the local school boards in the province since the second world war. At the beginning of the period under study the relationship was highly centralized with a great deal of direct involvement of the Department of Education in the everyday affairs of the school boards. Within this system of centralized control, a few larger boards were granted a greater degree of autonomy.

During the period under study, there were a number of moves to amalgamate the smaller rural school boards. Some of these moves were voluntary, but mostly they resulted from pressure from Departmental officials and ultimately from legislation. These amalgamations were justified in largely economic terms and the thesis examines the demographic and economic factors which tended to make the small school boards inefficient as administrative units.

At the same time as it pressed for amalgamation of the small, rural school boards, the Department was also encouraging the growth of local control over the curriculum and the development of a curriculum which allowed for more freedom of choice for the pupil. Furthermore, the internal structure of the Department was reorganised to reflect the growth in local autonomy and the shift in functions of the Department away from direct supervision and control towards research

and development.

This thesis interprets these changes as changes in the nature of the relationship between the Department and the local school boards. It is argued that amalgamation of the rural school boards increased the resources at their disposal and hence their capacity for independent action and weakened the control which the Department could exert over them directly. Officials in the Department developed alternate means of control over the educational process which aided in the creation of a consensus about educational objectives. Most importantly, in addition to the Departmental publications which were clearly designed to influence opinion, the Hall-Dennis Report and the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education were used to mould the ideas of opinion-makers at the local level. It is demonstrated that a new uniformity in Ontario education has been created in spite of the growth in local autonomy in that there has developed a consensus about educational objectives which has been nurtured by officials in the Department of Education. Thus, though their ability to exert direct control over the process of education has been weakened, the necessity for such direct control has been reduced by the newly developed consensus.

Recent moves by the Department of Education to exert direct financial control over the school boards, though apparently contradicting the main arguemnt of the thesis, seem to support it in that, it is argued, there has been a major increase in the share of the costs of education born by the Department and hence an increase in the extent to which

the school boards are dependent on the Department for resources. Though it is too early to be sure whether recent changes mark a reversal of the previous trend, it would certainly be consistent with the underlying theory for this to have occurred, given the shift in the balance of resources.

From an examination of the literature in the field of inter-organizational relationships, two models of interaction between organizations are developed. Relationships between a "principal" organization and its "agents" are marked by a high degree of central control, whereas relationships between "central" organizations and those at the "periphery" are marked by an ideological consensus nurtured by the centre. These two models are placed on a continuum of various models of interaction between and within organizations which are derived from a number of sources. The final chapter of the thesis attempts to specify the conditions under which one type of relationship might prevail as opposed to another and makes general propositions about the relationships between organizations.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When I first commenced work on this thesis, I vowed that I would not acknowledge the mere satisfactory performance of normal contractual obligations. These do not seem to me to require acknowledgement. That acknowledgements appear in this thesis is an indication of the extent to which a number of people have gone beyond what might normally be expected. My experience at McMaster has been genuinely better than I might have reasonably expected and considerably better than that of many of my colleagues.

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I

THE GOALS, THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND METHODS OF THE STUDY

Introduction

This is a case-study of organizational change. It attempts, through an examination of a set of historical events in one organization, to develop some general propositions concerning the relationships between organizations. It is assumed that organizations, which are collectivities of people organized for the pursuit of a particular goal, will need to interact with other organizations in order to obtain the inputs which they need and to dispose of their outputs. This mutual exchange which develops between organizations involves mutual obligations and expectations, that is, a relationship. The task of this thesis is to examine in detail the relationships between the Ontario Department of Education and the local school boards from 1945 to the present, to make particular statements about the nature of the interaction involved here and to draw general conclusions about interaction between organizations.

During the period under study, there was an apparent loosening of central control over the school boards, which, I argue, masked the introduction of alternative methods of control through the creation of various mechanisms which acted to nurture a growing consensus about the objectives of education. It is argued that this perspective on the innovations in Ontario education is, in itself, unusual and

is useful both for a better understanding of the nature of the changes in Ontario education and as a contribution to a theory of inter-organizational relations.

Outline of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into five chapters of varying length. The first chapter commences with a discussion of the particular event which initially attracted my attention and the way in which deeper study led to an examination of the relationships between the Ontario Department of Education and the local school boards. I was **initially** interested in the report of the Provincial Committee on the Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario, Living and Learning (Toronto, 1968), both because of its seemingly radical content and form of presentation and because of the popular interest it aroused. It was the attempt to see the report in its organizational context which led to the realisation that its publication was not an isolated event but rather part of a process of interaction between organizations which had thus far been inadequately understood. The initial focus on Living and Learning and the way in which it developed into a focus on inter-organizational relations in Ontario education are described in the first section of Chapter One.

The study of inter-organizational relations was seen to be appropriate not only for an understanding of the changes in Ontario education but also because this was found to be an undeveloped field of study. The next section of the chapter therefore provides a brief survey of the current state of knowledge in organizational theory, tracing its development from its Weberian origins and

suggesting that its particular theoretical development has led to the relative paucity of research into relations between organizations as opposed to those within organizations.

There then follows a survey of the current state of research into the relationships between organizations and its relevance to the problem under study. I have also examined the literature which deals with government commissions as these relate to government and other organizations and this is discussed in this section of the first chapter. From this survey of the literature, I draw out two alternative models of the relationships between large organizations and small, models which will be utilized in the discussion of the changes in Ontario education which are the subject of this thesis.

To this point, the discussion has dealt with organizations in general and requires narrowing. I now move on to a discussion of educational institutions, noting their bureaucratic characteristics and also the extent to which they can be viewed as interacting organizations. I argue that this is variable and suggest reasons for believing that the situation in Ontario education is such that an inter-organizational perspective is appropriate here. I contrast the administration of Ontario education with both that in the United Kingdom and the United States and suggest that its median position lends it to useful inter-organizational analysis.

There then follows a section of Chapter One which summarizes the argument thus far indicating that the original focus of the author was on the report Living and Learning, that as a result of this focus

it became clear that this apparently radical report could not be understood as an isolated event but had to be seen as part of a process of educational reform in Ontario which could be traced back a number of years. The reforms have collectively involved a change in the nature of the relationship between the Ontario Department of Education and the local school boards and a shift in the way in which central control is exercised. It became clear that an examination of contemporary sociological perspectives on organizations was necessary and in particular an examination of current knowledge on the relationships between organizations. From this examination, there developed two models of inter-organizational relations appropriate to this situation; one in which the Department of Education acted as the principal with the school boards as its agents and the other in which the Department of Education operated at the centre with the school boards at the periphery. The thesis argues that the relationship between the Ontario Department of Education and the local school boards has shifted from that between a principal and its agents to that between a central organization and peripheral organizations. The empirical question is to trace the origins of that shift and to examine its consequences.

The first chapter concludes with a discussion of the methods employed in examining the problem. These have themselves been somewhat problematic since there does not exist a body of research on which to draw for inspiration. Further, in order to examine the development of a new mode of interaction between organizations over time, it is

necessary to work through indirect observation, documentary evidence and interviews with persons involved. It is here that the various problems are discussed and the methods chosen are defended.

The second and third chapters are 'data' chapters. In the former, an outline of the legal structure of education in Ontario is traced and followed by a description of three major educational reforms which have appeared over the years since the war. The legal framework, within which the relationship between the Department and the school boards is played out, has not changed a great deal. Since the second world war, however, the boards themselves have been progressively consolidated and enlarged. This has had a profound impact on their mode of operation and on their relationship to the Department, increasing their resource base and the range of services they could offer. The consolidations have been matched by major reforms in the structure of the Department itself which, I argue, both followed and contributed to the local consolidations. I argue that, since the Department hardly concerns itself with the direct provision of educational services, structural changes indicate changes in functions which themselves relate to changes in the relationship between the Department and those organizations primarily concerned with the provision of services, the school boards.

The most important change in Ontario education which indicates a change in the relationship between the Department and the boards is the increased emphasis on the development of curriculum and the new ways in which it is formulated. Before the second world war, and to some extent during the nineteen-fifties, the curriculum in Ontario

schools was stable and relatively immutable. Its content was not seen to be problematic. For a number of reasons, which I discuss, the certainties about the curriculum have become doubts and its content has been reviewed at all levels of Ontario education. It is in this area that the changed relationship between the Department and the school boards has become most apparent, though, I argue, it is merely symptomatic of a deeper change. After discussing the question of curriculum, I move on to a discussion of changes in the mode of financing of education in Ontario, the increasing proportion of funds being drawn from provincial sources and the way in which provincial grants have been calculated and allocated. These financial changes have had an impact on the relationship between the Department and the boards, though not as great, in my view, as some commentators have suggested.

The three major trends have not been chronicled randomly, but rather because they collectively provide the data which leads me to postulate a change in the nature of the relationships which the Department of Education has with the local school boards. It is the purpose of the third chapter to link the major trends which I have described in Chapter Two. Focusing on the three major trends in Ontario education, I trace the development of an "official doctrine" which seeks to provide a coherent picture of the various changes and to combine the different rationales into a single justificatory world-view. I trace the relationship between the amalgamation of school boards and the changed mode of curriculum control and demonstrate how the

two are linked in the "official doctrine" and some of the dilemmas associated with the doctrine. The Department argued for the amalgamation of the local school boards largely on the grounds that it would equalize opportunity within the province but also because it would create administrative units powerful enough to provide a wide range of services. Before the amalgamation, the larger units had informally acquired a greater degree of autonomy than the smaller units, in spite of the uniformly rigid legal framework within which all boards operated. The amalgamation of the smaller, rural school boards increased the pressure for local autonomy and the "official doctrine" was developed to rationalize this process and to maintain some Departmental control over it. I examine the empirical evidence for the arguments enshrined in "official doctrine" with regard to amalgamation of local units and trace the role which the doctrine played in resolving the tensions which the various and sometimes conflicting goals of the Department created.

It is here that the report Living and Learning becomes relevant, since it acts as what I have called "quasi-official doctrine", that is an ideological element which, though not directly controlled by the Department of Education, served the same ends as the official doctrine. I go on to argue that its quasi-official status was beneficial and that it aided in the creation of a consensus within Ontario regarding the proper aims of education and the appropriate style and content of curriculum, from the point of view of the Department.

I conclude that the relationship between the Department

and the local school boards has shifted from a relationship between a "principal" organization and its "agents" to a relationship between a "central" organization and organizations at the "periphery". This shift resulted in a decline in the use of coercive forms of control by the central organization, in this case the Department, and hence a growth in its use of methods which tended to create an ideological consensus throughout the province. The new relationship, though apparently implying a reduction in the extent to which the Department could maintain uniformity of educational practice in Ontario, in fact, merely substituted alternate mechanisms which served to maintain uniformity.

In the fourth chapter, I relate the events in Ontario to the general framework of inter-organizational relations and in particular to the study of the Tennessee Valley Authority conducted by Selznick (1966). I begin by drawing attention once again to the distinctive features of education 'systems' and noting their particular qualities as a laboratory for research in this area. I suggest that the relationships between the central and local governemnt organizations involved in education vary from jurisdiction to jurisdiction and that it is this variability which makes them interesting.

In the next section, I re-iterate the two models of inter-organizational relations which I have developed and then show how they can be placed within a list of models of relationships either within or between organizations. These models, developed by a number of authors for different situations are classified on a continuum based on the extent to which there is or is not strong central control. In this sense, the models I have developed are

within the mainstream of sociological research in this area but in discussing them in relation to the other models I show the distinctive features of my models and justify the use of neologisms.

The particular models to which I most closely relate my own are the model of "grass-roots democracy" and that of the "administrative constitutency" as developed by Selznick (1966). It is in tracing the key features of his models that I draw out the characteristics of centre/periphery relationships as opposed to those between principal and agent, showing the differences between his models and my own. I use Selznick's concepts of formal and informal co-optation to indicate the nature of the various adaptations at the local level and the ways in which the Department of Education coped with the various pressures to which it was subject. I trace the development of the new model back to the relationships between the Department and the larger school boards which had been much more flexible than was the norm for the time the principal/agent model was dominant.

In this fourth chapter, I have drawn the data together and developed some conclusions for the study. The final chapter, a brief one, codifies the various conclusions into more general propositions and provides suggestions for further research based on the conclusions of this study. I conclude the thesis with a discussion of the contribution which the study has made to our understanding of inter-organizational relationships and the contribution which it has made to the development of this hitherto under-valued field of study.

Origins of the Study

Though this is a study in inter-organizational relations, it did not follow the technically precise formula for scientific research which some readers might prefer. It is doubtful whether any useful social research ever has. Ideally one would wish to select or develop a theory, a general, law-like statement, derive a testable hypothesis from it and, having conducted a valid test of the hypothesis, decide whether the theory has been falsified or not. It would be a distortion of the process whereby this research project was developed to suggest that it followed this pattern and an honest research report could not do so. It is essential, therefore, that I commence this thesis with a brief description of the way in which my ideas developed and of the events which provided the impetus for study and which led to the development of the inter-organizational perspective.

In June 1968, there was published the report of the Provincial Committee on the Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario, Living and Learning (Toronto, 1968). This report, which has come to be known as The Hall-Dennis Report after the co-chairman of the committee, Mr. Justice E.M. Hall and Mr. Lloyd A. Dennis, was highly unusual in format and style and induced a considerable amount of press and public reaction following its publication.

Possibly the best way to convey the distinctiveness of the report is to compare it with two others in similar fields, one of which is contemporaneous with it, the report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England), Children and Their Primary Schools (London, 1967).

This report has come to be known as the Plowden Report, after its chairperson, Lady Plowden. The other report, cited for comparative purposes, is the report of the previous government commission on Education in Ontario, The Report of the Royal Commission on Education, 1950 (The Hope Report), which though produced earlier than The Hall-Dennis Report, was produced in the same province and is quoted approvingly by the provincial committee (Hall-Dennis, 1968:170). These two reports are chosen to indicate the unusual format of the Hall-Dennis Report and, in particular, the extent to which the recommendations derive from the main body of the text.

TABLE I-1

PAGES AND CHAPTERS ACTING AS SOURCES OF RECOMMENDATIONS
AS RATIO OF NUMBER OF PAGES AND CHAPTERS IN THREE REPORTS

Report	Text Pages	Source Pages	Ratio	Text Chapters	Source Chapters	Ratio
Hall-Dennis	175	92	0.526	12	4	0.333
Hope	752	540	0.718	30	22	0.733
Plowden, v.1	1166*	1040*	0.892	30	25	0.833

*These figures are quoted in paragraphs rather than in pages.

A number of features of the Hall-Dennis Report become clear. It is a very short report especially considering the fact that of the one hundred and seventy-five pages of text approximately one-third are taken up with photographs. Further, the recommendations are drawn from a relatively small number of pages and a particularly small number of chapters. Expressed another way, there is a great deal of the

report which does not inform the recommendations. Eight of the twelve chapters are sufficiently general as to lead to no specific recommendations; in fact, members of the committee have indicated to me, in interview, that there was serious consideration of the possibility that there be no specific recommendations at all. There was a fear that individual recommendations might be implemented without reference to the general "underlying philosophy of a child-centred emphasis in education which must be appreciated before disparate, fragmented changes are implemented." (Hall-Dennis, 1968:62). It is this underlying philosophy which the report is concerned with propagating, rather than a particular programme of action. What is the philosophy and how is it propagated?

It is not easy to distill a complex philosophy in a report into a few paragraphs. There are a number of places at which the report makes philosophical statements but there is no specific statement of philosophy; the philosophy informs the whole report, which we are asked to study "as a whole" (Hall-Dennis, 1968:175). The report does, however, make one "fundamental recommendation":

> Establish, as fundamental principles governing school education in Ontario,
>
> a) the right of every individual to have equal access to the learning experience best suited to his needs,
>
> b) the responsibility of every school authority to provide a child-centred learning continuum that invites learning by individual discovery and inquiry. (Hall-Dennis, 1968:179)

I discern two basic assumptions which lead the committee to take the philosophical position implied in the above recommendations.

The first is the commitment to the unique child for whom the educational process and school system must be shaped. There is an implicit and occasionally explicit note of condemnation of current educational practice running through the report which argues that:

> . . . the aims and objectives we envisage for education in Ontario can be attained only in a school system designed specifically to meet the needs of the time and the inalienable right of all Ontario children to the best education possible within the limits of their abilities. (Hall-Dennis, 1968:175)

The second theme is expressed through the committee's view that the fundamental characteristic of contemporary society is its rapid rate of change which requires that the child be given an education which will make him flexible and adaptive.

> The truth is that we have today no choice but to accept the fact of change and its implications for education. . . . Change, slow at first, has accelerated to a speed which is now bewildering to many adults. Although it would seem to be a paradox, the young may now be more at home in society than their elders, who might prefer something less unsettling than the dynamic, continually changing environment of 1968. Certainly the old prescription for education, requiring doses of content to be administered by adults to acquiescent children, is open to question. (Hall-Dennis, 1968:169)

> The children who enter the schools of Ontario during the next few decades will spend most of their lives in the twenty-first century. If the current rate of social, economic, and technological change is maintained in the years ahead, the educational process will need continuous re-appraisal, and school programs will have to be designed accordingly. (Hall-Dennis, 1968:4-5)

The language of the report is hortatory, visionary and often vague and imprecise (Daly, 1969). When its particular literary style is related to its unusual typography and format its distinctiveness becomes even more apparent.

The report gives the impression of having been designed for display on a coffee table rather than for fitting into bookshelves.

The report measures ten inches by twelve and is bound along its shorter edge. It is covered on both front and rear with a large colour photograph of seven children running happily through a forest glade. It uses three colours of printing for the text and a number of different typefaces. Photographs and illustrations are scattered throughout the text and are not necessarily related directly to the text on the page on which they appear. Many of the photographs and illustrations are in colour. These various features of the style and format tend to create a mood, rather than to provide information. As one vitriolic critic has remarked:

> The montage of photographs, drawings etc., subsumes all ages into a sentimental world of youth where criticism is disarmed and skepticism silenced. (Daly, 1969:4, emphasis in original)

This is indeed an unusual government commission, but we should not be blinded to the fact that it is nevertheless the report of a government commission. It has terms of reference, recommendations (albeit reluctantly), a copy of the crest of the Province of Ontario, and a list of signatories, drawn "from all walks of life".

The unusual nature of the report will be evaluated later when it is placed in the context of government decision-making. I conclude from its McLuhanesque style that it was not aimed at the Ontario Government nor at educational decision-makers but rather at parents, pupils and teachers and possibly at ill-informed school trustees.

If it was the uniqueness of the report which made it attractive as a case study, it was its more general features which I wished to examine. The aim of this thesis was to understand the Hall-Dennis

Report as a particular historical event and to add something to the existing theory on decision-making in organizations. This led me in two directions: firstly, to a more detailed examination of the organizational context in which the report appeared and secondly, to an examination of the literature dealing with government commissions.

Educational Change in Ontario

The Hall-Dennis Report came at the end of a process of major educational reform in the province during the nineteen-sixties. Interestingly enough, the kind of curriculum and educational style which the report advocated were becoming part of the educational mainstream in the years prior to its publication. The educational system in Ontario was becoming larger as the age structure of the population changed and as the educational process shifted from "elite" to "mass"; major changes had occurred in the administration of education both at the local level and in the Department of Education; the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education had only recently been opened; external examinations were being abolished, thus removing one mechanism of Departmental control and the Curriculum Branch of the Department was developing new curricula which were very much in line with the report's thinking. The question which arose from an examination of this period of great change in Ontario education was to understand the highly critical tone of the report. The report appeared to be arguing that the schools of Ontario were stunting the development of the children of the province and yet it expressed ideas

which were quite consistent with current thinking in the Department of Education. It was during early interviews with members of the committee that the extent of the link between the report's ideas and the general flow of educational thinking became apparent. I became interested in the literature on Royal Commissions and other forms of government investigative body, though I found most of it to be of little use in understanding the Hall-Dennis Report.

The Literature on Government Commissions

Much of the literature on government commissions is narrow in focus dealing either with the recommendations of a single report (Blackstone, 1967; Corbett, 1969; Crittenden (ed.), 1969, McClure et al., 1966; Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1969) or with anecdotal descriptions of committee deliberations (Bennett, 1964; Courtney, 1969; Hanson, 1969; Stursberg, 1961; Walls, 1969; Wright, 1965). There is a large body of literature, however, which attempts to understand government commissions as part of the policy-making process (Hanser, 1965; Kearney, 1967; Leon, 1963; Miles, 1964b; Moren, 1968; Smith and Stockman, 1972; Sulzner, 1971), quite a proportion of which is Canadian in focus (Doern, 1967; Crittenden, 1969, Hodgetts, 1960, 1964, 1968; Myers, 1969; Wilson, 1971). Most of these authors operate in the fields of political science or public administration and there is a consensus among them as to the general role which government commissions play. Sulzner summarizes the consensus quite briefly when he notes that the generally listed functions fall into two categories: "(1) functions that are related to problem-

solving because they seek affirmative solutions and (2) functions that are related to conflict-management because they are directed toward ameliorating the effects of problems rather than seeking affirmative solutions to them." (1971:439). The first class of function is that which is normally cited by the government forming the commission, namely to secure information for policy, to sample public opinion, to permit the voicing of grievances or to investigate the judicial or administrative branches of government. The second class of functions deals with the government's need to control opposition and includes the education of public opinion and the possible postponement of action on a politically embarrassing topic (Doern,1967). Now it was clear very early on that the Hall-Dennis Report could be seen in this fashion but it seemed to me to fail to comprehend the major organizational changes which were occurring during the sixties. The Provincial Committee was not formed as a result of public pressure on an issue, nor apparently as a result of the need to reform policy. Fortunately, however, there was some work on government commissions which introduced an organizational perspective.

Miles (1964b) focuses on what he calls "temporary systems" which are "interstitial, temporary structures" which exist "within the connected framework of organizations and groups constituting any particular society" (1964b:437). He distinguishes between "event-linked", "time-linked" and "state-linked" temporary systems. Event-linked temporary systems cease to exist when some task has been

completed; time-linked temporary systems are those which end at a pre-set point in time and state-linked temporary systems cease to exist when a pre-set state has been reached such as the good health of patients engaged in group therapy. The taxonomy is a little vague and does allow Kearney (1967), for example, to classify the 1964 Presidential Task Force on education as time-linked as it was supposed to produce its report by a certain date. Though the vagueness of the taxonomy reduces its usefulness, Miles makes the point that temporary systems act to absorb, counteract and make up for the "malformations caused by formal organization" (1964b:442), that is to say, that though the systems may be temporary, their tasks relate to the permanent goals of the organization. This is useful because it allows us to see government commissions as a response to the more general problems which organised government faces and not merely as a response to a particular crisis. It is clear that this perspective is essential for an understanding of Canadian administration, since there have been an average of three Royal Commissions formed annually by the federal government throughout the first hundred years (Hodgetts, 1968) but there have been major fluctuations (Wilson,1971:115) with the peak being reached between the years 1911 and 1920 when the average was seven per year (Hodgetts, 1960), on a wide variety of topics. It is clear that this high incidence of Royal Commissions cannot be understood as responses to specific problems, but must be seen as a response to a generalized problem of government. It would be interesting to relate the incidence of Royal Commissions to more general

economic and social crises, but that task is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Moren (1968) focuses, as does Miles, on more than government commissions, dealing with management boards, councils for the co-ordination of various branches of public administration, advisory bodies primarily designed to provide the civil service with the viewpoints of different interest groups, advisory bodies with expert status, control commissions and commissions handling appeals from clients. As a result of this broad focus, only some of the twenty hypotheses he develops are relevant to government commissions. His first group of five hypotheses focuses on the rigidity of regulations and the degree of instability in the environment of the government department (1968:75).

1. The less definite the laws of defining means and criteria for decisions, the more likely that bargaining procedures through councils and commissions will enter the decision process.

2. The more extensive the authority delegated to the various government departments, the more likely that advisory councils and/or control commissions will enter the decision process.

3. The more the field of regulation is marked by interest conflicts of a relatively stable character, the more likely that the governmental authorities will take on the role of a mediator, working through councils and commissions which serve as institutionalized systems for bargaining and co-operation.

4. The more the conditions under which government departments have to work are in a state of flux, the more likely that decisions in councils and commissions will replace decision criteria set by formal laws and regulations.

5. The more established the bureaucratic system (more practice, customs), the less the tendency to rely on advisory bodies and bargaining procedures.

These hypotheses, though focusing on councils and commissions

of control and management, rather than on commissions of inquiry, led to a recasting of the framework which I was using. My preliminary investigation of Ontario education when combined with the work of Miles (1964b) and Moren (1968) convinced me that a framework which focused on the relations between the organizations involved in Ontario education would be most fruitful. Many of Moren's hypotheses appeared to parallel the situation in Ontario education and education systems in general (Bidwell, 1965). There is a considerable degree of autonomy granted to local school boards (hypothesis 2) and hence there is considerable flexibility in the relationships between them and the central authority such that there is considerable potential for bargaining between them (hypothesis 1). There is a wide variety of interest groups (parents, teachers and administrators) which are likely to be in conflict of a fairly stable character (hypothesis 3). I do not wish to overstate the parallels between Moren's general hypotheses and the situation in Ontario education; that is an empirical question. Nevertheless, there is a rich, though small, body of literature on the relationships between organizations, to which I will turn after first introducing the reader to the general sociological perspective on organizations.

The Weberian Heritage of Organizational Sociology

There have been a number of strains of thought, operating on different levels of analysis, which have fed modern organization theory. Some have warned of the dangers of bureaucratic centralism, others have discussed the impact of bureaucracy on democracy while another group of

writers have focused attention on the alienation of the worker in the work place. All of these strains of thought have had an impact on the development of modern organizational sociology but their relevance to the concerns of this study is limited. This dissertation is concerned with the relations between organizations as organizations and must therefore focus on those theories which deal with organizations as their units rather than with individuals or societies. The distinction has not always been clear but an attempt must be made to keep it so.

The writings of Max Weber have been the source of much theoretical and empirical work in the study of complex organizations. His views have been well summarized elsewhere and his own writings on this topic are easily accessible (Gerth and Mills, 1946:196-244; Weber, 1947:324-392; Blau, 1956:27-43; Mouzelis, 1968:17ff.). They will only be briefly described here. Weber was concerned primarily with different types of authority of which he distinguished three main ones: traditional, charismatic and legal-rational. The first involves allegiance based on historical precedent, the second, allegiance based on the personality of the person in the position of authority and occurs only in rare situations. Both types of leader may develop an administrative apparatus to assist them in their tasks. The important point, however, is that their authority is independent of the administrative apparatus which they control and, in the case of charismatic leadership may be in some tension with the apparatus. Charismatic leadership is unstable, depending

as it does on the personality of a single individual who may age or lose his faculties and who will certainly eventually die. Charismatic leadership will eventually have to become "routinized" if the regime is to survive and it is likely to develop into a bureaucratic or legal-rational form of authority. This is the ideal-type toward which modern organization tends and which is the dominant form in industrial society. (For a detailed discussion of the use of ideal-types in this context see Mouzelis, 1968:43-54; Freund, 1969:59-70).

In the ideal-typical bureaucratic organization, authority is accorded to superiors by virtue of their occupation of the higher office which they are assumed to have attained as a result of procedures which take the form of laws which are acceptable to rulers and ruled. The ruler is assumed to act in accordance with clearly defined rules which are mutually agreed by all the participants in the organization.

Derived from this basic principle are a number of corollaries. The organization is hierarchically organized with a clear specification of function at each level. The structure is best represented by a pyramid in which orders flow from top to bottom and, when necessary, information flows up from the bottom to assist the superiors in their decision-making. The information and orders are written down, rather than being transmitted by word of mouth.

Orders are obeyed because the authority of the leadership is accorded legitimacy by the subordinates because the superiors

follow written rules and because the area of competence of each superior is clearly defined. It is assumed that the people occupying positions at each level of the hierarchy are doing so because they have demonstrated competence and because there is an agreed career structure and promotions procedure. The relationships between office-holders in the organization are thus impersonal since they follow agreed procedures which are generally recongnized and are independent of the office-holder.

It must be emphasized that no organization is run according to the principles outlined above. The principles together form a model of the most coherent and logical form which an organization could take if it were organized according to one fundamental criterion, legal rationality. For Weber, this fundamental criterion, the following of logical and consistent principles derived from clear premises, is the principle which is capable of attaining the greatest efficiency in human life. While it may have a number of disadvantages, bureaucracy is the most effective way of organizing human activity for the attainment of a specified goal.

Perspectives Drawn from Management Theory and Sociology

Contemporary sociological perspectives on organizations draw heavily on the work of Weber, but the framework has been modified, both by the empirical evidence produced by a wealth of case studies of organizations, and by other theoretical perspectives. The initial impetus for the modification came not from sociologists but from management theorists, whose goals were to improve the efficiency and

profitability of corporate organizations. Management theory has fallen victim to a number of disputes in its history, most notably between proponents of "scientific management" and members of the "human relations" school. The former, building on the foundation provided by F.W. Taylor (1911) were concerned with the most precise possible measurement of all the features of production with a view to reducing costs by minimizing inputs. This school of thought was associated with the use of time and motion studies in the factory and assumed that the worker was primarily motivated by pecuniary motives. Scientific management was dominant in management theory until the nineteen thirties when the Human Relations school questioned its utilitarian and patronizing premises. Deriving its perspectives from the work of Elton Mayo and his followers and the famous Western Electric studies (Roethlisberger and Dickson, 1939), this school stresssed the non-pecuniary motives of the workers and the importance of the informal relationships which grew up in the work situation.

The debate between scientific management and human relations was carried out primarily among administrative theorists (Subramaniam, 1968; Woolf, 1968) rather than among sociologists, and is now mainly of historical interest in that contemporary management theorists and sociologists recognize the contribution of both pecuniary and non-pecuniary motives to understanding worker behaviour and attitudes. There have been a number of syntheses which have become standard reference works (Barnard, 1938; Simon, 1957; March and

Simon, 1958).

The differences between management theorists and sociologists are no longer clear-cut, largely because of the contribution which management theorists have made to the understanding of organizations. To their work have been added the results of numerous empirical studies which have tended to indicate that the Weberian ideal-type bears little relation to the actual processes in modern large organizations. The ideal-type is nevertheless still regarded with respect as an heuristic device.

Both management theorists and sociologists recognize the importance of unplanned elements in that essentially purposive institution, bureaucracy. Modern researchers have tended to draw attention to the variable factors in organizations, and to have discounted the significance of universal elements. These findings have the consequence of calling into question the attempts of unsophisticated management theorists to develop universal managerial dicta or formulae, such as those which attempt to specify the optimum number of subordinates a supervisor should control. Woodward (1965) and Trist, Higgin, Murray and Pollock (1965) draw attention to the fact that organizations vary in structure according to the type of technology employed in the productive process. Other authors have noted the variation in organizational structure associated with different types of environment. Burns and Stalker (1961), for example, distinguish between "mechanistic" organizational structures which are clearly hierarchical and approximate to the Weberian model with

rigid functional specialisms and "organic" structures which have a less clearly defined division of labour and vertical communication taking the form of consultation rather than the transmission of information and orders. The former model is appropriate to a situation in which the market and technical situation are stable, the latter to a situation in which there is a high level of instability in either technology or market.

Modern organization theorists begin with Weber but, as the above discussion has indicated, his work no longer provides the basic framework. The current literature tends to focus on the differences between organizations, rather than on their similarities. It further remarks on the fact that organizations do not consist of single, unified hierarchies, but that there are tensions within organizations: tensions between the administrators who are in the "line" of the hierarchy and those employees who serve expert, ancillary functions (Dalton, 1959), tensions between management and workers and tensions between the various sub-groups within the organization (Pondy, 1968).

It will be apparent that the discussion thus far has focused on organization theory which deals only with single organizations. The only recognition of the existence of a world outside the organization is in the work of those researchers who discuss the impact of environmental forces. There are a number of reasons for this particular focus which all result from the dominance of one particular framework in modern organizational theory, a framework of great useful-

ness but with distinct limitations.

Systems Theory and the Sociology of Organizations

Modern organizational theory tends to operate, either implicitly or explicitly, with a systems model, that is a model which sees the organization as an interacting set of sub-systems operating within a clearly defined boundary and in a state of dynamic equilibrium in its environment. Each organization or system is the environment for the sub-systems which make it up and is itself a sub-system of a larger system. The choice of system is arbitrary and depends on our interests. That is, we may choose to study a maintenance department within its environment, the organization, or we may choose to study the organization itself within its environment of the market place and other organizations with which it interacts. As Hall and Fagen (1968:83-84) illustrate the point, a high fidelity sound system situated in a living room could, from the point of view of an electronics engineer, be analyzed in such a way that the record, the listener and the room itself constitute the environment for the electronic equipment. An acoustical engineer would include the record, the listener and the room in the system since all interact to affect the quality of the sound produced.

It is important that the boundaries of the system, or the level of analysis, are clearly specified for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is essential for the avoidance of confusion (Mouzelis, 1968:112-119). It is easy to assume that the properties of a system at one level are universal, though it is implicit in systems theory

that each system has emergent properties, that is, that it is more than the sum of its parts. We cannot assume that the properties of an organization will be mirrored in its sub-units. As an example of vague thinking using a systems model, the following quote from Miles' broad general introduction to a book of readings on educational innovation would be hard to beat (1964a:13):

Education systems come in a variety of sizes, from classroom to school building to school district to the state department and its relationship to local school districts, to far-flung systems like the College Entrance Examination Board's Advanced Placement program, to terribly diffused systems like "the mass media" - and, as suggested, the American educational system.

Boundary specification is also important for the development of clear theoretical statements (Merton, 1957:50-55). The concept of system equilibrium relates very closely to the concept of functional inter-dependence. In functional analysis, it is essential that the system for which a particular item is functional, the system referent, be clearly specified (Merton, 1957: 50-55).

Given these corollaries of systems theory and functional analysis, there have been certain consequences for students of organizations and for the development of the field of organizational sociology. There is an apparently inevitable and understandable tendency among the students of organizations to select for analysis systems which are easily identified, have clear boundaries and which can provide convenient sources of data. There are therefore numerous case studies of single organizations: single factories, government departments, hospitals and schools. These all share the property of having a clearly defined boundary, usually a wall or perimeter fence

but sometimes a common payroll. This has the effect of consigning other organizations to the environment and of treating their relationship to the organization as merely that of the source of inputs. The environment thus impinges on the system and affects the structure and behaviour of the organization, but rarely is the environment treated as other than an undifferentiated field. This has the consequence of ignoring the fact that the organization may well be dealing with an environment which is differentiated into a number of other organizations with which it may have different types of relationship which may in themselves be interesting and which may explain the behaviour of the focal organization. There has been considerable discussion of the importance of the environment as a source of variation in organizational behaviour (Dill, 1958; Emery and Trist, 1965; Griffiths, 1964; Katz and Kahn, 1966, 80-83 et passim; Parsons, 1958, 1961; Terreberry, 1968; Thompson, 1962; Udy, 1962) but we may note with Sjoberg (1967:340), in his discussion of contradictory functional requirements in social systems, that only rarely do authors who adopt a functionalist perspective consider the problems associated with the specification of boundaries. Emery and Trist (1965) and Terreberry (1968) are exceptions to this pattern, noting that "other formal organizations are increasingly the important components in the environment of any focal organization" (Terreberry, 1968:592) but these authors have been concerned with the development of models for analyzing envrionments, rather than particular studies of the relationships between organizations.

I have argued that it is the predominance of systems theory and functional analysis which, for all its benefits, has had the consequence of diverting attention away from inter-organizational research towards the study of single organizations. Modern organization theory has thus been relatively devoid of inter-organizational analysis, though there has been a growing interest in the area in recent years. In 1964, Etzioni could remark (1964:110):

Modern society is a society of organizations, but the obvious question of how these organizations interact has not been systematically explored, We know a great deal about interaction among persons, something about interaction among groups, but surprisingly little about interaction among organizations.

As he elsewhere noted, most of the studies of interaction between organizations have tended to focus on the relations between unions and management without much theoretical analysis (1960:223). Not only has there been relatively little empirical study in the area, but Greer and Orleans were able, as recently as 1964, further to note that "nowhere do we have an explicated theory of relations among complex formal organizations" (1964:838). Though it is not quite clear what they mean by an "explicated theory", even at the time they were writing there was some work being done in this field and since then there has been more. It is still the case, however, that the body of literature in this area is quite small and that it does not appear to be exciting much interest in further research.

Research into the Relationships between Organizations

I have suggested that the major changes which have occurred in Ontario education since the second world war can best be understood

in terms of changes in the relationships between the Department of Education and the local school boards. These changes resulted largely from initiatives on the part of the Department of Education which were not designed primarily to change its relationship to the local school boards, but which had that consequence. The Department encouraged and ultimately forced the amalgamation of local school boards for economic and educational reasons. I will argue that the increased size of these boards was one of the prime causes of the charged relationship. Before discussing the nature and sources of the changes in the relationships between the organizations involved in Ontario education at the primary and secondary level, I wish to examine the literature in the field of inter-organizational relationships in order to develop a theoretical framework which will aid in understanding the changes.

The classic in the field is, of course, Philip Selznick's TVA and the Grass Roots (1966). This work, originally published in 1949, is not ostensibly a study of inter-organizational relationships; it is, as the subtitle indicates, A Study in the Sociology of Formal Organization and is the report of a case study of a single organization, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and its relationships with its environment. The richness of the study derives from Selznick's ability to go beyond the boundaries of the organization and to show the importance of the other organizations with which the Authority interacted as a determinant of organizational behaviour.

The Tennessee Valley Authority was unique in its time, and

has probably not since been duplicated in its attempt to combine strong action by a central government, in this case the U.S. federal government, with a high degree of local participation and involvement. Selznick's study focuses on the organization's commitment to democratic procedures and on its attempt to ensure grass-roots involvement in its activities.

The Tennessee Valley Authority, hereinafter TVA, was established in 1933 by the U.S. Congress in order to settle a debate over ownership of two federally owned properties at Muscle Shoals, Alabama. In addition to maintaining public ownership and operation of the Wilson Dam and two plants designed for the production of nitrate fertilizer, the new authority was given "authority to construct dams, deepen the river channel, produce and distribute electricity and fertilizer" (Selznick, 1966:4) and, much more unusually, the power of planning for the whole Tennessee River basin. This was noteworthy because the Authority's jurisdiction extended across state boundaries; it administered a region which was neither "national nor state-wide in scope" (Selznick, 1966:5) but which was conceived in functional terms.

The federal government's plans were remarkable for a number of reasons: the new federal initiative was to be imposed on some states but not all; its jurisdictional boundaries did not match existing governmental boundaries; the organization was granted a considerable degree of autonomy from the civil service and its procedures; it was assumed to be concerned with "concentrated

"effort and planning" (Selznick, 1966:6) though its powers were in fact restricted to specific tasks by the Act of Congress and, most importantly for Selznick's study, the Authority was given the power to define the nature and style of its relationship with individuals and organizations in the Tennessee Valley.

The Authority chose to operate in consort with existing organizations rather than to impose its programme independently. It was this choice which was articulated as the commitment to "grass roots democracy" which became the official doctrine of TVA. Selznick discusses the consequences of this commitment and the impact of the doctrine on the way in which the organization operated. Selznick is particularly concerned with the "organizational dilemmas" which this doctrine created, that is the tension between the goals of the organization and its commitment to involving local organizations in the decision-making process (Selznick, 1966:47-82). The concept of an official doctrine has been very useful for my study of Ontario education and it will re-appear later.

In order to implement the official doctrine the TVA maintained a high degree of autonomy from the federal civil service, and kept its headquarters in the Valley. It was in the field of agricultural policy that the greatest effort to involve the "organizations of the people" in the activities of the organization was made and Selznick discusses this in considerable detail. The local organizations which were chosen were the agricultural extension services of the land-grant colleges which tended to represent only

one section of the farming community, the rich and predominantly white farmers. A number of decisions were made by the TVA which tended to serve the interests of these farmers at the expense of the poorer, tenant farmers. Most notable among these was the decision to switch from the production of nitrate fertilizers to the production of phosphates which was in the interests of long-term soil conservation on stable farms but, by substituting a slow, expensive fertilizer for a cheap one, removed the possibility of improving yields from the tenants and ensured their continuing poverty (Selznick, 1966:98-99). Selznick describes the way in which the local farm leadership did more than merely deflect the TVA from its goals; it built an "administrative constituency" within the Agricultural Relations Department of the TVA (Selznick, 1966:109-116) which acted as the "representative of a special local leadership: the land-grant colleges and the established farm leadership" (Selznick, 1966:111). The point which emerges from the discussion of the consequences of the administrative constituency in the Agricultural Relations Department is that the decision to operate in consort with the local farm leadership and the extension services of the land-grant colleges led to significant changes in policies which were not directly related to the original goals of the organization. As Selznick notes in his preface to the Torchbook edition:

The agricultural program of the agency was simply turned over to a group that had strong commitments, not only to a distinct ideology but to a specific constituency. This group then became a dynamic force within the TVA, able to affect programs marginal

to the agricultural responsibilities of the agency but significant for conservation and rural life. (Selznick, 1966:xiii)

There are two concepts in Selznick's work which have been useful in this study, the idea of an "official doctrine" and the twin concepts of "formal and informal co-optation".

The Nature and Purpose of Official Doctrine

An official doctrine is an official view of the way in which an organization operates: its purposes, methods and needs. As Selznick puts it (1966:8):

By the very nature of their function, all those forces which are concerned about the evolution of value-impregnated methods, or public opinion itself, have a formal program, a set of ideas for public consumption. These ideas provide a view of the stated goals of the various organizations - political or industrial democracy, or decentralization, or the like - as well as of the methods which are deemed crucial for the achievement of these goals. It is naturally considered desirable for the attention of observers to be directed toward these avowed ideas, so that they may receive a view of the enterprise consistent with the conception of its leadership. All this in the often sincere conviction that precisely this view is in accord with the realities of the situation and best conveys the meaning and significance of the project under inspection.

Selznick sees this doctrine as one of the major responsibilities of leadership, which relates to the "needs" of the organization. Though I would not wish to subscribe to the functionalist and organic models which Selznick adopts, he makes a valid point when he notes that (1966:47-48):

[A]mong the many and pressing responsibilities of leadership there arises the need to develop a Weltanschauung, a general view of the organization's position and role among its contemporaries. For organizations are not unlike personalities: the search for stability and meaning, for security, is unremitting. It is a search which seems to find a natural conclusion in the achievement of a set of morally sustaining ideas which lend support to decisions which must rest on

compromise and restraint . . .

This quest for an ideology, for doctrinal nourishment, while general, is uneven. Organizations established in a stable context, with assured futures, do not feel the same urgencies as those born of turmoil and set down to fend for themselves in undefined ways among institutions fearful and resistant. As in individuals, insecurity summons ideological reinforcements.

I would not wish to argue that organizations "feel" or that they require "nourishment", but we may accept his insights without subscribing to Selznick's organicism. Leaders undoubtedly develop official doctrines to justify their positions and to maintain a stable situation for themselves. When under threat, they will attempt to enforce their control and an official doctrine may be one of the techniques they use. There will always be an official doctrine to justify the distribution of power, but it is only when this distribution is called into question, that the official doctrine will be 'dusted off' and strongly promulgated. Leaders in a stable situation will not feel threatened and will not require an official doctrine to be publicly expressed; it will be assumed that the view of the top leadership is accepted by subordinates and by those outside the organization. However, when unorganized workers try to unionize, management invariably sends out letters extolling the benefits of the staff association. University presidents did not bother to justify their functions nor the role of the university when enrolments were steadily rising and students peacefully acquiescent. When students threatened to shatter the peace, speeches were made, committees were formed with co-opted student members and an official view of the liberal university was promulgated.

It will be shown in later discussion that as a response to the instabilities which developed in Ontario education during the sixties as a result of the increased enrolments in schools and some of the organizational changes which were introduced, an official doctrine was promulgated by the Department of Education and that this official doctrine acted as a potent source of control over the various elements, notably the enlarged school districts. Provincial Departments of Education will always have official doctrines since they are operating through other organizations, the local school boards, rather than directly, but the interesting feature of recent years is the increased reliance placed on the use of official doctrine as opposed to the more direct forms of control. Before the educational reforms of the nineteen sixties, the control over the smaller school boards was direct and coercive and the control over the larger, urban boards was via another mechanism first discussed by Selznick, the mechanism of co-optation.

Formal and Informal Co-optation

Though the term "co-optation" has become part of the vocabulary of protest, it was first used in a technical sense by Selznick (1948:33-35; 1966:13-16,359-261). For Selznick, co-optation is:

> the process of absorbing new elements into the leadership or policy-determining structure of an organization as a means of averting threats to its stability or existence. (1948:34)

There are two different forms of co-optation, formal and informal. Formal co-optation involves the sharing of the symbols of power and the responsibility for decisions without actually sharing the power.

This is the sense in which the term has become generally used. University administrations co-opt students on to committees and to university senates in order to buy off threats to the stability of the organization which result from the students' questioning the legitimacy of the power exercised by the leaders. Companies form consultative committees of management and men to buy off protest and to ensure that grievances are heard before they threaten the organization. The important point about this form of co-optation is that it is only the symbols of power which are shared; the control of the leaders over the organization is not sacrificed.

The Tennessee Valley Authority attempted to co-opt local opinion in a formal manner by encouraging the development of local organizations which would introduce the goals of the Authority to individuals in the Valley who were unlikely to become involved through existing organizations and to ensure that policy decisions of the Authority were given a channel of communication to the general public. The TVA encouraged the formation of co-operatives, soil associations and electrical co-operatives which involved local people in administering the policies of the Authority without becoming involved in decision-making of any consequence. These voluntary associations were given a share in the symbols of power without actually sharing power itself (Selznick, 1966:230-246). In Ontario, the provincial government formed Interim School Organizing Committees of trustees to assist in the amalgamation of school districts in 1968, though my evidence indicates that they

were functionally superfluous and that officials in the Department were quite aware of the co-opting function they performed.

Selznick's use of the concept of informal co-optation is less easy to understand, but in many ways more significant. As Selznick describes it (1966:14-15):

> This is not primarily a matter of the sense of legitimacy or of a general and diffuse lack of confidence. Legitimacy and confidence may well be established with relation to the general public, yet organized forces which are able to threaten the formal authority may effectively shape its structure and policy. The organization . . . must take into account these outside elements. They may be brought into the leadership or policy-determining structure, may be given a place as a recognition of and concession to the resources they can independently command. . . . This type of co-optation is typically expressed in informal terms, for the problem is not one of responding to the "people as a whole" but rather one of meeting the pressure of specific individuals or interest groups which are in a position to enforce demands. . . The latter are interested in the substance of power and not necessarily in its forms. Moreover an open acknowledgment of capitulation to specific interests may itself undermine the sense of legitimacy of the formal authority within the community.

Informal co-optation involves the actual but surreptitious sharing of power. The focal organization concedes ground to the challenging organizations in order to maintain its general control over the situation and does so privately in order not to threaten its more general relationships or system of control over other organizations. When formal co-optation occurs, there is a change in the symbols with no change in the reality of power; under informal co-optation, the symbols of power remain the same, but the reality changes. In the Tennessee Valley, the TVA made concessions to the existing farm leadership, which built an administrative constituency within the Authority. This affected the behaviour of

the TVA deflecting its activities in the direction of the interests of the traditional farm leadership. In Ontario, before the amalgamation of school districts, the larger, urban school boards were granted tacit approval for acts which ran counter to the normal practice which was rigidly prescribed in law and by regulation. The relationship between the Department and the smaller boards was preserved while the larger boards, with the resources to threaten the central government, were given access to real power.

Selznick's concept of informal co-optation is similar to Levine and White's concept of "exchange" between inter-acting organizations (1961). This derives from the view that resources are in scarce supply and that organizations will co-operate with each other in order to attain goals which they are incapable of attaining on their own. For Levine and White (1961:588), organizational exchange "is any voluntary activity between two organizations which has consequences, actual or anticipated, for the realization of their respective goals or objectives." Now clearly this is the general concept under which informal co-optation may be subsumed, but it seems to me that Selznick's terminology is more useful for an understanding of Ontario education during the fifties, since it includes two elements which need not appear in a situation of exchange. Firstly, there is a major and a minor organization; the situation is inegalitarian and at least to some extent involuntary. Secondly, and this is crucial, informal co-optation takes place secretly in the context of formal relationships

on which is based the legitimacy of the focal organization. It is the concept of informal co-optation which best describes the relationships between the Department of Education and the large school boards when the majority of school boards were small.

Further Research on Inter-organizational Relationships

There have been a number of other studies of relations between organizations since Selznick's pioneering study but some of them are of little relevance to this study, dealing as they do with voluntary co-operation between organizations of similar size (Aiken and Hage, 1968; Levine and White, 1961; Litwak and Hylton, 1962; Miller, 1958; Reid, 1964; Warren, 1967). There have been also general surveys of the field which tend to bemoan the paucity of the literature (Etzioni, 1960, 1964, Greer and Orleans, 1964; Guetzkow, 1966). There have, however, been a number of other studies and theoretical discussions which are interesting.

Mathiesen (1971) discusses the relationship between top administrative personnel in prisons and members of other organizations. He suggests that because of the relatively "weak" position of prisons *vis-à-vis* other organizations, those top personnel who must deal with other organizations tend to operate in a friendly and informal manner. They require assistance and information from probation departments and have nothing to offer in return. There can be no process of exchange since there is nothing to exchange other than mutual friendship. The boundary personnel in prisons tend to cultivate the personnel in the other organ-

ations and attempt to acquire information in confidence and thus will be reluctant to share it with colleagues within the prison, since this will break the confidence. The point of Mathiesen's study is that the external relations have an impact on the relationships between employees of the prison. Mathiesen suggests other circumstances in which the pattern he has discovered might also be found (1971:133-134), but it is clear that the pattern depends on a set of circumstances which, though not rare, are by no means universal. They depend on a situation in which one organization is very weak and very dependent on others. Mathiesen does not develop a taxonomy of relationships between organizations, but he does draw attention to the significance of external relationships for the internal workings of organizations.

Another empirical study which makes little attempt to develop generalizations is Ridgway's analysis of the relationships between automobile manufacturers and their dealers and suppliers (1957). The situation here is quite different from that portrayed by Mathiesen. In this case, the focal organization is not weak, it is relatively powerful. Ridgway treats the manufacturer and dealers as part of a single system but notes that they are separate organizations, which he classifies as "primary" and "secondary". He describes the ways in which the primary organization, the manufacturer controls the behaviour of the dealers using both coercive and normative techniques. The manufacturer controls the supply of cars, which are the only source of revenue of the dealer and also can vary the terms

under which cars are supplied. The ultimate sanction is removal of the franchise but of course this is a two-edged sword which can only be used when there are alternative outlets for the cars. Becuase of the difficulty of using coercive forms of control, the manufacturers often resort to normative techniques, organizing competitions among dealers, offering prizes for clean showrooms and successful sales drives.

The problem with Ridgway's analysis is that he fails to confront the problem associated with the use of systems theory, namely the specification of boundaries. Sometimes he sees the manufacturer and dealer as part of a single system, whereas in other places he sees them as separate organizations. This is especially true when he discusses the reasons for the manufacturer's preference for the use of franchises rather than tenancies in company-owned sales outlets. The relationships are clearly in some senses intra-systemic and in others inter-systemic, but Ridgway never focuses on this problem nor does he seem to be aware of it.

An attempt to develop a taxonomy of inter-organizational relationships is that of Thompson and MacEwen (1958). They suggest four different types of interaction between organizations: Competition, Bargaining, Co-optation and Coalition Formation. The names indicate quite clearly the kinds of relationship implied. For Thompson and MacEwen, the four types lie on a continuum ranging from a situation of high autonomy and low mutual support when organizations are competing to low autonomy and high mutual support.

when they form a coaliton. In bargaining situations, each organization sacrifices some of its autonomy but gains support from the other. When one organization co-opts another or its leadership there is an attempt to incorporate the aims of the co-opted organization, so that threats posed by those aims can be subverted. This is the general version of Selznick's (1948) concept of informal co-optation, which Selznick only applies to situations in which there are both formal relationships and informal ones.

Thompson and MacEwen's taxonomy draws attention to one way in which relationships between organizations might vary but it is rather limiting. Apart from the inherent limitations in the construction of any taxonomy and the difficulty of classifying some cases, there is an assumption of a degree of equality and agreement about their interaction. In effect, all of the relationships are the result of a process of bargaining or a decision not to bargain. This degree of equality and independence need not exist, as Ridgway's (1957) discussion of the automobile manufacturer and his dealers indicates, and a more general model which makes no such assumption about the distribution of power between the organizations would be more useful. There are taxonomies, similar to Thompson and MacEwen's (Pondy, 1968; Litwak, 1961), but these deal with intra-organizational relationsips in conflict situations and are thus not appropriate here.

One attempt to develop a more general "theory" is that of Evan (1965). He writes of the "organization-set" analogous to the

"role-set" of an individual. An individual interacts with a number of other individuals occupying a set of roles clustered around the focal role. To use Evan's example, " a professor . . . not only interacts with students but also with other professors, with the head of his department, with the dean of his school, and occasionally with the president or with the members of the board of trustees (1965:B-219). Boundary individuals in organizations have role-sets which extend beyond the boundaries of the organization (cf. Mathiesen, 1971) and organizations have a set of other organizations with which they must deal, through these boundary personnel. The automobile manufacturer, for example, has various suppliers and dealers, governmental regulatory agencies, consumer groups, oil companies and coalitions of various of these, all of which exert pressure on the organization and mould its behaviour.

For Evan, there are a number of potential variations in the organization-set (1965: B-221--B222) and, by considering some of these, he develops twelve hypotheses about inter-organizational relations. These are not especially relevant to this thesis, but the concluding section of Evan's article which deals with the methodological problems associated with inter-organizational research will be returned to later in this chapter when I raise the methodological problems associated with this study and describe the methods used. Before moving on to the substantive issues of this thesis, I wish to discuss one other perspective on inter-organizational relationships which I have found useful.

This is drawn from the field of public administration which is naturally concerned with the relationships between organizations, notably those between central and local government.

Perspectives Drawn From Public Administration

One of the fundamental conceptual and empirical problems in the field of public administration is the relationship between different levels of government. Hartley (1971) provides a useful discussion of the issues involved, summarizing the various perspectives of both theorists and practitioners in the field. Basically, there are two positions, which Hartley labels the "principal/agent" view and the "partnership" view. In the former, the central government is the initiator and controller of policy and the local government acts as the agent or delegate for the central government. In the latter view, the two levels of government have equal power and are partners (Hartley, 1971:439-440). Hartley discusses two types of each view, one of which includes the parliament and the other which did not. The two models, with their variants, are sketched below.

Model A Principal/Agent View

Model A1	Model A2
Central Government	Parliament
|	|
Local Government	Government Departments
	|
	Local Government

Model B Partnership View

Model B1

Central Govt.←—Local Govt.

Model B2

Parliament

Govt. Depts.←┴—Local Govt.

These two models and their variants are polar opposites on a continuum which ranges from a position in which power resides solely in the central government to a position in which it is shared between the two levels. Hartley is focusing on only one dimension of inter-organizational relations, power, but it is clearly fundamental to an understanding of the relationships between central and local governments. The debate which Hartley is summarizing is not a theoretical debate but is conducted among public administrators. He concludes his discussion by recognizing that "confusion still persists as to which model of the central-local should, or does, exist" (1971:446) but tends to subscribe to a principal/agent view, though this may be coloured by his British origins.

It is not my concern here to 'choose' one or other of Hartley's models for Ontario education; that is a choice made by the data. I am interested rather in his models as alternative conceptions of the relationships between a central government and local governments and in their heuristic usefulness. The principal/agent model removes from the local authority all independence and autonomy and consigns all decision making to the central power. The partnership model, on the other hand, assumes equality but in so doing creates a number

of theoretical problems. Nowhere is it specified in the model what is meant by equality and what its consequences are. Are the central and local governments involved equally in all decision-making or are the areas of competence divided equally between them? It seems highly unlikely that all decisions could be made jointly; it would make for a highly unwieldy administrative system. If areas of competence are divided between the two levels of government, this begs the question as to who decides the division of power? There may well be a formal constitutional division, but it is likely that within the constitutional arrangements or at points of constitutional vagueness there is room for bargaining or negotiation and this will depend on the resources which each party can bring to the situation. I would argue that the partnership model is of little practical use as a model of relationships between governments because the resource base of the central government will always be greater than those of the local governments. Even in a situation in which the constitutional or formal relationships assign dominance to the local government, as in the relationships between the U.S. federal government and the state governments, the actual relationship has developed into a situation of central dominance.

This criticism of the partnership model is not an attack on Hartley; he has developed it as a model of ideologically conditioned views held by public administrators. Officials in central governments tend to subscribe to a principal/agent view of their relationship to local governments whereas officials who work at the local level tend,

naturally enough, to advocate a partnership. Though Hartley uses his models to classify alternative ideologies, I feel that the models, and the ideologies they represent, are hinting at a useful distinction between two different modes of interaction between a large central organization and other smaller organizations.

In order to clarify the distinction, I will retain the term "principal/agent" to describe a relationship between two organizations in which the subordinate organization is directly supervized and controlled and in which power resides with the central organization. I wish, however, to use a new term to describe an alternative form of relationship in which the control still resides with the central organization, but in which it is exercized in a different way. I am not aware that the terms have been used in discussing the relationships between organizations but they are not original and the sense implied in the work of other authors is similar to mine (Shils, 1972:229-230). Rather than using the term "partnership" to describe a relationship between a central government and local governments which is not marked by direct administrative control, I choose the terminology of <u>centre</u> versus <u>periphery</u>. This terminology, though particularly appesite for a discussion of the relationship between a central government and local governments could equally apply to all relationships between a single large organization and a number of small units. I am thinking particularly of the relationship between a franchising corporation and its franchise-holders.

The nature of these relationships can clearly vary from principal/ agent to centre/periphery depending on the extent to which the central organization exerts direct, coercive control as opposed to indirect, ideological control.

The characteristics of relationships between a principal organization and its agents will be:

1. The principal organization will attempt to oversee the activities of its agents as closely as possible, maintaining personnel in the role of overseers and will use the threat of coercion and coercion itself as prime methods of control.

2. When communications occur between the organizations, they will take the form of a flow of instructions from principal to agents and a flow of information from agents to principal.

3. The limits of action of the agents will be clearly defined, stable and will be enforced by recognized sanctions.

4. Innovations will be introduced by the principal organization without consultation with its agents.

The characteristics of relationships between central and peripheral organizations will be:

1. The central organization will attempt to influence the activities of the peripheral organizations by propaganda, persuasion, discussion and consultation and will only use coercive measures when these other methods prove inadequate.

2. Communications between the organizations will take the form of advice and suggestions from the centre and requests for assistance and guidance from the periphery.

3. The limits of action of the peripheral organizations will be vaguely defined, subject to debate and subject to change.

4. The process of innovation will follow a period of negotiation and discussion and may well be implemented by the peripheral organization on the advice of the centre.

It is probable that these two sets of defining characteristics

define opposite ends of a continuum of types of relationshp between a single organization and a number of other organizations which are like each other in their relationship to the central organization. I argue that the nature of this kind of relationship is such that the possibility of a "partnership" is small and that the central organization will always be primus inter pares even in situations in which the relationship is formally egalitarian. The central organization will always have access to superior resources of all kinds and, in the case of centre/periphery relationships, will substitute the use of its control over information and the media of communications for the use of the coercive methods employed by principal organizations against their agents. The organizations at the periphery are in an inherently weak position analogous to that of the workers relative to the employer; they can only threaten the "hegemony" of the central organization by forming coalitions which involves problems of communication and the divergent interests of the small organizations.

It will be noted that the distinctions I am making between principal/agent relationships and centre/periphery relationships are analogous to distinctions which have often been made between different types of structure within organizations. McGregor (1960) distinguished between organizations which were run according to Theory Y and organizations which were run according to Theory X. According to the former managerial theory, workpeople will perform more eff- ectively if they are given the opportunity to satisfy their own

goals by directing their efforts towards organizational goals. It is assumed that the granting of a degree of autonomy to the worker and the opportunity for the setting of production goals and standards at the shop-floor level will enhance morale and hence improve efficiency. Theory X on the other hand assumes that the worker is best motivated by the use of 'carrot and stick' and operates best within an environment in which his behaviour is clearly circumscribed.

Burns and Stalker (1961), on the basis of a study of twenty different organizations operating in a number of different market and technical situations, distinguish between mechanistic and organic orgnization structures. The former approximate the hierarchical model of Weber and are appropriate for stable situations but become inappropriate in situations of market or technical change. Under these circumstances, an organic structure in which subordinates are consulted about decisions and granted a large degree of autonomy, is more effective.

The parallels between these different models of single organizations and the alternate models of inter-organizational relations are clear. Both authors are discussing alternative means of ensuring that the organization attains its goals, under differing circumstances. For McGregor, Theory X is an inappropriate theory of management in an advanced industrial society because the workers can no longer be motivated by material needs which he argues they have already satisfied. They can now only be effectively motivated

by the chance of satisfying their need for "self actualization". Even though, under both Theory Y and organic models, subordinates are granted a greater degree of autonomy than under Theory X and mechanistic models, this extra autonomy in no way threatens the goal attainment of the organization; it is in fact designed to enhance organizational goal attainment and managerial effectiveness.

Centre/Periphery and Themes from Other Fields

I have related my concept of relations between centre and periphery to models of interaction within organizations and contrasted it to other models of inter-organizational relations. I prefer my concept to that of Ridgway (1957) who talks of primary and secondary organizations since it seems to be more precise than his terms which could, after all, include principal/agent relationships. The general field of inter-organizational relationships has not been well studied and the models which have been developed are frankly somewhat primitive. They tend to focus on relationships which are voluntarily conducted between organizations of similar size and power and are thus of little use for the study of educational systems. The usefulness of my models for understanding Ontario education will have to be demonstrated but I wish to illustrate some of the nuances of the concepts by relating them to ideas from outside the field of organizational research.

A concept of increasing utility for Canadian political economists in understanding the development of the Canadian economy is the concept of Canada as the "hinterland" of the American "metropolis"(Levitt,

1970:92-115, et passim; Davis (ed.), 1970; Gonick, 1972; Davis, 1972; Hymer, 1972). This conception of the relationship between two economies one of which is the source of entrepreneurship, investment and economic and cultural innovation while the other provides raw materials, labour and a market for manufactured goods derives from an analysis of the impact of the multi-national corporation on Canada. The important point is that as Canada is the hinterland of the United States, Ontario is the hinterland for Toronto, and the maritime provinces are the hinterland for Ontario. The metropolis provides the ideas for the hinterland the research and development personnel being concentrated there.

Now this is fundamental to my conception of relationships between centre and periphery; that as a substitute for the precise control which prevails under principal/agent relationships, there develops a loosening of direct control and an introduction of a control through ideas. I argue that in Ontario it was no longer organizationally possible for the Department of Education to exercise strict control over the the enlarged school boards with their increased expertise but that the apparent loosening of control seen during the decade of the sixties masked the substitution of a control through ideas. There are clearly differences between the notion of a metropolis and a hinterland and the notion of a centre and a periphery but both concepts imply a centralization of the research and development function. I am not arguing here that research is not centralized in principal/agent relationships; I am suggesting that central control over research and development is not the prime

means whereby a principal organization controls its agents. I will demonstrate that research into curriculum development was negligible during the period I have characterized as a period of principal/agent relationships and that it only assumed an increased importance as the relationsips between the organizations changed.

There is another parallel to my concept of relationships between a centre and a periphery and that is the Marxist notion of "hegemony" which originates with the Italian Marxist, Antonio Gramsci (Williams, 1960; Miliband, 1969:180-181, Genovese, 1971). This concept, which is a reformulation of Marx's view that the dominant ideas in a society were the ideas of the ruling class because it controlled the means of production of ideas just as much as it controlled all other means of production, has become increasingly important in Marxist writing with the growth in interest in the role of the state in capitalist society. It is argued that the control of the capitalist class over subordinate classes has been maintained in spite of the growth of opposition movements and parties because there has been created a consensus. Williams (1960:587 as quoted in Miliband, 1969:180n) defines the concept of hegemony as:

> an order in which a certain way of life and thought is dominant, in which one concept of reality is diffused throughout society in all its institutional and private manifestations, informing with its spirit all taste, morality, customs, religious and political principles, and all social relations, particularly in their intellectual and moral connotations.

What this concept implies is that the creation of an ideological consensus removes the necessity of coercion. Potential opposition

has been subverted such that opposition parties no longer challenge the fundamental assumptions of the capitalist state. This hegemony is consciously and deliberately created by the dominant class through its agent, the state..

In relationships between a central and a peripheral organization, I will argue that a hegemonic relationship is substituted for a relationship in which direct, coercive control is exerted over the smaller units. The task of this thesis is to demonstrate that there was a shift in Ontario education from principal/agent relationships to centre/periphery relationships between the Department of Education and the local school boards and further to show that, appearances to the contrary, this did not involve a reduction in the control which the Department exerted over the educational process but rather a shift in the way in which that control was exercized. I will also describe the sources of the changes and show the extent to which organizational constraints affected the nature of the relationship between the two levels of educational administration.

The Contribution of Organizational Theory

In the preceding sections, I have traced the development of modern organizational theory from its Weberian and Administrative Science roots. I indicate that modern theorists operate with a systems theory approach which has led them to tend to neglect the analysis of the relationships between organizations. The work which has been done in this area has tended to be tentative and taxonomic

and has tended to assume relative equality between the organizations. The most important work both historically and from the point of view of this thesis has been Selznick's study of the TVA (1966). From this I have drawn quite extensively, particularly using his concepts of formal and informal co-optation and his idea of an official doctrine. Drawing on the work of Hartley (1971), I have developed two models of relationships between organizations and have suggested parallels between my models, other organizational models and concepts drawn from other fields.

Having traced the development of inter-organizational theory from its base in the general framework of organizational theory, I now wish to undertake a parallel analysis of educational institutions, examining the literature which assumes a bureaucratic framework and developing out of this an inter-organizational perspective.

Bureaucracy and Education

That the school is bureaucratically organized has been assumed both by critics of modern education and by educational sociologists (Friedenberg, 1970; Goodman, 1964; Holt, 1964; Katz, 1971; Kozol, 1967; Silberman, 1970; Becker, 1953; Bidwell, 1965; Callahan, 1962; Clark, 1964a; Goslin, 1965; Jones and Selby, 1972). It is generally agreed that educational organizations operate in a bureaucratic manner, whether they be schools, boards of education or provincial departments of education. Schools, for example, follow rules

which are usually clearly formulated, though sometimes they do not appear to be very relevant to the way in which the organization operates. Classes are of fixed duration and occur at the same time each day or week according to a timetable. The academic and administrative staff are accorded respect on the basis of their demonstrated competence and the offices they hold. The office-holders are arranged in a hierarchy with the principal at the top and the student at the bottom, beneath the ordinary classroom teacher. The progress of the pupil as 'product' is monitored and examined via standardized procedures and his or her promotion depends on performance. The teacher normally follows a career within the school, followed occasionally by promotion outside it. Relations between school principal and classroom teacher are characterized by impersonality, as are those between teacher and pupil.

The structure of the local school board could be described in similar ways. It is the next level of the hierarchy and it is to positions of responsibility with the board that upwardly mobile teachers are usually appointed after reaching the post of principal in the school. The board itself is clearly organized into a hierarchy with strict functional specificity; below the director one typically finds the superintendents of elementray and secondary education and beneath these, the various curriculum consultants, school psychologists and all the other specialized personnel essential to the operation of a modern school system.

The provincial department of education or its equivalent

follows a similar pattern of organization. In Ontario, for example, there is a Minister of Education, a Deputy Minister, three Assistant Deputy Ministers and employees working in specialized fields beneath each of these (Fleming, 1971b:20).

The institutions involved in education are themselves bureaucratically organized and are broadly in a hierarchical relationship to each other with the school at the bottom, the school board in the middle and the provincial department of education at the top. Why then am I reluctant to see 'education system' as a single bureaucracy? There are a number of reasons. Firstly, the school board has a degree of autonomy which is never accorded to a branch-plant of a corporation for example. The school board officials are responsible to a political directorate of their own. In most North American jurisdictions, the political leadership of the local school board is directly elected by popular vote and this gives it a responsibility to the local community and potential support in resisting pressure from the central authority (Alford, 1960). Even in those jurisdictions in which school administration is the responsibility of the local council, there is a directly elected political directorate with political resources which it can bring to bear in conflicts with the central authorities. The freedom of the central authorities is thus clearly circumscribed; a good example of this was the apparent inability of the British Labour Government to impose its policies regarding comprehensive secondary schools on recalcitrant Conservative local councils. The

ability of the local authority to argue to its electorate that it is resisting "dictatorship" from the central government may be a potent restraining influence on central governments. The newly elected Conservative government in Britain has refused to sanction the plans of some Labour controlled local authorities only on the basis that it is overcoming "dogmatic and doctrinaire" socialist administrations and responding to a genuinely expressed local demand for the retention of selective schooling.

A second feature which gives to the local educational authority a degree of autonomy, is the fact that the staff employed at the local level are often highly qualified and, if the local units are large, highly paid. This applied in Ontario in the early nineteen sixties, when, according to Fleming (1971b:12), the salaries of school principals were higher than those of departmental inspectors. Teachers and administrators at the local level may be highly trained and have a professional orientation which, though it may not enhance the autonomy of the local school boards, will reduce the possibility of control by the central authority. Professionals may be oriented towards the standards of their professional association and may resist any attempts at political control, whether from the local or central authority (Johnson, 1972:81).

Thirdly, local school boards derive a proportion of their funds from local taxes which gives them a degree of autonomy from central direction. Ontario school boards have historically been quite free to demand all the operating funds they chose from

the local councils which have not been empowered to refuse. This power of the local school board has of course diminished as a declining proportion of its funds have been garnered from local sources.

Each of these potential sources of local autonomy are clearly variable. The extent to which a local board can draw on local political resources will presumably depend on whether they are directly elected and equally on the balance of national and local allegiances among the local electorate. The professionalism of the local staff may also vary as will the extent to which the local board can draw on local resources. The degree of local autonomy may vary from jurisdiction to jurisdiction and within any one jurisdiction from time to time, but it is clearly sufficient to indicate that a model of educational administration which assumes a single system is clearly a distortion. As Bidwell (1965:1012) puts it:

> This chapter began by identifying four organizational attributes of school systems which appeared to be especially significant. Two of these attributes inhere in the conditions under which persons enter school systems - students involuntarily in age-grade cohorts, staff members contractually as trained and licensed professionals. The third is structural, the distinctive combination of bureaucracy and structural looseness. The fourth arises from the nature of school-system government, the dual but overlapping responsibility of school officers to a clientele and to a public constituency. Within this frame, certain characteristics of school-system functions were postulated, especially the massiveness and complexity of socialization, which requires the long and sequential exposure of students to instruction; the variability of educational procedures; and the necessity for outcomes which are uniform with respect to a minimal standard. The studies reviewed seem at least consistent, although in a fragmentary way, with this formulation. (emphasis added)

The administration of education is thus characterized by "structural looseness", discontinuities in the 'system'. We cannot assume a single, smooth hierarchy from school to central government but must assume that the relationships between the different levels are themselves problematic. If one examines the literature on educational administration, one immediately recognizes that the relationships between the different institutions involved are the subject of much discussion and subject to differing interpretations.

Inter-organizational Relationships in Education

Practitioners of educational administration are quite aware of the problems associated with inter-organizational relations. As a former Minister of Education in Ontario remarked (Davis, 1969b:7):

> As I say to many lay groups when I'm discussing educational matters with them, it's fine for the Department, for the Minister, for the Boards to establish policy. It's fine for us to say all the good things that must be done, the right things that we think need to be introduced within the school system, but unless they are actually applied on a day-to-day basis with individual students in the classroom, it doesn't really matter too much when you analyze it carefully.

This theme of a number of different organizations involved in educational administration with strains and tensions between them is reproduced in the work of a number of authors (Byrne, 1969; Campbell, 1970; Clark, 1964b; Flescho et al., 1964; James, 1969; Reller, 1969; Wayland, 1964; Stamp, 1970). The empirical evidence for the relative strength of each level of administration is conflicting even within

one country. Campbell, for example, notes the relative weakness of state departments of education in the United States and Haskew agrees with this analysis when he suggests (1970:362):

> An interesting interpretation of American public schooling could be written around the thesis that state educational strategy has been one of trying - by blandishments, persuasion, bribes, and <u>timorous</u> injunctions - to get local districts . . . to open the door to better mousetraps. (emphasis supplied)

These authors imply a great deal of local school board autonomy, whereas Flesche et al. (1964:184) as a result of a study of the Illinois School Problems Commission, conclude that, "the pervasive myth of local autonomy cannot withstand close scrutiny".

The empirical evidence from the United States is of further interest for the conclusion of Wayland (1964) and Clark (1964b) that "ancillary" organizations are very influential in educational policies and that such organizations as the Physical Sciences Study Committee, national testing institutions, accreditation institutions, teacher training colleges and educational foundations create an educational system which is national in scope. There are remarkably few differences among the 37,025 school districts in the United States. This is highly interesting because it is the conventional wisdom that the United States has a locally controlled educational system and that this is what distinguishes it from those of other countries. It suggests that any discussion of the relationship between the Ontario Department of Education and the local school boards in the province cannot merely focus on these institutions but must look also at other organizations involved in

the educational process, most notably that partly independent educational and research institution, the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

There has been little in the way of theoretical discussion of the relationships among organizations in education, but there has been some interesting work comparing the distribution of power in a number of countries and suggesting that the Canadian situation might make an interesting case study in this field.

Ontario Education as a Case Study

It has been suggested (Byrne, 1969:32) that the key unit of educational administration in Britain is the school, in Canada it is the province and in the United States it is the school board. As Baron shows (1969:102ff.), there are historical reasons for these differences, which relate to the sources of the original impetus for the introduction of public education. This interpretation of the differences between the United States and the other countries is clearly debatable (Katz, 1971) since there has been historically a considerable degree of bureaucratic control over education in the United States. There is evidence, however, that there are real differences in administration in the U.S. Britain and Canada, with Canada occupying a median position.

In the United States, school boards may levy taxes and set their rates, whereas in Canada the taxing powers belong to the local councils which, however, have no control over the operating expenditures of the school boards. In Britain, each school is

administered by a board of managers or governors, appointed by the education committee which is a sub-committee of the local council. This board is technically responsible for the day to day administration of the school but tends to defer to the headmaster who is generally recognized to be highly influential and mainly responsible for the school's policies. Educational policy on a wider level is very responsive to changes in national governments, since it is these which set the direction for the national system of education.

In Canada, as in the United States, local school boards are elected which gives them a degree of autonomy and they therefore exert a major controlling influence over the schools. The provincial governments are clearly the constitutional bodies which are appointed to deal with education and, at least in Ontario, they have a great deal of formal power. In the United States, the locus of power is formally clearly placed at the local school board level, with some intervention by state and federal governments. In Britain, it is clearly located at the national level with some intervention by the local council. In both countries, the locus of power above the level of the individual school is clearly prescribed; it is in Canada that the direct election of school trustees is combined with the granting of all legal authority to the provincial authorities. It is this combination which creates the ambivalence and the tension between local control and central power. It is in Canada that the issue of the relationships

between educational institutions becomes most clearly problematic and most likely to vary over time. Thus a study of inter-organizational relationships in Ontario education is not only interesting for its own sake but also interesting because it is here that the organizational dilemmas will be most clearly visible.

There is another item of evidence which suggests that Canada occupies the middle ground between Britain and the United States and this is in the proportion of funds which are raised at the local level. In Ontario, according to figures quoted by Fleming (1971a:328), in 1968, 46% of total receipts were raised locally, 51% came from the provincial treasury and 3% came from other sources. By 1972, the provincial treasury was bearing 60% of the total costs of primary and secondary education. In the United States, according to the Digest of Educational Statistics (U.S. Office of Education, 1968), 56% of the school budget came from local sources, 37% came from state sources and 7% came from federal sources. In Britain, the figures are less readily available, but Peacock <u>et al.</u> (1968:32) estimate that, in the financial year 1962/1963, 60% of the total budget for education (including higher education) came from central sources, 30% came from local sources and the remaining 10% came from other (mostly private) sources. Their inclusion of the expenditure on higher education in their data would suggest that the proportion of the budget for primary and secondary schools deriving from local sources would be somewhat higher. Vaizey (1958:49) using 1955 data, quotes a figure of 36% for the proportion derived

from local sources, but suggests that this is probably an overestimate. One should not read too much into these figures, firstly because their accuracy is questionable and secondly because there is clearly not a perfect correlation between the proportion of funds derived from local sources and the degree of local control. Nevertheless, it is of interest to note that the proportion of funds raised from local sources has been declining steadily for some years and has shifted from a position near to that of the United States to a position near to that of the United Kingdom while the proportion of funds derived from local sources in these two countries remained remarkably constant.

I have argued that Ontario education is both interesting for its own sake because of the rapid changes it has recently undergone and also because it provides an interesting source of data for a study into the relationships between organizations. The literature on inter-organizational relationships is so sparse and its application to the field of education so rare that the kind of study which I am undertaking seems long overdue. In the concluding section of this chapter, I intend to clarify the issues in Ontario education, discuss the problem under study and move on to a discussion of the methodological problems involved and a description of the methods employed.

A Statement of the Problem

The organization of education in Ontario underwent a major transformation during the decade of the nineteen-sixties, though some of the elements of the transformation were underway in the

preceding decade. Possibly the most dramatic change has been the dramatic growth in numbers of children in the schools since the second world war. This is the result of three factors: population growth; a growth in the proportion of children in the population and an increasing tendency for young people to remain in school for longer. The enrolment in elementary and secondary schools in Ontario has increased from 664,780 in 1944/5 to 1,986,796 in 1969/1970 (Fleming, 1971a:95). The total enrolment almost trebled, while the elementary enrolment increased by two thirds and the secondary enrolment more than trebled (Fleming, 1971a:94,96). During the period from 1950-1969, the school enrolment as a percentage of the total population increased from 16.6% to 26.4% (Fleming, 1971a:98). During the period from 1950 to 1968, school board expenditures increased from $112,053 to $1,248,317, that is an increase of more than ten times (Fleming, 1971a:339). These rapid growth figures have been more than matched by the expansion in post-secondary education especially during the sixties (Fleming, 1971a: 181, 225, 228, 241, 243, 352, 357).

The causes of this dramatic growth in the education industry can only be hinted at here. Education in Ontario has shifted from an elitist, British pattern to a mass, American pattern and this shift has occurred at almost the same time as the Canadian economy shifted from its status as a satellite of Britain to its status as a satellite of the United States (Levitt,1970). That these two events are directly linked would require empirical demonstration but it is

apparent that the instrumental view of education as personal and social investment became dominant in the culture. This has increased dramatically the demand for education at all levels and has encouraged the vast increase in expenditure.

This vast growth in the educational system has not been matched, as one might expect, by a lack of innovation and a mere attempt to cope with the increased numbers. The same post-war period has been highly innovative with major changes in the organization of education and in its content. We have seen the growth of new types of post-secondary institutions, the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology and the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. The rural school boards have been first voluntarily and later compulsorily amalgamated such that there has been a decrease in the number of boards from more than 5000 to 76 (Ontario, Department of Education, 1968: Appendix A). During the same period the structure of the Ontario Department of Education was changed a number of times, with the addition of new functions. During the latter part of the 1960's there came the culmination of a trend in the curriculum in which the needs of the individual child were stressed, credit systems were introduced into Ontario high schools and the development of the curriculum was no longer strictly controlled by the Department of Education. The Departmental inspection service was disbanded and direct control over the curriculum in secondary and elementary schools was shifted to the local school boards, while at the same time the Department bore an increasing proportion of the costs of

education. In 1968, there was published the report of a provincial committee which was highly critical of existing educational practice but which appeared to advocate, in visionary tones, the introduction of curriculum reforms which were already under way.

An interpretation of all these changes is beyond the scope of a doctoral dissertation. It took Professor Fleming seven volumes merely to describe them (Fleming, 1971,a,b,c,d,e,;1972, a,b). What I have tried to do in this study is to trace the links between some of the changes, notably the changes which have occurred in the relationship between the Department of Education and the local school boards[1]. I argue that certain organizational changes which were introduced for largely economic reasons had the consequence of changing the nature of the relationship between the Department of Education and the local school boards.

The argument of the thesis may be summarized as follows; until 1965 there was a small number of large, urban school boards with a disproportionate share of the school population and financial resources. These school boards were granted a large degree of *de facto* autonomy within a system in which the general pattern was of strong central control over all aspects of the educational process. These boards were informally co-opted by the Department of Education and allowed this freedom in return for general co-operation. Largely as a result of the increasing urbanization of the Ontario

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[1]I will continue to refer to the Department of Education throughout this thesis even though its name was changed to the Ministry of Education, Ontario in the Spring of 1972. The original term applied for most of the period under study and is still the most commonly used.

population, the small rural school boards were increasingly unable to match the quality and range of services offered in the urban areas. There was steady pressure from the end of the second world war onwards by the Department for the amalgamation of these rural boards, culminating in their compulsory amalgamation into township area boards in 1965 and county boards in 1969. These changes had a profound impact on the nature of the school boards. They were increasingly able, as was the intention, to hire professionally qualified personnel and to offer a wide range of academic services. These boards were approaching the old urban boards in size and influence and as a result could no longer be made subject to the direct day-to-day control of the past. This control was progressively removed with the substitution of recommended texts for required books; the substitution of curriculum guidelines for precise curricula; the removal of provincial inspection services and the abolition of external examinations.

These changes marked an apparently deliberate surrender of control over the educational process by the Department of Education; this was how it was portrayed in their official doctrine. I suggest however that a new form of organizational control was substituted for the direct control of the past; officials in the Department set out to create an ideological consensus through their official publications, less directly through the Hall-Dennis Report and equally indirectly through the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education which was charged with the education of the

professional educators of the province and which was heavily involved in the research and development function.

Expressed in organizational terms, the original principal/agent relationship between the Department and most of the school boards involved the informal co-optation of the larger boards which were surreptitiously allowed a degree of autonomy in exchange for co-operation. With the amalgamation of the smaller school boards a principal/agent relationship was no longer possible and the relationship shifted to a relationship between centre and periphery in which the apparent diminution of central control was compensated for by the creation of an ideological consensus. The task of this thesis is to specify the circumstances which led to the changes and to develop a general statement of the conditions under which inter-organizational relationships might tend to one or the other form.

This study poses a number of methodological problems some of which apply generally to inter-organizational relationships and some of which are specific to the problem at hand.

Some Methodological Issues

Evan raises some of the problems associated with inter-organizational research (1965). Behaviour within organizations can be clearly observed whereas much interaction between organizations takes place in writing or over the telephone. A further problem is that there is no organizational structure for inter-organizational

relations; they take place between structures. Some organizations will establish personnel who are boundary personnel concerned directly with interaction with other organizations. Hirsch (1972), for example, describes the way in which record manufacturer employ individuals whose task is to influence the disc jockeys on radio stations who act as the "gatekeepers" for the industry. In this instance, defining the boundary personnel and describing the interaction is quite straightforward. In other situations, the boundaries of the organization may not be so clear and the personnel involved in interaction with other organizations may not be so clearly defined. In Mathiesen's (1971) study of the interaction between prison personnel and other organizations, the personnel concerned were not solely or even primarily employed on inter-organizational interaction, but the inter-organizational interaction became more meaningful than the interaction within the prison. Mathiesen goes so far as to suggest that the relations between organizations may under certain conditions be so meaningful and effective for the participants that they cause the breakdown of the participant organizations. In the case of provincial education systems, the problems are multiplied because so much of the activity of the organizations involved is concerned with inter-organizational relations. The Department of Education does not directly educate the pupils, neither does the school board. The 'task' of the education system takes place in the classroom and the organization which directly controls that process is the school. Both the school board and the Department of Education are mainly

concerned with influencing that process. It is therefore not easy to separate out inter-organizational relationships from intra-organizational relationships. This becomes apparent on examining the organizational structure of the Department of Education and the changes it underwent.

Another methodological problem in the study of education in Ontario is that the Department of Education is a much more "public" body than the local school boards. It produces large amounts of documentary material and statements of policy because it is interacting with a large number of identical or similar organizations which can be covered by a single memorandum. These are readily available for the student. School boards, on the other hand, interact singly with the Department of Education and hence tend to do so privately. Only on some occasions will the interaction between the Department and a single board become public, and these may be atypical situations of conflict. The documentary evidence tends therefore to be one-sided and it becomes necessary therefore to develop alternative sources of data.

Another problem for the student results from the public nature of the Department of Education. It produces written material some of which is explicitly aimed at certain groups or organizations but much of which is simply general propaganda without a specific target. It is naturally important in examining propaganda materials to know the audience for which they are aimed and also to know the extent to which they have influenced non-target groups.

A further problem which faced me was that I was dealing with a historical analysis in a time of rapid change. This had the consequence of making it extremely difficult to define my units of research and to find sources which remained constant during the period under study. This problem applied particularly to the investigation of the 'view from the school boards' which were reorganized twice duriing the period.

These were problems. Of more interest to the reader is the way in which I have attempted to overcome the methodological problems and the methods I used. I have only listed the problems so that the reader is aware of them and recognizes that some of them have been insuperable. The data for this study are by no means perfect; it is for the reader to decide if they have been adequate to the task, and whether the thesis which I argue is supported by the data.

The Methods Employed

The major source of evidence for this study is documentary. It is inevitable that, in dealing with past events, the documents of the time provide the best source. There are, of course, a number of consequences of the use of documentary evidence: it provides an 'official' interpretation of events; it is only partial in that it only records that which was both written down and preserved and finally it is only an indirect indicator of the nature of the relationships under study. The last point is insurmountable in the study of inter-organizational relationships and, in the view of Sjoberg and

Nett (1968:187), problematic for all sociological research. The partial and official nature of the documentary evidence can be partly overcome by supplementary sources but must always be born in mind when evaluating the data.

I will list each document or group of documents used in this study in an approximate order of usefulness and, in this way, attempt to provide a cumulative picture of the data which are available for a discussion of the relationships between the Department and the local school boards. In addition I will describe the interviews conducted and list my respondents, indicating their current and former positions.

The major source of evidence for a case-study of this nature lies in the written communications between the organizations. The majority of these emanate from the Department of Education, which, because it has to communicate with a large number of school boards and other organizations in the province, produces a number of standardized documents which are readily available. The most important source for this study had been the annual reports of the Minister of Education, which give a description of the activities of the Department over the previous year and also an indication of the current concerns of the officials. These annual reports provide useful information concerning the view of the educational process which the officials wish some of the actors in the environment of the Department (legislators and general populace) to receive.

In addition to the formal report of the activities of the

Department, a number of documents used to communicate with the school boards have proved useful. Circular H.S.1, which defines the curriculum for high schools, is an annually produced document which has had various titles over the years. It varies in length between fifteen and fifty pages and is crucial in that it contains the curricular regulations which the Department is legally empowered to define and also because it has varied dramatically over recent years. The degree of rigidity in the secondary curriculum is a potent indicator of the extent to which the local units of educational administration have been granted autonomy. It is at the secondary level that the key decisions about future occupation are made and it is the secondary school curriculum which is the most important mechanism in these decisions.

At the elementary level, no annual document is produced. The Programme of Study for Grades 1 to 6 of the Public and Separate Schools was first issued in 1937, modified slightly over the next thirty years and was subject to significant revision during the mid-sixties. The Hall-Dennis Report was originally conceived as part of this revision, which has now become the official elementary curriculum. The original Programme of Study and the revision (Curriculum P1,J1) have been examined, but they have been less useful than Circular H.S.1 since they are not published annually and are thus less sensitive as indicators of curriculum change.

On a frequent but irregular basis, the Department issues memoranda which appear over the signature of senior officials or occasionally that of the Minister of Education. These deal with much

more specific topics than do the documents discussed thus far, and are addressed to those responsible for their implementation or those affected by them. There are typically between fifty and one hundred such documents published each year consisting of a few mimeographed pages. They have been studied from 1953 to May 1973. The problem with them as data sources is that they are not strictly internally comparable over time in that their scope is by no means constant and their audience varies with their subject matter. Nevertheless, they constitute a mass of material, available over many years, and have an advantage over the previous documents in that they are couched in more specific terms and hence give a more precise indication of the Departmental view of the specific issues concerned than do the curriculum documents which are more general and are couched in more stereotyped language.

A further source for official educational ideology has been the speeches made by successive Ministers of Education. A number of these have been produced in pamphlet form, others are available in mimeographed copies designed for press release. Speeches announcing any major policy revision have been available as have the speeches made in the legislature to introduce the Departmental estimates, which usually contain a policy review.

The Department has produced a journal for some years, which has had various titles, most recently being titled New Dimensions. This has been published at varying frequencies and has generally published position papers which do not necessarily represent the

policies of the Department, but which tend to stress ideas which the officials in the Department defines as 'interesting' or 'innovative'. Individually, they were of little use but they do provide a cumulative picture of the development of new ideas which were generated in or close to the Department of Education.

Some occasional documents published by the Department have proved useful. The Township School Area, published annually between 1944 and 1951, gives an indication of the way in which the Departmental officials attempted to urge voluntary amalgamation of school boards. The Reorganization of School Jurisdictions in the Province of Ontario - A Guide for Southern Ontario (Ontario, Department of Education, 1968), the preliminary statement of the official plans for the 1969 re-organization of school districts, gives an indication of the way in which the reform was introduced. This twenty page document was published in an edition of twenty thousand copies and was widely distributed at the time.

In examining the Hall-Dennis Report and attempting to relate it to the inter-organizational relationships under study, all the background papers which are available have been studied. There were studies prepared for the committee, expert presentations were made and one hundred and twelve briefs were received. These all provide evidence of the extent to which the ideas generated by the "citizens' committee" derived from the local units of administration and the extent to which they were internally generated. Unfortunately, the minutes of the committee are not available but since none were

taken beyond the first few meetings, this has not been a major loss.

In attempting to trace the documentary evidence regarding the nature of the relationships between the school boards and the Department as seen from the school boards, the paucity of the literature became apparent. The Department communicates with the boards directly in formal documents which are published. Communications from boards to the Department tend to be individual and private and thus not available for study. There are, however, available a number of publications which derive from the combined activities of the organizations at the periphery. The followings journals have been examined:

Educational Courier, published by the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario;

OTF Reporter, published by the Ontario Teachers' Federation;

Canadian School Journal, published by the Ontario School Trustees' and Municipal Councillors' Association;

Argus, published by the Public School Trustees' Association of Ontario;

Ontario Education, published by the Ontario Public School Trustees Association;

Headmaster, published by the Ontario Secondary School Headmasters' Council;

Newscap, published by the Ontario Association of Education Officials.

These journals have been studied from 1945 to the present day where they have been available. Ontario Education and Newscap are new publications. The difficulty with them all is that they provide a vast amount of data whose quality is very variable and whose relationship to the policies of the organizations is unclear. Nevertheless, they do provide impressionistic evidence of the concerns of these organizations.

It was in attempting to supplement the meagre documentary sources from the periphery that a problem arose. I wished to examine in more detail the views and public statements of a sample of school boards with a view to gleaning evidence of the peripheral view of the relations. A problem of sampling arose. During the period under study, the number of school boards declined dramatically, both as a result of the decisions made at the periphery and, more importantly, as a result of the policies and legislation of the Department. It is a major argument of this thesis that this decline in the number of peripheral organizations and the resulting increase in strength of the new larger units was a key factor in the changing relationships. For this case-study, the changes in organizational structure have been so dramatic that many of the organizations no longer exist. The units of study were in many cases rural school boards responsible for one or two schools in sections of rural townships; these have all been amalgamated into boards of education for counties. In effect then, the units of study cannot be defined and sources of data concerning these units cannot be determined.

The problem has been partly overcome by focusing on those units which have remained stable during the period in question, namely the boards of education for the "defined cities" of Hamilton, London and Windsor. There have been boundary changes in those boards and organizational changes, but they remain identifiable units. No other board of education remained unchanged; Metropolitan Toronto was

re-organized in 1967 and the board of education for the city of Ottawa was enlarged at the time of the 1969 re-organization to take account of the newly introduced regional government structure of the area. There is no pretence that this is a representative sample; there is no population to represent. It is felt, however, that these three peripheral organizations, situated at the 'eye of the tornado', provide a relatively constant frame of reference as sources of information to supplement the documentary evidence already cited. The annual reports of these three boards were studied as were other available documents in their libraries.

The documentary evidence described above is formal and official. It was supplemented with interviews with a total of eleven individuals directly involved in the educational changes which have occurred in Ontario. In addition to the three directors of the boards of education cited, a number of individuals were interviewed, both within and outside the Department of Education, all of whom were strategically placed in the process of educational change. Some names were selected from a reading of the Minister's reports over the years, others were recommended to me as likely sources of information. The list below gives their experiences as they were relevant and their current positions at the time of interview, during the summer of 1972:

Mr. T. Campbell: author of a survey of salary structure in the Department of Education, 1962; later, personnel director of the Department; later, executive assistant to the Deputy Minister; later, chairman of the educational planning and analysis staff in the Department of Education; currently, deputy secretary to the cabinet.

Mr. L.A. Dennis: former public school principal; later, secretary and co-chairman of the Provincial Committee; later, employed by the Department as spokesman for the Committee; currently, Director of the Leeds and

Grenville County Board of Education.

Mr. J.N. Given: former inspector of elementary education for the Department of Education; later, joined the London board of education as an inspector in 1956; later, superintendent of public schools in London; currently, Director of Education for the London board of education, since 1968.

Dr.H.G. Hedges: author of elementary science texts; former master at Toronto Teachers' College; later, deputy director and currently, director of the Niagara Centre of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education and director of a research project on the use of volunteers in schools.

Mr. J.F. Kinlin: former elementary school inspector; later, secondary school inspector; later, Assistant Superintendent in the Curriculum and Textbooks Branch; later, member of the Policy and Development Council of the Department of Education; later, regional superintendent for the Department in the East Central Region of the Province; later, Superintendent of Curriculum; later, Assistant Deputy Minister for Instruction; currently, Assistant Deputy Minister for Education Development.

Mr. C.R. MacLeod: employed by the Windsor board of education since 1950; later chairman of the Minister's Committee on Elementary Teachers' Training (part-time); currently, director of the Windsor board of education, since 1963.

Mr. N.B. Massey: former master at London Teachers' College; later, joined Curriculum Branch of the Department to take part in the elementary curriculum revision, 1965; later, investigator in a study designed to discover the degree of implementation of the recommendations of the Provincial Committee; currently, education officer in the Curriculum Development Branch.

Mr. D.W. Muir: former Hamilton public school trustee; later, deputy chairman of the Provincial Committee; currently, personnel director for the Steel Company of Canada Limited, Hamilton.

Dr. G.E. Price: former superintendent of secondary schools for the Hamilton board of education; currently, director of the Hamilton board of education, since 1961.

Mr. G.H. Waldrum: former teacher; later appointed as Departmental inspector; later, member of the larger unit committee of the Department of Education; later, superintendent of supervision; currently, Assistant Deputy Minister for Education Administration.

Mr. C. Wescott: former executive assistant to the Minister of Education; currently, executive assistant to the Premier of Ontario.

All interviews were unstructured though focused on the topics on which each respondent was likely to have information. There was, however, a common core of topics which was discussed with all respondents. I asked them all their assessment of the sources and consequences of the school board amalgamations, their assessment of the sources and development of the curriculum changes and their judgement of the impact of the report of the Provincial Committee. A high degree of consensus emerged concerning these core issues. At the end of each interview, I raised with each respondent my view of the nature of the changes in inter-organizational relationships in Ontario education and met with no hostile responses.

The interviews, which were tape recorded with the consent of my respondents, ranged in length from forty-five minutes to two and one quarter hours, averaging approximately one hour and twenty minutes. They were designed to supplement the documentary evidence which provided the main body of the evidence for this thesis.

I have briefly described the methods used in this study. They are somewhat unorthodox because the project required unorthodox methods of research. In attempting to understand something as intangible as inter-organizational relationships, it is necessary to gather the widest possible range of evidence from a wide range of sources. The adequacy of the evidence will have to be judged from an examination of the chapters which follow.

II

MAJOR CHANGES IN ONTARIO EDUCATION

Introduction

This chapter provides a broad overview of the major changes which have affected Ontario elementary and secondary education in recent years. The end of the second world war makes a convenient starting point though most of the changes which I describe began later than this. Of all the changes which have occurred I choose to focus on only three which have occurred within the field of elementary and secondary education. Post-secondary education has been in a state of great expansion and change during the same period but the organizational framework within which it has operated has generally been quite different and, I suspect, would not lend itself to the same type of analysis. It has been only peripheral to my interest.

Underlying the organizational changes which have occurred in Ontario education has been a massive growth and a considerable shift in school population from rural to urban areas. These shifts have been caused by both demographic changes and by increased retention rates in the secondary schools and they have had important influences on the organizational structure. They seem indirectly to have influenced the relationships between the Department and the local school boards, largely because they shifted the balance of

power among the school boards.

After describing the expansion of the education system in recent years, I trace the formal legal relationship between the Department and the local school boards. This has changed remarkably little during a period of great organizational change and still suggests that the relationship is highly centralized. The legal framework is of interest because it describes the formal relationship between the organizations. In other words, it is anologous to the organization chart of a single organization.

The description of the de jure relationship between the Department and the school boards leads naturally into the discussion of the three major changes which have provided the indicators of a changed mode of de facto interaction between the Department and the school boards. The first is the progressive enlargement of the local school boards; the second is the reorganization of the structure of the Department of Education itself and the third is the change in curriculum content and its mode of formulation. These three elements have been undergoing a process of change at approximately the same time and the task of this thesis is to trace their inter-relationships.

The Growth in Ontario Education

In Ontario, the total enrolment in elementary and secondary schools has increased from 664,780 to 1,986,796 from 1945 to 1969, an increase of almost two hundred percent (Fleming, 1971a:94). Numerically most of this enrolment increase occurred at the elementary

level though the smaller secondary system has been expanding at a much faster rate. The elementary enrolment increase is accounted for almost entirely by a growth in the population of elementary school age whereas the growth in secondary enrolment has been caused partly by a growth in the size of the age group, but also by greatly increased rates of retention (Fleming, 1971a:98). These factors combined have led to an increasing proportion of the population as a whole being involved in schooling. Between 1950 and 1968, the proportion of the population in school increased from 16.6% to 26.4% (Fleming, 1971a:98). This growth in the student numbers has been matched by an almost fourfold increase in the number of school teachers since the war and a more than twenty-fold increase in the revenues of school boards during the same period (Fleming, 1971a:260, 328).

These crude growth figures are impressive enough in themselves, but they become even more impressive when one realizes that the growth has been especially concentrated in the urban areas (Fleming, 1971a:110, 126), most notably in the suburbs. Fleming argues that there have been a number of reasons for these changes in the size and distribution of school population and though the issues are complicated they can be briefly summarized as follows. After the war there was a rapid increase in the birth rate among native Canadians and a high rate of immigration of young people. The immigrants have tended to settle in urban areas and the growth in the native Canadian population of school age has taken

place in the suburbs partly because of the movement of population out of the city centres and partly because of the movement of rural population into the towns and cities. In recent years there has been a decline in elementary enrolments as a result of falling birth and immigration rates and there is a projected decline in secondary enrolment in the late seventies.

The growth in elementary enrolment came quite suddenly and unpredictably and though the surge in secondary enrolments was to some extent predictable, the increased retention rates tended to outrun expectations. There was during the nineteen-fifties a shortage of teachers to teach elementary school and this shortage could not easily be met from the Canadian population since at that time the age-group from eighteen to twenty-four was relatively small. The shortage was met by immigration and has recently been changed into a surplus as the age structure of the population has once again changed.

There were a number of consequences of this rapid growth in school populations. Firstly, education administrators developed what has been called an "edifice complex", that is, an obsession with increasing the amount of classroom space. Secondly, since the growth was occurring mainly in the suburban areas, older schools in the centres of cities tended to be neglected and allowed to run down because funds were being channelled into areas where there were no schools. This has been happening on an international scale and has contributed to the problems of the inner city schools. Thirdly,

the increased retention rates in the secondary schools led to a disproportionate increase in costs since the later years of schooling tend to be more expensive. Fourthly, the growth in population and the increased retention rates placed increased pressure on the post-secondary system during the latter part of the period under study. Fifthly, and most importantly from the point of view of this study, the shift towards the urban areas made the small rural boards increasingly redundant, since the relative decline in rural school populations meant that the small school boards often administering a single school were not able to provide educational facilities which approached those in the cities.

This was, from our point of view, a major consequence of the demographic changes which occurred in the province. It tended to accentuate the pressures towards consolidation of school boards which derived from a pre-existing inability of the rural areas to match the urban in quality of educational services offered.

There seem to me to be two basic points to be made about the impact of educational expansion on the organizational structure of Ontario education. The first lies in the extent to which the general expansion tended to sustain the forces for enlargement of school districts in both rural and urban areas. The urban areas tended to expand to absorb the burgeoning suburbs. Suburban growth was taking place in municipal areas without the resource base to provide the educational facilities needed. The larger cities could provide these resources and so there were a number of accretions

to city boards of township boards in suburban areas. A case in point is the agreed acquisition of an additional twenty-three small boards by the London Board of Education in 1961.

The second basic point about the expansion lies in an expectation about its impact which is not born out by the data. One might assume that this dramatic expansion of the education system with particular pressure on the suburban areas might have led to an attempt to maintain a stable curriculum. One might, in other words, have expected the "edifice complex" to have become dominant. In fact, the rapid expansion of the education system did not lead to a tendency to ignore innovations in curriculum, but was matched by a period of great reform in both the content and mode of formulation of curriculum. It is this striking combination of events which requires explanation: rapid expansion of the education system; organizational changes at both the local and central levels and major reforms in curriculum. Before moving on to discuss the organizational and curricular changes, I wish to outline the formal legal relationship between the Department of Education and the local school boards.

The Legal Framework

The administration of education in Ontario is governed in the main by nine acts of the legislature of which four are of direct significance here. The nine acts are:

The Department of Education Act;
The Public Schools Act;
The Schools Administration Act;
The Secondary Schools and Boards of Education Act;
The Separate Schools Act;
The Ontario School Trustees' Council Act;
The Teachers' Superannuation Act;
The Teaching Profession Act;
The Trade Schools Regulation Act,

of which the first four are the ones concerned with the administration of public education. The Separate Schools Act is the analogy of the Public Schools Act for the Separate Schools; The Ontario School Trustees' Council Act is a very brief act establishing a forum for the expression of the collective opinion of school trustees; The Teachers' Superannuation Act is a long act dealing with the pension plan of school teachers; The Teaching Profession Act is the act defining and governing the Ontario Teachers' Federation, its constitution, membership, rights and duties and The Trade Schools Regulation Act is the act governing the establishment and running of private schools concerned with the teaching of trades. These five acts are not of interest here.

The Department of Education Act defines the duties, rights and responsibilities of the Minister of Education who acts through the Department whose duties are not defined except in as far as they are the duties of the Minister. The powers of the Minister in the area of curriculum are defined as follows:

The Minister shall define the courses of study in the prescribed subjects of Grade 13.

The Minister may,
a) recommend for the guidance of boards and teachers the program in kindergarten;

b) define the courses of study, recommend courses of study for the guidance of boards and teachers, or permit boards and teachers to define courses of study to be used with the Minister's approval, in the prescribed subjects for Grades 1 to 12 inclusive.
(Revised Statutes of Ontario, 1970, Chap.111, Sect. 9)

It is clear from this provision that the Minister has as much or as little control over the curriculum as he chooses to exercise and that any teacher or board involvement is at the discretion of the Minister. Even where the Minister permits boards to introduce their own courses of study, they can only do so with his approval. The legal framework in which the curriculum is formulated clearly defines the Department of Education as the controlling body.

Section Twelve of the same statute lists a total of 38 different areas in which the Minister may make regulations; each of these is quite broad and may comprise a field which will be described by a number of sub-sections. The Minister may, for example make regulations with respect to public and separate schools:

for the establishment, organization, administration and government thereof;
governing the admission of pupils;
governing the establishment, organization and administration of special education programs and services;
requiring boards to purchase books for the use of pupils;
governing the granting of permanent, temporary, interim, special and other certificates of qualification, and letters of standing;
prescribing the form of contract that shall be used for every contract entered into between a board and a . . . teacher;
governing the establishment and conduct of examinations and the settling of the results thereof. . . ;
for granting diplomas and certificates of standing;
prescribing the subjects that shall be taught, and the subjects that may be taught in Grades 1 to 13 inclusive;
prescribing the duties of pupils;
prescribing the qualifications and experience that will be recognized for the purpose of, i. qualifying persons to teach,
ii. admitting persons to schools, and
iii. permitting persons to write examinations;

governing the selection and approval of text-books, library books and reference books for use in Grades 1 to 13 inclusive;
governing the operation of schools for trainable retarded children;
prescribing the powers and duties of boards with respect to the appointment and duties of school attendance counsellors, and providing for the giving of notices and the making of returns in connection with school attendance;
prescribing the accommodation and equipment of buildings and the arrangement of premises;
for the establishemnt and regulation of school libraries.
(R.S.O., 1970, c. 111, s. 12 (1); 1971, c. 89, s. 3 (1,2))

This partial listing of the areas in which the Minister may make regulations according to the Department of Education Act indicates quite clearly that the Minister may make regulations in every major area of school life. In addition, he may regulate school gardens (!) and, in case there are any omissions, he may make regulations:

repecting any matter necessary or advisable to carry out effectively the intent and purpose of this Act.

In addition to defining the areas in which the Minister may make regulations, a sub-section (3) of the same Section Twelve of of the Department of Education Act stipulates that the Minister may make regulations,

a) providing for the apportionment and distribution of all moneys appropriated or raised by the Legislature for educational purposes;

b) prescribing the conditions governing the payment of legislative grants;

c) prescribing definitions of "approved cost" and "cost of operating" for the purpose of legislative grants to boards, and requiring that "approved cost" be subject to the approval of the Minister;

d) governing estimates that a board is required to prepare and adopt

and expenditures that may be made by a board for any purpose.
(R.S.O., 1970, c. 111, s. 12 (3))

The Department of Education Act defines the powers of the Minister and indicates the areas in which he may make regulations. If we looked solely at this act and judged the relationship between the school boards and the Department of Education in terms of it alone, we would assume that the relationship was simply that of principal and agents. If we look further at the acts governing education in Ontario we detect modifications to this simple view, but they are not very great.

The Public Schools Act and the Schools Administration Act define the duties and rights of public school boards, secondary school boards and boards of education (R.S.O. 1970, c. 385, s. 51; R.S.O 1970, c. 424, s. 33,34; 1971, c. 90, s.5). The duties are clearly and closely defined. The board must maintain the schools, keep them clean, well equipped and lit, the fences repaired and keep them open throught the school year as defined in the Act. Reading these sections of the act gives the clear impression that their authors had a conception of a board of trustees which was not flattering. The mundane detail into which these sections enter indicates quite clearly that there is an assumption by the authors of incompetence on the part of the school boards. On reading the sections of the acts which deal with the rights of the school boards, this impression is not dispelled. According to the Schools Administration Act (R.S.O. 1970, c. 424, s. 34; 1971, c.90, s.5), a school board may, among other things,:

appoint such committees as it considers expedient;
. . . appoint and remove such teachers and officers and servants as it considers expedient, determine the terms on which they are to be employed, and fix their salaries and prescribe their duties;
appoint a psychiatrist . . . or a psychologist . . . who shall perform his duties in accordance with this Act and the regulations;
dismiss the secretary or treasurer at any time . . . ;
determine the number, kind, grade, description and territorial boundaries of schools to be established and maintained;
acquire or rent school sites;
build school buildings on property owned by the board within its jurisdiction;
operate the playground as a park or playground and rink during the school term or in vacation or both . . . ;
organize and carry on gymnasium classes in school buildings . . . ;
procure registers, maps, globes, apparatus and prize books and establish and maintain school libraries;
provide books, stationery and other materials necessary in connection with the establishment and maintenance of any system introduced for the encouragement of thrift and the habit of saving;
invest moneys not required immediately by the board in bonds, debentures or other evidences of indebtedness of, or guaranteed by, the Government of Canada or the Province of Ontario, in term deposits with any chartered bank, or in term deposits with, or guaranteed investment certificates or debentures . . . provided that the bonds, debentures or other evidences of indebtedness . . . become due and payable before the moneys invested therein are required by the board, and all interest thereon shall be credited to the fund from which the moneys are invested;
appoint supervisors of the teaching staff . . . and every appointee shall hold the qualifications and perform the duties required in the Act or regulations;
expel, on the report of the principal, any pupil whose conduct is deemed to be so refractory that his presence in school is injurious to other pupils;
operate a cafeteria for the use of staff and students.

There are more sections and a long list of rights of boards, but they retain the flavour of the extract quoted above. The legal framework within which school boards operate is a peculiar mix of strong central control, freedom of action of the school boards and a paternalistic authoritarianism. What is clear is that the board may only act within the limits which are laid down by the Department of Education and that the acts governing education in Ontario give

the Department the power to control the school system as precisely as its officials and the Minister wish. Rights have been granted to the schools boards, it is true, and in some cases these are substantial rights, but the legal framework clearly views the school boards as the creatures of the Province and grants to the Province the tools to remove all those rights without changing the legal framework surrounding the relationship at all. Even in areas in which the board has been given considerable powers, as, for example, in the hiring and firing and payment of teachers, its freedom of action has been severely circumscribed by the clauses defining the rights and obligations of the teacher quite precisely. (R.S.O., 1970, c. 424, s. 16-21; 1971, c.90, s. 2 (1,2,3).

The legal relationship between the Department and the school boards is basically a principal/agent relationship, though there have been many modifications which indicate that the reality of the relationship is something different. The Acts are a confused mixture of clauses which have been added at various times and which imply quite mixed intentions on the part of succeeding Ministers. It would be possible to trace the development of the relationship through the legal changes which have been introduced over the years, but it seems to me that it would be misleading. Laws are only an imprecise indicator of the relationships they govern; they respond slowly to changes and they may reflect a reality which is quite outdated. Legal changes are much more complicated than changes in regulations and it may well be the case that the laws will be left unchanged because

there has been no need to change them. A Teacher is still required by the Schools Administration Act:

> to inculcate by precept and example respect for religion and the principles of Christian morality and the highest regard for truth, justice, loyalty, love of country, humanity, benevolence, sobriety, industry, frugality, purity, temperance and all other virtues,

and more mundanely:

> to deliver the register, the schoolhouse key and other school property in his possession to the board on demand . . .
> (R.S.O. 1970, c. 424, s. 21 (1,c,j)).

We cannot rely on the legal framework to describe the relationship between the Department and the school boards, especially since it is sufficiently confused that the Department has recently announced plans to introduce a Consolidated School Act in the Fall of 1973. In order to understand the relationships between the Department and the school boards we must look beyond the legal framework. The most striking thing about the laws governing education in Ontario is that there have been relatively few changes in their form or content since 1945. The rights and responsibilities of the various levels of administration are described in laws which use terminology redolent of an era in which there were small school boards responsible for the running of one or a few one room schools. Those days are gone and the changes which have been made in the laws almost all follow from the fundamental organizational change which has occurred in Ontario education since the second world war, the growth in size and the decline in number of the school boards.

Changes in Local Organization

Prior to 1945, the predominant form of local school administration at the elementary level was the public school board, responsible for the administration of schools within a school section or part of a township. These school boards were in many cases responsible for one school. There were in 1945, 5506 public and separate elementary school boards and 6897 elementary schools of which over 5000 had only one teaching area, that is, were one room schools (Ontario, Department of Education, 1968: Appendix A, Appendix B). Thus the vast majority of school boards were responsible for one elementary school which was almost certain to be the traditional one room schoolhouse of Ontario folklore. This form of organization was extremely inefficient, reflected a form of rural social organization based on villages which no longer existed and which possibly never had existed and was falling victim to the demographic changes which have been described earlier. Even as early as 1870, Egerton Ryerson drafted a bill which would have given every council the power "to form any of the Townships within its jurisdiction into one School Municipality, as is each City and Town, and to establish a Township Board of Common School Trustees." (quoted in:Ontario, Department of Education, 1968:2). Later the townships were given the authority to consolidate the school sections within their boundaries into Township School Areas. There was no compulsion and the reform was not being implemented at any great pace. In 1944, the Department published the first edition of a circular (Circular 15) entitled

The Township School Area which was published annually until 1951. This was a short informational pamphlet which was designed to answer queries concerning the implications of shifting rural elementary school administration from boards responsible for sections of townships to boards responsible for whole or major parts of townships. The circular, which was written as answers to a series of simple questions, was apparently aimed at trustees of public school boards and township councillors. Fleming (1971b:112-120) suggests that other forms of pressure were used by the Department to encourage school board amalgamation. The school inspectors apparently played a considerable role. These pressures when combined with the financial advantages accruing to amalgamated boards had a marked effect, such that between 1945 and 1964, the number of public school boards declined from 4847 to 2287 (Ontario, Department of Education, 1968: Appendix A).

In 1964, legislation was introduced to make the Township School Area the normal form of elementary school administrative unit in rural Ontario, that is to say, the consolidation of school sections was made compulsory. This had the effect of reducing the number of public school boards from 2287 to 940 (Ontario, Department of Education, 1968:Appendix A). At the same time as this compulsory change was introduced, it was made permissible for county councils to re-organize the educational units of administration within their boundaries to form county elementary school boards or county boards of education responsible for both elementary and secondary education.

This major organizational change, when it was introduced,

was merely accelerating a change which was well under way. The majority of school boards had already amalgamated voluntarily such that the Township School Area was already the commonest form of school organization in rural areas and such that the final push when it came did not apparently meet with much resistance. It would appear that not much more than political lethargy was involved, since, if there was opposition, it was not loud enough to reach the pages of either the Toronto Star or the Toronto Globe and Mail for the time. I will show later that the Department acted in such a way as to encourage the formation of a consensus.

This change in administrative units did not of itself reduce the number of one room schools in Ontario, but it provided the opportunity to combine a number of one room schools into a single central school. What the re-organization did do overnight was to increase the average number of schools within the jurisdiction of elementary school boards. In 1964, the average number of schools per elementary school board was just over two, whereas in 1965, after the consolidations, the average had risen to more than four (Ontario, Department of Education, 1968: Appendices A & B). The process of closing small schools and opening larger ones at the elementary level seems to have been proceeding quite steadily both before and after the 1965 amalgamations without a marked acceleration as a result of the change in organizational structure (Ontario, Department of Education, 1968: Appendix B).

The number of schools per public school board is rather a crude

measure of the growth of the school boards. Much better indicators are the pupil enrolment per board, the teachers employed per board and the total revenue per board.

TABLE II-1

PUPIL ENROLMENT, TEACHERS EMPLOYED AND TOTAL REVENUE BY PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOL BOARDS, 1955-1968

Year	Pupil Enrolment	Teachers Employed	Revenue ($'000)	School Boards	Pupils/ Board	Teachers/ Board	($'000) Revenue/ Board
1955	676,246	23,246	132,048	3,173	213	7	42
1964	925,068	31,505	322,252	2,287	404	14	141
1965	949,374	32,783	346,108	940	1,010	35	368
1968	1,021,676	39,290	547,064	721	1,417	55	758

Sources: Ontario, Dept. of Education, 1968: Appendix A; Fleming, 1971a: 95, 264, 334.

These figures demonstrate quite clearly that the size and the resources of the elementary school boardswere increasing steadily during this period and that the consolidations of 1965 accelerated this trend. The important point to note is that the pupils, teachers and the revenues per board were going up faster than the overall growth for the province. The education system, as measured by these indicators, was expanding overall at the same time as the number of school boards was declining. In other words, the average school board was growing faster than the rate of growth for the province as a whole and was therefore less weak relative to the Department of Education. Though this trend was mitigated by the increasing share of the costs being born by the provincial treasury which will be discussed below, it is augmented by the increasingly high level of qualification

of the teachers in the province. This point will be evaluated after a brief discussion of the comparable growth rate figures for the secondary boards of education.

During this period of rapid change in elementary education, the administration of secondary education was relatively stable. Partly this was because the numbers of secondary schools and secondary school boards was far smaller but also it was because the growth in secondary school enrolments occurred later than that in elementary schools (Fleming, 1971a:94,96). There were in 1945, 261 secondary school boards which increased in number to 306 in 1955 and decreased again to 230 by 1968 (Ontario, Department of Education, 1968; Appendix A; Fleming, 1971a:156). The normal pattern for these school boards was that they were responsible, in the rural areas, for the administration of a single secondary school. The catchment areas of these school boards did not match the boundaries of the public school boards nor those of the townships. They were quite distinct entities, separately administered and drawing their pupils from an area which was defined in terms of the catchment area of a single school and not in terms of any local government boundaries. It was these boards which were the most difficult to combine into the county boards when the 1969 amalgamations came.

In spite of the relative stability of the organizational pattern associated with secondary school boards, these boards also grew during the period in question and a measure of their growth is given in Table II-2 overleaf.

TABLE II-2

PUPIL ENROLMENT, TEACHERS EMPLOYED AND TOTAL REVENUE BY PUBLIC SECONDARY SCHOOL BOARDS, 1955-1968

Year	Pupil Enrolment	Teachers Employed	Revenue ($'000)	School Boards	Pupils/ Board	Teachers/ Board	($'000) Revenue/ Board
1955	174,562	8,036	72,434	306	570	26	237
1964	395,301	19,205	288,159	257	1,538	75	1,121
1965	418,738	21,659	316,791	257	1,629	84	1,233
1968	500,807	30,203	528, 517	230	2,177	131	2,298

Sources: Ontario, Dept. of Ed., 1968: Appendix A; Fleming, 1971b:95,265,337.

The trend for secondary education is similar to that for elementary education, though not so marked. Nevertheless, the rate of growth of each of the indicators of growth for the school boards was definitely faster than for the province as a whole. Once again there has been a relative shift of resources to the school boards as they have enlarged over the years. If one continues this mode of analysis in order to test the impact of further amalgamations the picture becomes even more striking when one examines the figures for the 129 public boards of education remaining in 1969. The number of pupils per board of education in 1969 was 26,142, the number of teachers was 970 and the revenue per board amounted to $9,791,721.

Qualifications of Personnel

Over the years, the average quality of staff in Ontario has been rising steadily (Ontario Teachers' Federation, 1967:103; Humphreys, 1969:7,10; Fleming, 1971c:9-14). Further, and this is the interesting

feature of Humphreys' article, though there has consistently been a gap between rural and urban areas in most measures of educational quality and notably in the qualifications, salary and support services provided to teachers, this gap has been narrowing at the same time as the gap in size between rural and urban boards has been narrowing (Humphreys, 1969:42). Unfortunately, the quality of the data in this regard is very poor and it is not possible to make anything other than rather tentative statements, but it does appear that the enlargement of the rural school boards did improve the level of quality of the teaching personnel and the range of ancillary services being offered. Whatever the cause and whatever the extent of the narrowing of the rural-urban gap, it seems fairly clear that the level of training of the teaching personnel has risen during the period under study and that this rise has been matched by a growth in the number of ancillary personnel and services provided by school boards. The school boards during the period after the second world war grew, on average, more quickly than the system as a whole, acquiring more schools, pupils, teachers and revenue per board as the boards declined in number. At the same time the quality of the personnel employed improved. These points will form crucial elements in my argument that the enlargement of the school boards had the consequence of reducing the possibility of direct coercive control by the Department over the behaviour of the boards.

The 1969 Consolidations

It became apparent to the officials in the Department, for administrative reasons and also because of the demographic changes which had been occurring, that the local administration of education in Ontario would have to be further re-organized. The decision was made and rather unexpectedly announced, in 1967, to make the unit of educational administration at the local level the county board of education. In 1968, legislation was introduced to make the existing[2] county boundaries the boundaries for new boards of education responsible for both elementary and secondary education[3]. After the re-organization was completed in 1970, there was a total of 76 boards of education for public education in Ontario. There were 38 county boards in Southern Ontario, one for each of the defined cities, 6 in Metropolitan Toronto, 1 in the Ottawa region and 28 in Northern Ontario (Fleming, 1971b:150-151).

This local re-organization brought to an end the period of structural change which had begun in the years following the war. The 1965 changes had followed a quiet but steady period of voluntary amalgamation and had not met with much public resistance. The latest consolidations were not taken so calmly at the local level

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[2] This did not include the "defined" cities of Hamilton, London and Windsor, the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton nor Metropolitan Toronto. The existing boards remained in most of these areas.

[3] This applied to Southern Ontario only, where there were counties, but similar principles were followed, where possible, in Northern Ontario.

and produced a violently hostile reaction. This reaction and its causes will be briefly discussed later in the thesis.

At the same time as these changes were being introduced into the local organization of education, there were major reforms of the organizational structure of the Department underway. These reflected changed attitudes in the Department and indicated those functions which were being given increased prominence.

The Re-organization of Departmental Structure

The structure of the Department of Education is not defined in law and its responsibilities are legally those of the Minister "who shall preside over and have charge of" it (R.S.O. 1970, c. 111, s. 2 (2)). The range of duties of the Minister and his Department is such that, by implication, the organization must be large.

Since the second world war, the Department of Education has undergone a number of re-organizations.[4] These reflect shifts in the views held by officials in the Department concerning its role and the nature of the educational exercise. Historically, the role of the provincial government in Ontario had been increasing in both the area of educational policy-making and educational administration. With the election of a new Conservative administration in 1943, these two functions of the Department of Education were explicitly divided with the creation (following an original plan of 1906!) of the post of Chief Director, responsible for educational policy

[4] The following discussion draws heavily on Fleming's description of the changes in Departmental administrative structure (Fleming, 1971b:1-96).

and the post of Deputy Minister, responsible for the administration of the Department. During the early years of this split is was not clear whether either function was considered dominant, but after 1946, the Chief Director appeared above the Deputy Minister in the organization chart. Below the top level of the organization, the division into policy-making and administration did not appear; the next level of administration consisted of the Superintendents of Elementary Education, Secondary Education and Professional Training with responsibilities for both policy and administration. The Superintendents of Elementary and Secondary Education were responsible for a wide range of tasks, possibly the most important of which was the inspection of teachers. Below the Superintendent of Secondary Education there was a separation between vocational and academic education with separate inspectorates for each. The Superintendent of Professional Training was mainly responsible for the training of teachers in the "normal" schools which were directly administered by the Department. This last Superintendent was also responsible for the control of the schools for the blind and the deaf which were also in the direct domain of the Department.

There were a number of Departmental functions which were not controlled through any of the three Superintendents but which were directly under the control of the Deputy Minister or the Chief Director. Some of these were concerned with internal functions of the Department, including the Provincial Archivist, the Accountant, the Statistician and the Librarian of the Legislative Library. Some

of the direct responsibilities of the Chief Director or the Deputy Minister dealt with external relationships of the Department, including, most importantly, the Registrar and his assistants who dealt with the records of student progress and the issuing of diplomas, the Inspector of Public Libraries, the Directors of Art, Music and Guidance and the Editor of Textbooks.[5]

It is clear, from an examination of the simplified organization chart overleaf, that the structure of the Department grew in a somewhat arbitrary way. New functions were added to an existing structure in positions which were clearly inappropriate. For example, the Director of Audio-Visual Education was a subordinate of the Superintendent of Elementary Education who also oversaw the activities of the Director of French Instruction. It is clear that that these two functions are not uniquely in the domain of elementary education. Equally there is no clear connection between the administration of schools for the blind and deaf and the professional training of teachers, although, of course, these schools do pose special problems in teacher training. The fact that the Directors of Art, Music and Guidance were in a 'staff' relationship to the Superintendents, while the Director of French Instruction was in a 'line' relationship to the Superintendent of Elementary Instruction is an indication of the accretion of functions

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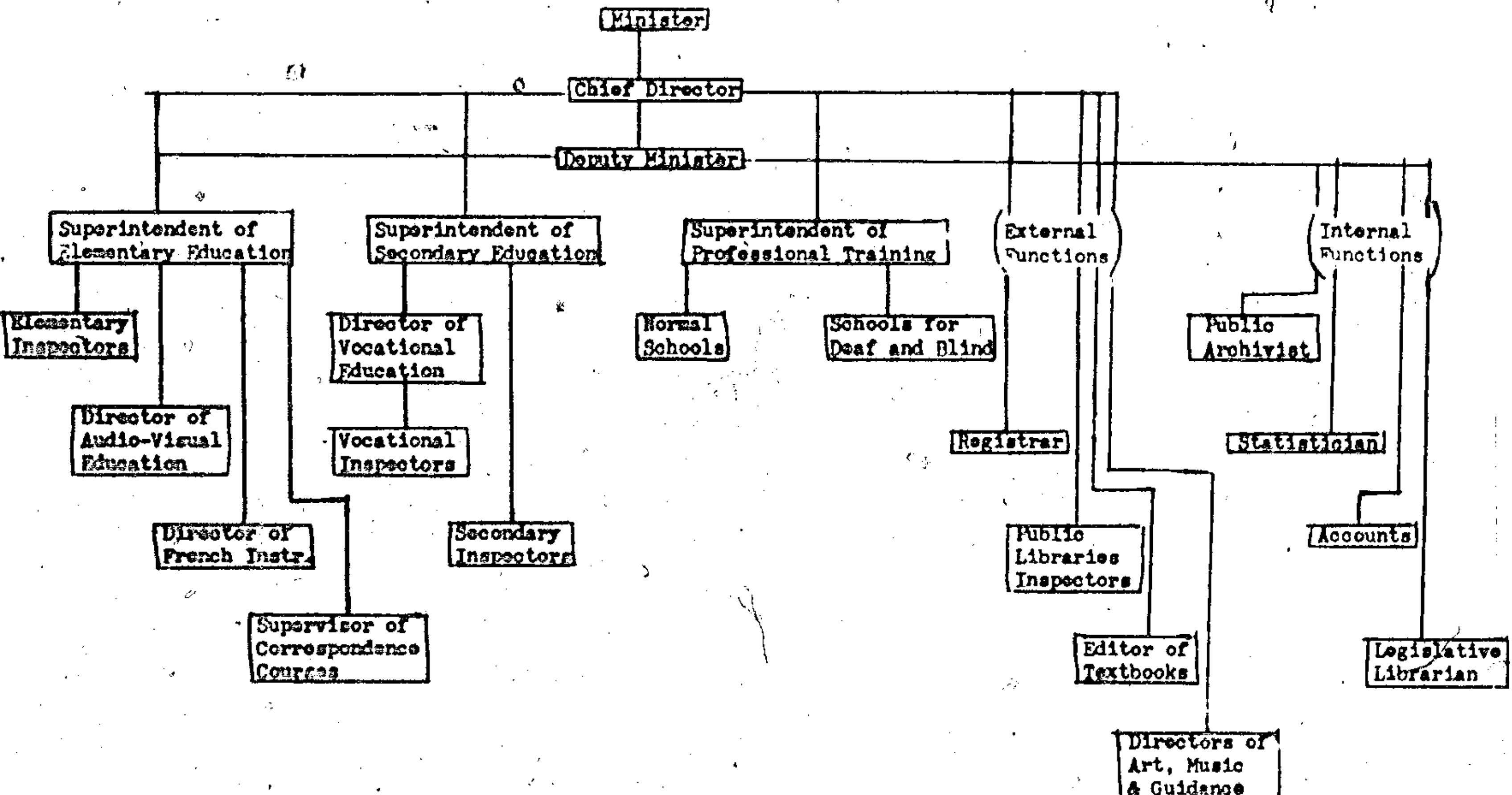
[5] The distinction between "internal" and "external" functions is not made by the Department of Education or by other authors. It is my own and suffers from weaknesses of which I am aware. I nevertheless think it useful to distinguish between external functions which involve inter-organizational interaction and internal functions which involve solely intra-organizational relations.

SIMPLIFIED ORGANIZATION CHART OF THE ONTARIO DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, 1946



Source: Adapted from Chart I-2 in Fleming, 1971b: 8

in a disorderly manner. The attempt in the 1944 organization chart (Fleming, 1971b:6) to separate the policy and administration functions in the offices of Chief Director and Deputy Minister respectively would appear to have been doomed to failure in that the attempt at this division took place only at the top level of the organization and was not reflected in lower levels of the hierarchy.

Some of these difficulties with the structure of the Department were apparently recognized in that the original organization chart for 1946 indicated horizontal lines of co-ordinating responsibility and diagonal lines of subordinate responsibility. The three superintendents, for example, were given responsibility for co-ordinating their activities directly and not merely through their superiors and the Director of Art was held to be partially responsible to each of the three superintendents.

In spite of this confusion, a number of principles emerge. Firstly, those responsible for drawing up the organization chart attempted to maintain constant and uniform spans of control. This is the probable explanation for the peculiar placement of certain sections within the Department. Secondly, there were seen to be clear divisions between academic and vocational, elementary and secondary education. Equally, the main function assigned to the three superintendents, and especially the superintendents of elementary and secondary education was the controlling and inspection function. Finally, there does not appear on the organization chart any mention of the curriculum development function which

has become so important recently.

The picture which emerges from an analysis of the organization chart of the Department at the end of the war is of a situation in which there were changes in organization structure but in which the basic nature of the education remained unchanged. There was no curriculum development section because there was only one, stable curriculum based on traditional subjects and the role of the Department was to ensure that the curriculum was followed in the schools. This is the organization chart of the legal relationship.

A Gradual Shift in Emphasis

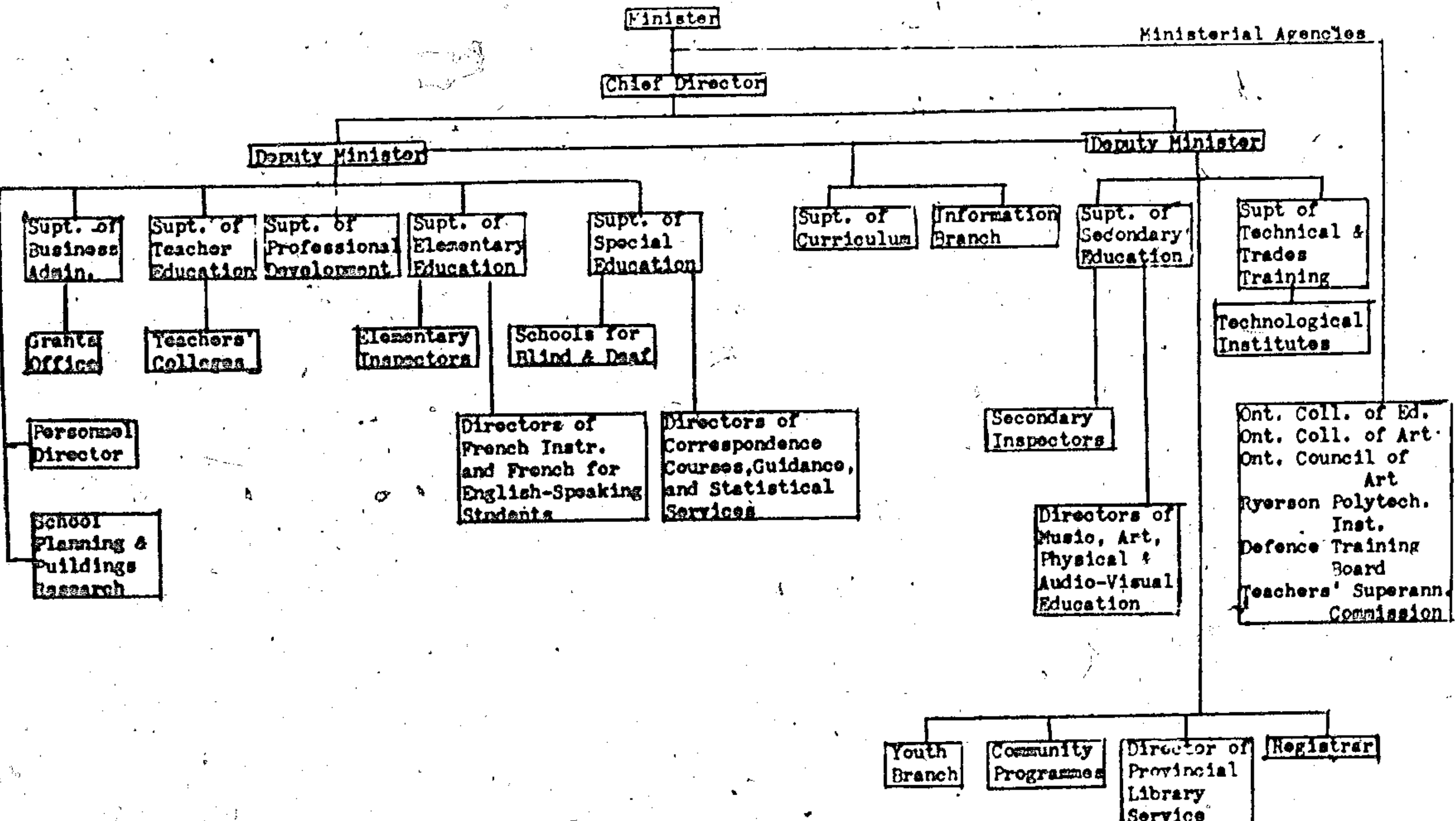
Between 1944 and 1956 there were no major organizational changes in the Department (Fleming, 1971b:9) and those which were introduced in the latter year were more in the nature of adjustments rather than major re-organizations. There were now two Deputy Ministers beneath the Chief Director, one of whom was primarily responsible for elementary education and professional training, the other primarily for secondary and vocational education, though both had as their subordinates a number of superintendents dealing with both internal and external functions. In 1956, the Curriculum Branch was formed with responsibility for the development of curriculum and including the responsibility of the former Editor of Textbooks. The Superintendent was responsible to both Deputy Ministers. In addition, the new post of Superintendent of Special Services was created, responsible to one of the Deputy

Ministers and with control over a number of functions, both internal and external, which did not really fit elsewhere in the organizational structure. Hence his title.

By 1964, as the simplified organizational chart overleaf shows, there had been a large increase in the number of functions which the Department was performing. This led to an increase in the number of posts at the level of superintendent or equivalent. One Deputy Minister was by now responsible for elementary and special education, teacher training and professional development; the other Deputy Minister was responsible for secondary and vocational education, the new Youth Branch and community programmes. In addition, each Deputy Minister was responsible for some of the internal functions of the Department. The structure of the Department did not reflect a division of functions between internal administrative functions of the Department and those concerned with the administration of education in Ontario which I have labelled external functions. There was an attempt to separate planning from administration with the maintenance of the Curriculum Branch and the creation of the School Planning and Buildings Research Section.

The changes which took place in the structure of the Department between 1946 and 1964 appear to represent three trends. Firstly, the organization chart was tidied up: lines of responsibility were more clearly drawn with the abolition of horizontal and diagonal lines of responsibility involving subordination to more than one

SIMPLIFIED ORGANIZATION CHART OF THE ONTARIO DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, 1964



Source: Adapted From Fleming (1971b:9)

superior; the structure was made more strictly hierarchical and more pyramid-shaped with a reduction in the number of individuals reporting to the Chief Director and the Deputy Ministers or, in other words, a shift occurred from a fairly 'flat' structure to a more 'tall' organization with a reduction in the 'span of control' of senior personnel; a clarification of the relative positions of Chief Director and Deputy Minister, the former being clearly superior to the latter and the attempt to group similar functions under the same superintendent. The only somewhat anomalous branches of the Department were the Curriculum Branch and the Information Branch which were subordinate to both Deputy Ministers; in the case of the former this could be clearly understood in terms of its role in relation to the development of curriculum for all levels of education. The Information Branch was in a 'staff' relationship to the organization as a whole, but then so was the Personnel Branch which was the responsibility of one Deputy Minister alone. Even with these small anomalies, the organization chart for 1964 makes a great deal more sense than the organization chart from two decades previously.

The second main trend which the changes seem to indicate is a growth in the number of tasks which the Department came to perform. It is difficult to quantify this growth, since many of the titles changed and the organizational charts were published in varying degrees of detail, but it appears that the number of branches in the Department approximately doubled between 1946 and 1964. This is important, not only for the structure

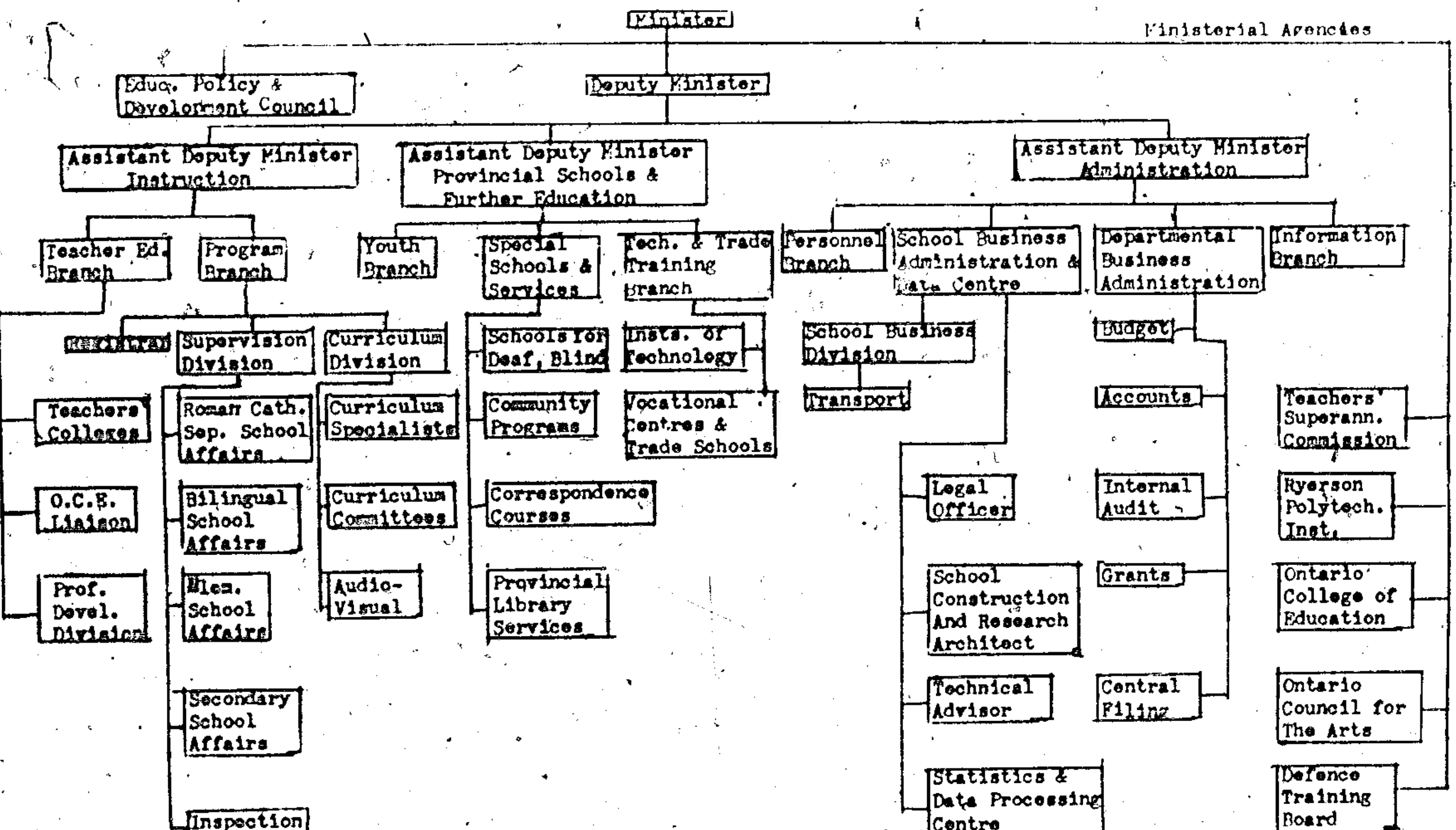
of the organization and for the administrative problems it posed, but also as an indicator of changes in the scope of the educational enterprise in Ontario and the role which the Department of Education was seen to play.

The third main trend is related to the second in that the functions which were added were new functions for the Department and tended to be in the areas of research, planning and development and away from the supervisory functions. This point will become clearer after a discussion of the major reform of 1965 and the relatively minor change which was introduced in 1972.

A Major Re-organization

The main change which the 1965 re-organization introduced was the separation of the administrative and educational functions. The title of Chief Director was dropped and the equivalent post was named Deputy Minister in accordance with civil service practice; subordinate to the Deputy Minister were the Assistant Deputy Ministers for Instruction, for Provincial Schools and Further Education and for Administration. The first named assistant deputy minister was responsible for both elementary and secondary education and for teacher education. Included in his responsibilities were supervision of all elements of elementary and secondary education, its inspection and the development of curriculum. The Assistant Deputy Minister for Provincial Schools and Further Education became responsible for all the functions which did not logically belong within the domain of either of the other Assistant Deputy Ministers,

SIMPLIFIED ORGANIZATION CHART OF THE ONTARIO DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, 1965



Source: Adapted From Fleming (1971b:20)

that is, all functions which were outside the mainstream of elementary and secondary instruction and which were not purely administrative. This Assistant Deputy Minister was thus responsible for special schools, vocational education, the relatively new Youth Branch, which dealt with voluntary and extra-curricular services for young people, correspondence courses, community programmes and the Provincial Library Service.

The Assistant Deputy Minister for Administration was responsible for the internal administration of the Department of Education and also for providing information and assistance to local school boards in the administration of their schools, a kind of management consultancy role. The creation of this new post was the first firm attempt to separate the administrative tasks of the Department from its more directly educational functions.

The creation of the Educational Policy and Development Council to advise the Minister and the strengthening of the Curriculum Branch indicated a desire on the part of the organization's planners to encourage both short term detailed planning of curricula and issues of long term policy development.

In 1965, before the change in organisational structure took place, the first five of the ten regional offices were opened. These offices, established around the province were designed to de-centralise the Department's functions and to provide, in the jargon of the Department, the "interface" with the local school boards. The functions of the regional offices derived from the

responsibilities of both the Instruction Division and the Administration Division. The regional offices were concerned with supervision and inspection, curriculum consultancy and assistance with business administration, though they appeared in the original organisation chart as subordinate to the Assistant Deputy Minister for Instruction within the Supervision Division.

With the consolidation into County School boards in 1969, the Department of Education ceased its supervision and inspection function entirely so that this was one task the regional offices were no longer required to perform. According to Fleming (1971b:52), the Regional Directors were of great importance in preparing the re-organization of 1969, working with the Interim School Organizing Committees of local trustees which were established to smooth the transition from township boards to county boards.

Though the 1965 re-organization introduced a more coherent pattern of organization for the Department, the structure still reflected a number of principles, none of which were well satisfied. There was an attempt to separate administration and more directly educational functions. Equally there was an attempt to separate the delivery of services and the planning and development of future programmes. Thus, within the domain of the Assistant Deputy Minister for Instruction were sections of the Department which administered current programmes and other sections which were concerned with the development of new curricula. Thus within the Program Branch we find both the Supervision Division and the Curriculum Division.

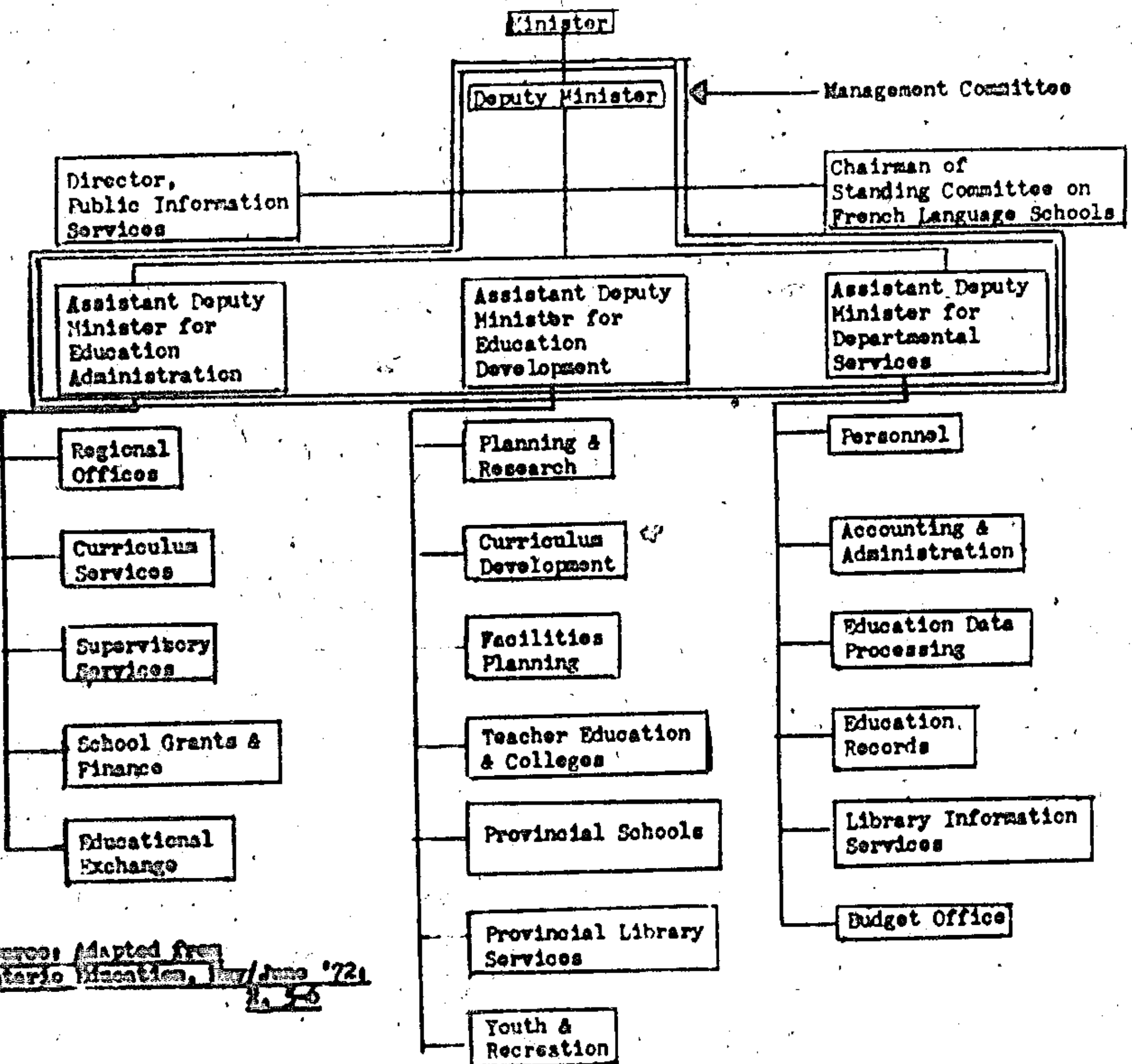
Thus the attempt to divide the administrative functions and the delivery functions and to separate both of these from research and development was not entirely successful and it took the latest re-organization of Departmental structure in April 1972 to bring these divisions to a conclusion.

The Latest Re-organization

The re-organisation which took place in the Spring of 1972 continued the trend towards the separation of administrative and planning functions with the creation of three new divisions, each under the control of an Assistant Deputy Minister. The administrative functions were divided between the Education Administration Division, which is concerned with what I have termed the external functions of the Department (or Ministry as it is now called), and the Departmental Services Division which deals with the internal tasks of Departmental administration. The Education Development Division is concerned with curriculum development, the planning of resources and facilities, research into future needs and "the long range development of the educational system" (Ontario Education, May/June 1972:6). This last division also currently includes some "delivery services" though these are only temporarily within this division to ensure balanced spans of control within the Department.

There are only three major departures from pre-existing practice in the latest structural change. Firstly, the Applied Arts and Technology Branch, formerly the Technological and Trades

SIMPLIFIED ORGANIZATION CHART OF THE ONTARIO MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, 1972



Source: Adapted from Ontario Education, May/June '72, 2, 5-6

Training Branch, which was responsible for supervision of the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology, was transferred to the newly constituted Ministry of Colleges and Universities. Secondly, higher status was given to the problem of French language instruction through the creation of the Standing Committee on French Language Schools, whose chairman reports directly to the Deputy Minister. Thirdly, there was established the Management Committee, consisting of the Deputy Minister and the three Assistant Deputy Ministers to ensure "more effective co-ordination in matters of policy and operation" (Ontario Education, 1972:3).

This most recent re-organization could more accurately be described as a re-shuffle, especially in relation to the major organizational change which took place in 1965. This is unsurprising since the earlier re-organization occurred after a period of almost twenty years without any major structural changes, whereas the more recent change came after only seven further years. It could not unreasonably be described as the completion of the changes begun in 1965.

The Development of the Department

I have described the organizational changes in the Department in some detail because they symbolize its changing functions and the changing views of its role which top administrators hold. The Department had traditionally concerned itself with direct supervision and regulation of education in the province. It administered a curriculum which was stable and unchanging. The only changes which

were introduced involved the addition of functions which did not interfere with the basic role of the Department, though they were added in such a way as to create a confused organization structure.

In 1956 the beginnings of a new role for the Department appear with the creation of the Curriculum Branch. This marked the first tentative move towards the major change in Departmental structure and function which was to follow. Basically, the role of the Department was shifting from regulation and control of education in the province towards research and planning. The regulation and control gradually came to occupy a less important position within the Department. Initially, there was no reduction in the supervisory function of the Department, but there was a relative decline with the growth of the Curriculum Branch. Later, with the development of the Regional Offices, supervisory functions were transferred out of the central Departmental organization and finally, with the creation of the county boards throughout Southern Ontario in 1969, departmental supervision of teaching in public schools ceased entirely. The most dramatic change came with the 1965 re-organization, when there was a great increase in the number of staff employed in the curriculum and textbooks areas of the department while the inspection functions were performed by a relatively static number of employees. The table below illustrates this change by showing the numbers of employees in the curriculum and the textbooks areas of the Department and the numbers employed in some of the other branches of the Department during the years from 1964

to 1966. Unfortunately it is not possible to extend these figures into later years because the Reports of the Minister ceased publishing detailed breakdowns of the employment of Departmental staff after 1966. Also the growth of the Regional Offices, which combined the supervisory and consultation functions, makes it difficult to classify personnel. Nevertheless, the table gives an indication of the change which occurred over this three year period and, though there is nothing to suggest that the trend of growth in the Curriculum Branch continued, neither is there anything to suggest a reversal. The figures in the table should not be assumed to be completely accurate since they have been culled from different sources and the raw employment data suffers from changes in job titles during this period, which was, after all, a period of great change. The figures are close approximations to the true situation and fairly represent the trend.

TABLE II-3

THE DISTRIBUTION OF STAFF WITHIN DIFFERENT BRANCHES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, 1964-1966

Branch	1964	1965	1966
Curriculum and Texts	3	22**	31**
Elementary Inspection	15	—	—
Secondary Inspection	16*	—	—
Supervision (includes Area Superintendents)	—	26	28
Technical and Trades	5	9	9
Totals	39	57	68

*Includes one vacancy. **Includes the Secretary to the Provincial Committee.
Source: Reports of the Minister, 1964, 1965, 1966.

As the above table clearly indicates, the growth in employment in the major branches listed was quite large, but was almost entirely taken up by growth in the Curriculum Branch.

In addition to growth in the number of employees in the curriculum development section of the Department, a perusal of the organization charts for the various years indicates quite clearly, in spite of changes in nomenclature and the degree of detail of the charts, that the new functions which were added were largely in the area of planning and development rather than in the area of "delivery". Between 1946 and 1965, there appeared, in addition to the Curriculum Branch, the Professional Development Branch, the Division of School Planning and Building Research, the Policy and Development Council and the Community Programmes Branch. The only major innovation in the area of "delivery" during this period was the creation of the Technological and Trades Training Branch as a result of the Federal-Provincial Technical and Vocational Training Agreement, though many of its functions were "previously exercised by the Secondary Education Branch" (Fleming, 1971b:10). During this period, the Information Branch was also created, and though there were also other posts created at the level of Superintendent, these did not involve the addition of functions, merely the re-organization of existing ones.

After 1965, there was a major devolution of functions with the creation and expansion of the Regional Offices. Subject inspectors lost their inspecting functions and became "program

consultants".

In the area of "delivery", there was only the creation of the Applied Arts and Technology Branch and of the Retarded Schools Division within the Special Schools and Services Branch, which occurred after 1965. The former branch, which replaced the existing Technological and Trades Training Branch, was transferred out of the Department in 1972 and the latter division was dissolved and its functions transferred to the Supervision Section.

In the area of "educational development", however, there were a number of major innovations after 1965. The Educational Television Branch was established as was the Cultural Exchange Office, which was responsible for "promoting educational and cultural programs between Ontario on the one hand and other provinces (particularly Quebec) on the other, and also for advising and assisting educational institutions in cultural exchange activities." (Fleming, 1971b:83). Also established was the Standing Committee on French Language Schools, which introduced a "means for more effectively recognizing and co-ordinating the particular needs of French language schooling." (Ontario Education, 1972:3).

It is clear that the trend in the organizational changes in the Department of Education since the second world war, when seen against the background of changes in the local organization of education in the province, has been toward a reduction in the degree of central control over the day-to-day administration of education and a growth in the research and development functions.

It is further clear that this was the intent of the top administrative personnel who introduced the organisational changes. As the Minister of Education remarked in his press statement when announcing the 1972 re-organization[6]:

> The responsibilities of the ministry in carrying out its role . . . are:
>
> The conducting and sponsoring of research and planning relating to the short and long range needs of education in Ontario.
>
> The formulation of government policies consistent with these plans.
>
> The development of educational programs and activities appropriate to these policies and, where practicable, delegation of their implementation outside the Ministry.
>
> The establishment of measurable guidelines and evaluation of the effectiveness of program delivery against these.
>
> The provision of assistance necessary to improve the capacity of school boards to carry out effectively their responsibilities for educational administration.
>
> . . .
> Educational policy cannot be satisfactorily formulated if the senior management of the Department are unduly occupied with the direct management of program delivery. The ministry must better equip the politician to deal with issues of policy and it can do this only by ensuring that a significant portion of its human resources are assigned to the management process of planning and development, receiving feedback and evaluating but not being directly involved in program delivery.

These remarks of the Minister imply a view of the relationship between the Department and the school boards which approximates what Hartley (1971) describes as a partnership view. The local school board is no longer seen as the agent of the Department of Education but as its partner in a common enterprise. As the Minister had

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[6] The quotation from the press release is taken from Ontario Education (1972:4,6), since the original is not available.

remarked earlier in the same press release:

What must be accepted, not just in word but in organizational terms and in action, is that responsibility for the delivery of programs of education has been decentralized and delegated to the local community level - to school board trustees and officials and to school principals and to teachers. Such decentralization does not imply abdication by the minister or the ministry, but merely that responsibility is shared in an essential unity of purpose.
(Ontario Education, 1972:3)

The organisational changes in the Department of Education and in the local administration of education would appear to indicate that the conditions exist for the official view of the situation to be accurate. The local school boards have been enlarged and have acquired more revenue and a more highly qualified personnel; the Department of Education has given up the direct supervision of educational practice in the schools and has re-organized its structure to indicate a greater emphasis on research and development. It remains only to examine the reality of educational policy-making in the area of "delivery" to discover if the official view is in fact accurate. There are two ways in which we can measure the extent to which the local school boards in fact have control over "program delivery". The first is to examine the extent to which they control the content of the "program" they deliver and the second is to investigate the extent to which they have the resources to implement their policies. In other words, do the local school boards determine the content of the school curriculum to a greater extent than they did before the educational reforms of the post war era and do the school boards have access to sufficient funds and the right to independent use of these funds in order to carry out

their policies? These two questions will be discussed in the remaining two sections of this chapter, though a partial answer to the second has already been given in the discussion of the impact of school board enlargement (see above, pages 98-103).

The Control over Curriculum

It is a humorous cliché of Ontario education that the Chief Director of Education was able, as recently as the mid-nineteen-fifties, to look at his watch at any time during the school day and know precisely what was being taught to all the pupils of the province, right down to the precise page of the text in use! This, like most clichés, was probably a grave distortion of the truth many years before the nineteen-fifties, but the Ontario schools have historically been subject to a high degree of central control over curriculum. The Minister of Education, in 1968, quoted from a description of Ontario Education published in 1941 in a book authored by J.M. McCutcheon, which indicates, in somewhat purple prose, the extent of central control over curriculum:

> . . .Secondary schools in Ontario from the Grammar School Act of 1853 to the present have, apart from rare intervals of relaxation, been subject to a rigorous process of centralisation under bureaucratic control in the Provincial Capital at Toronto. . . . The secondary education of the Province has been carried on entirely in high schools and collegiate institutes, whose curricula, equipment, teachers' qualifications, examinations, and modes of instruction are all prescribed and inspected by the Government. Such a system was first evolved by officials like Egerton Ryerson and George Paxton Young, in order to rescue unwilling municipalities from the chaos of the pioneer schools, and its success in this regard led later bureaucratic experts like George W. Ross and John Seath to push official prescription to a fantastic extreme. The result,

> by the time of Seath's death in 1919, was a highly efficient educational machine, uniform throughout the province of three million people and reaching its maximum competence in the collegiate institutes, where the staffs were made up exclusively of university graduates, each department head was an honour graduate and a specialist, and the plant and equipment measured up to high technical standards. "Faultily faultless, icily regular", the provincial system was at once one of the most uniformly efficient in the world and one of the most paralysing to individual initiative in teacher or school. (Davis, 1968b:1-2)

This picture of the schools of Ontario in 1919 clearly no longer applied at the time its author was writing. As a description of Ontario schools in 1950 it would have been an extreme caricature; if written today it would be a blatant falsehood. The history of education in Ontario since the second world war has been a history of steady, but not unremitting, movement towards greater flexibility and autonomy for school boards, teachers and pupils in the area of curriculum.

Before 1949, entrance to high school was determined by the results of the high school entrance examination which dated from the time that elementary schooling had been the normal limit for the majority of children. Though the <u>Programme of Studies for Grades I to VI of the Public and Separate Schools, 1937</u> had long subscribed to a 'progressive' view of the nature and role of curriculum, it was not until the abolition of the entrance examination and the introduction of the Porter Plan by the then Minister of Education, Dana Porter, that the beginnings of moves towards the reduction of central control over the elementary curriculum appeared. The 1937 programme of studies, commonly known as the Grey Book, derived much of its inspiration from the Hadow reports in Britain. The subject

areas were quite loosely defined and the proportion of time to be spent on each was not rigidly prescribed. Nevertheless, the presence of an external examination imposed a rigidity and uniformity on the final years of elementary school and it was Porter's abolition of the final examination, coupled with his new age division of the schools which allowed the spirit of the gray book to inform elementary education at least. The Porter Plan divided the years of schooling into four divisions: primary, from grades one to three; junior, from grades four to six; intermediate, from grades seven to ten and senior from grades eleven to thirteen. The important division, potentially at least, was the intermediate in that it spanned the boundaries of elementary and high school and could have allowed for the gradual loosening of the high school curriculum in the early years. At about the same time, in 1950, the significance of the Porter Plan was enhanced by the return to the practice of recommending rather than prescribing textbooks. As the report of the Minister for 1950 noted:

> It is interesting to note that in 1950 we have reverted to the use of recommended books after many years of rigidly authorized readers and other texts whose exclusive use provided uniformity but not variety. Recommended lists of books now permit the teacher considerable latitude of choice. . . . The substitution of primary, junior and intermediate divisions for the older classification is a deliberate attempt to free the school system from the shackles of the one-grade, one-book, one-year organization. Experiments with the new organization are in progress in many centres throughout the province. The freedom it permits should help to solve some of the problems of retardation of pupils held back because of weakness in one subject or another. A free organization should permit progress in each subject at a rate suitable to the capacity of the individual, and the provision of subject matter related to his interests and needs. Where formerly uniformity was thought desirable and a detailed curriculum was imposed by the central authority, local authorities

are now being encouraged to prepare their own courses. Experiments are being carried on in the development of new curricula with particular reference to local needs and interests. Special attention is being given to the needs of the considerable number of pupils who will leave school as soon as they have passed beyone the age of compulsory attendance.
(Ontario, Department of Education, 1951:6-7)

This then was a time of great experiment. Local curriculum committees were being set up and were developing courses for local use. Fleming (1971c:134-7) suggests that these committees were active and that major local revisions of courses up to grade ten took place; this is born out by the responses of some of my interviewees who were teachers at the time. The impetus was lost, however, and Fleming, drawing on an unpublished doctoral dissertation, suggests that the authoritarian views of W.J. Dunlop, Minister of Education for the bulk of the nineteen fifties, were the major cause. Though I would argue that this is an over-simplification and fails to take into account some of the organizational factors involved, there is no question that Dunlop's view of the aims of education were certainly much more 'essentialist' than those of Porter. In the report of the Minister for 1952 (Ontario, Department of Education, 1953:2), the preamble remarks, over Dunlop's signature:

The objective of our work in this Department is to produce loyal, intelligent, right-thinking, religious and freedom-loving citizens to take their place in developing, by all legitimate means at their disposal, this rapidly-expanding Province and Dominion.

Whatever the cause, there were very few of the local curriculum committees remaining by the end of the decade; the report of the Minister for 1957 (Ontario, Department of Education,

1958:7) makes the last official reference to them and couches its discussion in the past tense.

During this period, and until it finally ceased in 1969, the Department exercised its control over local school systems and teachers through the inspectorate. The 1952 report of the Minister gave an outline of the insepctors' duties:

> The elementary school inspectors check the annual financial reports of school boards and complete the grant forms which serve as a basis of distributing . . . legislative grants. . . . Additional reports, of a special statistical nature or on local problems, are prepared by the inspector. He is responsible to the Minister for proper observance of School Acts and Regulations.
>
> School boards look to the inspector for advice in preparing budgets, estimating grants, selecting sites, arranging for transportation contracts, improving school grounds, building new schools, interpreting Acts and Regulations, selecting teachers and arbitrating disputes on school issues among boards, parents and teachers.
>
> The inspector serves the municipal councils by giving assistance in drafting by-laws for the establishment and alteration of school sections, by issuing warrants for the payment of school taxes and township grants, by acting as arbitrator in the case of school boundary or equalization disputes, and by acting as secretary to consultative committees.
>
> His duties with respect to teachers are numerous. He supervises their methods of instruction, assists in the selection of teachers for curriculum committees, is a member of the selection committee for entrance to normal schools, often teaches summer school, conducts an in-service training programme for his teachers, checks qualifications for permanent certificates, and frequently assists teachers in obtaining the positions for which they are best fitted.
>
> The inspector supervises the promotion of pupils in his schools. He endeavours to make certain that classrooms are properly heated, lighted and ventilated and are adequate for the health of the pupils. He is concerned with the progress of normal, gifted and retarded pupils. He is concerned with the standards that are attained in reading, writing, English composition and arithmetic, as well as with the growth and development of children in citizenship and health, and with the social, physical and spiritual

aspects of their education. (emphases added)
(Ontario, Department of Education, 1953:5)

This description of the role of the inspector applied even to those "more than twenty-five percent of the public school inspectors who were now appointed and paid by local boards" (Ontario, Department of Education, 1953:5). It is not absolutely clear whether this description, placed in a report which was formally aimed at the provinical legislature, was designed merely to describe or whether it was designed to influence the behaviour of the inspectors. It is certainly somewhat hortatory in tone.

This then was the state of the education system during the early fifties. The earlier steps towards local involvement and decentralization were being snuffed in a system which was rigidly controlled and centrally administered. By the end of the decade the references to the Porter Plan had been excised from the official doctrine and any possibility of decentralising the secondary school curriculum had seemingly disappeared.

There had been no major changes in the secondary curriculum in 1937, when the elementary curriculum was revised, and its rigidity was preserved right through the fifties. The document which governs secondary education, Circular H.S.1, is published annually and has had various titles over the years. For the year 1961-1962 for example, the document was titled Requirements for Diplomas for Grades 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13 in Secondary Schools and for Grades 9 and 10 in Elementary Schools. All reference to Intermediate and Senior Divisions has disappeared and the division

between elementary and secondary education is quite rigid once more. The requirements which this circular laid down were quite precise. As an indication of the precision, I will describe the General course; the less academic Vocational course was defined with the same precision.

In grade nine, there were seven obligatory subjects: English History, Geography, Physical Education, Mathematics, Science and Group Guidance, with two or three optional subjects taken from the following: French, Latin, Art or Music, Industrial Arts or Home Economics, Agriculture, Typewriting or Business Practice. The number of hours per week to be spent on each subject were also specified for this grade as they were for succeeding grades.

In grade ten, there were five obligatory subjects: English, History, Geography, Physical Education and Science with three or four optional subjects taken from a list of fifteen.

In grade eleven, there were three compulsory subjects: English, two parts of History and Physical Education and four or more taken from a list of seventeen subjects some of which were mutually excluded. The syllabus for grade twelve was identical to that of grade eleven.

In grade thirteen, there was only one compulsory subject, English but the student was required to pass examinations set by the Department in this subject and in six others taken from a list of twenty some of which were mutually excluded and

including Physical Education which was available as an option but which was not examinable.

The last vestiges of the Intermediate Division of the Porter Plan remained in that students who completed grades seven and eight and one of the courses in grades nine and ten with the required number of options were eligible for an Intermediate Certificate. Secondary School Graduation Diplomas were awarded to students who completed one of the courses in grades eleven and twelve. Secondary School Honour Graduation Diplomas were awarded on the basis of successful performance in the externally set and marked Grade 13 Departmental Examinations.

The important point to note about this curriculum outline is not so much that there was little freedom for students, since, within limits, there clearly was, but rather that there was an absolute uniformity of action imposed on teaching staffs and that, rather than the control diminishing as the pupils became older and the staff presumably more highly educated, the degree of central control increased as the Departmental examinations approached. At all levels there was a detailed and specific description of the course to be followed and the amount of ground to be covered in any year. The only freedom of choice accorded to the classroom teacher was to choose among a list of recommended texts. To illustrate the extent to which the course content was controlled at this time, I will quote from one Departmental memorandum, distributed in 1962 to all Directors of Education and Principals of

of Secondary and Inspected Private Schools. The memorandum asked the principals to draw the attention of grade thirteen Latin teachers to the fact that, since "lines 54-87 and 124-159 of Cycle III (Latin Prose Selections for Grade XII) are omitted for examination purposes, the candidates will not be required to know the following words and phrases for the examination in Latin Composition in 1963." There then followed a list of twenty-three Latin words and phrases which the students were no longer required to learn (Ontario, Department of Education, 1962b:1). A more precise control over the curriculum would be hard to imagine.

We have then a picture of an elementary course of study which, though technically 'progressive', did not allow for much teacher initiative and did not change much over time and a secondary curriculum which was highly centralized at each stage and whose ultimate control came in the final year with the external examination.

The Beginnings of Change

Ironically enough the first impetus for change came from outside the province, with the signing of the Federal-Provincial Technical and Vocational Training Agreement, which resulted from the passage of the Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act by the federal parliament. The impetus provided by this input of funds from the federal treasury to vocational education in Ontario in particular and to the organis-

ation of education in the province in general cannot be over-stated. The most important consequence for our purposes was that the availability of these funds led to a re-organization of the high school curriculum with the introduction of the Reorganized Programme, commonly known as the Robarts Plan after the then Minister of Education, John Robarts. In the statement announcing the new programme (Robarts, 1961) the main features of the re-organization become apparent. The existing division of the high school programme into General, Commercial and Technical streams had, in theory, offered one course of study in each leading to the graduation diploma. At this time, however, only 40% of pupils were graduating; the remaining 60% were leaving without any qualification. The main aim of the new plan was to provide alternative streams of five, four and two years duration in each of the three branches, Arts and Science, Business and Commerce, and Engineering, Technology and Trades (later re-named, amusingly enough, Science, Technology and Trades). Students in all three branches were expected to be able to pursue a course leading to a common fifth year which would lead to entrance to University. Students who were unable or unwilling to follow these courses could take four year, two year or even one year courses which would have a more directly vocational content.

It should be noted in passing that, though it was intended that the three branches should be completely parallel, at least

in the four and five-year courses, in fact at no point between 1963-4 and 1968-9 did the percentage of Arts and Science students enrolled in the five-year programme drop below 90% nor did the percentage of students in the other two branches enrolled in the five-year programme ever rise above 30%. The Arts and Science five-year course was for the academically gifted; the other two branches offered courses of four years or less to the less gifted (Fleming, 1971a:118).

The aims of the revision were only hinted at, but it is generally agreed that the main aim was to make the vocational courses more attractive to brighter students so that the enrolments in these branches would be increased enough to warrant the expenditure of the funds coming from the federal government. This pressure from the federal government continued for the six years that the act was in force and had the effect of greatly increasing the number of places which were available to pupils in vocational programmes (Fleming, 1971b:356). It had the net effect of shifting the balance of Ontario schooling away from purely academic schooling towards vocational training. The Roberts Plan, the curricular equivalent of the Federal-Provincial Agreement, was designed to make vocational courses attractive and to provide a mobility route for the less able students. It developed, as might have been predicted, into a rigid system of streaming, but its original impact was to create a need for some thinking about the course content at

the secondary level and to create the demand for the speedy development of new vocational courses.

One of the significant features of the re-organization was the way in which the new courses were developed, possibly because of the urgency of the situation. The revision was announced a year in advance of its introduction and during that year there were extensive consultations with teachers and inspectors who met in discussion groups with "university authorities, educational officials, trustees and parents, and representatives of business, industry and labour." (Roberts, 1961:5). This was a return to the consultation and local involvement of the early part of the previous decade, and applied to the whole range of the high school programme.

The Reorganized Programme itself was as highly structured as its predecessor, listing the courses to be taken in as much detail and specifying the duration of each. Looking at Circular H.S.1 for any of the years between 1962-3 and 1968-9 would provide further detail of this. The option remained however for the introduction of local courses and it is worth quoting the relevant memorandum from the Chief Director (Ontario, Department of Education, 1962a:3):

> Whereas the courses of the Five-Year Programme are determined generally by the requirements of post-secondary education, a greater freedom is possible in the other programmes. On the recommendation of the principal, a board may request permission of the Department of Education to introduce an option in Grades 10, 11, and 12 of the Four-Year Programme which is not listed in Circular H.S. 1. After thorough discussion of the question, in view of the needs of the pupils and the community, the principal or other supervisor

will be asked to submit to the Department for approval a draft outline of the proposed course.

At the same time as these innovations were being introduced in the secondary curriculum, there began the revision of curriculum for Kindergarten and Grades One to Six (Fleming, 1971b:33-34), which had not bee revised since 1937. The report of the Minister for 1964 announced that the revision was well launched and made a preparatory announcement of the formation of the Provincial Committee on the Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario:

> The major revision of the curriculum for Kindergarten and Grades 1 to 6 was well launched during 1964. The preparatory step involved the attachment of five inspectors and teachers' college masters to the staff of the Curriculum Branch to serve in the role of curriculum consultants. Educational information on aims, organization, research, methods and content was next compiled from a wide variety of sources. Plans were made for approaching major educational organizations in the Province for information and consultation. Courses of study developed by curriculum committees in local areas and in other educational jurisdictions will be analysed and evaluated as the revision proceeds.
>
> In the second phase, a Provincial Committee composed of representative laymen and members of the Ontario Teachers' Federation will be asked to establish aims and objectives for the education of all children in Kindergarten and Grades 1 to 6.
>
> This done, curriculum committees of professional educators will be called upon to give expression to these aims through the preparation of appropriate curriculum materials and course outlines. (Ontario, Department of Education, 1965:11)

It seems a little unusual to commence revision of a curriculum before formulating the aims and objectives for that curriculum and the Minister's report for the next year recognized this by referring to an "interim revision" (Ontario,

Department of Education, 1966:6). These changes in the elementary curriculum bore fruit in the publication in 1967 of the Interim Revision of the elementary curriculum (Ontario, Department of Education, 1967b), which has since become the basic curriculum for these grades superseding the gray book.

The elementary curriculum has always been less rigidly defined than the secondary curriculum, but it was here that the major innovations began to occur. In 1967, the last students wrote externally set and marked Departmental Grade Thirteen examinations. Since that time, there has been no standard provincial assessment procedure for high school graduation, though some students take aptitude tests which may be required for admission to university. The abolition of these external examinations marked a further reduction in the degree of direct control over the school curriculum.

In the academic year 1967-1968, six schools in the province introduced an experimental mode of organization of secondary education based on a system of credits. This plan was adopted by more schools in the following academic year and in the Circular H.S.1. for 1968-9, published in early 1968, it became an option for all schools[7].

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[7] It is interesting to note, in passing, the changes which have occurred in the title of Circular H.S.1. Before 1967, it was titled Requirements for Diplomas for Grades 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13 in Secondary Schools. Between 1967 and 1969, it was titled Requirements for Diplomas and Statements of Standing in Grades 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13 in Secondary Schools. Since 1969, it has been titled Recommendations and Information for School Organization Leading to Certificates and Diplomas. The recent change speaks for itself.

By 1971-2, 80% of all pupils were following the new Type A programme and Circular H.S.1. for 1972-3 removed the possibility of following the Reorganized Programme. It is now only possible for a high school to organize its curriculum according to a credit system.

The new programme divides the curriculum into four broad areas: Communications, Social and Environmental Studies, Pure and Applied Sciences and Arts and lists sample courses within each. The way in which the areas of study are defined depends on the principal and staff of the individual school:

> An area of study may be defined as a broad segment of man's knowledge and inquiry. The diploma requirements are designed to ensure that each student obtains some experience in each of these broad areas of knowledge and inquiry while still permitting a substantial degree of specialisation if desired.
>
> Each principal in consultation with his staff must classify the courses offered in his school under four broad areas . . . The example below illustrates one way in which some of the subjects in the school program might be classified under these headings. The purpose of the four areas into which the courses offered by the school are divided is to ensure breadth in the student's diploma programme. They need not necessarily be regarded as a suggestion for an organizational structure. (Ontario, Department of Education, 1972a:6)
> (original emphasis)

To emphasise the point further, the lists of sample subjects under the four areas include one subject, data processing, in three of the four areas and are followed by a note on classification of courses which indicates quite clearly that it is at the discretion of the principal where it and similar courses are placed in the classification scheme.

The current programme also encourages the formation of new courses by teaching staffs:

1.
Curriculum guidelines issued by the Department provide the framework within which courses of study are to be developed at the local level to meet the needs, interests, and aptitudes of the students. Assistance in adaptation can be provided by the Department of Education program consultants who have been directed to give priority to this type of service. . . .

2.
New or experimental courses not included in the rationale of existing Departmental guidelines require approval for purposes of credit towards an Ontario School Graduation diploma. Approval is also required for the use of textbooks to be used in connection with new or experimental courses.

3.
The chief education officer for a school board will send a request for approval to the Regional Director of Education, along with an outline of the nature of the studies to be undertaken, the level at which the course will be given, the textbooks and reference materials proposed for use, and the intended date of introduction of the course.

4.
The Regional Director will enlist the assistance of the program consultants and central office curriculum personnel in examining the course. At the same time, central office curriculum personnel will consider the proposed textbooks. . . .
(Ontario, Department of Education, 1972a:7)

Though it is clear that there is a degree of supervision over the activities of teachers in creating new courses, nevertheless there is the potential for involvement and the Ministry reported in 1972 that of the more than two thousand courses submitted for approval, more than 90% had been approved (Ontario, Department of Education, 1972b:17).

Under the new system, a credit within any area is defined as "successful completion of a course containing work that normally would be completed after 110 to 120 hours of scheduled time." (Ontario, Department of Education, 1972a:8). It is not required

that subjects be taught in units of one credit. For a high school graduation diploma, students require:

at least one credit from each of the four <u>areas of study</u> in each of the student's first two years in a secondary school (8 credits);

at least one further credit after the first two years from each of the four <u>areas of study</u> (4 credits); and

a further 15 credits.

(Ontario, Department of Education, 1972a:9, emphases and parentheses in original)

For a high school honour graduation diploma, the student must have "gained six credits comprising work acceptable for the Secondary School Honour Graduation Diploma." (Ontario, Department of Education, 1972a:9). Students who have reached the age of majority do not require the consent of parents to take any course. The only requirement is that students in French language schools must take one course in the English language, though a principal may impose a subject on a student with the parents' consent if he considers it to be in the student's interests.

The Changed Curriculum

The new curriculum is much more flexible than the old, both from the point of view of students and, more particularly, from the point of view of teachers and principals. This change has involved a gradual reduction in the degree of direct control over the curriculum in the schools. The Department of Education now issues guidelines, rather than courses of study; it sets no

external examinations and encourages the development of locally inspired courses.

One must be careful to understand precisely what has happened here. There has been a general increase in the degree to which teachers, principals, school boards and trustees have been given freedom to manoeuvre and granted decision-making power in areas over which they had no control in the past, but that freedom is clearly circumscribed. As the Minister of Education expressed it recently:

> However, we have been talking about autonomy when maybe flexibility would have been a better word.
>
> Believe me, we are serious when we say that we want local boards to have more flexibility (or autonomy) in running their own affairs. But, please, let there be no further misunderstanding about the central role of the Ministry, and the fact that we intend to live up to our mandate of providing province-wide direction and leadership where we consider it appropriate and necessary to do so. (Wells, 1972a:10)

His predecessor had only a few months previously expressed the same point somewhat more forcefully to Chief Education Officers:

> It is one of your major responsibilities to ensure that the philosophy expressed in departmental curriculum guidelines is as close as it can be to the operative one in your schools. (Welch, 1972:9)

We should not be misled by some of the more rhetorical statements of Departmental officials about local control into believing that the curriculum has become completely decentralized without any Departmental supervision. What has happened is that the Department has introduced a new curriculum which involves a greater degree of student choice, which allows teachers to select

from a wider range of textbooks, which encourages the development of new courses which are more 'relevant' to the needs of students and which is designed to be changing rather than stable. The Department has introduced a cyclic review of the curriculum which is designed to ensure that there is a continuous review process which will cover every curriculum guideline once every six years.

This is a significant change in the style and content of the curriculum. It should not, however, be thought that the apparent granting of autonomy to teachers has met with their approval. The Ontario Teacher's Federation has recently argued for the re-introduction of compulsory courses (Toronto Star, 1973a) and it is not surprizing that it should do so, for the new curriculum introduces an instability into a formerly stable situation. If students are no longer compelled to take certain courses, school teachers are placed in a competitive situation with each other; their courses must be interesting enough to attract students. Equally, the credit system depends for its effective operation on an effective guidance system; if this is seriously introduced it calls into question the hierarchy of authority among the staff within a school. That the professional body representing teachers should oppose the final moves in a process which has apparently enhanced their status is an indication of the magnitude of the change. Its sources and its impact will be discussed in later chapters.

The period of great change in Ontario schooling has been marked by a final change which is of significance for this discussion

of the relationships between the organizations involved, and this is the growth in the overall expenditure on education and, more importantly for our purposes, the increasing share being born by the provincial treasury.

The Funding of Education

It is not my purpose here to describe the financial structure of Ontario education. It is a highly complex subject which has been more than adequately discussed elsewhere (Fleming, 1971a:305-349; 1971b:222-347; Cameron, 1969). The aim of this section is to trace in outline the changes which have occurred in the relative shares of educational expenditure born by the provincial government and the local school boards since the second world war, with particular emphasis on the most recent changes which have caused a great deal of public discussion and not a little local discontent.

The first point which must be noted about educational expenditure in Ontario since the war is that it has risen steadily and quite dramatically both in actual dollars and in constant dollars. Between 1950 and 1968, the expenditure of school boards increased from a little over one hundred and twelve million dollars to more than twelve hundred million dollars, that is to say they multiplied by a factor of eleven. This increase was most rapid during the nineteen-sixties when expenditure trebled but the rate of increase was at its peak during the fifties when expenditure doubled every five years (Fleming, 1971a:338).

Of this expenditure, a steadily increasing proportion since

1955 has been taken from the provincial treasury and an equivalently decreasing proportion has derived from local taxation. By 1968, more than 45% of school board revenues derived from provincial sources and since that time the proportion has increased such that by 1972, the Provincial Government was paying 60% of the total costs of elementary and secondary education in the province. This most recent and dramatic increase in the share of the costs born by the Provincial Government has been accompanied by the imposition of spending ceilings which restrict the amount which may be spent by school boards. These will be discussed after a brief discussion of the more general implications of the trends in educational expenditure and the sources of revenue.

For the province as a whole, the proportion of the gross provincial product devoted to education has increased dramatically. For example, the expenditure of the Department of Education in 1950 constituted less than two thirds of one percent of the G.P.P. whereas by 1968 it had increased to nearly two and a half percent (Fleming, 1971a:306, 316, 317). This has meant that education has come to occupy an increasingly important place in the political arena. Not only has the expenditure of the Department grown substantially in relation to the gross provincial product, it has taken a much larger share of the provincial revenues, though in recent years, since the mid-sixties, it has steadily taken about one third of the total revenues (Fleming, 1971a:316, 319).

At the local level the changes have been equally

great though its impact has been somewhat different. Firstly, as I argued earlier, school boards were increasing their average revenue faster than the total expenditure on education and thus, I would argue, were becoming increasingly independent of the province in defining their goals. School boards were rapidly increasing the share of municipal taxes which accrued to them. In 1945, 32.2% of municipal revenues were spent on education, whereas in 1968, 49.2% of municipal revenues were being given to school boards for educational expenditure (Fleming, 1971a:338). Local councils are constitutionally powerless to refuse school board demands for current items. This meant that, at a time of rapidly increasing educational expenditure, school boards were making heavy demands on municipal taxation without being responsible for raising or collecting those taxes. During the nineteen-sixties, school boards were physically growing by amalgamation and compulsory consolidation; they were becoming increasingly resourceful and remaining relatively independent of local political pressures. The balance of power financially was shifting towards the local school board from both the local municipal council and from the Department of Education. This last point needs substantiation.

School board revenues increased on the average from $237,000 to $2,298,000 for secondary school boards and from $42,000 to $758,000 for elementary school boards between 1955 and 1968 (see above, pp. 101,103). These growth rates were

much more rapid for the individual boards than they were for the province as a whole. The reason this was possible was because of the increasing municipal assessment accruing to the local boards as a result of amalgamation and the increasing share of municipal taxation which the boards were drawing. During this period, the share of school board revenues deriving from provincial sources was increasing, but this followed a decline in the provincial share during the fifties. It was not until 1964 that the share of the revenue which the Provincial Government paid surpassed the previous high point of 42.9% in 1945, and it was only in 1970 that the Province's share passed 50% (Fleming, 1971a:328, Lind, 1973). The boards were thus acquiring vastly greater resources while only becoming slightly more dependent on any single source for their revenues. They were thus becoming more autonomous.

A final point to make in this regard is that the discussion of average school board revenues, though useful, distorts the prime fact of Ontario school board organisation up to the 1969 consolidations and to some extent beyond them. The school boards have been vastly different in size and hence in assessment and degree of dependence on the provincial treasury. In 1964, according to Fleming (1971b:101) there were 3,200 elementary school boards with equalized assessment per classroom unit ranging from $10,000 to more than $1,000,000. If the assessment is calculated on a per board basis rather than on a per classroom basis the differences will be clearly even greater. This wide

disparity in size of assessment resulted from the fact that there were at one and the same time in Ontario many small school boards which were responsible for a single school in a rural area with very little property on which to base taxes, while there were large boards of education in the cities, responsible for many elementary and secondary schools and with a heavy commercial and industrial tax base on which to draw. Even today, after the 1969 amalgamations, the Province pays 60% of the total cost of schooling and yet only pays one third of the cost of education in Metropolitan Toronto (Gerrard, 1973). These wide disparities in size of board have been crucial.

Since the most recent amalgamations, which have reduced the disparities in size between school boards, the Provincial Government has taken on an increasing share of the educational costs but has taken an increasing interest, not surprisingly, in the level of those costs. In 1971, the Provincial Government announced a three year programme which would increase the proportion of the costs being born by the Treasury while at the same time placing a ceiling on the per pupil expenditures in the province. In fact, a number of ceilings were introduced depending on a variety of weighting factors which were designed to take into account the increased costs of urban boards with "inner city" schools, school boards with large numbers of French language students, suburban boards with rapid population growth and remote school boards with transportation problems.

When the ceilings were introduced in 1971, there were a

dozen boards which were spending above the limits and were given two years, later extended to three, to bring their expenditures into line with the ceilings. Most of the boards have done so and only the boards in Metropolitan Toronto, London and two small boards in Northern Ontario have failed to do so. There has been much pressure from these boards for the ceilings to be relaxed and there has been a great deal of controversy (Globe and Mail, 1973,a,b; Gerrard, 1973, Kelly, 1973; Lind, 1973; Toronto Star, 1973b). Whatever the merits of either side's case, we must agree with Lind (1973), that the school boards' increasing dependence on the Government for revenue has reduced their autonomy. This may indicate a long-term change in the nature of the relationship. It is interesting that Cameron (1972:288) in revising his thesis (1969) for publication makes a similar point. At the moment, the boards have only been restricted in the gross level of their educational expenditure, but the Department may yet intervene to influence the content of educational programmes more directly.

Two Decades of Change

Since the second world war, Ontario education has grown dramatically in every sphere. There are more teachers and pupils, more school boards, more administrators, more ancillary personnel, more teaching aids and a vastly greater expenditure. These changes have come about as the result of demographic changes and as the result of the change from elite to mass education. At the same time as there has been this rapid expansion of the education system,

there have been major organizational changes. The school boards have been amalgamated and have thus grown in size and resources relative to the Provincial Department of Education. In the area of curriculum, there has been an apparent reduction in the extent to which the Department of Education controls the content.

All of these changes have taken place in an unchanging legal framework. In other words, the relationships between the Department of Education and the school boards as prescribed in law have been barely altered during this period. The questions which following chapters set out to answer focus on two basic issues: the extent to which the changes which have occurred are more apparent than real and the impact which those changes have had on the inter-organizational relationships in Ontario education.

III

TWO FORMS OF DEPARTMENTAL CONTROL

Before the Innovations

I have already argued that before 1969 and even more before 1965 there was a wide range of sizes in school boards. In fact, this differential in size covered numbers of schools per board, amount of assessment per board, number of classrooms per board, number of teachers per board and average size of school (Fleming,1971a:82,108,126; 1971b:122-4,133; Humphreys, 1969:13-16). The question to be asked is the extent to which these widely different boards could operate under a single regimen imposed from the centre. Was the relationship between the Department and the large urban and metropolitan boards the same as that between the Department and a small board administering a one room school in a rural area? I have shown that the Department of Education exerted strong, direct control over the activities of school boards in the province; was the control which it exerted over the larger school boards as strong or direct? We would naturally expect that it would not be, but must examine the evidence.

Unfortunately the direct empirical evidence is not easy to find. We are dealing with the relationships between organizations and, if Selznick (1966) is correct in his analysis of the process

of informal co-optation we would not expect there to be much documentary evidence for its existence. Selznick argues that the process of informal co-optation involves a private and surreptitious sharing of power with potential opposition groups. Naturally, if this type of power sharing occurred between the larger boards and the Department, we would not expect much of it to appear in their public interaction. There is some evidence of a formal nature, nevertheless, which indicates that precisely the type of relationship which Selznick describes did exist between the larger boards and the Department before 1965.

There is a problem in analysis which partly affects the argument. Differences in size between the school boards at this time were associated, as they still are, with other differences, the most notable being that the larger school boards, both historically and currently, are in the urban and metropolitan areas. We cannot therefore be certain that the differences we may find are the result of differences in size alone. They may relate to other factors associated with urbanism, such as the physical compactness of the school board areas involved and, in the case of Ontario, the tendency for the large, urban boards to be concentrated in the South, in close proximity to the central government, whereas the rural school boards are dispersed widely throughout the province and tend to be away from Southern Ontario. I cannot control for these factors, but would argue

that the evidence from the period after amalgamation which will be discussed below and the evidence of the differential resources associated with school board size indicates that school board size was and is a potent factor in determining the relationships between them and the Department.

The first point which can be clearly documented is that the larger school boards were granted the right to conduct their own teacher supervision. This right was granted to city school boards as early as 1847 and, according to Fleming (1971b:39) by 1950, twelve of the larger cities had appointed a total of twenty supervisory officials. Another feature was introduced among the Departmental inspectors in this same year in that the inspection procedures for schools with at least five teachers were changed so that there was less direct classroom inspection and more consultation with teachers, principals, and department heads. Given the relationship between school board size and school size, we see once again that there was less direct supervision of the larger school boards outside cities than of the smaller boards. By 1954, according to Fleming (1971b:40), there were twenty-one cities, employing a total of fifty-eight supervisory officers.

Further evidence of the differences between the school boards lies in the area of innovative practices. Fleming (1972a) describes innovations at the local level and the vast majority of the examples which he provides come from the larger cities, notably

the city of Toronto. Many of these innovations relate to the introduction of special facilities which do not in themselves indicate that there was a different relationship between the larger school boards and the Department of Education. Equally we cannot accept Fleming's data at face value since he makes little clear indication of the extent to which he has been selective. I did glean some evidence of my own from my interviews with school board officials and from Departmental Officials. The introduction of the Reorganised Programme, the Robarts Plan, is an interesting example of a situation in which the initial development came from a local source.

The Reorganised Programme for high schools, introduced in 1961 for the academic year beginning in September 1962, has had its roots traced to the Federal-Provincial Technical and Vocational Training Agreement which provided federal funds for the construction of buildings and facilities for vocational education. This agreement has been assumed by my respondents and generally by other commentators to have had its ultimate source in the 'scare' which pervaded North American education after the launching of the first Russian Sputnik in 1957. Be that as it may, the agreement did not prescribe any particular organizational form for Ontario secondary education. The chosen form, the Robarts Plan, can be traced back to innovations introduced first in the St. Catharines schools and later in those in Hamilton. As the Director of the Hamilton Board of Education reported the events in an interview:

Often a city took the leadership, tried it, maybe the Department didn't really approve at first, but you went ahead and then it worked and they took over. We started the Robarts Plan in St. Catharines, called it a grouping system; the board gave their permission, and the first time the inspectors came around, they were only out in the school about half an hour and they came back in and said, "You can't do this." And I said, "Well my board, which pays my salary, says I can, and if I get a letter from the Superintendent of Schools for the province", who at that time, was Mr. Beattie, "on Department letterhead, or from the Deputy Minister or Minister, and it says, 'Stop', then I'm sure our board will obey, but until then our board says I can do it and I'm prepared to continue to do it until such time." And they said, "There's no use inspecting your school any further. We want a copy of all your timetables and your setup and so on and so forth." That's the last I ever heard of them.

The interesting thing about this quote lies in the fact that this high school prinicpal at the time referred to the Board's financial independence as the justification for his action and used it as support. He recognized the legal relationship which existed between the Department and this city board but referred to informal factors which weaken the formal hold which the Department can exert. This comes through his comments even when one excises from them the tone of Sir Galahad fighting against the invading hordes which has crept into the account. It is clear that in this instance the St. Catharines school board had carved out for itself a degree of freedom which did not exist in the formal secondary curriculum.

Another of my respondents, who did not wish to be identified, made the same point when he remarked:

"the larger boards were able to do things the smaller boards weren't doing, and though I wouldn't want to be quoted on this, I think the Department used to turn a blind eye."

I have suggested that part of the reason the larger boards

were granted this degree of autonomy was because they had relatively free access to resources independently of the Department of Education. Their tax bases were large enough that they were able to derive a larger proportion of their revenues from non-Departmental sources and thus were less subject to the threat of financial coercion. There does seem to be another reason for the docility of Departmental officials, namely the ability of the larger boards to pay highly qualified personnel.

The data from the 1967 comparative survey of school districts (Ontario Teachers' Federation, 1967) indicate quite clearly that the teachers in urban areas were more highly qualified and were more likely to be working towards improving their qualifications (1967:66-7), were more likely to have been freed from non-teaching duties (1967:56-8), were more likely to be provided with clerical assistance (1967:64), were more likely to be visited by consultative and supervisory personnel and were more likely to resent the supervision and welcome the consultation (1967:67-75), were more likely to be engaged in innovative practices (1967:76-8), earned a much higher median salary (1967:83), were more likely to receive fringe benefits and were more likely to be paid according to a recognized salary schedule with minimum salaries, maximum salaries and with annual increments (1967:80-81).

Though the data concerning the differences between urban and rural school boards refers to the year of 1967, and earlier hard data are not available, these differences persisted at a time when the overall level of teacher qualifications and salaries was rising.

The differences continued to 1969, though they were reduced (Humphreys, 1969:40-41). I therefore conclude that the quality of teaching staff in urban school areas has been consistently higher than in rural areas, that these staffs have been more effectively supported with ancillary personnel and specialist services and that they have been kept relatively free of non-teaching duties.

Large school districts employ more highly qualified teaching staff; they also employ more administrative personnel, though the student/administrator ratio increases with increasing size of enrolment (Hickox and Ducharme, 1972:22), and as such are better fitted than smaller boards to introduce innovations. There has been a gradual and progressive increase in the level of qualification of teachers throughout the province (Ontario Teachers' Federation, 1967:103; Humphreys, 1969:7; Fleming, 1971e:9-14) as measured both by years of experience and levels of minimum and average qualifications. This improvement has been apparent earliest in the urban areas.

There is one other item of secondary data. Fleming (1971b:13) indicates that one of the motives for the Departmental re-organization in 1965 was the low morale in the Department and the difficulty of recruiting competent personnel. A study by Thomas Campbell, then employed by the Civil Service Commission but later to be Departmental Personnel Director before moving on to higher positions, indicated that school principals in some areas

were more highly paid than Departmental inspectors. In an interview, Mr. Campbell, confirmed the accuracy of the data reported by Fleming and indicated that the particular areas where the problem was greatest were the large cities, notably Toronto. This salary differential persisted at higher levels of the hierarchy and led to the movement of personnel from the Department into the larger school boards and a negligible flow the other way.

The mere presence of more highly qualified personnel in the larger boards need not have led to the informal co-optation by the Department of the larger boards. This process became necessary because of the way in which 'professionally' qualified teachers are seen. One of my respondents, a former official in the Department, expressed it thus:

There was just a recognition of the basic professionalism of the teachers. They deserved a flexible structure so that they could modify things. There was this backlog of pressure to move in that direction, to become more flexible. . . . The Department up to that time had had such rigid control, was quite, I guess, small-c conservative in its educational philosophy and policies and a lot of the teachers in the province, you know the good ones, and the school board officials and so forth felt restive under this for a number of years. They felt they would have liked to do things in a different way and they weren't permitted to because the Department had these regulations and there was a sense of frustration on the part of many teachers. . . .

When the freedom did come a number of people were ready, but a number of people complained that they lacked guidance now.

You know, the real R and D people in education are the teachers. The good ones are trying new things all the time, and that's where most of the new things come from. They don't get thought up by the curriculum people in the Department, but there's some clever and thoughtful guy out there who tries something and it works.

One of the Directors of Education I interviewed took up the same theme in his discussion of the process of innovation and the local development of courses:

You see, courses don't just come about. They don't fall or become printed on paper by accident. You've got to have some thinking people who sit down and discuss the reasons, the aims, objectives and purposes of what you want to do before it all takes shape on paper. And that comes from very skillful and thinking people, resource people or consultants, call them what you will, these are the top-notch, thinking teachers who can assess the need of their students or their student body and they say, "We need a course or programme in family planning, let us say, and we need it originated and we need to develop it in a sequential fashion. Therefore let's start to design it, let's put something on paper." And these people, the bigger boards who could afford that kind of resource person were the ones who came up with this type of programme. And [names Board] is a good example of that where we've got very capable teachers that this board recognized, gave them responsibility out beyond their classroom and their own subject.

An official in the Department of Education in an interview responded in similar fashion when asked the reasons for the decentralization of curriculum control:

Well, it's a little hard to put your finger on, but I would say that it was an actual development in capability of the schools and a recognition that people out there would use good judgement and were in a position to use good judgement.

This indicates quite clearly that the larger school boards were the source of any pressure for change in the educational process and that the larger boards were granted a tacit degree of autonomy in order to maintain a basically rigid and hierarchical system. The evidence indicates also that it was the enlargement of the boards which made the pressure for reform more generalized.

The Period of Transition

The official argument for the amalgamation of school boards was quite complex and will be discussed in detail below. Basically, however, the official doctrine argued that the enlargement of school boards in the rural areas would equalize opportunity within the school boards and within the province as a whole. It would offer to pupils in remoter areas the kind of educational facilities which were general in the urban areas. What is the evidence?

The surveys carried out by the Ontario Teachers' Federation (Ontario Teachers' Federation, 1967; Humphreys, 1969) demonstrate quite clearly that the Department's argument concerning school board size and the disparities between rural and urban areas is born out by the available data. The studies were carried out in the Spring of 1965, just after formation of the Township Area Boards, in 1967, and in 1969, just after the creation of the County Boards. The aim of the studies was to assess the continuing impact of the enlargement of school boards and, to this end, questionnaires regarding the whole range of educational facilities were sent to samples of teachers. The initial survey asked teachers to describe the situation before the 1965 amalgamation and compared the school districts which had voluntarily combined into township boards before that date with those that were about to be compulsorily amalgamated. The purpose of this study was two fold: firstly to provide base-line statistics for later research into the impact of the 1965 amalgamations and secondly, to test the hypothesis that the boards which had

voluntarily combined offered better facilities for their students and teachers. In the 1967 study, teachers in urban areas were included and in the most recent study available to this author, conducted in 1969, teachers in elementary separate schools were also included. Though these studies assume that teachers provide accurate information and though they deal only with elementary school teachers, they demonstrate quite convincingly that school board size correlates directly with the quality of education, as measured by facilities, special classes, innovative practices and quality of teaching personnel and that urban areas score consistently higher than rural in the two most recent studies. Between 1965 and 1967, the differences that existed between the voluntarily consolidated Township School Area Boards and those consolidated in 1965 had declined. During the same period a number of County and District boards were established and these boards provided "consultative servces" much more frequently than the Township School Area Boards, which led the author of the 1967 study to conclude that this "may mean that the T.S.A. is still too small to economically supply this type of service." (Ontario Teachers' Federation, 1967:105).

By 1969, the gap between rural and urban areas was still substantial but had declined and there had been an overall improvement in the quality of education of the province (Humphreys, 1969:38). These changes in quality occurred when there

was a continuing process of voluntary amalgamation, culminating in the mandatory creation of the county boards in 1969.

The implication is quite clear. During the transition period, larger school boards were appearing, as a result of voluntary and compulsory amalgamations. Before the amalgamations, the Department was interacting with a large number of small boards and a few large ones with whom it maintained a special relationship. Formally, the Department maintained a rigid system; informally, it made concessions to the large boards. As the school boards were being enlarged generally, this pressure increased as the small boards began to make their own demands. Though I cannot document this accurately, one of my respondents in the Department remarked:

I would say that the increasing size of the boards for high school districts did give some impetus to the growth of more flexible curriculum and broader curriculum.

Oh, yes, there's no question that they [the county boards] have to be treated differently.

What is certain is that the school boards, as they enlarged, became more sophisticated, employed more qualified personnel and were capable of resisting the direct Departmental control. This was a generalized phenomenon throughout the province, of which my respondents were quite aware. As a result, the old system of informal co-optation no longer was viable and the Department made concessions to the boards. The official doctrine argued that the Department had given up its control over a number of areas of curriculum. I will argue that this doctrine itself served as a new mechanism of control and that, with other mechanisms,

the Department's official doctrine acted as a device which nurtured a consensus about educational practice. A new uniformity was fostered through the use of ideological mechanisms of control.

The Official Doctrine

During the period of transition and as a device to legitimate the process of change, the Department developed a public and formal commitment to decentralization. This was essential since, from the point of view of the existing school trustees and officials, the consolidations marked a period of centralization and the removal from office of a number of trustees. As one official in the Department put it an an interview:

I think that I was able to look around me and on every occasion where I found examples of decentralization, either immediately preceeding it or at the same time there was in fact a process of centralization occurring, and the two are always going on either right at the same time or damn close to it. We opened up the regional offices just about the same time as we went into township boards and in 1967 we stopped hiring area superintendents, you know, getting ready for the county boards. . . .

This was a selling job, mandatory or otherwise, boy. I think one thing has to be recognized, this was a selling job.

One of his former colleagues, in an interview, described the process of "selling" more explicitly:

We didn't have the time to do the P.R. we needed to get the public acceptance for it [the 1969 amalgamations]. We did that, we had the lead time of a year or so going into township boards and I know because I visited newspapers and sat down with editorial writers and persuaded them of the validity of getting away from the proliferation of 6000 boards and we had them with us.

This is a clear example of an attempt to exert direct ideological influence over the local school trustees and

the general populace. Over the transition period a much more indirect method of consensus creation was adopted, namely the official doctrine which rationalized the changes which were being introduced in terms of three basic arguments.

The Equalization of Tax Bases

The first official argument for the consolidation of school boards relates to the need to equalize the tax base within and between school sections. As the report of the Minister for 1964 puts it (Ontario, Dept. of Education, 1965:3):

> The small rural school section has served Ontario well, but the superiority of the township school areas has become evident from experience gained since World War II. Chief among the numerous advantages of larger units is that they provide for more broadly based financial support through wider assessment, all of which is available to assist in the education of every public school child in the area. Although the 1964 legislation does not refer to centralization of accommodation, there is every reason to believe that, with greater availability of local financial support on a broader basis and with continued provincial legislative grants on a generous scale, the trend towards the rural central schools will be accelerated under the township school area boards established under the new legislation.

In the 1971 report, the Minister, referring to the 1969 consolidation, remarked also about the broadening of tax bases but made much more explicit than his predecessor of seven years previously, the relationship between this broadening of the tax base and the second major official argument for consolidation, the need to equalize opportunity between school districts and pupils:

> One of the primary reasons for the reorganization of school jurisdictions was to provide school boards with tax bases broad enough to permit them to take over responsibility for the

special educational needs of the children in their areas. School boards are being encouraged to develop programs and services that concentrate on the individual child and his educational needs rather than place undue emphasis on his handicap.

(Ontario, Department of Education, 1972d:5)

The Equalization of Opportunity

There seem to be two elements in the desire of officials in the Department to equalize opportunity. The first aim was to ensure a greater equality of educational opportunity between the rural and urban areas of the province. As the Minister's report for 1967 remarked (Ontario, Department of Education, 1968a:9):

> The main objective of the proposed reorganization is to make it possible to extend to all students in the province the educational opportunities now enjoyed by those in the more favoured systems.

The point was restated more succintly in the message from the Minister which introduced the explanatory document entitled <u>The Reorganization of School Jurisdictions in the Province of Ontario</u> (Ontario, Department of Education, 1968:1):

> I would be pleased to have any constructive ideas that may be helpful in the achievement of the objective to offer to every child in Ontario the opportunities enjoyed by those students who attend schools in our most favoured educational jurisdictions.

This element of the argument relates most closely to the enlargement of the tax base in rural areas. Small school sections in rural areas with little assessable property were faced with the imposition of extremely high tax rates if they wished to match the educational provision of the urban centres. The consequence was that the level of services offered to the

children in rural areas was generally less sophisticated than that in the larger cities. The amalgamation of small school sections was officially designed to increase the tax base and thus enable the new enlarged boards to offer a wider range of services and reduce the disparities between urban and rural areas.

The second element in the commitment to equality of opportunity was the aim to improve the opportunities for children with special needs. It clearly relates closely to equalized opportunity between boards, since the richer boards, in addition to providing better services for the average child, also had the resources to make specialist services available to the children who needed them.

> The most compelling of all the arguments for moving to larger units was a humanitarian one. Thanks to advanced techniques, we now can identify and provide help to children with dozens of different types of learning handicaps such as emotional, neurological, perceptual and physical limitations. At one time, such children were passed over by the school system as being "slow", and became drop-outs and charges on society in one way or another.
>
> Even in a town as large as 10,000 people there were usually not sufficient numbers of any one type of disability, if they were discovered at all, for the school board to have any useful remedial program. As a result, parents with children needing special education were simply out of luck, unless they happened to live in one of our larger population centres. . . .
>
> Larger boards were created to ensure that, as far as possible, every child would come under a board that would be able to provide the full range of specialized programs and services which are necessary if children truly are to be given equal opportunity.
> (Davis, 1971:3)

The Need for Broad Planning

The third major official reason for the process of consolidation was the need for "broad planning":

> The new boards of education will facilitate planning on a broader basis than is now possible in most situations and will permit the establishment and implementation of a system of priorities in the programming and financing of education in their jurisdictions.
>
> These boards, I am sure, will be able to utilize to the maximum the accommodation, transportation, special services or staff thus establishing a sound basis for the expenditure of the tax dollar without prejudice to the educational needs of the children.
> (Davis, 1968a:4)

> Each of the new boards will be capable of meeting this requirement [the need for sound planning] because it will have the organization to secure the information, data, statistics and other knowledge which form the basis for sound decision-making at the policy level. They will be capable of assuming the degree of autonomy required to meet the needs of their particular areas and the problems peculiar to the local situations.
> (Ontario, Department of Education, 1968:5)

It is nowhere made clear precisely what is meant by the phrase "broad planning", but it would appear that the intention was that the planning at the local level should be concerned with "delivery services" whereas the "conducting and sponsoring of research and planning relating the short and long range needs of education in Ontario" were to be the responsibility of the Department, specifically the Education Development Division (Ontario Education, 1972:4). The intention becomes less obscure when reference is made to a motif running through official arguments for the consolidations, the view that the diversity of the province required larger local units:

> It is intended that the new boards of education will assume greater responsibility for the supervision of the school programs

within their jurisdictions. This responsibility over an evolutionary period will also extend to the development and implementation of adaptations in the curriculum to meet the diversified educational needs of children located in a Province which in itself is so diversified in population and geography.
(Ontario, Department of Education,1968:1)

With the decentralization of many of the traditional departmental functions to local authorities which are situated more closely to the public they serve, . . .

We should strive for an optimum local organization which is close enough to the local scene to be fully conversant with its problems . . .
(Davis, 1968b:3)

They will be capable of assuming the degree of autonomy required to meet the needs of their particular areas and the problems peculiar to the local situations.
(Ontario, Department of Education, 1968:5)

These then were the three main official arguments for the enlargement of the local units both in 1965 and in 1969: the need to expand the tax base at the local level in order to equalize opportunity between school systems and among pupils and so that boards could engage in the planning of education suitable to the local needs of their communities. These three rationales are intertwined in official publications of the period.

The official doctrine concerning the consolidation of school boards was part of a much broader general ideology designed to justify all of the changes in Ontario education which the Department was trying to institute. The official doctrine justifying the alterations in Departmental structure was related to the doctrine justifying the changes in local administration and the changes in administration of curriculum. The three major trends in Ontario education did not merely occur

during the same period; they were inter-related and were seen to be so by the leadership in the Department of Education. The leaders in the Department of Education were engaged in a reconstruction of the way in which education in the province was organized. As such, they developed an official rationale which linked all of the processes involved and my decision to separate the three main trends, though analytically useful, distorts the trends and the doctrine. The distinction between the three trends is an externally imposed distinction which is designed to clarify the situation for the reader. The attempt to separate three parallel doctrines is equally distorting but, I hope, equally illuminating.

The Departmental Reorganization

The official doctrine regarding the changes in the structure of the Department saw them as directly related to the two other major trends in Ontario education rather than as independent events. The report of the Minister for 1965 summarized it quite explicitly:

> Today education is "on the march" as at almost no other period in our provincial history. "New conditions" could have been a predesigned label for our own time and for the years that will take us into the twenty-first century. In our pursuit of the goal of equality of opportunity in education for all our citizens, we are confronted by an explosion of knowledge in all the sciences, old and new, and in many other branches of learning. At the same time, the services and istitutions which our educational system has thrown up as the need arose in the course of a hundred years and more of development have become increasingly complex, particularly since the end of World War II.

It had consequently become evident that the operations of the Depart-

ment of Education, which is the hub of the educational system of Ontario, needed to be re-examined and, perhaps, refashioned if the Department were to be equal to the new demands, new needs and new perspectives in education which have been developing over the past twenty or so years.
(Ontario, Department of Education, 1966:1)

In more detail, and without the hyperbole and cliché, the Departmental re-organization in 1965 was designed, according to the official doctrine, to serve four purposes: the integration of elementary and secondary education; the reduction of the number of special subject branches and their integration into the "main instructional stream"; the decentralization of Departmental administration and the separation of administrative from educational functions in the Department (Davis, 1965:4).

The rationale for the integration of elementary and secondary education was never made completely clear other than to state that such an integration would serve "more effectively the best educational interests of the pupils" (Ontario, Department of Education, 1966:11). The only direct hint came from the Minister in the press conference announcing the re-organization on January 7th. 1965, in which he apparently remarked that the original rationale had disappeared since both elementary and secondary schooling were now considered basic and were compulsory (Fleming, 1971b:19).

The reduction of the number of special subject branches and their integration into the mainstream of instructional supervision was a subsidiary organizational change which followed from the view that instruction was a process common to all

ages of students and that the subjects which were formerly labelled as special, such as art and music, were now part of the education of both elementary and secondary pupils as much as any other subject. They therefore required no special status.

The rationale for Departmental decentralization followed from and related to the decision to enlarge the local units of educational administration. As the report of the Minister for 1965 put it (Ontario, Department of Education, 1966:12):

Once supervisory and administrative responsibility is centred in organized areas covering the Province, a great variety of problems can be solved at the same area level and the careful but quick decisions that are called for in the rapidly expanding and changing educational system of Ontario will be facilitated.

In introducing the estimates for his Department for 1968-1969, the then Minister of Education, Mr. Davis, spoke at length of the evolving role of the Department of Education:

Over the years, the Ontario Department of Education, to its credit, has played an important role in the development of local educational authorities to the point where they have become responsible agents, capable of assuming many of the functions which were hitherto carried out by the Department. . . .

. . . many departmental functions will be decentralized to appropriate authorities. . . .

In a parallel development, it was announced in September 1967 that regional offices would be made more responsive to local needs through a de-emphasis on supervision in favour of assistance in educational innovation and experimentation. . . . With the establishment of larger units of school administration, the need for departmental supervisory staff such as area superintendents will disappear since the new boards will appoint their own staff.

. . . the function of departmental officials is to develop and continuously review a comprehensive philosophy of public education. This educational planning - which must cover an extremely broad spectrum, taking into account the social and economic needs of all citizens - is then expressed as policy

in two principal ways: through the medium of the educational laws which form the framework for publicly supported education; and through the distribution of funds, which are not unlimited and therefore must be invested with acumen. Being centrally located, the Department is also specially qualified to be a resource centre for new information and a clearing house for worthwhile ideas emanating from within and outside the province.

These are three principal responsibilities of the Department, and all other involvements, it seems to me, can only have the effect of diluting the considerable effort required to do these jobs well. With the decentralization of many of the traditional departmental functions to local authorities which are situated more closely to the public they serve, departmental officials will be better able to concentrate on those responsibilities which they are best equipped to perform.

. . . We should strive for an optimum local organization which is close enough to the local scene to be fully conversant with its problems, yet large enough and sufficiently well staffed to receive delegation of responsibility from the Department.

. . . I am suggesting that, in a highly developed and mature educational system such as we have here in Ontario, "operating" functions are most effectively and appropriately the responsibility of local agencies such as boards of education and boards of governors. The central Department of Education, on the other hand, must be responsible for overall planning. (Davis, 1968b:2-3)

The re-organized Departmental structure of 1965 recognized the distinction between administrative and educational tasks and sought, in the words of official doctrine, "to release the full energies of educators for the manifold tasks now facing them by relieving them to the greatest possible extent of purely administrative activity." (Ontario, Department of Education, 1966:3).

The re-organization of 1972 was justified in similar terms. The press statement of the Minister which announced the changes was reported as follows (Ontario Education, 1972:1-3):

The Minister of Education . . . said that in the past ten years the Ministry had made significant strides in re-ordering the process of education delivery in Ontario, primarily through the

establishment of large units of education administration and the delegation of increased responsibility to the school boards of these larger units. The movement brought with it the need for the school boards in these larger units to assume a growing degree of self-determination in the operation of their affairs.

Such decentralization necessitated a new description of the relationship which must exist in the 1970s between the Ministry and the local authorities. What must be accepted, not just in word, but in organizational terms and in action, was that the responsibility for the delivery of programs had been decentralized and delegated into these larger units of education administration - to school board trustees, officials, school principals and teachers.

Such decentralization did not imply abdication by the ministry, but merely that responsibility was shared in an essential unity of purpose, Mr. Wells explained.

"Authority and responsibility in education in Ontario have always been divided between local communities and the broader provincial community," he said. "The balance between the two has continually changed, and the present trend towards greater autonomy for local authorities will likely continue, although provincial authority will not be abandoned.

For instance, the ministry of education must retain its authority over the redistribution of money to local authorities as a prime means of ensuring equality of educational opportunity. However, maximum scope in establishing priorities is vital at the local level." (emphasis in original)

The official doctrine regarding the Departmental re-organization is not so well developed as the doctrine regarding the board consolidations. The re-organizations dealt with the structure of the Department and, as such, were by their nature more private than the consolidation of school boards. They did not require the development of such an elaborate official doctrine as the consolidations, which had to be justified to trustees, local school board administrators and local electorates. As an example, the document which explained the 1969 consolidations (Ontario, Department of Education, 1968) was printed in twenty thousand

copies and was referred to in numerous speeches of the Minister of Education and the Premier. In the words of one senior Departmental official, in an interview, the consolidations were a "selling job, mandatory or otherwise" and thus involved the formulation of a clear and explicit official doctrine. Official doctrines are by their very nature developed to sell an official view of the nature of the organizational situation; the more selling that is required, the more clearly must the doctrine be expressed.

What is now becoming clear is the relationship between the various elements of official doctrine. They may be analytically distinguished, but they constitute a single whole. The coherence of the official doctrines will become even more apparent after a discussion of the ways in which the reforms in curriculum, which occurred during the same period as the changes already discussed, were justified and explained by the official spokesmen of the Department.

The Rationale for Curriculum Reform

The changes which have occurred in the curriculum and the relative decentralization of the curriculum development process have both taken place gradually since the end of the second world war. The 1950 report of the Minister of Education justified the substitution of recommended lists of textbooks for the previous uniform prescription of single books. The aim was "to permit the teacher considerable latitude of choice"

and to combine this latitude with the new elementary organization into primary, junior and intermediate divisions in an attempt "to free the school system from the shackles of the one-grade, one-book, one-year organization." The report continued:

> Experiments with the new organization are in progress in many centres throughout the province. The freedom it permits should help to solve some of the problems of retardation of pupils held back because of weakness in one subject or another. A free organization should permit progress in each subject at a rate suitable to the capacity of the individual, and the provision of subject matter related to his interests and needs.
>
> Where formerly uniformity was thought desirable and a detailed curriculum was imposed by the central authority, local authorities are now being encouraged to prepare their own courses. Experiments are being carried on in the development of new curricula with particular reference to local needs and interests.
> (Ontario, Department of Education, 1951:7)

Though there is evidence (see above p.131) that this strong pressure for local involvement had greatly diminished by the end of the decade, the views of the Department were taken seriously at the local level. The 1950 report of the London Board of Education, for example, noted that it was "apparently the intention of the Province to allow local authorities more freedom in planning curricula to suit local needs" and reported that the apparent intention of the province had been followed by the board, which had set up committees to study and report on the curriculum for the proposed intermediate division (London, Board of Education, 1951:87). These committees included lay people but the curricula were to be drawn up by local teachers (London, Board of Education, 1951:83).

The Developing Doctrine

The aims of the Department are already becoming apparent and they re-appear with increasing regularity during the reforms of the nineteen sixties. Ontario is a diverse province which therefore requires a diversity of locally developed curricula; each pupil is an individual whose needs can best be met by a flexible curriculum adapted to his interests; the teacher in the Ontario school system is a professional who does not require and will not tolerate strong central control and, though this rationale only appears in the early sixties, a flexible curriculum is essential in a time of rapid technical and social change.

The introduction of the Reorganized Programme for secondary schools was announced by the Minister of Education in 1961 and was ostensibly designed to increase the retention rate of the schools and to improve the employment opportunities of the less able students. The strong emphasis on technical and vocational schools was acknowledged to be partly the result of the availability of federal funds for buildings (Robarts, 1961; Ontario, Department of Education, 1962c:xi-xii). At this time, the official doctrine only hinted at the rapid rate of technical change and then only as an argument for vocational training; by 1965, the consequences of the rapidity of technical change were seen as crucial for education and were officially argued to require a different response.

> Most of the children who entered Ontario schools in September 1965, [sic] are likely to spend a considerable proportion of their working lives in the twenty-first century. If, as many authorities predict, the rate and extent of social,

economic and technological change is maintained, or accelerates, in the coming decades, educational objectives will need continuing reappraisal and school programs will have to be designed to respond accordingly.

With this end in view, it has become evident that educational programs of the future must be characterized by a flexibility that will satisfy society's changing requirements, by a diversity that will meet a variety of interests and aptitudes among students and by a continuity that will do justice to the ethical and democratic traditions of the Province.
(Ontario, Department of Education, 1966:5)

By 1972, the "credit system" in high schools was being justified in the same terms:

Basically, the "credit system" is based on the premise that it is impossible - in this day of rapid change - to rigidly specify a list of definite courses which will answer the needs of each and every student in the Province, or indeed in any given school.

Every student's needs are different, every student's interests are different, and every student's future plans are different.

Add to this the fact that society is changing very quickly, and I believe you have a situation where flexibility in education is the only proper approach to preparing young people for the world they will face in the future.
(Ontario, Department of Education, 1972b:20-21, emphasis in original)

The commitment to individual curricula gained an impetus in official eyes from the increased rate of social and technical change, but it was also justified in its own terms:

The position of the secondary school in a technological society is a complex one. It must look to and understand the work and achievements of elementary schools while at the same time maintaining close contact with new developments in post-secondary education and in the varied fields of employment. Responsibility to the student prohibits failure in either of these vital orientations.

Educators in most secondary schools carry responsibility for facilitating the growing social, intellectual, and emotional maturity of both the young and older adolescent. Basic skills and aptitudes which have already been established must become more highly developed in keeping with the increased demands of life in

Canadian society. The vital qualities of curiosity and imagination require constant yet delicate stimulation. Among the basic principles of education there is also the fact that one of the greatest contributions a school can make to its students is to develop in them an active desire to continue learning throughout their lives.

In many Ontario communities the challenges of these fundamental aims of the secondary schools are being faced in new ways. Seeking an opportunity to relate more deeply to the individual student and to involve the student more actively in educational decision-making, principals and teachers alike are relaxing traditional curricular and organizational restraints. New solutions are being sought to new problems in our constantly changing society.
(Ontario, Department of Education, 1969:5)

One may note, with Stevens (1969:654), that the prose quoted above is somewhat grandiose and cliché-ridden, but it communicates vividly the official commitment to the needs of the individual student and the view that the increased rate of technical change imposed new demands on the school. The reference to elementary and post-secondary education in the first paragraph is interesting in that it draws attention to and attempts to defuse a potential and actual criticism of the reforms. Some critics felt that they were more appropriate to elementary schools.

This official view of education as a relatively uniform and continuous process without major divisions between different levels finds expression in many official documents and is most forcibly expressed in that semi-official statement, Living and Learning. In presenting the estimates of the Department to the legislature in 1971, the Minister said:

The official guidelines for the primary and junior divisions, as expressed in the P1, J1 series of curriculum documents, expresses [sic] an educational philosophy of guided growth in the attainment of basic learning skills, of sensitivity to individual needs, and of

> humaneness in the handling of children. With this official backing, more and more of the teachers in our elementary schools are learning how to give practical expression in their classrooms to this basic philosophy.
>
> At the same time, the secondary school program is undergoing a series of basic changes designed to give effect to a similar philosophy of individualization, but in ways consistent with the greater maturity and changing needs of older students. . . .
>
> Another important aspect of individualization is the creation of a system that allows students to move ahead in the subjects in which they are successful, without having to advance lock-step, grade by grade, on an all-or-nothing basis. . . .
>
> Schools also have the opportunity of developing courses beyond the rationale of the Departmental guidelines in order to meet special needs and interests.
>
> (Welch, 1971:4-5, emphasis supplied)

The phraseology may be slightly different, drawing on the work of Goodlad and Anderson (1963), but the sentiments expressed in the emphasized portion are identical to those expressed in the report of the Minister for 1950, quoted above, which advocated freeing "the school system from the shackles of the one-grade, one-book, one-year organization."

Another feature of the official doctrine which was developed to justify the decentralization of control over curriculum, was a public statement of confidence in the competence of teachers, principals and boards to implement these changes. The commitment to improving the quality of teachers which was seen in the formation of the Professional Development Branch of the Department was seen to have born fruit. In 1968, the Minister, in spelling out the role of the Department, drew attention to the underlying assumptions which he held about educational politics:

The first is that the true strength of a democracy lies in the opportunities which it provides for individual growth and development, and that this can best be achieved through diversity and flexibility on a scale which is possible only in a decentralized system.

Another assumption is that, in educational matters, locally elected representatives working with professional teachers can be counted on not only to maintain existing standards but to achieve new heights of excellence, which will ultimately be of benefit to all.

Such assumptions constitute an expression of confidence in our Ontario school system. They are based on the record of many years, in which a high sense of public responsibility has been demonstrated by the electorate, its elected representatives and by professional teachers alike. (Davis, 1968b:5)

More recently, a similar theme emerged:

There are some who say that teachers are not ready or able to adapt to these changes. I do not accept this generalization. . . .

The guidelines are having a very positive effect in giving teachers a chance to use their own ingenuity, creativity and experience in the courses they teach.

There is no ceiling on imagination, initiative and innovation in this Province.

We have long said that individual differences among <u>students</u> must be recognized, and the same is true for <u>teachers</u> who can judge their own capabilities in deciding how they can best convey knowledge about any particular subject. . . .

It is a testimonial to the initiative of teachers that over <u>2,000</u> innovative courses have been developed all over Ontario in the past two years. . . .

And it is a testimonial to the calibre of professional competence of teachers that of all such experimental courses submitted to the Minister for approval about 90% have been approved after careful review and study by curriculum officials of the Ministry.
(Ontario, Department of Education, 1972b:16-17, emphases in original)

It will be clear from the above detailed discussion of the official doctrine that, in the view of senior officials in the Department, there has been a radical change in the roles of

Ontario's educational institutions and the persons employed in them. This change has been brought about, in official eyes, by a major social change in the society at large.

A Summary of Official Doctrine

The fundamental aim of education was officially seen to be the provision of an education for each child suitable to his talents. Insititutional arrangements should serve this end. Though the kind and duration of the child's education should relate to his or her future employment or educational prospects, no particular course has intrinsically any greater merit than any other. Given the wide diversity of students and the infinite variety of talents and interests among them and the unpredictable nature of their needs in a changing social and technical world, the curriculum must be as individualized and flexible as possible. The provision of as wide a range of opportunities for each child as possible, not least for the child who suffers under a handicap, requires that the unit of educational administration be sufficiently large that it may have the resources to cope with the diversity and sufficiently small that it may see and deal with the unique individual. These local administrative units will best be able to plan the facilities which will be required to enable them to fulfill the varied demands which will be made, if they are not controlled rigidly and if they are given the resources in finances and expertise which they require. The role of the central administration in this process should be to ensure the equitable distribution of resources

among the school boards and to provide the support services such as research which the local units are unable to provide.

Dilemmas in the Official Doctrine

Summarizing the official doctrine in this way does not do it justice. The statements which have appeared from the Department in recent years have been rich and complex, on occasion subtle, and have generated a coherent picture of the aims of education and the best organization for attaining them. That having been said, it should nevertheless be recognized that there are internal inconsistencies, dilemmas and unstated problems associated with the doctrine.

Any attempt to decentralize an administrative system requires that the level to which decision-making authority is being decentralized should be specified. Just how far out from the centre will the locus of power move? In this case, the commitment to decentralization was vague and diffuse. There was no specification of the level to which power was being decentralized nor of the kinds of decisions which were to be made at the local level. Thus at various times, the freedom of pupils to make decisions was to be enhanced; more frequently, the professional teacher was to be given the opportunity to exercize his professional expertise; on many occasions, the local school boards were to be given the resources to plan for local needs and, on rare occasions, parents and other representatives of the local community were to be involved in educational decision-making. It is clearly not possible for all these different groups to be involved equally in educational decisions.

Furthermore, unless the area of authority for each group is clearly specified, it is not possible for the net freedom of each group to increase. Given the Department's determination to maintain control over basic decisions, the various groups are in competition for control. Inasmuch as the degree of control of teachers over the curriculum increases, so much must the degree of control of other groups decline.

Associated with the commitment to decentralization was the commitment to the enlargement of local units in order to provide the resources at the local level which would make the devolution of power meaningful. The problem with this element of official doctrine is that the enlargement of the local units involved, from the point of view of local participants, a centralization of authority. The enlargement of local units of administration had to be justified at the local level in terms other than those used to justify the Departmental reorganization or the curriculum changes. This is where the commitment to equalising opportunity between the various boards became important. It is quite clear that a commitment to decentralization is a commitment to inegalitarianism and as such is in great tension with the fundamental principle underlying the official doctrine.

The creation of regional offices also created an administrative dilemma for the officials. These offices could easily be seen, and in some cases were seen, as an extra administrative layer between the centre and the local units, acting on behalf of the centre and

and imposing closer restraints on the freedom of local administrators. In a large province, such as Ontario, the ability of a central administration to control its local agents is much circumscribed. The use of inspectors, based in Toronto, had a number of disadvantages or potential weaknesses from the point of view of the Department. Either the inspectors were kept close to 'base', in which case there was the possibility that the local units might be inadequately controlled, or the inspector remained 'in the field' in which case there was a danger that he would become identified as a 'local' man and be expected to represent the views of the local units to the Department. One former elementary inspector, whom I interviewed, clearly saw himself as a local person, since, during the early fifties, he ignored the course of studies and allowed some pupils to progress directly from learning to write printing to learning to write script without passing through a stage of print-script, as was specified in the course of study for elementary schools. As he expressed it to me:

> . . . now I had a fear that if I ever asked Toronto, they would say, "No", and yet I felt that, out there, in the particular circumstances, carefully watched, and because of the circumstances that the thing was a better way to do it. So I did it. In other words, there was not this central supervision. I, in a sense, was a decentralized person. Though I was an employee of the Department, it was really possible for me to do some of these things.

This same inspector supervised a non-graded school at around the same time even though this did not conform to the Departmental regulations. This last action required that he connive with teachers to complete the grade reports which were required of them.

The creation of the regional offices did not solve this dilemma. They had the potential of acting as the arm of the Department in controlling the local units or as the spokesman for the local units with the Department. The dilemma was heightened in that the regional offices were required to fulfill both regulatory and consultative functions (Ontario, Department of Education, 1966:11-12), that is to play both roles. According to one former senior official in the Department of Education, in an interview, the regional offices were ultimately intended to atrophy as the local school boards became more self-sufficient but, at the time of writing, this has not happened and the regional offices are still seen to pose something of a dilemma for the Department and its relationships with the local school boards. They are the subject of a Departmental task force study.

I have discussed these dilemmas associated with the official doctrine to indicate that though it apparently constitutes a coherent picture of relationships in Ontario education, it is troubled with inconsistencies. It is in the nature of official doctrines that, since they are attempts to paint a rosy organizational picture to all groups outside the organization, they will contain contradictory elements. The important point to note about the official doctrine is not its validity or truth, but rather its role in maintaining organizational stability. The official doctrine of the Department contains a great deal of 'truth' from certain points of view. It also serves as a device to control the

local school boards.

The New Forms of Departmental Control

Fundamentally the decentralization of authority for a large organization involves a threat to its own functions and, in Selznick's words (1966-51), "it is the normal tendency for an agency to defend its own functions." That is to say, if there had been a genuine shift in power from the Department to the local school boards, it would have involved the voluntary giving up by Departmental officials of some of their control over the educational process. It is unlikely that individuals in an organization will voluntarily preside over the progressive diminution of their functions; they may do so involuntarily under pressure but, even then, they will attempt to exert control in some other way. In other words, if existing mechanisms of control are broken down for whatever reason, alternative mechanisms will be developed to maintain the hegemony of the formerly powerful, if it is possible for this to happen. I will demonstrate that a number of alternative mechanisms of control were developed by the Department of Education and that it maintained its hegemony over the system. The first mechanism of control was the official doctrine.

It is important to realize that the aims of the Departmental officials for education in Ontario were quite explicit. The decentralization of control was not the result of a lack of interest in curriculum and syllabus content; the local school boards, principals teachers and students were expected to act in a specific manner,

instituting a certain curriculum, a curriculum appropriate to a technological society, allowing for individual differences with flexibility and individual choice for students. Given that the direct Departmental control over curriculum was relinquished progressively during this period, the question arises as to how the official doctrine operated to maintain Departmental control.

The Role of the Official Doctrine

The enlargement of local units and the granting of extra powers of teacher supervision, for example, to the local school boards, carried with it the danger that the boards would act in a way contrary to the expressed wishes of the Department. If the enlargement of local units were justified merely in terms of the increased economic efficiencies deriving from the increased tax base and the ability of the larger units to provide the range of services, there would be no guarantee that the curriculum innovations, which were becoming part of the conventional wisdom at the centre, would diffuse to the hinterland. The justification of the consolidations in terms of the increased autonomy for the local boards led the way for the curriculum which was to follow.

The important thing about the official doctrine from the point of view of the Department of Education is that it managed at the same time to appeal to two basically contradictory values, individualism and efficiency. It became possible, for example,

to justify the amalgamations in terms of the enhanced opportunities for children, the enhanced opportunities for trustees in administering a stronger local unit and the enhanced working conditions for teachers in terms of the increased services with which they were provided. The reformed curriculum was justified both in terms of the enhanced rights of students and teachers and also in terms of its appropriateness in a technological society. The Departmental re-organization was justified both in terms of efficiency and in terms of a response to the moves towards decentralization.

The official doctrine thus served as a convenient framework within which to justify the actions of the Department in any one area, legitimating apparently contradictory acts in terms of an ideology which contained many contradictory elements, but which maintained a coherent appearance.

The key question about the official doctrine is not to demonstrate its existence nor yet to examine its content or inconsistencies. For my analysis of the subsitution of an alternative form of control for the direct control of the fifties and previous years to hold water, I must demonstrate that the official doctrine was not merely developed but that it was actively propagated. The two most important media of propagation were the Hall-Dennis Report and the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

The Role of the Hall-Dennis Report

The announcement of the establishment of the committee of twenty-one members under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice Emmett M. Hall, took place on the 7th. April 1965. It was quite briefly reported in the press, but elicited editorial comment in the Globe and Mail in its edition of Saturday April 10th. (Globe and Mail, 1965). My attention was drawn to this editorial by an official in the Department of Education who remarked that its author was remarkably well informed and saw the implications of the committee's work in advance of any explicit justification from Departmental officials. My informant suggested that the editorial's author must have had "inside information", which, given the historic relationship between the Globe and Mail and the Ontario Progressive Conservative Party, would seem a reasonable enough supposition! Be that as it may, the editorial did focus on an element in the committee's work which was not yet made official when it remarked:

> . . . Mr. Davis has wisely determined that this area cannot be meaningfully studied except in the context of kindergarten to Grade 13, and even into university, and also in the broader context of the whole community. . . .
>
> The committee will attempt to discover from the people of Ontario what they believe is wanted and needed in education to fit a child for success in our rapidly changing society, and to fit him to serve that society. . . .
>
> Having determined Ontario's aims or objectives in education, the committee will endeavour to produce proposals for an integrated school system, from kindergarten to Grade 13 and perhaps into University, which is designed to carry the child forward to those objectives. Specific recommendations will deal with kindergarten to Grade 6 area [sic], but these will be calculated to fit logically

into the whole, and specific studies of further areas are likely to follow, if this initial study should meet with success.
(Globe and Mail, 1965, emphases supplied)

This editorial is clearly expressing sentiments which are quite congruent with the views expressed in the final report. The passages which I have underlined indicate this. In itself, this may be merely the expression of a general educational consensus, but it is interesting to note that, before the committee had been fully selected, before its terms of reference set, the editorial writer was able to report that "Mr. Davis has wisely determined" that the revision of the kindergarten to grade six curriculum must be placed within the context of the total school system. This is interesting because public statements at the time did not argue for this position and, in fact, the final decision was made by the committee. The press release announcing the formation of the committee did not appear till the 14th. April. Copies of this release are no longer available, and I must therefore rely on the report given by Fleming (1971c:500) which indicates that, though its terminology was clearly similar to that in the report, the terms of reference were still publicly being described as dealing only with elementary education. Fleming reports and analyzes the press release as follows:

[It] referred to a widespread and growing public awareness that the province's educational system must be kept responsive to the social, economic and technical changes of the period. . . . In anticipation of some of the themes the committee expounded so effectively, it was stated that the educational programs of the future would be largely determined by three factors: 1)flexibility, to satisfy the changing requirements of society; 2) diversity, to meet a variety of interests and aptitudes among students; and 3)continuity, to do justice to the ethical and democratic traditions of the province.

At the earliest stages, the stress on objectives for the Kindergarten to Grade 6 curriculum was intended to be quite strong. It was rather quickly realized, however, that whatever aims and objectives were formulated would be valid only if they applied to all levels of the school system. (emphases supplied)

Fleming is imprecise about the exact timing of the change in terms of reference of the committee. The Minister's report for 1965 remarks (Ontario, Department of Education, 1966:6):

Although the committee was concerned at the outset with the education of children in the Kindergarten and Grades 1 to 6, it quickly became clear that the aims and objectives formulated would be effective only if they were valid at all levels of the school system.

This implies quite clearly that the decision to change the focus of the committee's deliberations was taken by the committee itself during its early meetings. My respondents who were members of the committee all confirmed that this in fact was the case. One of my respondents indicated that the chairman had been responsible for pressing the changes on the Minister. This may have been the case, but, as the editorial in the Globe and Mail indicates, the Minister did not require much persuasion.

The earliest reference which I can trace to this kind of committee is to a speech by J.R. McCarthy, at that time Superintendent of Curriculum and Textbooks, later to be Deputy Minister of Education. McCarthy (1962) reported:

... . the announcement in the speech from the Throne in the Ontario legislature this week when it was stated that revisions of the courses in kindergarten and grades 1 to 6 will be undertaken in 1962. It should be fully understood that this task cannot be accomplished without a thorough examination of the purposes of the elementary school in the 1960's and its place in the overall educational programme from kindergarten to Grade 13, and indeed into further education whether it be in trade schools, technical institutes, universities, teachers' colleges or other institutions.

McCarthy, as early as November 1961, foresaw the need for a committee with very wide-ranging terms of reference, almost four years before the committee was formed and before it changed its terms of reference! The editorial writer in the Globe and Mail indicated that the Minister of education had "determined" that the terms of reference should be changed before the committee had met and before its terms of reference were set. The original press release (as reported by Fleming) and the Globe and Mail editorial were already expressing ideas which the final report was to produce.

It is clear from the above, that, though the committee may have been quite independent of direct control from the Department (my respondents all stressed this), the ideas which the committee was eventually to express were highly congruent with the views of highly placed officials in the Department, some of whom were appointed to the committee. It is clear that, though the committee may not have been manipulated by Departmental officials, its early decision to change its terms of reference and its later deliberations were quite congruent with current educational thought and with the ideas held by officials in the Department. The report of the committee is not the radical and innovatory document which its style would lead one to believe it to be.

The Composition of the Committee

The committee, when it was established was said to be composed of lay members, "men and women who are not professionally

involved in the area of education which will be immediately under survey." (Globe and Mail, 1965). The report of the Minister for 1965 (Ontario, Department of Education, 1966:xiv-xv) was a little more precise when it remarked:

> Its twenty-one members, under the distinguished chairmanship of Mr. Justice Emmett M. Hall, include 15 leading lay citizens of the community, five nominated members of the teaching profession and the Superintendent of Curriculum."

This view was shared by all of my respondents, a number of whom remarked that this was the distinctive feature of the committee. It all depends on the precise definition of "lay". A perusal of the final list of names of committee members published in the final report (Hall-Dennis, 1968:6) gives a different impression. Of the twenty-four members, thirteen were people currently engaged in the practice of education in Ontario at some level or another, seven were school trustees or former trustees and of the remaining four, all were actively involved in some non-professional capacity in education in the province. It all depends on the definition of "lay"!

Mr. Lloyd Dennis, co-chairman of the committee, remarked in an interview, that he felt that the membership of the committee was representative of the community as a whole, but when challenged by the interviewer, examined a copy of the report and after going through the list of members, felt compelled to modify his views as follows:

> They're heavily educationist then? So it's heavily educationist alright, but I'm saying that when it was formed the element of labour and industry and management and so on . . .

Q. That was unusual, was it, for that kind of committee? It wouldn't have been unusual for a Royal Commission.

Unusual for that kind of committee, but important to note in terms of the kind of report which it put out and the way in which it was written.

Mr. D.W. Muir, Deputy Chairman of the committee and a former Hamilton school Trustee considered that the committee was selected to be geographically and politically diverse, ranging from a former communist labour leader to a traditionalist university president, but Mr. H.G. Hedges, Co-ordinator of Research and Production for the committee, saw it rather differently when interviewed:

The judge, now he was a very small-l liberal . . . The rest of the committee were, well, representative of, well, probably progressive thinking from their, I think, respective positions. Sure they were all educationists to some degree, but that's quite natural given the goals of the government. You wouldn't go through the phone book.

Mr Hedges felt that in the selection of the committee the Department probably leant a little towards people who were progressive or forward looking.

I have been unable to ascertain the exact process of selection of the members of the committee, but it appears from the evidence of a senior official in the Department that the late Mr. M.B. Parnall, then Director of the Program Branch and former Superintendent of Curriculum, suggested possible names to the Minister of Education.

As my respondent phrased it in the interview:

Parnall picked the people in a way, at least, recommended them. They went forward with five names in order of preference determined mainly by Parnall. I recommended [names committee member] and when her name came up, I was able to say, "There's a lady who thinks about the same as you do Mr. Parnall.", so [repeats name] gets on there. I rather forget, but I think that they were chosen for . . . probably with knowledge that they were a little bit different thinking. (emphases added)

In this instance, it all depends on the definition of "different thinking"! The judge may have been influential, as one of my respondents suggested, in changing the terms of reference of the committee, but the idea for the change existed in the Department long before the committee was formed and its success was predicted in the Globe and Mail before the committee even met! Equally, if the report of my respondent is accurate, then the selection process was clearly designed not to select people who were "different thinking" but rather to select people who were 'similar' thinking. The committee's membership appears to have been very carefully selected to produce a particular point of view in the final report.

The committee contained a number of known "progressive" thinkers from within and without the Department, individuals who had been identified with particular thrusts in education. The view which the committee expounded in its report were likely to correspond to the thinking of some of the most "innovative" thinkers in the Department since, during its life, it contained three of them in Parnall, Crossley and Quick, and since it contained a number of thinkers from outside who were known innovators: Lloyd Dennis, who had been an innovative elementary school principal

in Toronto; H.G. Hedges, former principal of Hamilton Teachers' College who, in his own admission had been identified as much as anybody with innovative thrusts in the province; Dr. Murray Ross, President of York University; Prof. C.E. Phillips, who had retired as Director of Graduate Studies at the Ontario College of Education and who was described by one of my respondents as about the most progressive expert on secondary education in Canada and was a noted historian of Canadian education.

The point which I am making here is that the committee was not representative of the general population; that within the field of education its members would tend to be lined up on the "progressive" side [8]. The committee contained a significant number of thinkers whose views were designed to correspond with those of the innovative thinkers in the Department. These views have come to be associated with the period during which the Minister of Education was William Davis, and with the kinds of changes in curriculum which I have already described. Why then has the Department of Education never endorsed the report? I will return to this question after an examination of the report's major findings.

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[8] It should be made clear that, in the foregoing discussion, I have used terms such as "innovative", "progressive", "forward-looking" in the ways in which my informants have used them and which are current in the parlance of Ontario educator. I am making no judgement regarding the views of the individuals involved, merely assigning common labels to them.

The Report's Conclusions

The report of the Provincial Committee on the Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario must be seen as part of the general innovatory thrust in curriculum in Ontario during the decade of the sixties. Its philosophical presuppositions have been outlined above (pp. 12-16), but their relationship to the official doctrine of the Department will become clearer from an examination of the major recommendations of the committee. The "one fundamental recommendation" of the committee was to:

> Establish, as fundamental principles governing school education in Ontario,
>
> a) the right of every individual to have equal access to the learning experience best suited to his needs, and
>
> b) the responsibility of every school authority to provide a child-centred learning continuum that invites learning by individual discovery and inquiry. (Hall-Dennis, 1968:179)

To fulfill this one fundamental recommendation, the report listed two hundred and fifty-eight different recommendations covering a wide range of topics. I will select a sample of those dealing with the normal curriculum, that is Recommendations One to Eighty-Six, focusing on those recommendations which tend to express general principles rather than detailed points. These Recommendations bear an uncanny resemblance to the kinds of curriculum changes which have been introduced in Ontario in recent years. It should be born in mind that the recommendations do not represent the report adequately and that members of the committee

were quite reluctant to produce a list of recommendations at all. The report was designed by its authors as an attempt to introduce a particular attitude to education rather than a particular set of practices.

1. Establish a continuum for public education consisting of a minimum of kindergarten and 12 additional years.

3. Eliminate lock-step systems of organizing pupils, such as grades, streams, programs, etc., and permit learners to move through the school in a manner which will ensure continuous progress.

4. Remove horizontal and vertical divisions of pupils, such as elementary, secondary, academic, vocational, and commercial.

5. Organize learning experiences around general areas such as Communications, Environmental Studies, and the Humanities.

10. Design the senior years of schooling to accommodate the different needs of students by offering a wide variety of courses open to all pupils without restriction by years or arbitrary sequence.

11. Encourage the reorganization of subject disciplines to enhance their applicability to the areas of emphasis recommended above.

12. Make the choice of options in the senior years a reality by:
a) permitting pupils to take any course for which they are qualified in any year;
b) employing computer facilities on a co-operative basis which will individualize pupil-teacher scheduling;
c) eliminating streams or tracks of organization.

20. Provide learning experiences which are pertinent to the personal needs and interests of the learner.

83. Locate decision-making related to curriculum design and implementation at the school board level and in particular at the individual school level.

84. Establish the responsibility of the Department of Education in matters of curriculum as that of the identification of curriculum problems, the commissioning of curriculum research, the dissemination of curriculum information, and the provision of aid and stimulation for innovative practice.

85 Prepare and present curriculum guides as broad statements, and make the design of detailed curriculum programming the responsibility of the teachers in the schools. (Hall-Dennis, 1968:180-187)

The above recommendations are merely abstracted from a comprehensive list of recommendations which enter into much more detail concerning the organization of curriculum. Nevertheless, it will be clear that the style and tone of the report corresponds remarkably to the thrust of educational innovation in Ontario during the nineteen-sixties. The important point is that no innovation has been introduced on the basis of a recommendation in the report. Equally the report has never been officially endorsed by the Department of Education. What then is its status and what is its relationship to the changes in education in Ontario?

The Report as Quasi-official Doctrine

Speaking in 1969 to a conference convened to discuss the Hall-Dennis Report, the Minister of Education, Mr. Davis, emphasized the independence of the committee from the Department in terms of financing and personnel. As I have argued already, this independence has been stressed by many commentators, but it simply does not stand up to examination. Mr. Davis continued by drawing attention to the fact that the co-chairman of the committee, Lloyd Dennis was on the payroll of the Department for a number of weeks travelling around the province explaining the report. He remarked also on the way in which the new high school curriculum guidelines which were then being introduced on an optional basis (Ontario, Department of Education, 1969), "generally relate[d] to the recommendations and philosophy of the Hall-Dennis Report." (Davis, 1969b:8-9). This was the closest he ever came to endorsing

the report. The net result of his remarks was to place the report in a kind of quasi-official status, looked upon with favour, but not part of the formal ideological apparatus of the Department.

What were the consequences of keeping the report in this position and how was it viewed by educators in the province? The great benefit, from the point of view of Departmental officials, of this quasi-official status of the report was that its recommendations became a focus for discussion and debate. The Hamilton Board of Education, for example, established eight different committees to examine the recommendations in each of eight sections with a co-ordinating committee to correlate the different analyses. By failing either to endorse or reject the report, the leadership in the Department of Education has ensured that the report will be neither ignored (if they had rejected it) nor resisted (if they had endorsed it). By maintaining the view of the report as an interesting and important document which ought to be read by educators, the officials have gurantoed that, as one of them put it in an interview, "the report has become part of the culture." The report was thus the stalking horse for the ideas which were prevalent in the Department, the focus for debate and, in the words of another of my interviewees, "the whipping-boy for the opponents of permissiveness". The report thus protected the Department from direct criticism, which it would not have done had it been endorsed. The Department was known to be generally in favour of the thrust of the report without being necessarily

in favour of any specific detail.

The other significant function of the report's quasi-official status was the extent to which it became a source of pressure for change, not so much directly, but as part of a perceived thrust. As one Director of Education replied, in an interview, when asked the way in which the Department encouraged the devolution of power by boards to schools and parents:

I think basically through their philosophy, their communications, their curriculum guidelines. As I say, I think it's pretty much the way that any successful way of attempting to get someone to operate, functions. . . So I don't think the Department just says, you know, this you shall do, but on the other hand, through a sales communication approach which becomes very obvious what they want, I think this becomes a social pressure. . . . I think this is more or less the approach the Department is taking. I think they're putting on a social pressure, a philosophy, they want participation, . . . I can't put my hand on a specific document, other than, as I say, your reports like the Hall-Dennis-Report, the New Dimensions publications that come from the Department every month or so in which they put out position papers and those position papers are more or less feelers. They're espousing a position which is not necessarily their position but it's a position and very frequently I think it's something that they're sort of getting an opinion on and I think it's to some extent their position. . . . You take, your H.S.1, Schedule A. A lot of publications. The officials of the Department who come around. The memoranda from the Department to the effect that there should be advisory councils, that there should be an opportunity for the public to express their views. There's a good deal, without me being able to say that that particular document is the one.

This Director clearly sees himself to be the victim of an ideological barrage from the Department and sees the Hall-Dennis Report as part of that barrage. He tends to see it as official, though when questioned he recognized that it had been an independent commission report.

Another function which the report fulfilled was its impact

on the public and the way in which it acted as a focus for public discontent with the schools. This is interesting because a noteworthy feature of the report is its style which is clearly not aimed at professional educators. Also the report lists the 112 briefs it received but the text bears very little resemblance to the vast majority of them. An examination of the briefs reveals them to be generally quite specific and concerned with details which concern the particular group or individual presenting the brief. Only a small minority of the briefs espouse educational philosophy at all and only some of those are sympathetic to the report's position. All my respondents on the committee, when asked what had influenced their thinking the most, listed other items before they listed the briefs and acknowledged, on questioning, that the briefs had not played a key role. The role of the commission was clearly not to sound out public opinion, rather it was to influence it[9]. In this role it has clearly been effective since no official statement could induce the kind of discussion which the report produced. As one Director of Education described the phenomenon in an interview:

You get these groups of parents with some bee in their bonnet and they come in and part way through the argument someone says, "And what are you doing about Hall-Dennis?" Now they've probably never even read it, but someone at some coffee party they've been to has

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[9] In this, it clearly differed somewhat from the more recent report of the Commission on Post-Secondary Education (1973). This commission produced a draft report and then exposed itself to public debate and criticism. Given the clear differences between the draft proposals and the final recommendations, the Commission clearly bent to the political wind. Hall-Dennis merely ignored the political wind and blew right back.

talked about it and they want to appear _au fait_ with the whole thing and then you've got to respond and you'd better have something good to say because otherwise at the next coffee party they're going to spread the word, or the newspapers will get hold of it.

On its publication, the report drew a great deal of comment. It was the subject of a virulent critique by Professor Daly (1969) and the subject of much debate in the political arena. The criticisms in detail focused on the issue of corporal punishment whose abolition the report had recommended and also the tendency of the style of curriculum recommended by the report not to train children for life. The report continued to appear in the letter and news columns of the _Globe and Mail_ as the subject of hot controversy, but once endorsed by the paper editorially on the 15th. Jan. 1969 and later by the Ontario New Democratic Party in September of the same year, the report ceased to be the subject of debate having been accepted into the conventional wisdom.

The other group on whom the report had a great deal of impact was the teachers of the province. The report espoused the view that the teacher was a professional and that the rights and responsibilities of professionalism should accrue to teaching as an occupation and to individual teachers. As one former official of the Department of Education expressed it in an interview:

What the report said to the better teacher out there was, "Look you're not alone, there are other people who think like you. Now do your thing."

This had a direct impact on the boards of education. As one Director put it when interviewed:

I don't think that the Department has come out and said to a teacher you have power or freedom beyond that of your principal or to the principal, you have power beyond the authority of the superintendent or the school board. I don't think they've ever really said that. But I think the impression has gotten around through a lot of the statements of the Department and a lot of their writings, the whole philosophy of the Hall-Dennis Report which has never been adopted or rejected.

The Hall-Dennis Report propounded ideas which were largely consistent with the existing thrusts in curriculum development in the Department of Education and, it should be added, in North America generally. One member of the committee, Mr. H.G. Hedges, was reported as saying that the report was "kind of square" and in the same article another commentator remarked that:

Although never officially acknowledged, the report's real objective was to advance an ultra-conservative public from early to mid-twenetieth century thought. (Gibson, 1970:33)

Without wishing to comment on the exact position of the general Ontario educational ideology, there is no question that the report functioned largely as a source of pressure on school boards and that it acted as a buttress and shield for the Departmental innovations. As such it can best be viewed as a functional alternative to the official doctrine, or as I label it, 'quasi-official doctrine'.[10]

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[10] Though it is now of peripheral interest, I will briefly comment on the general literature which deals with government commissions (see above pp. 18-22). Frankly, the role of the Hall-Dennis Report in the governmental process simply is not covered by the literature. Clearly the report served an educational function (Sulzner, 1971), but it is a particular kind of educational function. I argue that the report was used to educate the general public, parents, the teachers and other organized groups, not so much to accept government policy as to act as a source of pressure on the school boards. I see this use of the report as part of the response of one organization in its attempt to control others. There is clearly a 'straight' educational function in the report, but it is its use as an organizational weapon which I find most interesting. Miles (1964b) touches on the issue, but only vaguely.

This provides us with the answer to the question which I raised earlier, namely the reason for the failure of the Department to endorse the report.

If the Department had endorsed the report, it would have changed the reports's status in the eyes of those people it was trying to influence. Firstly it would have run counter to the official doctrine to impose a particular view of education directly. It is inherent in doctrines of "local autonomy", "freedom of choice", "democratic decision-making" that they can not be imposed by coercion. Just as the members of the Provincial Committee felt reluctant to conclude their report with specific recommendations and now regret the consequences of having done so, so it would have been counter-productive for Department officials to espouse an educational programme when the official doctrine was inherently opposed to such an espousal. To express the point in more direct, if somewhat more cynical terms, the Minister of Education did not need to endorse the report when the leadership of the Ontario Teachers' Federation did it for him (Globe and Mail, 1968) and when it was given the final seal of approval in editorial commendation from the Globe and Mail. It was the refusal of the Department's officials to endorse the report which made it so effective as a device for moulding public opinion and as a source of pressure on school boards. Once endorsed it could have met with the kind of opposition which some of the Department's policies attracted; unendorsed it became the focus for discussion and diverted attention from unpopular policies.

The Role of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) is a unique institution both for Ontario and possibly in the world. It was formed on the initiative of the Ontario Government via a public act of the legislature which was passed in the summer of 1965. According to the first annual report of the Board of Governors, the Institute was established by the government of Ontario as "a public body, . . ., as part of its long range-policy to foster particularly through its very substantial efforts in education at all levels of the school system, the social and economic growth and development of our province." (OISE, 1966:5). This direct and deliberate involvement of the government in the Institute's creation and its subsequent system of direct funding via legislative grant distinguishes the Institute from the other higher education institutions in the province.

The Institute grew out of the Department of Educational Research of the Ontario College of Education. This Department had "assumed several different roles and functions. While remaining a branch of the University [of Toronto], it ha[d] also become a research organization for the Department of Education, an independent centre originating its own projects, a data-processing unit, and a consultative authority for other organizations in the Province." (Davis, 1965:33).

The act of the legislature which established OISE gave it the following purposes:

a) to study matters and problems relating to or affecting education, and to disseminate the results of and assist in the implementation of the findings of educational studies;

b) to establish and conduct courses leading to certificates of standing and graduate degrees in education.

(OISE,1966:1)

These objectives for the Institute were clearly designed to ensure that it followed on from the Department of Educational Research performing similar tasks. It is quite clear that the selection of R.W.B. Jackson, former Chairman of the Department of Educational Research was designed to ensure this continuity. Jackson had been very actively involved with the research activities of the Government ever since he had served as secretary to the Royal Commission on Education in 1950. W.G. Fleming was appointed as Assistant Director and Co-ordinator of Studies and acted in these capacities until his rather abrupt resignation in late 1966. He, like Jackson, had been involved in policy-oriented research having been research director of the Atkinson Study of Utilization of Student Resources, which, though originally largely funded by the Atkinson foundation, received the bulk of its finances directly from the Department of Education. Both these individuals were likely to ensure that the research carried out in the Institute was policy oriented and that the development of the Institute would be towards exerting a direct influence on the education system as a whole.

The Chairman of the Board of Governors, writing in the first annual report (OISE, 1966:6) was quite clear about the planned

aims of the Institute, when he wrote:

The government has brought into existence, therefore, the instrument by which we may, through Research and Development, continuously and systematically evaluate and improve the educational system of this province.

The Director of OISE has on a number of occasions expanded on and clarified his view of the Institute:

When prospective staff members were informed of our long and close association with those who formulate educational policy in this province and put it into effect, they welcomed the opportunity to join in a team so directly involved with the process of change and development in the school system and classrooms. . . .

I am firmly convinced that the critical problem is the shortage of properly qualified men and women needed to carry out the tasks assigned to our institute . . . experts who serve in the field - as consultants, supervisors, advisors, and teachers - and form the vital links in the chain which extends into the classrooms.
(OISE, 1966:10-11)

Probably the surest way of ensuring that fresh ideas circulate among the educational community and are practised in schools is to bring educational practitioners to the Institute as graduate students . . . and have them return to their classrooms or to other positions in education where they can exert their influence.
(OISE, 1967:2)

The Institute was established by the government as part of the process of educational innovation. The Institute was designed to change education in the province by firstly professionalising the top educational administrators at the local level and also by the research and development projects which it instituted.

The Institute has grown dramatically in the few years since its foundation and now occupies a large building in the centre of Toronto. Though it has not become involved in the certification of teachers and has concentrated on the granting of graduate degrees,

the number of graduates it has produced in the short period since its creation is quite remarkable. By the end of the academic year 1970-1971, there were 1852 graduate alumni of OISE. One hundred and twenty four had been awarded M.A.s, 39 had Ed.D.s, 41 had Ph. D.s, and a total of 1648 M.Ed.s had been awarded. To give some idea of the magnitude of those figures, McMaster University, an old established university with a long-running graduate programme, awarded, from 1965 to 1971, 1712 graduate degrees, 268 doctorates and 1444 at the master's degree level (OISE, 1971; McMaster, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971). This is a remarkable rate of production for a newly established institution, even when the fact that most of the M.Ed.s were part time degrees awarded as the result of study during the summer to practising teachers, is taken into account.

It is not possible to get a direct picture of the impact of this high rate of production of graduates, since the statistics relating to the teaching profession which are published by the Department of Education do not indicate the qualifications of teachers in any form other than to indicate the professional certification, but in 1971 (Ontario, Department of Education, 1972d) there were a total of just over 76,000 public elementary and secondary school teachers in the province. Though by no means all of the OISE graduates are teachers in the province, it is fair to assume that the graduates of OISE have had an impact on the professional hierarchy of teaching and have accelerated the drive to credentialism.

In research, the Institute has been equally productive, so

that by 1969, there were 56 completed projects and 166 projects which were on-going. These were heavily concentrated in the Departments of Applied Psychology, Measurement and Evaluation, Educational Planning and History and Philosophy (OISE, 1969).

The Department of Curriculum has been influential in the development of curriculum materials. Two items which caused quite a stir are "The Box" and "The Bag". These are described by O'Malley (1970):

> Two delightful innovations developed at OISE are The Box and The Bag. The Box is a ragtag of films, newspaper clippings, tapes and records about the Thirties and the Depression. Just drop it in a classroom and let the children dig into it. "It is one of our notions that disorganization has positive educational value," says Anthony Barton, an OISE researcher.
>
> From The Box, Barton and co-worker David Stansfield came up with The Bag, which contains a delicious collection of sensations for the five senses, including a tape of a group therapy session, a bug's eye view of the world, and the smells of a martini and an outhouse.

In addition the Department has developed a number of different tape cassettes of poetry and of speeches by public figures. Though these may not demand a particular form of school organization, it is clear that they assume a kind of organization which approximates to that advocated by the Hall-Dennis Report.

Though it is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine the extent to which the OISE has attained its objectives, the important point to note is that it was established as a mechanism to change the educational system and, though it may not have achieved this aim, it has clearly had an impact in that it has been the focus of intense political and public debate (Davis, 1967; Globe and Mail, 1970; O'Malley,

1970, New Canada, 1970) which has focused on a number of features of the Institute, notably the high proportion of American faculty members and the failure of the institute to provide enough practical research. This kind of criticism was voiced by the Toronto Board of Education, which had wanted assistance in a research project into the needs of inner city schools and which was claimed, though not formally. (Fleming, 1971e:265), to have been refused by the Institute. The Globe and Mail, in an editorial, (1969b) was highly critical of the Institute for its failure to assist in solving the problems of Toronto inner-city schools, but reported that the problems of Toronto did not appear to be generalized to other boards. We see here evidence of a growing interaction between OISE and the local school boards, though this interaction has not always been wholly amicable.

It is apparent that the aims of the Department of Education in establishing OISE were that it should act as a source of innovation in the education system. The senior officials of the Institute interpreted their role in that way and it has clearly had precisely that kind of influence.

Other Mechanisms of Control

Though the Department has acted since the development of the new relations in Ontario with a view to fostering a consensus about the aims and objectives and the style of education, it would be a mistake to assume that it has been wholly successful. The 1965 school board amalgamation met with remarkably little local resistance and generated only favourable comment in the Globe and

Mail and Toronto Star. This consensus was fostered by the top officials in the Department who acted in advance of the legislation to influence opinion in favour of the change (see above p. 167). Equally the change was not of a great magnitude since the majority of public school boards had already adopted the township as unit and since the change involved for the rest was not substantial. The creation of the county boards in 1969 was met with a great deal more hostility largely because it involved attacking a larger number of vested interests and also because it was announced rather hurriedly which did not allow for the "lead time".

The announcement of the impending formation of county boards by the Premier on November 14th. 1967 came as something of a surprise to senior officials in the Department. The Minister of Education and his executive assistant were in Paris at the time the announcement was made and had to return early to face the reaction. The "larger unit" committee of the Supervision Section of the Department had not yet completed its work, though by this time the basic decision to use the county as the unit had been made. Apparently, the decision was announced by the Premier at such short notice in order to maintain a tradition that Premiers, when opening a new school, should make an announcement of some new policy!

The need to legitimate a policy which was unpopular with a number of officials and trustees at the local level (Fleming, 1971b: 130-134) led to the formation of the Interim School Organization Committees, which were composed of one member from each existing

public school board, high school board and board of education. These committees were designed to "facilitate" the transition to new administrative arrangements (Ontario, Department of Education, 1968:16). Though the official publications of the Department implied that the tasks which the committees were being asked to perform were difficult and important, it is apparent that they were in fact designed to facilitate the passage of the old boards rather than assist in the initial duties of the new. As one official in the Department of Education expressed it in an interview:

> I want you to know that we could have taken one official in each county and done everything that the ISOC committee did in the way of actual performance, done everything that was required in the way of administration in two weeks, with the co-operation of the other officials in the schools and the teachers, we could have done the whole thing, but we put together groups of trustees and we gave them the assistance of our officials and it took months. . . . The objectives of the ISOC committees are not really in that book [indicating The Reorganization of School Districts in Ontario (Ontario, 1968)], the administrative objectives are there, but they could have been done, you know, by anybody.

We see here an attempt by officials in the Department to buy off the opposition to a particular policy which they introduced by the creation of a mechanism designed to involve potential opponents in the process itself. This is the process of formal co-optation (Selznick, 1966:13-16; 259-261) which is an alternative mechanism of control to the creation of consensus through the development of ideology. That it was effective is indicated by the fact that, according to one of my respondents, a vociferous opponent of county school boards who suggested that the change

would be introduced "over my dead body", ultimately served on his local ISOC committee and has since been chairman of his local county board of education!

The important point here is that the Department has not ceased entirely from using coercive methods. The township boards were coercively imposed after a period of voluntarism; the county boards were imposed over local resistance; the credit system for high schools was imposed after a period of voluntarism; the elementary curriculum guidelines were imposed after a period of voluntarism (Ontario, Department of Education, 1967b) and, most recently, spending ceilings have been introduced to limit the expenditure of the larger boards. What has happened is that, at least until recently, the Department has been increasingly inducing desired behaviour in the boards rather than imposing it; the compulsory introduction of the credit system in the high schools and of the new curriculum in the elementary schools came after a very brief period of voluntarism during which they were adopted by large numbers of boards. When the credit system was imposed, only three years after it was first offered as an option, 80% of the schools in the province had adopted it voluntarily (Ontario, Department of Education, 1972b:21). There is still opposition to the credit system (Toronto Star, 1973a, 1973c) but it is sporadic rather than generalized.

The recent imposition of spending ceilings marks a counter-instance to the trend I have described and may even indicate its

end. As I have already argued, (see above pp. 152-153), the imposition of spending ceilings may mark the beginning of a new era in inter-organizational relations in Ontario education and a return to coercive methods on the part of the Department of Education. If this is the case, and it is too early to be sure, then it would tend to support my argument concerning the original introduction of the non-coercive methods of control, namely that there was a relative shift of resources towards the local school boards and away from the Department of Education. The school boards became relatively much richer than they had been and more resourceful relative to the Department of Education. They were thus not subject to the same kind of coercive pressures which had operated when they were poor and weak. In the last few years, there has been a marked increase in the extent to which the boards are dependent on the Department for funds. One Director of Education was quite clearly aware of this new pressure, when he noted in an interview:

> People want the government to take over financial costs, but they want to retain their local control. Now these two are not too compatible. . . . Also, of course, we're going to get squeezed as enrolments drop with our per capita grants.

Another school board director, in interview, sensed the same kind of pressure, but appeared also to recognize the existence of non-coercive control:

> I think the Ministry of Education in Toronto could, they have ways and means of, I guess, they could find ways and means of asking or expecting you to meet the requirements of H.S.1 because they've got the big hand and they pay a lot of your grant. And if you don't operate your schools in accordance with the statutes and regulations, no grants. So you wouldn't be in business very long. So it won't happen. But nobody wants it to anyhow.

It is clear that there are a number of pressures acting on school boards and that the balance of these different sources of pressure may well shift. In its use of devices for fostering a consensus, the Department encouraged the growth of pressure on the boards from below. As one Director of Education, in an interview described the pressures acting on his board:

> I'm not so sure that the school board's autonomy as such is controlled or hemmed in or restricted by the Department of Education half as much as it is by let's say, teachers' federations, student power groups and all kinds of other things in our society, that you don't often think of as taking away school board autonomy. Parent pressure groups. I'm not saying these are bad, but I think they are the things which are restricting the board's autonomy.

If, however, the Department becomes more important as a source of resources, then the Department could become more important as a source of pressure on the behaviour of the boards and the other sources of pressure could become less important. The recent imposition of spending ceilings may mark the beginning of a new period of Departmental coercion.

Summary of the Argument

The Department's official doctrine, developed during the sixties, was not designed to produce major shifts in the content of education in Ontario, rather it was a response to a number of organizational pressures involved with changes at the level of the local administrative units.[11] These were very heterogeneous before

[11] The evidence regarding student choices under the credit system seems to suggest that the "traditional" subjects are as popular as they have ever been (Ontario, Department of Education, 1972b:23). This is not surprising given the overwhelming commitment to an instruemntal view of education (King and Ripton, 1970a; Jones and Selby, 1972), which views education as a tool for social mobility.

the organizational changes of the sixties which imposed a degree of homogeneity of resources. The larger boards had, before the amalgamations, acquired a degree of independence within a system which was basically hierarchical and authoritarian. They had developed a higher quality of services for their students than was offered in the rural areas. In an attempt to reduce the gap, there was a general trend towards the amalgamation of rural school boards, which trend was accelerated by the Department. Associated with the trend towards larger school boards, though partially independent of it, there was a rise in the level of qualification of the personnel employed at the local level. The larger resource base of the local school boards and the increasing professionalism of their staffs constituted a source of pressure for the reduction of direct control over the educational process by the Department. These pressures led to a changing definition of the roles of the various participants in the process and a change in the structure of the Department of Education in recognition of its changed role. The Department gave up direct control over the educational system to a great degree. What it attempted to do instead was to encourage the growth of a consensus about the educational process. There was during the period under study, a growing commitment to a relatively unstructured school curriculum and a non-graded approach to school organization, throughout North America. This "progressivism" was not merely the ideology of the leading Departmental officials; it was prevalent in the teachers' colleges, university faculties of education and the

large urban school boards. What the Department did, through its treatment of the Hall-Dennis Report, its creation of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education and by its propagation of official doctrine, was to spread this metropolitan ideology into the hinterlands of the Ontario education system. The Department's actions, when combined with the general pressures emanating from the teachers' colleges, through the various professional journals, have acted to produce a relative uniformity in education throughout the province. This uniformity is maintained in a different way from the former rigid control by the Department, but there is a uniformity nonetheless.

The above brief summary of the changes which have occurred suggests that the Department has given up its direct control over the education system at a time when there was developing a consensus about educational aims. The Department responded to organizational pressures by removing its direct control over the school boards, but it attempted to ensure that its goals were supported by the newly autonomous school boards. Expressed in organizational terms the relationship between the Department and the school boards shifted from principal and agents to centre and periphery. In recent years there may have been a shift back. The task of this thesis is to express the conditions under which one type of relationship may prevail and the conditions under which the other type may. From this we may hope to generalize to inter-organizational relationships in general. This is the task of the next two chapters.

IV

EDUCATION IN ONTARIO AND INTER-ORGANIZATIONAL THEORY

The Distinctive Features of Educational Institutions

In examining the relationships between the organizations involved in the educational process, it is essential to take into account some of the basic features of educational institutions in North America. These features led to the inter-organizational focus of this thesis.

Educational institutions are bureaucratically organized with a high degree of structural looseness (Bidwell, 1965). There is a high degree of autonomy accorded to the subunits, whether they be school boards, schools or teaching staffs. This high degree of subunit autonomy derives from a number of factors which militate against the imposition of uniformity. We might, on first glance, expect a high degree of uniformity given the uniform process of educating succeeding cohorts of children but the lower level operatives (the teachers) are in a situation which prevents to a greater or lesser degree the imposition of this uniformity. They are relatively highly trained and are deemed competent to make judgements with regard to the outcomes of the process which their superiors are considered incompetent to make. Though the administrator may see the process as standardized, the 'clients', that is the pupils and the parents do not see the process

in this way. For them the outcomes are unique and are likely to depend on the nature of the educational process itself; they will be concerned about the nature of the process, about the content and style of the curriculum. In most organizations it is rare for the client to question the methods employed in the productive process; it is not rare in educational institutions.

It is this combination of expertise on the part of the lower level operatives and the belief in the non-standardized nature of the educational process which makes the problems of control unique for higher level administrators. Even if teachers make no claim to "professionalism" they can claim specialized and detailed knowledge of the individual pupil. Since teachers do claim a professional mandate and a specialized body of knowledge (Leggatt, 1970), this creates further problems of organisational control.

A further problem of organizational control in and between educational organizations lies in the relationship between expertise and political control (Wiles and Williams, 1972; Wilensky, 1967, Benveniste, 1972). This problem, common to all governmental organisations, is particularly acute for educational organizations in that political control is centred at both the central government level and at the local level; expertise is similarly diffused.

These characteristics of education are clearly variable; the location of expertise and the resources which political power holders can bring to the situation may depend on the organizational structure and the distribution of power and expertise among the

organizations involved (Wiles and Williams, 1972). The evidence which I have gathered from the field of Ontario education indicates that they have recently varied quite considerably here.

Organizational Change in Ontario Education

Before the reforms in the organization of education in Ontario, the relationship between the Department of Education and the local school boards was rigid, authoritarian and hierarchical. There was a high degree of central control over the educational process in the schools and the possibilities for innovation at the local level were severely restricted. The Department of Education maintained its control by a number of means: the curriculum was precisely specified for each subject in each grade; the role of all participants in the educational process was clearly defined in legislation; administrative procedures were prescribed in Departmental memoranda in considerable detail; the performance of pupils and teachers was recorded annually in the Report of the Minister on the basis of information provided by the local school boards and the whole procedure was centrally controlled through the inspectorate.

This picture is an over-simplification for a number of reasons. Historically, the school boards were very diverse in size and the skills and training of their personnel. Within the general model there were local school boards which had a degree of local autonomy, informally granted, quite beyond the scale envisaged in the legal framework. The vast majority of school boards were agents of the Department of Education but there was a minority of large, urban school boards

with highly qualified personnel who were granted the freedom to act within the rules in ways which were clearly contrary to their spirit if not their wording.

The situation was quite stable. The small boards were rigidly controlled from the centre and the large boards, though formally subject to the same controls, were relative free. The large boards were not demanding any changes in the mode of operation and the small boards were equally content with the situation. The large boards were co-opted informally by the Department in order to ensure that the system remained stable and that the general control over the multiplicity of small boards was not threatened. Large school boards were granted the tacit right to introduce unique or experimental modes of operation and the inspectors in rural areas appear also to have connived at the introduction of modifications to the formal programme. These informal sharings of power were effective in maintaining the Department's hegemony. The inspectors played a crucial role in making the judgements concerning the validity of demands for change which arose at the local level and making the choice as to whether to allow the change. Clearly a battle with a large school board over educational policy which would almost certainly have become public would have been counter-productive; it was more in the interests of the Department to tolerate deviation from those boards with the resources to resist attempts at control.

In the rural areas, the process was somewhat different in that a challenge from a small school board did not threaten the

Department, rather it threatened the inspector. The inspectors in rural areas were faced with the dilemmas common to individuals who occupy this kind of role position. They were Departmental employees, ostensibly based in Toronto, but clearly could only operate effectively by maintaining a strong base in their areas of jurisdiction and becoming, to some extent "local people". Without a degree of trust, the inspector would have been incapable of performing his role. This posed a dilemma for the inspector. In order to perform his job for the Department he had to develop close personal ties in his area and to enforce Departmental policy through persuasion rather than coercion. In order to maintain those friendly links, he would naturally be required to adopt at least partially the world-view of the teachers with whom he was working, but where that world-view conflicted with official policy he was forced to make the choice of either enforcing the policy and jeopardizing his relationships at the local level or conniving at transgressions of the policy and placing his relationship with his employer, the Department, at risk.

This dilemma is faced by all local representatives of large organizations which are attempting to control members of other organizations. Even a salesman, in attempting to ensure that his goods are clearly and prominently displayed in a supermarket, must develop a good relationship with the store's manager and may therefore be compelled to tolerate various types of behaviour which contradict the goals of his employer. The role of policemen in the

urban community illustrates this role dilemma most effectively. In order to have access to information about crimes, he must maintain good relationships with "the underworld". He must tolerate minor criminal activity in order to be given information concerning the major crimes which are his prime concern. Bargains are struck between policeman and the criminal class concerning the incidence of arrests for minor offences and the extent to which the policeman will 'crack down' on petty criminals. He cannot ignore minor crime entirely since there are role expectations concerning an arrest rate here; what will develop is a tacit agreement concerning the frequency of 'raids' and similar aggressive police behaviour.

This kind of response is inherent in the role of individuals who operate as representatives of large organizations 'in the field'. The way in which the dilemma is resolved will depend among other things on the way in which his performance is judged. It is unlikely that his performance will be judged merely in terms of the extent to which he ensures conformity to the current prescriptions of the large organization. There will be long term goals and also the more general goal of maintaining organizational stability; the 'detached' employee will be expected to balance these.

After the organizational changes in Ontario education, the relationship between the Department and the local school boards was characterised by flexibility, a devolution of power and a relatively egalitarian atmosphere. The extent of direct central control over the educational process was much diminished and the

local school boards were encouraged to innovate. The lessening of direct central control is illustrated by the following characteristics of the relationship: the content of the curriculum is much less clearly specified for each grade level with flexibility for teachers and pupils in the classroom; curricula and syllabi are now developed by the central authority in the form of guidelines and only offered to the boards as options; the behaviour expected of teachers and pupils is no longer defined by external examinations; in spite of a rigidly hierarchical legal framework, the exact nature of the relationship between the different levels of administration has become the subject of debate; the communications flowing from the peripheral organizations to the central organization still include statistical information, but they also involve requests for approval of action planned at the local level and the abolition of the central inspectorate has removed from the Department the ability to exert the detailed control over the boards which it formerly was able to do.

Once again this outline gives an impression which is too simple. It implies that the Department relinquished control over the educational process when the evidence indicates that the mechanism of control merely changed. Though the Department conceded much decision-making power to lower levels in the educational hierarchy, this concession was more apparent than real. The Department had made the decision that the curriculum should be more flexible with a greater degree of student choice but attempted to

describe this as a general devolution of power to teachers and school boards. It is this vague and generalized commitment to decentralization which is the genius of the Department's official doctrine since it shifts the locus of conflict away from conflict between it and the school boards to conflict between the boards and other groups. How did this change come about?

The Source of Change and the Mechanisms of Control

With the enlargement of the areas of jurisdiction of the rural school boards, the traditional pattern of rigid control for the many and informal co-optation for the few was no longer possible. The pressures for informal co-optation became stronger in that there were more school boards with the resources to pose threats to the hegemony of the Department of Education, more large school boards and more highly qualified personnel working for them. The system of informal co-optation depended on the existence of only a minority of alternative centres of power. The process of informal co-optation had to be replaced by a new method of control, a process similar, but not identical, to the process of formal co-optation described by Selznick (1966).

In the Tenessee Valley, local groups were created by TVA to share in the symbols of power without sharing in its substance. In Ontario, this process occurred on a limited scale; the ISOC committees were established to involve trustees in the creation of the new county boards, lay representatives were appointed to the Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives, school councils of pupils, teachers and parents

are being formed on the model of that in operation at Thornlea Secondary School and citizens' groups with power to advise staffs of schools and school boards are being encouraged. All these are examples of formal co-optation in the sense that Selznick used the term, that is, as attempts to legitimate a process of social change by the involvement of the people likely to be affected by the changes. They are given a share in the symbols of power without actually being granted a share of the power itself. That these various elements of formal co-optation are important is not to be gainsaid; I contend, however, that in Ontario education there are other mechanisms which are formally co-opting and that these are more crucial.

The most important single co-optative device was the official doctrine which advocated formally the sharing of power with pupils, teachers and parents. Formerly, these groups had not been involved in decision-making to any degree. Why should the officials in the Department of Education advocate the devolution of power? The important point to remember is that this advocacy of decentralization came at a time when the Department was under pressure to share power with the school boards. These were increasing in relative resources and were exerting pressure on the Department for a shift away from the rigid, traditional system of Departmental control. The great benefit, from the point of view of the Department, in a generalized commitment to decentralization, was that it encouraged the growth of counter pressures on the boards, pressures from below. This tended

to counter the growth of local empires and prevent the growth of alternative styles of education. The Department wished to move towards a less rigidly defined curriculum and could not have afforded to allow local school boards to maintain traditional structures. By combining its advocacy of a credit approach to secondary curriculum with a general commitment to decentralized decision-making, it prevented local school boards from refusing to implement its curricular goals. The official doctrine then acted as a source of pressure on the school boards, a source of pressure from below.

Secondly, the official doctrine weakened the claim of the local officials to be speaking for local constituencies, since these were being encouraged to speak for themselves through the local consultative committees and so on. We thus have seen, in the recent conflict over spending ceilings, the attempt by local boards to use public opinion as a weapon in the struggle against the Department, by newspaper advertisements and public meetings, though with little apparent success (Toronto Star, 1973b). This inability of the boards, to claim to represent their constituencies in conflicts with the Department, reduced their effectiveness. It is here that the Hall-Dennis Report has been important.

I demonstrated in the previous chapter that the Hall-Dennis Report was not a genuinely independent expression of educational philosophy and that it served as a useful buttress and shield for the Department. It also had another use, which becomes apparent from

an examination of the report's style. The distinctive feature of the report is that it was aimed at an uninformed public and was designed to influence broad public opinion. It was not aimed at educators who, as professionals, would have desired more documentation, more research and more direct information as to the mode of implementation of the report's plans. The report spoke to parents and urged them to speak publicly about their concerns. The report manipulated public opinion and encouraged its vocal expression. Thus it fostered a further source of pressure on the local boards.

These were the devices of formal co-optation, designed not so much to involve the groups in the symbols of power as to manipulate them as weapons in the struggle with the boards. They thus differed somewhat from Selznick's (1966) original use of the concept "formal co-optation" but they have the major features he described and so I think the terminology is still appropriate.

The other way in which the Department maintained its control over the educational process after the re-organisation was through its attempts to create an ideological consensus. The Hall-Dennis Report acted in this way but it was augmented by other devices. Innovations in curriculum are generated in a number of places in Toronto, notably the Curriculum Branch of the Department and the Curriculum Department of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. These have served the important purpose of generating the ideas which create the climate within which the boards make curriculum changes. Once again, the risk that the boards might

operate in ways which run counter to the aims of the Department has been minimized. What the Department's actions have done is to foster a thrust for innovation in Ontario education. That is to say, the innovations which have been generated in Toronto and have been generally accepted in the larger centres, now find a ready market throughout the province. The ideas which were formerly concentrated in a few 'advanced centres', notably the larger boards and the teachers' colleges, have become diffused throughout the province.

There is thus a new uniformity in education, a uniformity maintained not by coercion or strong central control but by a system of ideas generated in a number of places in the metropolitan centres and propagated by the Department. The Department thus acts to maintain a new uniformity throughout the educational system without the need for the use of coercive methods. When a consensus exists, the necessity for coercion is removed.

I have argued that this shift to an alternative style of control over the educational process grew out of a change in the relative strengths of the Department and the school boards. Recent changes and the imposition of the spending ceilings may indicate a return to the more direct form of control, as a result of the recent shift in the balance of resources back to the Department. It has in recent years taken on an increasing share of the educational costs in the province and has thus increased the dependence of the boards on it. It is at this point too early to be certain, but this may presage

return to a direct form of control.

I have discussed the changes which have occurred in organizational relationship in Ontario education and have indicated in outline the sources of those changes. I wish at this point to re-introduce the framework of inter-organizational relationships which I discussed in the first chapter, reiterating it and testing its validity against the data. I will then return in more detail to the sources of organizational change in Ontario, relating them to the framework I am using.

Types of Inter-organizational Relationships

In the first chapter (see above pp. 51-54), I distinguished between two different styles of relationships between organizations, principal/agent relationships and centre/periphery relationships. I will repeat their basic characteristics. The characteristics of relationships between a principal organization and its agents will be:

1. The principal organization will attempt to oversee the activities of its agents as closely as possible, maintaining personnel in the role of overseers and will use the threat of coercion and coercion itself as prime methods of control.

2. When communications occur between the organizations, they will take the form of a flow of instructions from principal to agents and a flow of information from agents to principal.

3. The limits of action of the agents will be clearly defined, stable and will be enforced by recognized sanctions.

4. Innovation will be introduced by the principal organization without consultation with its agents.

The characteristics of relationships between central and peripheral organizations will be:

1. The central organization will attempt to influence the activities of the peripheral organizations by propaganda, persuasion, discussion and consultation and will only use coercive measures when these other methods prove inadequate.

2. Communications between the organizations will take the form of advice and suggestions from the centre and requests for assistance and guidance from the periphery.

3. The limits of action of the peripheral organizations will be vaguely defined, subject to debate and subject to change.

4. The process of innovation will follow a period of negotiation and discussion and may well be implemented by the peripheral organization on the advice of the centre.

These two models seem to me to describe clearly different forms of relationship between organizations in which there is a single large organization and a number of small similar organizations. I argued in my earlier discussion (p. 52-58) that these two models relate to a number of other views of interaction, either within or between organizations. I will now attempt to codify these various models.

CHART IV-1

VARIOUS MODELS OF ORGANIZATIONAL INTERACTION

	Type of Relationship		Degree of Central Control
Single Organization	Mechanistic	Weberian	High
	(a)	Professional	Mixed
	Organic	Human Relations	Low
More Than One Organization	Principal—Agent (c)		High
	Primary—Secondary (d)		
	Centre—Periphery		
	Grass-Roots Democracy (e)		
	Partnership (c)		
	Administrative Constituency (e)		
	Central Association		Low

Sources: (a) Burns and Stalker (1961); (b) Litwak (1961); (c) Hartley (1971); (d) Ridgway (1957); (e) Selznick (1966).

The parallels between the various terminologies applied to intra-organizational and inter-organizational relationships is clear. Both the authors who focus on single organizations and those who deal with inter-organizational relationships are pointing to variations in the degree of central control. In the case of single organizations, the highest degree of control is to be found in "mechanistic" or "Weberian" organizations, the lowest in "organic" or "Human Relations" organizations, with professional organizations exhibiting some of the characteristics of both. In the case of inter-organizational relationships, the highest degree of central control exists when there is a "principal" and "agents", the lowest when a number of organizations have combined to form a "central association", such as a central labour organization or a trade association.

It should also be noted that I have found no place in my scheme for the taxonomy developed by Thompson and MacEwen (1958), nor for that developed by Pondy (1968). Pondy, in his discussion of intra-organizational conflict, describes three types: Bargaining, Bureaucratic and System conflict, which indicate increasing degrees of support among the subunits with system conflict being the situation in which the subunits are collectively in conflict with another system. His taxonomy parallels mine, but is rather narrow since it only refers to situations of conflict.

Thompson and MacEwen develop a classification of four types of inter-organization interaction: competition, bargaining, co-optation,

and coalition formation, lying on a continuum of increasing mutual support and decreasing individual organisational autonomy. It is clear that their taxonomy parallels the continuum which I have drawn, but it does not match it directly, because they have assumed a degree of independence and equality between the organizations which my continuum does not do. My continuum assumes a situation in which there is a single large organization interacting with a number of smaller ones and describes the possible variations in their relationships. Thompson and MacEwen have assumed that there are a number of independent organizations of approximately equal size which may or may not interact. Their situation of "coalition formation" approximates most closely to the situation in which what I have called a "central association" is formed, though they are implying a higher degree of integration. Their concept of "co-optation" applies to a number of the situations which I have outlined and fails to distinguish between "formal" and "informal" co-optation and, more importantly, because their taxonomy fails to take into account the varying degrees of power and influence of the organisations, it fails to differentiate between the organization which is co-opting and the organization which is co-opted. Their terminology seems to me to be quite weak here. Their categories of "competition" and "bargaining" express some of the elements of relationships near the top end of my continuum, but once again their applicability is limited by the assumptions which Thompson and MacEwen make.

The taxonomy which I have developed does not pretend to be

a taxonomy which will apply to all forms of inter-organizational interaction. It deals only with a range of circumstances which can exist under certain conditions. The organizations which are interacting are not independent organizations engaged in voluntary interaction; they are tied together, formally or informally, in a situation of mutual dependence. Naturally, all organizations which interact with other organizations are, to some extent, dependent on them, but the dependence to which I am referring derives from the fact that there is a single large organization interacting with a number of small, similar ones. The various types of relationships which I describe only exist when there is a single organization which needs to act through other organizations. The taxonomy applies to an automobile manufacturer in his relationships with his dealers and not to an automobile manufacturer in his relationships with his parts suppliers. In the latter case, the small organizations provide the inputs for the large organization but the manufacturer is relatively unconcerned about the nature of the productive process; he cares simply that the goods are delivered on time and of the right quality. His relationship to the car dealer is critically different; the dealer is not merely the purchaser of the outputs of the manufacturer, he is the agent <u>through</u> whom the manufacturer sells his cars to the public. The car manufacturer must be concerned with the cleanliness of the premises of his dealers for they are his public representatives and his only access to the market. The quality of service which the dealer offers to his customers reflects not only

on the dealer but also on the product.

By the same token, a ministry of education in a central government does not educate pupils; local school boards and schools do that. The ministry of education requires to know the details of the educational process in the schools in order to guage its effectiveness as an organization. The education ministry, the car manufacturer, the Tennessee Valley Authority, the trade association and the union central organization are all in similar situations in that their activities depend on the behaviour of other organizations to a large degree. They are apparently large, almost monopolistic, organizations whose power is circumscribed to a lesser or greater, but always considerable, degree by their dependence on other organizations for their success or failure.

In the continuum which I have developed, I included two items from Selznick's (1966) study of the TVA, "grass-roots democracy" and "administrative constituency". I am using the terms slightly differently from the original use in that originally the latter was seen as a partial consequence of the former which was the official doctrine of the TVA. The grass-roots democracy of TVA involved both formal and informal co-optation and had they both been successful, would not have compromised the implementation of its goals. As it was, the formal co-optation was successful, but the informal co-optation, the sharing of power with the local representatives of agriculture, failed in that the local farm groups built an administrative constituency inside TVA and

perverted its goals. Grass-roots democracy involved a mixed degree of central control with a high degree of control over formally co-opted elements and a relatively low degree of control over those which were informally co-opted. I have therefore placed it at the mid-point of the continuum. Its position is somewhat arbitrary since it has never been shown to operate effectively and because it combines elements from different parts of the continuum. Clearly, however, it has remarkable similarities to the relationship which I have labelled centre/periphery, though there are features of this latter relationship which differentiate it from grass-roots democracy.

I have developed the notion of a centre/periphery relationship because it seems to me to contain features which are distinctive and which best describe relationships which currently exist in Ontario education. Under centre/periphery relationships the central organization develops both types of co-optation, formal and informal, and maintains a high degree of control over the system, through the creation of a consensus. This is different from a grass-roots democracy, which, if it could exist, would involve a genuine sharing of power with the lower level organizations. In fact, in the situation in which an attempt was made to apply the concept of a grass-roots democracy, an administrative constituency developed. Control moved right away from the centre. Selznick's study demonstrates that it is not possible for an innovatory organization to operate with existing organizations, granting them a high degree of autonomy, and

still manage to introduce an innovatory programme. Selznick argues that the plan of the TVA for local involvement could not be combined with its social programme because the local organizations through which it chose to operate were opposed to its plans. This is the dilemma of all movements for social change which are at the same time committed to democratic processes through existing institutions. When a reformist political party takes office it encounters a set of policy options which have been worked out by the previous administration, civil servants committed to the previous administration and its policies and and an economic and political situation which has to be managed during the transition to reform. The TVA faced the dilemma and chose the institutions rather than the reforms as did the British Labour Party during its various periods of office (Selznick, 1966:259; Miliband, 1972). It seems likely, given the historical evidence, that the model of grass-roots democracy is not viable and that either there develops an administrative constituency which resists the goals of the central organization or the commitment to grass-roots democratic procedures lapses before the commitment to reform.

The situation in Ontario education was different from that in the Tennessee Valley in that the Department of Education was not a new and innovatory organization imposed on a stable situation, rather it was an existing organization which was attempting to maintain its control over a situation which was unstable and changing. It is unlikely that centre/periphery relationships will develop in

situations in which an innovatory organization is imposed on a stable situation; the existing organizations have developed their power bases and are capable of resisting the innovatory thrusts of the new organization unless it resorts to coercive measures which are incompatible with the nature of centre/periphery relationships. It is in the nature of inter-organizational relationships that both organizations have sanctions which they can bring to bear on the other organization; the central organization cannot apply sanctions too forcefully or regularly and still claim that it is operating democratically. If the central government chooses to operate in this way it must base its appeal for legitimacy on other criteria, such as an appeal to its jurisdictional rights in the field - "the government must govern" - or with an attempt to portray the local bodies as minorities bent on thwarting the the wishes of the majority which the large organization claims to represent. The regular use of sanctions, or the threat of their use, involves a commitment to the legitimacy of the use of sanctions and resort to a model of the relationship which approximates that of principal and agents. I would argue that centre/periphery relationships will only develop in a situation in which there exists a strong central organization which can afford to cease directly controlling the behaviour of the peripheral organizations because it has access to alternative means of control through the creation of a consensus. In other words, centre/periphery relationships constitute an alternative means of control to principal/agent

relationships and will be resorted to when, for some reason, principal/agent relationships are no longer viable. The converse is also true, that centre/periphery relationships will not develop in situations in which the central organization has no access to non-coercive means of control. Under these circumstances there will develop either a perverted form of grass-roots democracy, an administrative constituency, or a relationship which takes the form of principal and agent.

It should not be assumed from the above discussion that there are no real differences between centre/periphery relationships and principal/agent relationships. Though the central organization has developed alternative means of controlling the behaviour of the peripheral units, the degree of control is reduced and the local units are given a genuine degree of involvement. What happened in Ontario education is that the local school boards won genuine concessions from the Department and the Department developed the alternative means of control to prevent the reins of control from slipping even further from its grasp. The boards were able to demand autonomy as a result of the increasing professionalization of their staffs and as a result of the increasing financial resources which they acquired with their growing tax bases. One indicator of this relative shift in resources lies in the fact that the Department in the early sixties was increasingly unable to pay competitive salaries and was thus not able to attract the most highly qualified personnel. Also, the more highly qualified personnel in the school boards were

less willing to accept the authority of the Department. This change, symptomatic of the more general shift, required that there be a shift in the nature of the relationship between the Department and the school boards. That this shift tended towards a centre/periphery model, with its elements of formal and informal co-optation, derived from the access which the Department had to the resources of non-coercive control.

What happened in Ontario education during the nineteen sixties was that there was a shift in the relationships between school boards and Department of Education. This shift involved a movement down the continuum as I have drawn it. If, as I suspect, recent changes indicate a return to more direct central control, the relationship will have moved back up the continuum. Centre/periphery relationships lie approximately at the mid-point of the continuum since they do not mark a genuine shift of control to the periphery but rather the substitution of a consensus for coercion. The Department created a consensus in Ontario education and obviated the necessity for coercion.

This chapter has related the changes which have occurred in Ontario education to a general framework of relationships between organizations of a similar type. I have discussed the sources of the changes which have occurred but have not expressed them in more general terms. The task remaining is to codify the relationships which I have found in Ontario education and express them in the form of general propositions. I turn to this in the remaining chapter.

V

CONCLUSION

This study has dealt with the relationship between the Ontario Department of Education and the local school boards in Ontario, that is a relationship between a single large organization and a relatively large number of smaller organizations. In developing more general propositions, it is necessary to specify whether they are designed to apply only to relationships of this type or whether they may be taken to refer to inter-organizational relationships in general.

Though it is fair to state that the situation in which there is a single large organization and a number of smaller ones is by no means universal, it is sufficiently common to merit discussion. It is the normal relationship between the central government and its local counterparts; large corporations dealing with suppliers are often in this situation; a company has to deal with its branch plants; a school board is a single organization interacting with many schools; a trade association has a number of members; a political party or a trade union must attempt to control its local branches and, of course, a central ministry of education is involved in this form of relationship with the local school boards or similar administrative units. Though there are clear differences among the above relationships,

there are also similarities. The task remaining for this thesis is to specify those variables which are common to all types of inter-organizational relationships, those which are common to all relationships of the narrower type and those features which are unique to the specific conditions listed. In other words, what are the general conditions governing interaction between organizations and what are the specific conditions which govern the interaction between a single large organisation and a number of small ones?

The basic variable which governs all interaction between organizations is the resource base of one organization relative to that of the other. If interaction between organizations is a process of exchange between the organizations, then the nature of the interaction will be governed by the extent to which the organisations are dependent on each other for the resources which they need to exchange. When I refer to resources, I am not merely referring to material resources, but including financial resources, capital, labour, talent and expertise, access to markets and all the quantifiable items which contribute to the organization's goal attainment.

The question which we are faced with is to define the role which the resource base of an organization plays in its interaction with other organizations and the kinds of relationships which result from variations in the resource base. From the case-study of educational change in Ontario we can suggest ways in which the variables might interact and develop testable propositions suitable

for further research.

Some Propositions about Organizational Interaction

A. As an organization's resources, relative to its goals, increase, it will tend to interact less with organizations in its environment.

What this proposition is arguing is that the amount which organizations interact with other organizations will depend on the extent to which they are dependent on other organizations to satisfy their resource needs. Clearly, the extent to which an organization is self-sufficient is variable, though an organization, as a system of inputs and outputs, can never be completely self-sufficient. As an organization tends to self-sufficiency, it will require less from other organizations and will hence interact less with them.

It might be thought that the more self-sufficient an organization is the more it will become the focus of demands from other organizations and thus be forced into interaction. I would argue against this point of view. It is important to realise that when I refer to self-sufficiency in an organization, I am not necessarily implying that an organization is resourceful in absolute terms, only that it can satisfy its needs without relying greatly on other organizations. It need not be a large organization among small organizations to be in this situation. For example, a small privately owned radio station may have adequate advertising revenue to support the staff which it needs to attain its goals while at the same time the local affiliate of the Canadian Broadcasting

Corporation may be the victim of a government austerity squeeze which affects it as part of the Corporation as a whole. Under these circumstances, it is unlikely that the local radio station will become the object of demands from the Corporation or the affiliate since its resources, adequate though they may be for its needs, will be insubstantial in relation to the total resource base of the corporation and may be of a different type and thus unsuitable for exchange.

The problem with this proposition, from an empirical point of view, lies in developing an independent criterion for the adequacy of an organization's resources. It depends on an ability to define precisely the goals of the organization and the resources necessary for the attainment of those goals. One may be able to develop these precise measures of resource adequacy or alternatively it may be possible to follow the strategy employed by Levine and White (1961) who, rather than focusing on the adequacy of the resources for a particular organization, argued that there was a scarcity of resources for all the social welfare organizations they studied. Of course, they were in the fortunate position that there was little doubt about resource scarcity in their field of study.

The rate of interaction between the organizations is more easily measured. We can simply examine the number of communications between the organizations. The only problem with this is that it requires a high degree of involvement with the organizations on the part of the researcher and requires that the informal communications be measured as well as the formal ones.

The only major difficulty remaining is that this element cannot be measured in historical situations since the informal communications are not available[12].

In the Ontario situation, one would expect that, as the local school boards became more resourceful relative to the Department of Education during the period of amalgamation, they would be less dependent on the Department and hence require to interact with it less frequently. On the other hand, the Department of Education was apparently becoming more dependent on the school boards for the attainment of its goals and hence would, if the proposition is true, require more interaction. In this instance though, it is not easy to apply this proposition, partly because the criteria of resource adequacy are not very clearly defined, that is, it is not immediately apparent whether the fact that the school boards became more independently resourceful also implied that the Department became less adequately supplied with resources. The goals of the Department changed at this time, partly as a result of the change in the distribution of resources, and the criteria for adequacy changed.

[12] I did attempt a rough investigation of this issue, arguing that the number of memoranda which the Department despatched to the peripheral units in any one year would vary with the nature of the relationship between it and the school boards. I expected that, as the relationship shifted from principal/agent to centre/periphery, the number of memoranda would decline. The figures are as follows: 1961/2, 60; 1962/3, 65; 1963/4, 88; 1964/5, 89; 1965/6, 94; 1966/7, 104; 1967/8, 63; 1968/9, 68; 1969/70, 52; 1970/1, 55; 1971/2, 50 + 13 business memoranda. These data do not support the hypothesis, but the hypothesis is not a good test of the propositions since only some of the communications were examined. The sudden upsurge in memoranda between 1963 and 1967 is interesting however, though it is not readily explicable.

It is possible however to consider the fact that, though the rate of interaction may not have changed, the nature of the interaction did change in Ontario education.

B. As an organization's resources increase relative to its goals, the proportion of inter-organizational interaction which it initiates will increase.

C. As an organization's resources relative to its goals vary from high to low, so will its manner of interaction with other organizations vary from 'authoritarian' through 'egalitarian' to 'supplicatory'.

These two propositions are much more clearly derived from the data which I gleaned for the case-study of Ontario education, though, once again, there is no precise data to evaluate the first one. The two propositions are placed together here because they are clearly inter-related. The first proposition is based on the assumption that organizations with relatively adequate resource bases will be in a 'strong' position <u>vis à vis</u> the organizations in their environment and hence will tend to initiate the interactions which occur. Equally, the kind of interaction pattern will be different for an organization which is relatively resourceful from the pattern for an organization which is less resourceful. That is to say, not only will an organization tend to initiate more of its interaction with other organizations when it is relatively resourceful, it will also tend to have a relationship with those organizations which might best be described as 'authoritarian'. I have placed this term in quotation marks along with the terms 'egalitarian' and 'supplicatory' in the proposition because I am not entirely happy with them as terms to clarify the point that I am making. This point becomes

clearer from an examination of the chart on page 235 above.

In this chart, which refers primarily to interaction between a large central organization and small organizations, the continuum ranges from "principal/agent" relationships to relationships between a "central association" and its members. The dimension along which these relationships are varying is the degree of central control. Principals will have a high degree of control over their agents; central associations will have a low degree of control over their members. The variable "degree of central control" can only apply in the situation in which there is a central organization dealing with a number of small organizations, but it may be stated more generally as the variable "style of interaction" or "manner of interaction". It is less appropriate, when talking about organizations in general, to consider the extent to which one controls the action of the other; it makes more sense to talk of the degree of dependence of one organization on the other. This is clearly a function of the resource base which each organization has and will, I argue affect the manner of interaction. As organizations move down the continuum the way in which they interact will change.

When principals interact with their agents, they issue orders and demand information. In Ontario, before the period of change in inter-organisational relationships in education, the Department of Education issued precise instructions concerning the nature of the educational process, the curriculum and the pattern of school organisation. As the relative resource bases of the Department

and the school boards altered, with the balance shifting towards the boards, the nature of the relationship changed from principal/agent to centre/periphery and with it the manner in which the organizations interacted changed. The Department ceased its direct involvement in the detailed running of the schools and began offering guides for action, curriculum guidelines, course outlines and other forms of less dominant communication.

This is a particular example of a more general point. The continuum on page 235 deals only with the situation in which there is a single organization and a number of organizations with which it interacts. Central associations, it is argued, would interact with their members in a manner which would be "supplicatory", that is, asking for guidance, assistance and policies. Central associations have no control over their members; they are creatures of their members. The extent to which central associations are dependent on their memberships is graphically illustrated when, as happened recently in Britain, governments attempt to negotiate with representatives of management and labour. The delegation from the Trades Union Congress was composed entirely of leaders of the most powerful unions within the Congress, who were selected because it was their unions which were going to determine the success or failure of any negotiated policy. Even then, they made it quite explicit that they were unable to predict the behaviour of unions which were not represented at the meetings. The same pattern was followed by the Confederation of British Industry.

The continuum which I have drawn is part of a larger continuum of relationships between organizations which expresses the general point which I have been making, namely that, as an organization approaches 'resource adequacy' it will tend to interact less frequently with organizations in its environment, it will tend to initiate a larger proportion of the interactions which do occur, and it will tend to be "authoritarian" in its interaction with the other organizations.

I would further argue that interaction between organizations will continue at the same rate, and follow the same pattern if there is no shift in the resource balance between them. Given the propositions which I have already formulated, this is a corollary and does not merit statement as a general proposition. It does, however, lead me to develop one final proposition concerning the interaction between organizations.

D. When there is a shift in the resource balance between organizations, officials in the organization which has been relatively weakened will attempt to acquire additional resources in order to restore the balance.

Organizations will continue to interact in a predictable way unless one of the organizations acquires additional resources which therefore reduces its dependence on the organizations with which it is interacting. There will be a tendency for the relationships which it has with those organizations to change, that is, there will be a movement down the continuum on page 235 or the more general continuum of which this is a part. When this happens, the officials in the other organization will be thrust into a situation of change,

and they will be less able to perform the tasks which are necessary if the organization is to attain its goals. I argue that they will attempt to acquire alternate resources to attempt to restore their ability to perform. They may do this in two ways: firstly, they may attempt to establish relationships with other organizations to substitute for the relationships which have been damaged, or, secondly, they may manage to acquire resources which will tend to restore the balance. This was the response of the Department of Education in Ontario when its hegemony over the school boards was threatened by a growth in the resource base of the school boards relative to its own resource base. It managed to prevent the relationship shifting beyond a centre/periphery relationship, that is, further down the continuum. It managed to do this by the development of devices which nurtured an ideological consensus among the school boards concerning the goals of the educational process and the style of education best suited to the attainment of those goals. In this instance, a large organization interacting with a number of small organizations was able to prevent a major shift in the nature of its interaction with them by calling on alternative resources which enabled it to influence the actions of the smaller organizations.

The organization which is weakened may not have access to alternate resources and there may then be a clearer shift in the nature of the relationship which may be permanent. Nevertheless, officials in the organization will resist attempts to weaken their

organization and their ability to work towards goal attainment.

The difficulty with all the above propositions lies simply in developing measures of the adequacy of an organization's resource base. We must avoid defining it in terms of its interaction with other organizations. We cannot simply measure the cost of different resources to the organization and describe the adequacy of the resource base in terms of the differential in organizational costs between internal and external resources. We require a measure which takes into account the fact that certain resources, while not costly in themselves, may be crucial for the goals of the organization. For this reason, it may be difficult to compare organizations with one another, since the problem of defining the adequacy of the resource base of each may be insuperable until some general measure is developed.

This problem can be overcome by an investigation of a single system of inter-organizational interaction over time. Here we may avoid the definition of the adequacy of the organization's resources and may instead focus on the shift in the resource balance between one organization and others which is more easily quantifiable. This is the procedure which I adopted in studying the changes in Ontario education. I traced the changes which occurred in inter-organizational relationships and demonstrated their relationship to changes in the relative resources of the organizations involved.

Having discussed the general propositions governing interaction between organizations, I will now examine some of the specific conditions

governing the interaction between a single large organization and a number of small organizations. The most important distinguishing feature of this kind of relationship is that it is extremely difficult for either party to withdraw from interaction. The Ontario Department of Education cannot operate except through local school boards and cannot substitute one school board for others, since school boards have a monopolistic jurisdiction in the areas where they operate. Equally a school board is not in a position to withdraw from its relationship to the Department of Education since it cannot operate except as the representative of the Department. This constraint applies to all interaction between central and local governments. It applies also, to all intents and purposes, to the relationship between a car manufacturer and his dealers, where the costs of withdrawing for both organizations will be very high, especially in situations in which the dealer holds a regional monopoly. This places the dealer in a position which is closely analogous to that of the local school board. The dealer may be able to withdraw under certain conditions, but only in situations in which there is an alternative manufacturer for whom he can act. This may involve shifting his franchise to a manufacturer of imported cars, since the large North American manufacturers have developed stable market situations and are not pursuing aggressive competition among themselves.

This limiting factor applies also to the relationship between a trade union central and the unions which affiliate to it. Either side may technically withdraw from the relationship. The union may

cease paying its affiliation dues or the central association may act to expel the union. This withdrawal or expulsion does not end the relationship, it merely changes its nature, since the non-member is a constant source of irritation to the central. The two organizations cannot move to a situation of simple competition since both have a commitment to trade union solidarity in the face of the common antagonist, management. This is not to say that there will be no conflict between the organizations for they may well raid each other's memberships, but rather to state that the situation which will develop will always be different from that which prevails between rival manufacturers competing in the marketplace.

Final Remarks

This has been a case-study of organizational change in Ontario education. It has not been a study which has set out to test a set of propositions. I argued in the first chapter that the state of knowledge in the field of inter-organizational relationships was such that this was an inappropriate task. I argued that what was required was a case-study of a particular set of changes, what Kaplan (1964:149) labels an "heuristic experiment" which "is designed to generate ideas, to provide leads for further enquiry or to open up new lines of investigation." This has been the classic role of case studies in social science. Individual cases have been studied because they are interesting in themselves and, more importantly, because they have given the researchers insights into possible general features and have led to the develop-

ment of general propositions. I feel that this study has been successful in that it has focused on a particular type of interaction between organizations and has drawn out elements of that interaction which are generally interesting and has developed some general propositions for further research.

Possibly the most interesting idea for further research which this study has generated is for a comparative investigation into educational administration. This study has developed a focus which could usefully be applied to a comparative study of this type, namely an examination of the relative resources of local and central units of administration and the impact which these relative resources have on the interaction between the organizations. I would argue that one might expect significant variations in this regard between the different provincial administrations of Canada and between Canada, Britain and the United States.

An alternative line of development for further research would be a focus on the mechanisms of control which central governments have developed in situations in which they do not have direct control over peripheral organizations or the populace at large. Though there has been research in this area, it has tended to be on a high level of generality and has only sketched in the mechanisms of control which governments have developed. What are needed are particular studies of areas of governmental action such as education, the economy and the political system with a view to discovering the extent to which there is control over these institutions by governments and the ways

in which that control is maintained.

A further possibility, and in many ways more useful, would be to move away from the particular field of inter-governmental interaction and into other types of inter-organizational interaction. This study has, after all, purported to be more than a study of public administration; it has pretensions of developing generalizations which can be applied to other froms of interaction between organizations. In this regard, a study of the relationships between franchisers and franchisees in general would be both a useful area in which to test the generality of the propositions and also would be of interest in view of the growing importance of this form of marketing. These are only suggestions, and highly tentative ones at that. Discussion of the research designs appropriate to studies of the particular areas I have suggested will have to be postponed to a later date.

It is my contention that this case study has provided its readers as well as its author with a better understanding of the nature of the changes which have occurred in Ontario education since the second world war. The introduction of an inter-organizational perspective has clarified the nature of the changes and has helped to explain the nature of the forces involved and the responses of the organizations to those forces. In addition it has led to the development of a number of propositions and generated ideas for further research. I suggest that these are modest but sufficient achievements.

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