

DICK AND JANE IN CANADA:  
A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE LITERACY CURRICULUM  
IN BRITISH COLUMBIA ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, 1945-1960

by

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DICK AND JANE IN CANADA: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE LITERACY CURRICULUM

IN BRITISH COLUMBIA ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, 1945-1960

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## ABSTRACT

This study is a critical analysis of the curriculum for the teaching of reading and literacy-related competences in British Columbia elementary schools, 1945 to 1960. Theories and methods from the sociology of the curriculum and the discourse analysis of narratives are used. The curriculum is situated in the historical context of postwar British Columbia educational policy and the concurrent public debate on literacy and schooling. Three textbook series are examined: the U. S. developed Curriculum Foundation Readers, and the Canadian developed Canadian Parade Readers and Canadian Spellers. The historical development of each series is traced, with particular emphasis on dominant trends in applied educational research, curriculum development, and textbook publishing and marketing. Selected narratives used to teach reading are examined and the relationship between ideological content and discursive form is discussed. This is followed by a review of governmental curricular documents, administrative directives, and publishers' manuals on the official conditions for teaching these textbooks. The study concludes that the postwar curriculum passed on to children a selective tradition of ideologically-based values, knowledges and literate competences.

For Edwin S. Luke, 1911-1986

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Approval.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Dedication.....	iv
Acknowledgement.....	v
List of Tables.....	ix
List of Figures.....	x
 Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION	
1.0. Aims: A critical analysis of historical curricula for the teaching of literacy.....	1
1.1. Justification: Issues in the historical quality of literacy.....	2
1.2. Assumptions: Literacy, ideology and the selective tradition.....	11
1.3. Method: Curricular criticism and text analysis.....	22
1.3.1. The critical sociology of the curriculum.....	23
1.3.2. Text analysis: Story grammars and children's narratives...	32
1.4. Background: Postwar schooling and literacy in British Columbia...	45
1.5. Materials: The texts of elementary literacy instruction, 1945-1960.....	54
1.6. References.....	57
 Chapter 2. MAKING THE ELEMENTARY READING TEXT: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CURRICULUM FOUNDATION SERIES	
2.0. The production of the selective tradition: Educational publishing, curriculum development and authorship....	66
2.1. The best of intents: William Gray and the historical development of the Scott Foresman basal readers.....	74
2.2. References.....	93

Chapter 3.	READING THE TEXT: DICK AND JANE AS INTRODUCTIONS TO LITERACY	
3.0.	A story grammar analysis of <u>Fun with Dick and Jane</u> .....	98
3.1.	The fictitious reality of Dick and Jane.....	117
3.2.	One world: The world structures of the text.....	127
3.3.	The mythology of the modern family.....	135
3.4.	References.....	146
Chapter 4.	CANADIAN CONTENT: THE DIFFERENCE THAT MAY HAVE MADE A DIFFERENCE	
4.0.	Changing assumptions of textbook authorship: Nationalism in the elementary curriculum.....	148
4.1.	Locating the reader in time and space: <u>The Canadian Parade Readers</u> .....	162
4.2.	Cultural assimilation through individual enterprise.....	172
4.3.	The semantics of being Canadian.....	182
4.4.	References.....	188
Chapter 5.	TEACHING THE TEXT: ENFORCING THE NORMS OF LITERATE BEHAVIOR	
5.0.	The text in historical classroom context.....	191
5.1.	A grid of specification: Centralized control of literacy training.....	195
5.2.	The teachers' guides: Standardizing the instructional event.....	208
5.3.	Teaching literacy by the numbers and the pedagogical double bind.....	224
5.4.	Notes.....	232
5.5.	References.....	233



**Chapter 6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

6.0. Summary: The making of the literate.....	237
6.1. Historical aftermath: Back to the basics again.....	247
6.2. Implications.....	263
6.3. Notes.....	275
6.4. References.....	276
Appendix A. PAGE FACSIMILES FROM SELECTED TEXTBOOKS.....	279
Appendix B. STUDENT PROGRESS CHART FACSIMILES.....	285

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1. Adult Illiteracy in British Columbia, 1921-1961.....6

Table 1.2. The Stein-Glenn Story Grammar.....36

Table 5.1. Testing by the British Columbia Division  
of Tests, Standards and Research, 1945-1972.....197

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure A-1.	Facsimile Page 8 from the Elson-Gray Readers.....	280
Figure A-2.	Facsimile Pages 8 and 9 from the Gray-Arbuthnot Series....	281
Figure A-3.	Facsimile Page 56 from the Gray-Arbuthnot Series.....	282
Figure A-4.	Facsimile Page 15 from the Cordts Series.....	284
Figure B-1.	Progress Chart from the Canadian Parade Readers.....	287
Figure B-2.	Your Spelling Record from the Canadian Spellers.....	288

## Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.0. Aims: A critical analysis of historical curricula for the teaching of literacy

This is a study in the history of public school curricula for the teaching of reading and literacy-related competences. The objects of study are selected basal reading and spelling texts used in British Columbia primary schools from 1950 to 1960. The aims of this study are twofold: first, to establish, in particular, what counted as reading and, in general, what counted as school-acquired literate competence during the period in question; and second, to establish whether, how, and to what effect the curriculum expressed identifiable historical sociocultural ideologies. The study, then, is a critical analysis of curricula, utilizing methods from the sociology of the curriculum, along with literary and psychological theories of text analysis.

In Chapter 1, justification, assumptions, method and background are outlined. Section 1.1. explains how the study extends from and contributes to research on problematic issues in the history of literacy. Section 1.2. details assumptions regarding ideology in curriculum, and regarding literacy instruction as an ideological activity. Section 1.3. lays out a methodological framework for the critique of historical curriculum which considers (a) the processes of textbook authorship and production; (b) interrelations between discourse form and ideological content of curricular texts; and (c) the reconstruction, through the analysis of historical teachers' guides, of officially prescribed conditions for the teaching of texts. Section 1.4. reviews relevant historical background for situating the curriculum in question and Section 1.5. describes texts selected for analysis.

### 1.1. Justification: Issues in the historical quality of literacy

World War II, like the previous war, had revealed to educators and policy makers apparent deficiencies in the century-long effort to achieve universal literacy via mass compulsory schooling. Tests administered to U.S. army recruits, reported in the popular press and teachers' journals, apparently indicated high rates of "functional illiteracy". In consequence, organizations like UNESCO, the U.S. National Society for the Study of Education, and later the OECD allocated substantial resources for the study of literacy and the development and expansion of literacy programs in both developed and developing countries (Wick, 1980). Yet the spate of studies, proposals and programs - highlighted by leading American reading researcher William S. Gray's (1956) involvement with UNESCO - begged fundamental questions about the functions and uses of literacy in modern society. In the headlong rush to better achieve universal literacy, many researchers, educational administrators, and teachers tended to presuppose as nonproblematic the collective and individual benefits of literacy.

The historical development and social consequences of literacy, then, remained a relatively minor concern of educational researchers in this postwar era, who in the main were preoccupied with curricular research and program development tasks. In Canada, however, several major interdisciplinary works addressed these contentious matters: first, economist Harold A. Innis' The Bias of Communication (1951), explored the historical effects of particular information technologies on cultural, economic, and political organization. A decade later, literary critic Marshall McLuhan - drawing liberally from Innis' work - speculated on the cultural and cognitive effects of literacy in The

Gutenberg Galaxy (1962). In Britain, Richard Hoggart, founder of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at Birmingham University and later director of UNESCO, published The Uses of Literacy (1958), an exploration of the relationship of literacy to schooling, mass culture and social class. Finally, Goody's Literacy in Traditional Societies (1968) opened the study of literacy to a range of social scientific methods. Examining a range of cross-historical and cross-cultural data on literacy, Goody and Watt (1968) supported the McLuhan/Innis hypothesis regarding social, cognitive and cultural effects intrinsic to the development of literacy in a given culture.

Since Goody and Watt's work, and contemporaneous demographic research (e.g., Schofield, 1969), social historians and anthropologists have amassed a range of data on the actual historical distribution of literacy in the West since antiquity. Research undertaken in Sweden, France, Britain, the United States and Europe has centered on the task of demystifying literacy (cf. Graff, 1982). This has involved what social historian Graff (1983) calls a "stripping" process: a separation of historical "literacy myths" - alleged moral, political, social and economic attributes of literacy - from actual historical concomitants and effects.

Social historians used the tools of demographic and sociological analysis, as against narrative approaches, to isolate the spread of literacy among the general populace. This task required the surmounting of a major methodological problem: the specification of historically valid criteria of literacy. Having discarded accounts which presupposed the unquestioned moral and cultural value of literacy, and skeptical of conventional criteria offered by educational research (e.g., levels of school achievement, examination and test results), social historians had to generate an alternative standard with

which to judge retrospectively who was "literate" (Graff, 1986). Graff (1979) and Cressy (1980), following earlier work by Lockridge (1974) on colonial New England, turned to census figures and signatures on legal documents in an attempt to ascertain the distribution of literacy in 19th century Upper Canada and 16th and 17th century England respectively. These and other analyses succeeded in showing that the extent and importance of literacy had been overestimated and, moreover, that literacy in and of itself may have not been a prime historical agent of social and economic development. The fallacious equation of literacy with sociocultural progress Graff (1982) labels "the modernization paradigm".

Yet this scholarship was itself based on a methodological leap of faith: in their move to isolate literacy as a empirically verifiable phenomenon, social historians of necessity tended towards a reductionist definition of the functions and uses of a complex historical technology. Hence their research is premised on a narrowly quantitative interpretation of what counted as literacy in given cultures, in particular historical epochs (e.g., the ability to sign legal documents). Ironically, this methodological reduction in turn yielded the insight that operant criteria, and formal and informal settings for the acquisition and use of literacy have varied widely according to time, place, and sociocultural context.

Surveying the historical data, Resnick and Resnick (1977) note that literacy campaigns in nation states have typically specified divergent criteria for both "levels" (quantity) and "kinds" (quality) of literacy. One implication of this historical relativist position is that the specification of levels of adequate competence in reading and writing and of adequate distribution of those different levels within a given populace involves

normative decisions regarding who should actually possess literate competence, and to what ends differential kinds and levels of literate competence should function within a given social context. The historical record, moreover, indicates that those secular and non-secular figures charged by the state, church and other institutions with the institutional disbursement of literate competence have been situated in a prescriptive social role. In fact, note Graff (1986), Johnson (1976) and others, in some instances the assumption of responsibility for literacy training by formal state authorities and institutions led to apparent declines in literate competence among the general populace.

Social historians seem acutely aware that their quantitative research has generated a range of questions regarding the historical quality of literacy. Speaking at a colloquium at the History of Education society, Graff (1983) argued that the task of collating diverse quantitative data yielded by social historical research was well underway, and that levels and spread of basic literacy having been established, the task at hand was to detail more exactly matters of historical quality of literacy. For example: in postwar British Columbia, census data enable the specification of levels of "functional illiteracy" among the adult population at roughly 6.76 per cent, judging by conventional census data on the completion of five years of formal education (Verner, 1964; see Table 1.1.). This done, what remains moot is the kind of literacy "completion of grade 5" or, for that matter, "ability to sign one's name on legal documents" entailed. Generally speaking, data on historical quantity beget a myriad of questions regarding historical quality: Could the literate 'appreciate' a work of literature? Or 'comprehend' an unfamiliar text? Could they read and write adequately and appropriately to conduct daily



Table 1.1.: Adult Illiteracy in British Columbia, 1921-1961

Year	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Adult Population	329,449	448,238	576,108	782,904	990,934
Illiterates	22,693	20,840	40,872	52,936	57,695
% Illiterate	6.88	4.65	8.48	6.76	5.82

Source: Verner, C. (1964). "Adult illiteracy in British Columbia". Journal of Education 10, p. 100. Verner sets the criterion for illiteracy as over 21 years of age with less than five years of formal schooling.

social and economic tasks? Crucial to the present study is an acknowledgement that modern data on literacy and illiteracy which use educational achievement as a criterion measure are based upon assumptions about formal and informal practices and standards for the teaching and learning of literacy in institutional settings like the school.

Both social historical research and UNESCO-type studies of educational policy and language planning which rely upon quantitative criterion measures of literacy, then, have returned researchers full circle back to questions of culturally and historically specific literate conventions and educational standards. The detailing of the "quality" of literacy in contemporary societies has been taken up in recent years by educational ethnographers and social psychologists (Swezd, 1983; Heath, 1981; 1983, 1986a, 1986b; Scribner and Cole, 1978, 1981). Notably, Heath's Ways with Words (1983) is a model of how ethnographic enquiry can provide a detailed description of context-specific functions and uses of literacy. Heath's participant observation study details actual literate and oral competence in pre-school linguistic socialization, school-based formal instruction, and out of school social and economic contexts.

In their field work with the West African Vai, social psychologists Scribner and Cole (1981) examined literacy in three languages, acquired in distinct and autonomous formal and informal settings. Using survey instruments and ethnographic observation, they established the actual spread and significance of literacy in the life of the community. Their qualitative data were augmented with quantitative data from tests developed in the field to measure levels of literate competence, cognitive and linguistic ability. Multivariate analysis enabled the identification of significant relationships

between cognition, social competence and literacy in each of the three languages.

Scribner and Cole's work signals that researchers may have conflated the effects of literacy with those of schooling, that the case for intrinsic and universal "social and cognitive effects" of literate competence may in fact be based on a conflation of the effects of schooling as a socializing and educational process with the effects of literacy per se. They point out that research in developmental psychology, anthropology and other disciplines has been premised on the belief that literacy is "likely to have the same ... consequences in all cultures irrespective of the context of use or of the social institutions in which literacy is embedded" (1978, pp. 451-2). Complementing Heath's research, Scribner and Cole's analysis underlines the need for a reevaluation of researchers' and educators' taken for granted assumptions regarding transferability to and ultimate social and cognitive effects in real sociocultural contexts.

A further implication of their identification of distinct effects and competences yielded by differentially acquired and used literacies is that what counts as literacy in modern cultures may be lodged within the prescriptive agendas of social institutions (e.g. school, family, community, religious organization, workplace) which transmit and demand literacy. Heath's (1986a) review of cross-cultural studies corroborates this point, showing that the actual acquisition and use of literacy seems to be contingent upon systems of "institutional supports" which transmit, reinforce and require literate competences.

For our present purposes, these studies of the "quality" of literacy in contemporary settings suggest that two particular sociocultural contexts bear

further investigation: contexts of use in everyday life and social institutions geared for the teaching and learning of literacy. Since the Protestant Reformation, Western nation states typically have used formal schooling systems as the means for regulating and norming access to, competence with, and understanding of text. This legacy exists intact today: in an atmosphere of perpetual "literacy crises", the citizenry of industrial and post-industrial nations holds the institutions of mass compulsory public education responsible for the provision of competence in reading and writing.

In "Towards an ethnohistory of writing in American education", Heath (1981, p. 27) describes the task of the historical research on the quality of literacy:

This approach may be conceived of as research directed toward the formulation of a descriptive theory of writing as a part of the cultural phenomenon of literacy (including both reading and writing) and as a part of larger cultural systems (economic, religious, social). A complete description would include definitions of communities in which writing took place; the types of writing acts, events and situations available to specific community members; norms of writing; and the methods of learning these norms and of having them reinforced [emphasis added].

In recent North American history, the description of contexts of acquisition and the "norms" they presuppose and attempt to enforce requires the examination of historical curricula. Heath, moreover, is concerned not only with the conventions for learning of textual competence, but also with the making and using of text, locating any such description in terms of economic, religious and social considerations. Hence historical practices for the teaching and learning of literacy must be reviewed in the larger context of sociocultural ideologies within which they were embedded (cf. Goodson, 1983).

The determination of historical quality of literacy, then, in part involves the reconstruction - on the basis of existing textual artifacts - of

the experience of becoming literate. This necessarily must be an educational history which focusses on the texts of mass schooling. But as well it must be a kind of discourse analysis since the primary data are documentary:

In the hypothetical study proposed here as one of the possible approaches to an ethnographic study of literacy, a first step would be collection of artifacts of literacy, descriptions of contexts and uses, and their spatial and temporal distribution within the life of members of the community. The internal style of each artifact and the abilities of those who produce these artifacts should be considered part of this context [emphasis added]. (Heath, 1982, p. 47)

This rereading of the "internal style" of textual artifacts - to see how it is part of the text's "context" - requires discourse analysis with particular stress on the structure and style of discourse and on intertextual relationships.

Additionally, to uncover or generalize about the author's personal history, intellectual precursors or intent, the focus of such research should be on the "the abilities of those who produce" text as a critical part of the historical context of text use and comprehension. Heath proposes to use the analysis of historical textual artifacts as a means for understanding and making generalizations about authors and users of text, and about how text became a part of the "life of members of the community".

Integral to the present study of the quality of literacy in a recent period of educational history is an analysis of how texts were produced, by whom, and according to what dominant assumptions about literacy, the literate, and the teaching and learning of literacy. As for the conditions of "use" and the "ability to use" text, a range of questions can be asked:

How are these artifacts presented to children? What activities and explanations surround their use? Do questions directed to children about these artifacts emphasize the acquisition of labels and descriptions of discrete characteristics of items? Are there links made between these representations and uses of their real world

equivalents? (Heath, 1982, p. 47)

In all, the reading of historical artifacts should focus not only on conditions of generation of texts, their "internal styles", and general social contexts of use, but as well on the specialized conditions of use encountered by children in formal (institutional) introduction to textual competence.

In any given era, reading and writing "like other systems of communication" are "organized ... in culture-specific ways and according to certain norms of interpretation" (Heath, 1981, p. 27) within particular communities of speakers and writers. The present study, as a contribution to a more comprehensive history of literacy, sets out to examine two specific aspects of the quality of literacy in a particular era: the culturally and historically specific norms of reading and writing conveyed through curricular texts, and the institutionally prescribed "methods of learning these norms and of having them reinforced". Moreover, as Heath suggests, the insights yielded by this kind of research on texts, their making, use and teaching, might provide "an important perspective on modern approaches and attitudes" towards literacy.

#### 1.2. Assumptions: Literacy, ideology, and the selective tradition

The foregoing comments on research on the history of literacy situate the present study as an examination of one key aspect of the "quality" of literacy in recent educational history: the formal institutional texts and contexts for literacy instruction. Historical research also suggests the ideological role of formal institutions like the school in norming, transmitting, maintaining and regulating access to culturally and historically specific practices of reading and writing. In what follows, assumptions of the present study about

the relationship of literacy and ideology in modern schooling are detailed. First, a definition of literacy as a culturally specific technology is developed. This is followed by an examination of the relationship of ideology and modern schooling, concluding with an explanation of how the institutional transmission of literacy can be viewed as an ideological activity.

Definitions and practices of literacy continually change over time in accordance with changing social and cultural conditions for the acquisition and use of literacy. This is even the case in those societies with long-standing traditions of reading and writing. While oracy can be viewed as an innate species behavior, the abilities to read and write are acquired through culturally specific, formal and informal systems of pedagogy. Hence, literacy can be considered a "set of socially organized practices which make use of a symbol system and a technology for producing and disseminating it" (Scribner and Cole, 1981, p. 236). Culturally specific practices of literacy and the very material form of the technology (e.g. script, typography, teletext) undergo historical evolution, as does the attendant set of social/educational practices for the teaching of literate competence. Different cultures and subcultures, in different historical epochs have generated distinct modes for the dissemination of literate competence (Heath, 1986a; Scribner, 1986). But while a technology in theory at least may be "neutral" (Ellul, 1980), modes of training in the use of a given technology invariably prescribe constraints upon and conventions governing that use.

Practices of literacy instruction are based upon assumptions about the characteristics and development of literate competence, and they correlatively prescribe functions and uses of literacy in a given society. Literacy instruction implies an orientation towards the relationship between

individuals and the world:

All educational practice implies a theoretical stance on the educator's part. This stance in turn implies - sometimes more, sometimes less explicitly - an interpretation of man and the world. (Freire, 1970, p. 205)

Freire's (1973) general point is that educational practice simultaneously assumes and prescribes a theoretical position regarding the role of language, thought and action in human "praxis". Through pedagogy the literate learns a way of theorizing about the world (Freire, 1970, 1973; cf. Cole and Griffin, 1986, p. 126). His specific point, constant throughout his writings on literacy campaigns in developing countries, is that literacy curricula and instruction imply an ideological agenda regarding the uses, values and functions of literacy as a social, political and economic tool. This is after all what any technology is concerned with: the extension through artifice of humankind's capacity to transform through labour the natural and social environment (Vygotsky, 1962; Cole and Griffin, p. 113).

From the basic assumption that literacy-related pedagogy by definition entails the selection of a particular educational ideology which in turn prescribes how the technology should be used, Freire (1970, p. 206) argues, the analysis of pedagogy should proceed.

Teaching ... must be seen, analyzed and understood in this way. The critical analyst will discover in the methods and texts used by educators and students practical value options which betray a philosophy of man, well or poorly outlined, coherent or incoherent. Only someone with a mechanistic mentality, which Marx would call "grossly materialistic", could reduce ... literacy learning to a purely technical level.

Freire's reading of the ideological role of literacy instruction in "empowering" or "disempowering" particular groups within given societies is corroborated in many of the aforementioned social historical studies. In



Germany, for example, Luther and Melancthon's first primers for the transmission of the "word" indeed were among the first state-mandated initiations into particular secular and non-secular ideologies via basic literacy instruction. Apparently "empowering" literacy pedagogies can have as their effect mass socialization into a particular ideological belief system. By contrast, the fifteenth and sixteenth century Schwärmer movement - which bears striking similarities to the modern Freirian approach - was banned by state authorities as seditious (Giescke and Elwert, 1982). In this latter case, it would seem that those "empowering" pedagogies which threatened state stability were opted against by authorities (cf. Coe, 1986, p. 279).

As for the ideological functions of literacy pedagogy in North American education, Graff (1979) speculates that literacy as conceived of by eighteenth and nineteenth century promoters of the Canadian public school system was in effect a cover for a larger ideological agenda: his study argued that mass literacy training, when stripped of its egalitarian gloss and rhetoric, may have been a vehicle for "cultural hegemony". Describing the intents and effects of 19th century American schooling, Soltow and Stevens (1981) refer to an "ideology of literacy" operative within pedagogical models and textbooks. The teaching of literacy, they argue, was tied to the transmission of nationalism and Protestant/capitalist values.

This research underlines how modern pedagogy designed for the transmission of literacy, from the founding of state schools in 15th century Germany onwards, has embodied - however implicitly or explicitly - a normative agenda which in the most general terms could be considered "ideological". But what is "ideology"? How is it expressed in educational curricula in general, and curricula for the teaching of literacy in particular? In what follows,

definitions of ideology and its relationship to educationally transmitted knowledge and competence are examined. These in turn will form a base of assumptions from which a formal method for the critical analysis of more recent literacy-related curricula can proceed.

In their analysis, Soltow and Stevens (p. 59) define ideology as a set of "moral and value prescriptions" of a "given class", which "functions by an appeal to moral norms" to deal with "social and political discontent". Hence, they see school transmitted ideology as an institutional means for the justification of the legitimacy of "the implements and technical prescriptions which are to ensure concerted action for the preservation, reform, destruction or reconstruction of a given order".

What we term an "ideology of literacy" had the potential not simply to restrain and control but to communicate to children and adults a code for success when the ways for success were becoming increasingly uncommon. (pp. 59-60)

Graff (1979, p. 47) argues that "schools reflect social relations and ideology and serve as key agents of transmission, at once legitimating the social order and assimilating it to their charges". Hence, he views literacy instruction in 19th century Canadian schools as a "hegemonic tool", leading to students' "unwilled and unselfconscious consent" to the direction that "the predominant group imposes on social life - on morality, principles, and all social relations". Through the adoption of particular curricular texts and models of pedagogy, school-based literacy instruction became a form of ideological imposition:

With proper instruction, the dangers of unrestrained literacy, or of illiteracy, could be neutralized; in learning to read, children would be taught the rules of the social order and correct behavior and the principles of economic advancement. (p. 47)

The foregoing accounts suggest that literacy instruction in modern North

American schools has been ideological inasmuch as it has purveyed and sustained "false consciousness" (Soltow and Stevens, p. 60), a particular world view, belief and value system, the perpetuation of which served the economic interests of a "predominant group" (Graff, p. 47).

This line of argumentation and analysis follows one conventional NeoMarxist approach to the study of ideology. The German Ideology (1846/1968, p. 64) gave rise to the axiom that the "ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas; i. e., the class which is the ruling material force of society is at the same time its ruling intellectual force". Marx and Engels viewed these ruling ideas, moreover, as "nothing more than the ideal expression of dominant material relations". After initial formulations by de Tracy and Napoleon, it was left to Marx and Engels to transform the notion of ideology to refer to the systematic body of thought generated, particularly by intellectuals, in a given era to support the economic domination of particular classes (Williams, 1977, pp. 56-8). For them, "in all ideology men and their circumstances appear upside down as in a camera obscura" (Marx and Engels, p. 47).

Stressing this aspect of the German Ideology, Giddens (1983, p. 19) defines ideology as "the mode in which forms of signification are incorporated within systems of domination so as to sanction their continuance". Giddens' definition enables the location of ideology in cultural forms other than the abstract works of intellectuals, specifically in the linguistic products of popular and educational culture.

If the present task is to analyze the ideological functions of educational curricula, though, it is crucial to establish Marx's commentary on the role of intellectuals in the production of ideology: intellectuals

undertake divided labour with a distinct socioeconomic function, specifically the provision of a version of social and moral history which purports to be disinterested but in fact represents the interests of a dominant class. Ideological representation in language and culture, and the particular forms of "false consciousness" that it begets, can be seen to evolve historically according to changes in the economic needs and interests of a ruling class. Hence, in classical Marxist theory ideology was construed as part of the cultural "superstructure" determined by the economic "base".

Contemporary Marxist theorists from Adorno and Lukacs to Althusser have recognized that with the advent of mass literacy and universal participation in popular culture the range of "modes of signification" of ideology extends well beyond abstract academic treatises of bourgeoisie intellectuals scrutinized by Marx to include institutions of mass media and mass education. Over the last two decades, a range of theoretical frames for the explanation of how schooling transmits ideology has emerged.

Emerging from the mainstream of educational research in the 1970's was Bowles and Gintis' Schooling in Capitalist America (1976), the first comprehensive historical account of the relationship of the forms, contents and structures of mass schooling to the economic and political structures of industrial capitalism. In their account, the ideological function of the school was determined by the economic needs of the emerging American economy. Thus, they explain, the individualism and humanism stressed in educational Progressivism was overridden by the "technocratic" orientation of American school administration, curriculum, and assessment. In their view, the schools functioned efficiently to reproduce class stratification and labour needs in an expanding industrial economy. Modern American schools, they argued,

produced labour in "correspondence" with the economic needs of a capitalist state.

The determination of the character of schooling by its functions within an economic superstructure was argued by many other British and American scholars as well. As the sociology of education emerged from a structural-functional paradigm, many attempted to use the base/superstructure distinction as a heuristic for explaining the ideological effects of schooling (cf. Sharp, 1980; Sarup, 1984). Yet Bowles and Gintis' analysis, and attendant theoretical positions, presupposed the efficacy of schooling: that schools were "black boxes" of cultural and economic reproduction (Apple, 1983, pp. 18-21; Dale, 1981, pp. 68-70; Willis, 1981, pp. 51-5).

Is schooling merely an agent for the selective distribution of "ruling class ideas", a mere "superstructural" phenomenon determined by ruling class ideas and interests? Similarly, is school-based literacy instruction a form of ideological imposition of a "false consciousness" determined by economic needs of the state, as implied in much of the historical research? In "Base and superstructure in Marxist cultural theory", Williams (1976) theoretically reframed the base-superstructure relationship, situating educationally acquired competence and knowledge as a primary mode by which individuals were "incorporated", often non-coercively, into the suppositions, beliefs and practices of the "dominant culture" (p. 205). Arguing against economic determinism, Williams (p. 203) suggests that

We have to revalue 'determination' towards the setting of limits and exertion of pressure, and away from a predicted, prefigured and controlled content. We have to revalue 'superstructure' towards a related range of cultural practices, and away from a reflected, reproduced or specifically dependent content. And, crucially, we have to revalue 'the base' away from the notion of a fixed economic or technological abstraction, and towards the specific activities of men in real social and economic relationships.

Accordingly, Williams goes on to argue that "ideology" is not "some abstract imposed notion", that "social and political and cultural ideas and assumptions and habits" are not superstructural manifestations considered as "the result of specific manipulation" (p. 204) on behalf of economic imperatives. Drawing from the work of Gramsci, he argues that cultural hegemony - "a whole body of practices and expectations, our assignments of energy, our ordinary understanding of man and his world" - consists of a set of "meanings and values" which are "reciprocally confirming" in experience and practice (p. 205). The processes of cultural, social and economic reproduction across generations, according to Williams, do not entail a simple imposition of a set of "ruling ideas" determined by the material, economic interests of a "ruling class". "Dominant culture" is made, "remade" and experienced non-coercively, through the willing participation of the very human subjects whose interests it does not serve. Importantly, then, Williams holds that reproduction is a dynamic process, mediated by the actions of human subjects. In his reformulation, the notion of "ruling class" ideological imposition gives way to an understanding that cultural reproduction may be non-coercive, contradictory, and subject to varying kinds and levels of historical mediation.

As for the role of schools, Williams points out that these "main agencies of the transmission of an effective dominant culture" are now both economic (base) and cultural (superstructure) activities. Schools serve to select knowledges, skills and competences for transmission:

There is a process which I call the selective tradition: that which, within the terms of the effective dominant culture, is always passed off as 'the tradition', 'the significant past'. But always the selectivity is the point; the way in which from a whole possible area of past and present, certain meanings and practices are chosen for

emphasis, certain other meanings and practices are neglected and excluded. Even more crucially, some of these meanings and practices are reinterpreted, diluted, or put into forms which support or at least do not contract other elements of the dominant culture. (p. 205)

Schools, in concert with one's total "social training" inculcate "practical definitions and organization of work". Williams concludes that schools do not simply teach "an imposed ideology ... the isolable meanings and practices of the ruling class" (p. 205) but rather tolerate a range of forms of knowledge and competence, hence enabling the dominant culture to adapt to (and thereby incorporate) variation and divergence.

The range of "trainings" selected, of course, becomes part of the "taken for granted" assumptions about what constitutes an appropriate education:

If we look at actual educational systems, we can distinguish ... a major general purpose: that of training the members of a group to the 'social character' or 'pattern of culture' which is dominant in the group and by which the group lives. To the extent that this 'social character' is generally accepted, education towards it will not normally be thought of as one possible training among many, but as a natural training. (Williams, 1961, p. 146)

It is, Williams (p. 67) observes, typical that while to contemporary observers the organization of education and the "selective tradition" appears clear enough "in the case of past periods", these same observers "never really believe it about our own", precisely because of the uncritical acceptance of contemporary ideological suppositions as "natural", or for that matter, "scientific".

Williams' formulation enables a reinvestigation of the ideological character of literacy instruction. If indeed literacy is defined as an historically and culturally specific array of "social practices" associated with the use of a particular technology, both the selection of the textual corpus to be read and written and the selection of particular competences to

be transmitted stand as two historical variables. As Freire argued, particular models of literacy training selected implicitly or explicitly embody suppositions about the purposes and uses of the technology itself. In the interests of "incorporation" into a state mandated "dominant culture", pedagogical models select and emphasize particular texts and competences, forwarding what Heath called "norms" for literate behavior while excluding others. Pedagogies thus convey norms for reading and writing, attitudes about what will count as literate expression, principles for the "organization of work" with this particular technology, and a particular understanding of its potential and limits.

A second implication of Williams' argument is that literacy instruction - coded in the formal and informal curricula of the modern school - does not necessarily entail the imposition of a unitary set of "ruling class ideas" or "elite" competences. It may purvey those "meanings and practices" which are not identifiably elite but nonetheless serve to incorporate individuals into literate participation in a dominant culture. This is not to imply that texts of literacy instruction do not convey a value and belief system to children, a world view replete with versions of right reason, action and thought. Through literacy instruction children access a total "selective tradition" which is comprised of a range of literary forms, ideological contents, and sanctioned ways of reading and writing.

A third implication of Williams' argument is that the particular knowledges and competences selected for transmission by the school are not wholly determined by economic factors. This stands as a refutation of correspondence theories which view all cultural phenomena as determined by economic factors. His recognition of cultural reproduction as a "dynamic



process" undertaken by human subjects, coupled with his understanding of the school as a cultural and economic agent, suggests that analysis cannot disregard the role of human subjects in the processes of ideological reproduction, and that the analysis of such practices may reveal historical contradictions (e.g., conflicting means/ends, form/content, theory/practice relationships) and patterns of contestation.

To summarize: the basic assumptions of the present study regarding the relationships of literacy, schooling and ideology are twofold. First, in any given era of the history of education, the selection of "knowledges and practices" for transmission in school curricula is an ideological process, serving interests of particular classes. As argued by Williams, the resultant corpus of curricular knowledge, while part of the processes by and through which individuals are socialized into the "dominant culture", need not be a mirror reflection of "ruling class ideas", imposed in an unmediated and coercive manner. Rather, the processes of "cultural incorporation" are seen as dynamic, reflecting both continuities and contradictions of that "dominant culture" and the continual "remaking", or re-legitimation of that culture's plausibility system. As Giddens noted, ideology so seen functions to "sanction itself", by establishing a total field of "signification".

### 1.3. Method: Curricular criticism and text analysis

Translating Williams' understanding of the hegemonic function of modern schooling into a critique of ideology in curriculum has been the focus of research in the "critical sociology of the curriculum" (Apple, 1978, 1983; Giroux, 1983; Wexler, 1982; cf. Sharp, 1980). Research in this field critiques curriculum not as ideological "reflection" but rather as a complex historical dynamic in the transmission and maintenance of a selective

tradition.

A review of this literature enables the specification of aspects of historical curricula for analysis, and the detailing of methodological presuppositions and approaches useful for the present study of literacy instruction after World War II. Following Nexler (1982), however, it is argued that the sociology of curriculum has lacked adequate theoretical models and research methods for textual criticism. Drawing from research on the discourse analysis of narrative texts (Stein and Glenn, 1979; Rumelhart, 1975; 1977; Bruce, 1981; Brewer, 1986) and of literary texts (Williams, 1978; Eco, 1977), a model for the ideological analysis of historical texts of literacy instruction is proposed.

#### 1.3.1. The critical sociology of the curriculum

One of the primary effects of the "new sociology" was a reconsideration of principles guiding curriculum theorizing and criticism. Previously dominated by systems management and liberal/humanistic models, curricular research began to explore phenomenology and the sociology of knowledge as bases for the critical analysis of the curriculum (e.g., Greene, 1976; Pinar, 1976). The work of Young (1971) had the effect of questioning "taken for granted" assumptions that curricular content was a neutral and unbiased selection from culture. Yet the notion that curriculum was "socially constructed" was found wanting by those who argued that this construction was not arbitrary, but tended to act in the interests of particular classes (e.g., Whitty and Young, 1978).

Since these initial steps in rendering problematic the "classification, framing and transmission" of educational knowledge (Bernstein, 1971),

progressively greater attention has been turned to the class-based ideology in the formal curriculum (e.g., textbooks, examinations, policy documents) and in the "hidden curriculum" of social relations in classrooms and schools.

Subsequent work in the sociology of the curriculum sets out to describe approaches and methods for research on the ideological function of historical and modern curricula.

In Ideology and Curriculum (1978, p. 2), Apple argues that curricular research should entail the explication of how "the structuring of knowledge and symbol in our educational institutions is intimately related to the principles of social and cultural control". He views schools as sites for the maintenance of existing patterns of the control, production and distribution of economic and cultural resources (p. 31). Giroux's (1982) research agenda begins from what he considers the primary failings of "correspondence" theories of ideological reproduction (e.g., Althusser, Bowles and Gintis): the stress on the economic, rather than cultural, basis of curricular content and the presumption of the efficacy of modern curricula (cf. Apple, 1983, pp. 19-21). Arguing that schools are more than "ideological reflections of the dominant interests of the wider society", he critiques base/superstructure models as ignoring the reality of "counter-hegemonic forces" embodied in student and teacher "contestation and resistance" (Giroux, p. 15). In other words, he argues that while educational knowledge and pedagogical models are organized on "class principles", the process of knowledge transmission is mediated by the cultural field of the classroom and human subjects engaged in educational practice at all levels (including curriculum development and research) in a manner which precludes "determinate effects". Ideology per se, then, is not the "determinate instance of a given mode of production" (p. 15),

but rather a factor coded in curriculum which is subsequently mediated by the concrete actions of teachers and students in the classroom.

Proposing a model for curriculum research, Giroux nonetheless sees the curriculum as an embodiment of a "dominant rationality" and calls upon scholarship "to lay bare the ideological and political character" (p. 7) of contemporary and historical curriculum. In order to understand school knowledge as a complex historical dynamic, he views the task of curriculum criticism as the detailing of the entire field of "social" and "discursive relations" which make up school knowledge.

This means analyzing the way in which domination is concealed at the institutional level. It suggests looking at the way a dominant ideology is inscribed in: (1) the form and content of classroom material; (2) the organization of the school; (3) the daily classroom social relationships; (4) the principles that structure the selection and organization of the curriculum; (5) the attitudes of school staff; and (6) the discourse and practices which appear to have penetrated its logic. (p. 22)

Of course, the latter two exist "in the practice and consciousness of individuals and social groups who produce and experience their relationship to the world in structures that are only partly of their making". And while recent educational ethnographies (e. g., Spindler, 1983; Willis, 1978; Everhart, 1983) can begin to capture the plausibility structures and self-understandings of students and teachers, the analysis of historical curricula is limited to the study of those recoverable documentary materials which may reveal "the form and content of classroom materials", the "principles that structure the selection and organization" of those materials, and the "daily classroom social relationships" in a given era.

Three distinct domains for the study of historical curricula, then, can be extrapolated from Giroux's description of the field: (1) an analysis of the content and form of prescribed curricular texts; (2) a detailing of the

principles which governed and the economic forces which influenced the construction of those texts; and (3) a reconstruction of the organization of daily classroom social relationships around the text, as evidenced in the recoverable textual guidelines for teaching. In what follows, models and methods for the study of these three domains are examined.

In her study of how American history textbooks have distorted labour history, social issues and socioeconomic change, Anyon (1979, p. 379) describes the findings of critical analyses of curricular content:

The whole range of curriculum selections favors the interests of the wealthy and powerful. Although presented as unbiased, the historical interpretations provide ideological justification for the activities and prerogatives of these groups and do not legitimize points of view and priorities of groups that compete with these established interests for social acceptance and support.

In the last ten years research in curricular criticism has come a good distance towards showing how curricular content has been ideologically biased towards the interests of dominant socioeconomic groups in industrial and post-industrial society (e.g., Fitzgerald, 1979; Taxel, 1981).

The principal method of curricular criticism has been, and remains, the juxtaposition of 'official' textbook versions of social reality, social and political relations, history and conceptual categories with revisionist social history and alternative views of social, economic, and political culture (e.g. Anyon; Taxel). Research procedures generally entail a rendering of explicit ideas, value judgements and statements conveyed in the text, followed by a discrepancy analysis of these data with actual social "reality" or social history. Secondary methods have involved the analysis of quantitative data on gender and race of authors and characters (e.g., Wald, 1981; Lorimer and Long, 1980) and the notation of stereotyping (e.g., Croghan and Croghan, 1981). In

sum, these studies find that the content of the curriculum is a central component in the "transmission of class culture as common culture" (Wexler, 1982).

A second, complementary step in the analysis of the ideological character of curricula lies in the examination of its construction, noting the "principles that structure the selection and organization of the curriculum" (Giroux, p. 22), as well as the distinctive economic and cultural forces which moulded the production of the curriculum. Although an exhaustive body of research in curricular history has described the development of technocratic, assembly line approaches to curriculum development (e.g., Cremin, 1976; Hamilton, 1978), thus far few content analyses have focussed on correlative changes in historical models and conditions of text development and authorship.

Apple (1983, p. 309) notes that sociological and educational research on "how ... 'legitimate' knowledge [is] made available in schools" typically has bypassed the study of the actual production of the primary medium of school knowledge: the school textbook. He views text production as at once a "cultural" and an "economic" activity: human subjects are engaged actively in the processes of conceiving, designing and authoring texts, within the economic constraints of the "commerce" of text publishing and the politics of text adoption. So seen, the textbook is an artifact of human expression and an economic commodity. As Apple notes, the "unpacking" of the "social relations of production" of curricula, and "the conceptual apparatus that lies behind them" has escaped critical analysis (p. 307). His research agenda, which entails specifying the commercial and political constraints on text construction, is based on the presupposition that the textbook, and hence

educational knowledge, is a "cultural product" like any other, a commodity for consumption. As cultural products, though, textbooks are written and produced by particular historical interpretive communities: groups of academics, teachers and curriculum developers operating from paradigmatic assumptions about teaching and learning, and the specific domain of knowledge to be transmitted. This crucial aspect of authorship does not feature prominently on Apple's agenda, despite its emphasis on the construction of curriculum as a "conceptual" and "cultural" activity. Accordingly, to capture the "making" of text as part of its historical context, the social, economic and authorial relations for the production of textbooks can be examined.

Apple, then, turns to the detailing of the social organization of text production - as well as critique of the actual content of texts - as a means for explaining how textual curriculum serves as a form of ideological reflection. The processes of selection and authorship have been historically constrained by economic forces on the production and consumption of curriculum, as well as by the prevailing belief systems of individuals involved in the writing of curriculum regarding the nature of the knowledge, competence to be taught, and the most effective or edifying way of teaching it. Indeed, the critique of curricular form and content would not be complete without a review of the "series of socially organized labors through which knowledge is made". Accordingly, the present study will entail an analysis not just of the curricular text and the underlying world view and assumptions about the world, learning and the learner that it embodies, but how that text was constructed in the first place - the "social organization of meaning production" (Wexler, 1982, p. 281).

The third focus of curricular research proposed by Giroux concerns the

"social relations" of classrooms and schools within and through which the curricular text is taught. In Anyon's (1981) study of "social class and school knowledge", she confirms a crucial hypothesis of hegemony theory: that the information coded in the text in and of itself is not necessarily that which children bring away from the experience of schooling. Anyon describes children's differential responses to and senses of the same text, showing how instructional mediation and children's background knowledge are contingent factors in how texts are understood. Hence, analyses of curricula must consider the "curriculum in use", that is, the social relations which serve to reconstitute the stated textual curriculum into actual experienced "school knowledge" (Luke, de Castell, and Luke, 1983).

Apart from ethnographic and case study analyses of teachers' and students' interaction around the text, this social organization of classroom interaction can be described through the study of the "technical form" (Apple, 1982) of modern curriculum. Apple's analysis of the "technical form" of science texts, and de Castell and Luke's (in press) analysis of the "technology" of basal reading series signals how curricular form - the adjunct materials, structuring of lessons and interpersonal relations in the classroom, coded in teachers' guides - can lead to the intentional structuring of classroom lessons and interpersonal relations. That is, the comprehensive technical form of the curriculum, which exceeds the text to include textual guidelines on how to structure social practices and interaction around it mediates what students do with that curricular text - embodying a "hidden curriculum" of social relations, of attitudes towards the text, and of the knowledge and competences ostensibly being taught. While it cannot be presumed that teachers in the past adhered to teachers' guides and



departmental directives any more than the total efficacy of the curriculum can be presupposed, an examination of text may reveal the underlying assumptions and principles of the curriculum and the particular "social practices", and literate competences that the curriculum set out to teach.

Three approaches to the critique of historical curricula have been introduced: notation through a thematic and factual discrepancy analysis of overt ideological content; Apple's approach to the analysis of the making of the school text; and examination of curricular guides and adjunct materials to see how the "technical form" of curriculum may have led to a parallel organization of knowledge and interaction in the classroom. But is this all Giroux, Apple, and Bernstein before them, mean by curricular "form": the examination of the conceptual and physical structure of curriculum? Or must the analysis of the "form and content of classroom materials" refer as well to the linguistic and literary form within which ideological messages are inscribed?

A major pitfall of research in the critical sociology of the curriculum has been its willingness to accept text form as a mere adjunct means for the delivery of ideological content: the former described in terms of dominant "metaphors", "images", or "key words"; the latter described in terms of the sum total of values, beliefs, and ideas which might be seen to constitute a "false consciousness". For much content analysis presumes that text mirrors or reflects a particular ideological position, which in turn is linked to specific class interests. This is a presupposition, and in many cases a somewhat ironic one, of a base/superstructure model: a one to one correspondence between school knowledge and the "ideas of the dominant classes". Even those critics who have recognized that the ideology encoded in

curricular texts may reflect the "contradictory" character of particular class ideologies, have often neglected the need for a more complex model of text analysis, one that does not suppose that texts are simply readable, literal representations of 'someone else's' version of social reality, objective knowledge and human relations. But do texts always mean or communicate what they say? And perhaps more importantly, how does the literary and linguistic form of textual expression convey particular ideological messages and create particular ideological effects? Literacy instruction, as noted, sets out to generate or induce certain "social practices" and "norms". To explicate these, the analysis of historical literacy-related curricula requires more exacting models of text/discourse analysis.

Without access to actual classrooms and children, historical research must turn its focus to the text itself, building models for the analysis of what particular kinds of texts set out to "do" to readers, and of how curricular texts projected "ideal" student readers. In his discussion of the relationship between ideology and language, Williams (1977, p. 39) argues that the linguistic sign exists both by virtue of "the relations of the people who are actually using it" and by virtue of the "relation between formal element and meaning (its internal structure)". Following this line of reasoning, texts of a particular selective tradition bear analysis in terms of the social relations within which they are embedded, in terms of social relations portrayed and in terms of their "internal structures". To this, Wexler, in "Structure, text and subject" (1982, p. 287), adds that while a critical sociology of curriculum has demonstrated "how the representation of events is partial and class-based ... the selective 'bias' of selective historical representation is itself the product of a conceptual apparatus that operates

within the text" (emphasis added).

But from where might models for the analysis of the relationship of text structure to ideological content be derived? Nexler suggests the experimental application of models of text analysis from literary theory, semiotics, film criticism and other fields. What is needed is not only content analysis, the analysis of text authorship and production, the analysis of the social relations of readership in the classroom, but furthermore a coherent consideration of textual form. It is essential to consider further how texts structure author/reader relations, and how rhetorical and semantic structure establishes particular ideological messages and effects. For that, the present study turns to research on the discourse analysis of narratives.

#### 1.3.2. Text analysis: Story grammars and children's narratives

Reviewing the contributions of rhetoric, linguistics, psychology, artificial intelligence, and other disciplines to contemporary models of text analysis, Meyer and Rice (1983, p. 321) observe that a "very important reason for the variety of text analysis systems in use at present has to do with the purposes for which they were developed". As Meyer and Rice argue, no particular model is more "true" than another - rather various models have been developed for the analysis of particular genres of text (e.g., narrative, journalistic prose, novels) with particular research tasks in mind. In what follows, basic principles of story grammar analysis are reviewed, and particular models are forwarded as appropriate for the present study of historical literacy-related curricula. Noting the role of connected prose discourse in the representation of culture-specific "plans, beliefs and actions" (Bruce, 1981) through the exercise by the author of particular literary "discourse options" (Brewer, 1986), the use of story grammars to

analyze ideological form and content of children's narratives is described.

Meyer (1981) and Van Dijk (1979) maintain that there are three primary levels for analysis of the structure of text: the micropropositional, macropropositional, and top-level. Both proceed from the assumption that a narrow focus on syntactic structure at the level of the sentence, as in traditional descriptive linguistics, fails to identify the rule systems which inhere in larger discourse structures. The micropropositional level of analysis is undertaken at the level of the sentence; generally, Halliday and Hasan's (1976) system for the notation of intersentential and lexical cohesion is forwarded as an exemplar of this kind of analysis. Macropropositional analysis attempts to specify the logical and rhetorical relations between sentences and attendant concepts (cf. Van Dijk and Kintsch, 1983). Ballmer (1976, p. 2) further explains that

Macrostructures are structures which relate the non-linear objectual structures and the linear textual structures. Macrostructures allow for the production and analysis of texts. The analysis leads to possible interpretations, distinguishing content, context and communicative force.

Macropropositional analysis thus enables the reconstruction of the "non-linear" fictional structures and contexts portrayed in the narrative, through the graphing of text propositions in the temporal order they appear (cf. Brewer and Lichtenstein, 1980, p. 3). Finally, "top level" analysis entails the identification and comparative analysis of "general rhetorical patterns" such as stories and scientific articles (Meyer and Rice, pp. 327-8).

"Story grammar", "story schema", and "story mapping" models have been forwarded for the analysis of macropropositions in narratives. The aim of this research is to chart the major propositional components of narrative discourse. This level of analysis, which sets as its goals the definition of

"the constituent structure" of the text (Rumelhart, 1977, p. 277), is of focal concern in the present study of children's curricular texts.

For the study of children's reading narratives, educational researchers have found the "story grammar approach" most effective.

A story grammar is analogous to a sentence grammar, in that each is composed of a set of rules which describes the possible structures of a class of items which can be called well-formed stories or sentences. In principle, a story grammar is generative, that is, it can produce structural descriptions of stories which never have been told but would be considered to be acceptable stories. In practice, the rules are more often used to describe the organization of a particular story under consideration. (Meyer and Rice, p. 338)

The parsing of the "grammar" of a story reveals particular rules, and transformations of those rules informing the structure of that story. Stories, then, are seen to be comprised of "syntactic elements" and "semantic content" (Durkin, 1983, p. 253); semantic/ideational content is expressed within and through particular syntactic relationships which exist at a propositional level. Adopting a schema-theoretic perspective on reading - which posits that reading is a reciprocal interaction between the reader's schemata and the schemata coded in the text - researchers have been able to investigate which structures of children's narrative achieve varying degrees of "goodness of fit" with particular readers' background knowledge (Anderson and Pearson, 1983).

The range of different models for the examination of connected discourse vary greatly in both research purposes and in the degrees of comprehensiveness of detail they yield. Much of the research on children's narratives has taken its lead from research by Rumelhart (1975, 1977) on readers' capacities to comprehend, understand and summarize brief stories. Rumelhart has proposed what he calls a "problem-solving schema" for stories (1977, p. 268):

Casual observation suggests a surprisingly simple motif underlying a remarkable number of brief stories. ... This motif involves what I call problem solving episodes. Such stories have roughly the following structure: First, something happens to the protagonist of the story that sets up a goal for him to accomplish. Then the remainder of the story is a description of the protagonist's problem-solving behavior as he seeks to accomplish his goal. The problem solving behavior itself is usually well structured.

Rumelhart develops a system of graphic representation which enables the detailing of "sets of embedded goals" or "goal stacks". The "rewrite rules" of this system yield a "story tree", which breaks down stories into categories of "episode", "causes", "tries" and "outcomes". These categories, Rumelhart argues, enable us to differentiate "important parts of a story and the details of the story" (p. 278).

Drawing upon the work of Rumelhart, Mandler and Johnson (1977), Anderson, Spiro and Anderson (1978) and others, Stein and Glenn (1979) propose a simplified model for the examination of simple narratives (cf. Nezworski, Stein, and Trabasso, 1979; Stein and Trabasso, 1981). Their "story grammar", used for the analysis of basal reading texts and children's literature narratives, identifies several key components: setting identifies background information on characters and location; episode includes an initiating event, response, and attempt to reach the goal stipulated within and through the initiating event; these represented actions in turn lead to consequences or reactions. A typical application of the Stein-Glenn grammar to a basal reader narrative is specified in Table 1.2.

As shown in Table 1.2., the Stein-Glenn model, like Rumelhart's, presupposes that stories situate a series of goal-seeking actions undertaken by a fictional persona within a particular social setting and context. These actions in turn generally lead to a set of consequences within the particular setting. The model readily accommodates the "stacking" of multiple attempts

Table 1.2.: The Stein-Glenn Story Grammar Model

"The Tiger's Whisker"

Setting	Once there was a woman who lived in a forest.
Initiating Event	One day she was walking up a hill and she came upon the entrance to a lonely tiger's cave.
Internal Response	She really wanted a tiger's whisker and decided to try to get one.
Attempt	She put a bowl of food in front of the opening of the cave and she sang soft music.
Consequence	The lonely tiger came out and listened to the music. The lady then pulled out one of his whiskers and ran down the hill very quickly.
Reaction	She knew her trick had worked and felt very happy.

Source: Nezworski, T., Stein, N.L., and Trabasso, T. (1979). Story Structure Versus Control Effects on Children's Recall and Evaluative Inferences. Tech. Rep. No. 129. Urbana, IL: Center for the Study of Reading.

and "sub-attempts", consequences and "sub-consequences" which may occur in basic narratives, while yielding a simpler, more prosaic analysis than Rumelhart's model.

The Stein-Glenn model is particularly appropriate for the study of ideology in basal reader narratives because of its simplicity and flexibility. Many narratives featured in early primary reading instruction do not feature highly complex embeddings of motives and contexts and hence do not require the complexity of the Rumelhart "story tree". Additionally, the Stein-Glenn model yields a prose paraphrase of the narrative and thus facilitates the identification of relationships between the "syntax" of story structure and the "semantic" content of portrayed patterns of motivation, action and belief.

Does the proposed use of the Stein-Glenn model for the critique of curricular ideology conflict with more conventional uses of story grammar analysis? For many educational researchers, the purpose of grammatical representation of a story is to enable researched predictions about the relative salience and comprehensibility of a text (Bruce, 1980, p. 375). Researchers like Rumelhart, Mandler and Johnson, Stein and Trabasso, Kintsch (1986) and others have set as their task the prediction of recall based on the differential story structures. Meyer and Rice (p. 340) describe the principal use of story grammars as a methodological tool:

In the area of reading research, the usual procedure is to apply the story grammar to a given story passage. Thus, the components of the passage are identified according to their position and role in the story. This makes it possible to compare stories with respect to their structure, regardless of the content of the story [emphasis added].

Typically psychological research on text structure has not tended to view ideological content per se - the actual values, morals, concepts which instantiate the story schema - as problematic for story grammar analysis. And



it is interesting to note that Meyer, Rice and others tend to omit mention of those sociolinguistic and literary models of discourse analysis which expressly set out to deal with ideological content (e.g., Pecheux and Fuchs, 1981; Kress and Hodge, 1977; cf. Van Dijk, 1985).

There are, however, contrasting views on the importance of content - and ideology - as an organizing principle both in the comprehension and in the construction of texts. As Ballmer (1976) maintains, the analysis of textual macrostructures not only allows for the prediction of recall, but as well enables the analysis of content (and the forecasting of "possible interpretations" and "communicative force"). For his part, Van Dijk (1977) argues that content itself may provide a key principle for the organization of macropropositions. In the content, manifest in the text's "frame", the researcher may be able to identify the "explanatory component of linear and global coherence" (p. 159). For it is this content/frame, "a conceptual structure in semantic memory" which stands as an "organizational principle". Through the frame author and reader are able to relate a number of "general but culture dependent" concepts into a semantic "unit". Van Dijk (p. 210) argues that

convention and experience somehow form a unit which may be actualized in various cognitive tasks, such as language production and comprehension, perception, action and problem solving.

Van Dijk here points to the relationship between the story grammar and the "culture dependent" background knowledge (of "experience" and concepts, of social and discourse "conventions") lodged in the "semantic memory" of authors and readers. His more recent work on prejudice in discourse begins positing the social class and ethnic specificity of the production and comprehension of particular discourse formats (Van Dijk, 1985).

Indeed, the comprehension of oral and textual language presupposes the reader's ability to construct a "possible world" of intentions, actions, and motivations, on the basis of particular linguistic, in this case textual, information (Olson, 1986). In an interactive model of text processing, readers use background knowledge and contextual information to posit those world structures expressed or implied in a text or utterance. The details of these "possible worlds", and how they might be different from those readily accessible in semantic memory, however, depends on how the text structures and projects that world:

...when specified, the possible world deviates in systematic directions from the ordinary or common world. Sentences are means of stipulating possible worlds. It is the text which specifies how the possible world is to be taken. Sentences, in these contexts, may be considered as recipes for building possible worlds. (Olson, 1986, p. 149)

Stories can be seen to both presuppose in their structure and project to the reader through that structure a particular "fictitious reality" which by definition is to some degree discrepant from authors' and readers' actual lived realities.

A story is set in a false communicational setting, and it creates a false reality in the reader's mind. The sentences of the story play a double role. They connect the real world in which the reader exists and the imaginary world in which the communication takes place. These sentences exist in this world as printed letters. They are sentences materialized in this world. As such they exert the objective function on the reader's consciousness. And it is due to this objective function that the story creates a false reality in the reader's consciousness. (Kuroda, 1976, p. 131)

These fictitious realities portrayed by textual micro and macrostructures are in turn social selections. Regarding the construction of text, Kress (1985, p. 137) argues that the work of Van Dijk, Halliday, Hasan and others marks a shift from "narrow concerns with syntactic structure to a concern with

socially significant [emphasis added] linguistic units and to questions about their interrelation with, provenance in and utter imbrication in social structures". Text he defines as "material forms of the expression and interplay of the social category of discourse" (p. 149). Of the rule systems governing the structuring of texts, Kress (p. 137) maintains that

Whereas sentences can be shown to be formed on the basis of knowledge of grammatical rules, texts arise on the basis of knowledge of rules and of exigencies which are first and foremost social in their nature - and in their functions and effects. ...That is to say, the ability to construct texts, alone or in conjunction with others, is seen to arise in response to social demands, which reflect the circumstances in which speakers and writers are placed, as well as their social needs and attentions.

Here Kress argues that the construction of text is a socially constrained and embedded activity. Those socially derived rules for the "organization" and structure of discourse, Kress and Hodge (1977, p. 6) explicitly link with the "ideological" intents of authors and speakers:

Language is an instrument of control and communication. Linguistic forms allow significance to be conveyed and distorted. In this way hearers can be both manipulated and informed, preferably manipulated while they suppose they are being informed. Language is ideological in another, more political, sense of that word: it involves systematic distortion in the service of class interest.

How, then, do story grammars yield ideological meanings? Clearly, their comprehension requires culturally (and social class) specific background. Bruce (1980, p. 370) notes the kind of socially constrained and acquired background knowledge one needs in order to recognize and interpret a content frame.

One needs to know how certain social actions are typically carried out (e.g., giving often involves a physical transfer) and what the preconditions and outcomes of actions are. One also needs knowledge of the normative behaviors associated with social actions and situations, and knowledge of social situations and roles people take. One needs the ability to distinguish one's beliefs from one's beliefs about another's beliefs; also, the ability to handle possibly inconsistent data about the beliefs and plans of others. Finally,

one needs knowledge of social action patterns, that is, the sequences of action that typically occur.

Stories can be viewed as structural codings of normative ideological information; they rely upon knowledge of culturally and sub-culturally specific patterns of social action, situations, motivation, behaviors and beliefs for their comprehension (Kintsch and Green, 1978), and may convey and teach an understanding of those patterns. Story grammar analysis, accordingly, can lead to an underlining of the patterns of social action and interaction which texts both presuppose and teach.

Not only are the world views conveyed in narrative culturally specific, but as well, attendant discourse structures and conventions are indigenous to particular selective narrative traditions. Oral traditions, for example, tend to have highly conventionalized characters who bring with them expected patterns of goal seeking action: e.g., the coyote among American Indian tribes, the spider in West African folk tales (Brewer, 1985, p. 181). Oral story traditions, moreover, may prescribe fixed linguistic forms for these portrayals which storytellers and audiences accept and expect.

Modern literate cultures and (ethnic and social class) subcultures have varying protocols, discourse conventions and structures for what will count as a story (Scribner and Cole, 1981; Heath, 1983). Authors of narratives within the Western tradition - while adhering to conventional "event structures" like those described by Mandler and Johnson, Stein and Glenn, Rumelhart, and others - will exercise specific discourse options to achieve particular effects. Brewer's (p. 184) survey of the conventions of "Western written stories" indicates that authors of written narratives do not tend to be as constrained to "fixed linguistic forms" as those in oral traditions. For example, he notes that "even the most formulaic genres" do not have such "conventionalized

openings" as oral stories. While "number and order of introduction of characters does not appear to be a frequently conventionalized aspect of written stories", the "types of characters generally are" (185). Ironically, Brewer notes of quality literature, this conventionalizing often involves distinguishing of particular character from "society's general stereotypes", through the ascription of an unusual or unique characteristic. Similarly, Western written traditions do not appear to be conventionalized strictly in terms of resolutions, epilogues, closings, and narratorial roles. Variation in written stories thus tends to occur on the level of structure:

In comparing the Western written story to the oral story it appears that the written story shows less conventionalization with respect to number of story elements and the fixed location of story elements, although it does have much conventionalized content (i. e., types of setting, characters, events and resolutions). In written stories discourse organization tends to replace repetition as a device for producing affect. (Brewer, p. 187)

Several crucial points about the culturally specific properties of stories in the Western literary tradition emerge from Brewer's research. The lack of micropropositional linguistic conventionalization enables authors to exercise a good deal of independence in their selection and arrangement of macropropositional story elements. Brewer (p. 180) refers to these as the "discourse options" that may be exercised, depending on affective and ideational intent: the author may vary story elements (e. g., opening, resolution, epilogue, narratorial role) in terms of "presence/absence", "explicitness", "type", and "discourse order". While not tied to the fixed linguistic forms of an oral storytelling tradition, authors nonetheless are constrained by "conventionalized content". Their latitude exists primarily through their literary reworking of the "discourse organization" of the text, as expressed in terms of their exercise of "discourse options".

Options are exercised to produce particular ideational and affective responses: for example, narratorial presence or absence can underline the didactic element of the story, invoking a narrator's reality as distinct from that of the characters, reinforcing or undercutting the particular rules and parameters of a specific fictitious reality and so forth. These stylistic and conventional variations are intentional attempts by the author/storyteller to induce in the reader/listener specific effects (Brewer; cf. Egan, 1978). To speak of narratives as culturally specific, then, refers to conventions governing both the content and form of stories. All stories, in this dual sense, reflect a selective tradition exercised by authors.

Obviously, what counts as appropriate or legitimate goalseeking action in text may vary greatly across cultures, social classes, and sub-cultures (Heath, 1983). Consequently, story grammar analysis enables the detailed identification of ideological content as a series of represented (and perhaps repeated) episodes, settings, plans, actions and interactions (e.g., a pattern of children's play or work) rather than as discrete bits, themes, ideas, and images of particular ideology. This seems particularly imperative in light of Williams' (1976, p. 205) enjoinder that the process of cultural incorporation involves the systematic socialization of children into a coherent "whole body of practices and expectations", including "assignments of energy" and "ordinary understanding of man and his world". Story grammar analysis thus can enable the demonstration of how specific syntactic structures, discourse options, and stylistic conventions have been structured to communicate particular conventional semantic messages.

But does the plotting of story grammars just offer a more comprehensive means of drafting ideological content as a total world view? What of the

"possible interpretations", "communicative force" and "norms of interpretation" conveyed in and through literacy instruction? Certainly, as noted, children learn what is to count as a story/text and what is to count as appropriate action within texts. But as well they learn what to do with texts.

Regarding the particular ideological effects of particular narrative structures, semiologist Umberto Eco (1979) examines popular and literary texts' structure to argue that how text is structured effectively prescribes the ideal conditions and constrains the real conditions for its interpretation. Using a typology for "open" and "closed" texts, Eco argues that the total semantic structure of a text tends to generate distinct kinds of readership. Analyzing the "structure of the fabula", Eco points out how the exercise of particular discourse options in the organization of the story can enhance and preclude certain kinds and levels of interpretation. While the structures of open texts beget a range of possible interpretations, those of closed texts tend to delimit and constrain readers to a narrow set of interpretive options (see Chap. 3). In the absence of actual accounts of historical readers of particular kinds of texts, Eco's theoretical typology enables us to construct models of possible ideological and literary effects of particular narrative structures, reconstructing the "role of the reader" implicitly prescribed by text structure.

To review: the present study's approach to the historical study of the reading and literacy-related curriculum uses the sociology of the curriculum as a general methodological template. A three tiered agenda for the study of ideology in historical curriculum is proposed. It involves: first, an examination of the conditions of authorship and theoretical assumptions behind

examination of the conditions of authorship and theoretical assumptions behind the making of the curriculum; second, an analysis of the ideological content and structure of curricular texts; and third, a description of those adjunct texts designed to set out the conditions for the teaching of curricular texts. Yet the selective tradition of school knowledge does not just entail the selection of particular contents. The authorship of curriculum as well entails the selection of particular discourse structures and stylistic conventions with which to communicate ideological content. Accordingly, a basic story grammar analysis format will be used as the basis for the discussion of particular narrative structures and literary conventions used to portray values, motive structures, social relations, character types and so forth. Moreover, using Eco's typology of "open" and "closed" texts, the present study will model hypothetically ideological "norms of interpretation" conveyed and prescribed by particular text structures.

#### 1.4. Background: Postwar schooling and literacy in British Columbia

The present study of ideology in literacy instruction focusses on selected texts from the public school curriculum in post World War II British Columbia. Though it takes a different methodological approach to the study of curriculum, it is intended as an extension of an earlier study (Luke, 1980; cf. de Castell and Luke, 1983) which established the shift from nineteenth century "Classical" to early twentieth century "Progressive" curricular orientations. Between 1925 and 1945, the British Columbia Department of Education modernized schools according to an American Progressive model: in the official curriculum, child-centered pedagogies based on the emergent "science" of education replaced longstanding emphases on recitation, literature study and the 3 R's (Luke, 1980; Tomkins, 1981, 1984).



For the present study, documents from the teaching of reading and related literate competences in British Columbia schools from 1945 to 1960 were gathered. These included: Department of Education curriculum guides, children's textbooks, memos and policy statements circulated to teachers and administrators, adjunct teachers' guides, scholarly articles, teachers' journal articles and newspaper reports. The inquiry is limited to the teaching of reading, with some emphasis on the teaching of spelling, writing and related "language arts" in elementary schools (grades one to seven). In what follows, the historical context of postwar British Columbia educational policy and the public debate over standards of literacy is outlined briefly and the principal curricular texts used in basic literacy training during the period from 1950-1960 are described.

Ormsby (1962, pp. 481-4) explains that the war succeeded in propelling Canada's westernmost province out of the doldrums of economic depression. There was an unprecedented increase in employment: British Columbia's primary resources were at a premium on the world market and war-related manufacturing flourished. Strategically positioned on the Pacific coast, Vancouver and Victoria as well were the sites of rapidly growing tertiary service sectors. Shipbuilding and port facilities required immediate expansion, while aeroplane and munitions manufacture began in the Fraser Valley. This economic activity thrust the province into yet another upswing in what economic historian Black (1972) has pointed out is the boom and bust economic cycle characteristic of a resource based economy which is reliant on the needs of other industrial markets. With postwar population growth typical of Canadian provinces, however, this economic development would sustain the provincial economy and indirectly, postwar educational expansion, well into the 1950s.

Chief Superintendent of Schools H. B. King - with Liberal Education

Minister G. M. Weir the principal architect of Progressive modernization - noted the effect of the war on public and professional expectations of education:

The war ... caused people to realize the place of education as fundamental to the working of democracy and as an agency for developing those attitudes and ideals which must permeate nations if they are to live together in a peaceful way. (Public Schools Report, 1941-2, p. D37)

Following Dewey, Progressive educators looked to schooling as a potential source of cultural continuity, economic and political security. Yet the immediate effect of the war was to curtail the program of curricular and administrative modernization begun in the interwar years by Weir, King, MacLauren and others. In 1941, Weir (p. 460) commented that "during the war we will be obliged to mark time". School funding had decreased as public monies were directed towards the war effort; school construction was halted, textbook supplies dwindled, and a long overdue increase in teacher pay was postponed. Declining enrollment reflected the lower birthrates of the Depression (Johnson, 1964, p. 123). Though the public school system was in a holding pattern, on this occasion it was to be used for, in Weir's words, "the careful planning and study of our reconstruction". By 1945, Weir had ordered the reorganization of the provinces 650 school districts into 74 larger administrative units (Cameron, 1945). And by 1950, the Progressive elementary curriculum introduced in the interwar years had been updated through the adoption of the latest American textbooks.

An immediate problem for educational planners and curriculum developers was the severe shortage of trained teachers wrought by wartime enlistment and industry. As provincial normal school enrolments decreased by a third (Johnson, p. 123), an administrator of the Victoria Summer School appraised

the situation:

The war has taken young men from teaching to the armed forces and war industry. . . . Young women are going where they can make more money than in teaching or where they feel they can render more effective service. (Mickelburgh, 1942, p. 15)

The war also provided the catalyst for fears about declining standards of literacy. C. B. Conway, Director of the Department of Education Research and Standards Branch from 1946 to 1972, was wary of the effects of the war on standards of literacy, invoking the spectre of mass illiteracy as a recurring historical consequence of global war. Conway recalled the World War I era Army Alpha and Beta intelligence testing undertaken by Yerkes, which had revealed unexpected levels of illiteracy among U.S. public school graduates. Speaking to the Victoria Summer School teachers in training, Conway commented that "Army tests reveal many people to be illiterate because their schools and homeland were ravaged by the war of 1914-18 and its aftermath" (in Mickleburgh, p. 17).

There was, however, no definitive data on declining provincial school achievement in literacy to justify such alarm. Before his 1945 retirement, King defended the existing curriculum, maintaining that "the better education of the recruit enables him to grasp quickly the increasingly technical features of military training" (Public Schools Report, 1942, p. B32). His comments came in the wake of province-wide achievement testing run by Conway: the administration of the Public School Achievement Tests in Reading (Form 3, VII) had revealed that "the medium of the typical British Columbia student is, in reading comprehension, one half year in advance of his American counterpart" (p. B38). King, Conway and their colleagues in Victoria seemed satisfied that the psychologically-based approaches to elementary reading and

language arts instruction instituted in the interwar years were yielding positive results.

Indeed much of the alarm expressed by public and educators over allegedly declining levels of literacy seems to have been based on United States Department of Defense data, widely quoted in the Canadian press and provincial teachers' journals. In the British Columbia Teacher, Stringfellow Barr, president of St. John's College in the eastern U.S. was quoted as follows:

The war is showing up a failure that had already become a graver and graver threat to the institutions of a free people. Our army now reports that many college men cannot analyze or interpret a paragraph of plain English and know what is in it. (in Sutherland, 1943, p. 183)

Barr noted that college students made "very sorry officer material" and were the products of the "breakdown in liberal education". In the same article, the president of Harvard University was quoted at length for provincial teachers:

From all studies ... we hear complaints of the average Harvard graduate unable to write either correctly or fluidly... An educational system which cannot teach the young to write their mother tongue fluidly after fifteen or sixteen years of schooling, cannot keep pace with the needs of the war, nor the needs of peace. Nor can it keep pace with the needs of professors, nor of business, nor of industry, nor of a free press. (p. 182)

Here a recurring justification for the improvement of the teaching of reading and writing was apparent: literacy was seen as requisite for the "needs of business and industry" and the preservation of democratic social institutions.

This misapplication of U.S. data to the Canadian educational context continued after the war. Irving Graham, an instructor with the Provincial Normal School in Calgary, assessed for B.C. teachers "the kind of education we have been administering to our pupils in the last ten to fifteen years". He too cited U.S. sources:

Twenty eight out of every thousand men are rejected because they are too badly trained to pass the simplist literacy tests. ... Many high school and college graduates are ... weak in the clear and simple use of the English Language. (Graham, 1945, p. 57)

On the basis of U.S. data, Graham concluded that the current educational system was "not Progressive, not occupational, nor social, nor scientific". In the atmosphere of heightened expectations for the public school system, the inevitable comparisons of American and Canadian standards and achievement fuelled skepticism.

Liberal Senator G. McGeer (1946, p. 113), former Mayor of Vancouver, argued that

We have in our educational institutions the means of creating a literate people. We have advanced to the point where every child is not only provided with a free education but is compelled to accept that education, and yet we fail and fail lamentably.

McGeer - a long time advocate of Weir's programme of modernization - was not alone among provincial politicians who expressed displeasure with the educational system. Yet while his urbane protestations focussed on the need for a truly "Progressive" integration of the curriculum with community life, others called for a return to the "three R's of the Little Red Schoolhouse". M.L.A., W.J. Johnson (Coalition/Revelstoke) commented in the legislature on the Department's postwar planners:

I get a letter now and then from some of those well educated chaps and if they didn't have good typists I'd never be able to understand them, because I can never make out the signature. (Vancouver Sun 17 February 1946, p. 23)

The ad hominem tenor of Johnson's attack notwithstanding, it is significant that even in this era of relative consensus on the direction of the public system, there remained regular invocations of "the basics" and the "3 R's": Johnson's comments were reported in the Vancouver Sun under the headline "3 R's Needed in Schools". Then, as now, literacy crises made good press.

But was there any real justification for such charges? Under Conway's direction, the Department of Education had amassed a volume of psychometric data which, as noted, confirmed that elementary achievement in reading appeared on the whole superior to that of American students. However, King found fault with the teaching of literacy in the secondary schools:

In reading the situation is not so satisfactory. ...23 per cent were below the modest California standard for grade X. This not inconsiderable body of students is not well equipped to deal with the ... material ... they encounter in their high school studies. (Public Schools Report, 1944-5, p. Y35).

These results King attributed to teachers' lack of understanding of researched approaches to the teaching of reading, and to a preoccupation with "literary aesthetics":

Until recently it was not understood that a programme of reading development should be carried on in all high school grades.... Teachers were untrained in the techniques of reading development [emphasis added], and taught as they had themselves been taught. (Public Schools Report 1944-5, p. Y35)

King (p. Y38) saw the key to successful teaching in knowledge of psychological "experiments, research and investigations" occurring in the "growing science" of education: "competence" required knowledge of the "current stream of educational literature" emerging from American and Canadian universities.

Yet these studies by Conway and other Departmental administrators and researchers could not silence reactionary criticism of this Progressive, avowedly "scientific", approach to basic and advanced literacy instruction. In 1953, for example, Social Credit M. L. A. Tilly Rolston - Premier W. A. C. Bennett's first Education Minister - spoke in the legislature of the need for a return to the "little red schoolhouse". Her call for the "basics" complemented her overall agenda for the reform of the public schools. Rolston set out in her brief tenure to eliminate what she perceived as the immorality

and lack of discipline which accompanied neglect of the "3 R's" (Robin 1973, p. 179).

She was supported by local press and academics. On 28 September 1953, the Vancouver Province ran an editorial entitled "Get Closer to Three R's". The editors argued that the "pendulum had swung too far" towards a Progressive model which gave "less emphasis on the three R's and more on giving boys and girls well-rounded personalities that would integrate them into society and ensure them happier lives" (p. 6). Quoting Victoria Social Credit M. L. A. Lydia Arsens, the editorial further noted that the previous generation was thoroughly "dissatisfied with current methods":

Those of us who are a bit shy about admitting our ages can remember when the three R's were the cornerstone of education. Reading, writing and arithmetic were dinned into our heads until we were thoroughly fed up with them. But at that, most of us could at least read, write and tot up a column of figures with pretty fair facility.

The editors concluded by encouraging Rolston to press on with reform and "to replace some of the educators on the [Departmental curriculum] committee with representatives of the business community".

This populist call for the basics was fuelled further by claims from university academics that incoming students "can't spell or write grammatically". Under the front page banner headline "Second R Needed at UBC" (Vancouver Province, 28 March 1952, p. 1) M. W. Steinberg - co-chairman of the University's first year English program - argued that "we have to spend almost all the first year teaching students simple grammar and even then most of them can't handle the language". This crisis he attributed to the "lack of discipline in teaching". But Steinberg also recognized that class sizes needed to be smaller and teachers better qualified.

Indeed the postwar "baby boom" and increased immigration from Europe had

led to an unprecedented rapid growth of the public school system in British Columbia. Between 1947 and 1953, enrollment jumped by more than fifty per cent from 137,827 to 210,744 students (Statistics Canada, 1971, pp. 129-30). By the end of the 1950s, the total enrollment would reach 292,403 students (p. 129). The largest growth of course was in elementary schools, with over 65,000 new students entering between 1947 and 1953.

Despite retirements in the civil service and shifts in provincial partisan politics, the Progressive orientation of the Department of Education remained intact during this period. Weir's electoral demise had come in 1946, yet the Liberal party - committed to educational Progressivism - maintained control of the education portfolio in successive coalition governments until Rolston's ascendance in 1951. More importantly, key civil service posts were passed on to those who had apprenticed as inspectors under King and Weir's departing mandate to "direct the practical application" of Progressive reform (Public Schools Report, 1945-6, p. MM35). These included F. T. Fairy (Deputy Minister, 1945-53), H. L. Campbell (Chief Inspector, 1945; Assistant Superintendent, 1946-53), and Conway. The postwar educational Progressives had to contend with rapidly escalating costs and, from the early 1950s on, a frequently unsympathetic Social Credit government. Accordingly, standards and practices of schooling in general, and basic literacy in particular, became major public issues, as Rolston's and Arsens' comments amply illustrate.

It was in this historical context, then, that the postwar administrators undertook to modernize and further implement the Progressive curriculum initially introduced before and during the war. The Department of Education remained committed to "scientific" approaches to curriculum and instruction, with a Deweyian "child-centered" pedagogical philosophy. With formal



establishment in 1946 of a Research and Standards Branch under Conway's direction (cf. Conway, 1956), standardized testing was expanded to monitor achievement throughout the newly created 75 provincial school districts.

This total approach to the modernization of education fitted nicely with a postwar belief in scientific progress and potentially unlimited economic development. However, a strong counter-position was expressed in provincial politics and the popular press: a skepticism towards the tenets of modern (American) education, and a belief in "the basics", however defined. This trend was particularly strong in those rural and resource areas where economic prosperity stood side by side with traditional community and religious values.

Throughout the 1950's complaints centered on the need for a return to traditional standards and Classical curricula (e.g., Neatby, 1953), wider teaching of phonics (e.g., Flesch, 1955), greater attention to the study of quality literature. And yet, often this period is romanticized as a period in which the basics were emphasized. Copperman (1979, 1980, p. 186) argues that literacy was optimally taught in the 1950's, when educators maintained discipline among students and teachers. He notes that achievement test scores were uniformly high during this period, prior to "curricular deterioration" and the "degeneration of authority relations" which ensued in the 1960's. How were children taught literacy in postwar British Columbia? In what follows, a closer examination of the British Columbia elementary reading and language arts curriculum in the 1950's is undertaken.

#### 1.5. Materials: The texts of elementary literacy instruction, 1945-1960

According to Provincial Programmes of Study (1947; 1954) and lists of prescribed texts issued by the British Columbia Department of Education

(1951), the British Columbia school children in the 1950's progressed through several basal textbook series. They began to learn to read in the early primary years with the Scott-Foresman/W. J. Gage's Curriculum Foundation Series (Gray and Arbuthnot, 1946) - commonly known in the United States as the Dick and Jane series - or one of its competitors, similar in structure and content. In the intermediate and late elementary grades, they progressed to J. M. Dent's Canadian Parade Readers (Dickie, Rickner, Tyner, and Woodhead, 1946). This western Canadian reading series provided a matrix for the whole language arts program, covering such related areas as content area reading skills, grammar, study and reference skills, creative writing and speech. Throughout the elementary grades, these basic reading texts were augmented with the W. J. Gage's Canadian Speller (Quance, 1950). For the teaching of all three texts, teachers were provided with voluminous guidelines for the teaching of these curricula in the form of Departmental curriculum guides, memos and circulars, teachers' guides, and local, national and American teachers' journals.

It is impossible to ascertain with absolute certainty the extent of use of any of these series for teaching literacy. Using the official Departmental Programmes of Studies and lists of prescribed textbooks as indicators, though, it appears that by the 1950's the Curriculum Foundation Series and Canadian Parade Readers were the major texts in use, and that the 1947 abandonment of the aging Highroads to Reading (Ormond, Ormond, and Beresford, 1932) series marked a modernization of basic literacy curricula. However, a search of British Columbia curriculum collections, booksellers, second hand stores, and school attics revealed that series like the Beckley-Cardy Company's I Can Read (Cordts, 1953) phonics texts and the J. C. Winston Company's Easy Growth in Reading (Hildreth, Roy, Biehl, Felton, and Henderson, 1950) were used at least

sporadically.

The likely exceptions in this predominant instructional sequence were those children classified as "slow learners" who lived in areas where an alternate, phonics-based mode of instruction - using the I Can Read series or a comparable text - was used. Other children in rural areas where textbooks were in short supply despite the Department's concerted postwar effort to improve access to universal free textbooks (Barr, 1956) might have learned to read with the superseded Highroads series.

In the postwar period, then, three principal textbooks series formed the matrix of the elementary school curriculum for the teaching of reading and related literate competences. In what follows, Chapter 2 documents the development of Gray and Arbuthnot's Curriculum Foundation Series and Chapter 3 features a closer analysis and critique of exemplary narratives from that series. Chapter 4 focusses on the development and content of the Canadian Parade Readers, while Chapter 5 reviews general Departmental advice on how to teach these texts and teachers' guides for the Canadian Parade Readers and The Canadian Spellers.

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Chapter 2. MAKING THE ELEMENTARY READING TEXT:  
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CURRICULUM FOUNDATION SERIES

2.0. The production of the selective tradition:

Educational publishing, curriculum development and authorship

Lacking adequate understanding of the conceptual and economic activity of textbook development and publication, the genesis of the ideological character of children's textbooks may be viewed erroneously as the determinate result of a "hidden hand" of class or economic agency, historical accident, or authorial genius. As noted in Williams' explanation of ideological production, the process of the selective tradition is historically dynamic, mediated throughout by the agency of human subjects. This mediation, moreover, may result in contradictions between means and ends, intents and outcomes within the cultural selection process. The consequent ideological structure and content of the curriculum then can be reconsidered as the product of historical processes engaged in by human subjects, rather than as a simple mechanistic reflection of dominant class interests

What is needed is an account of the making of educational texts which identifies the points of convergence and contradiction between the intellectual labour of text production (conception and authorship) and the economics of publication and distribution (commoditization). An analysis of the conditions and conventions of text production can specify the "historical complexity of the influences on publishing and its content, readership, and economic reality" (Apple, 1985, p. 152), focussing on the relationships between dominant paradigms of educational research and curricular development, between authorial conception and mass production. Hence a "theoretically and politically grounded ... investigation that follows a curriculum artifact such

as a textbook from its writing to its selling (and then to its use)" (Apple, 1983, p. 319) is undertaken here.

The following overview and critique of the development of the Curriculum Foundation Series identifies the dominant assumptions of the authors and publishers of the curriculum regarding literacy, the role of literature in instruction, and the optimal conditions for learning to read. First, an overview of the emergent early- and mid-twentieth century "industrial" relationship between publishing, large-scale curriculum development, and economic interests is undertaken to frame the analysis of text authorship and production. This is followed by a detailed history of the conceptualization, authorship, and production of one of the most successful basal reading series in the history of publishing: Scott Foresman Company's Curriculum Foundations Readers, known to a generation of American and Canadian teachers and students as "the Dick and Jane readers". The central role in the development of the series played by American reading researcher William S. Gray is examined. Gray's career was an exemplar of the application of educational psychology to the curriculum development and instruction. His commitment to the liberal tenets of educational Progressivism is contrasted with his technical, scientific approach to literacy curriculum.

School textbooks - despite the historical development of an anonymous, authoritative "textbookese" which succeeds in disguising their subjective and ideological origins (Crismore, 1984) - remain commodities, objects produced and consumed by human subjects. Apple (p. 307) argues that the "thingness" of the textbook necessarily ties it to a "larger social process", namely the processes of production and commoditization. The book, like media, music and artwork, is the product of a particular form of labour: the production of

aesthetic and expressive artifacts of both elite and mass culture entails the intellectual work of conceptualization and authorship. But books are actual physical commodities bought and sold in the educational marketplace. Their production also involves actual design, printing, marketing and sales.

Textbooks thus stand as a specialized form of literate labour within mass culture. Unlike trade texts they have been developed by educators and, particularly since the early twentieth century, by university-based researchers. Produced by large companies and marketed to administrators and consultants representing local, regional and state jurisdictions, their ultimate consumers of course are those teachers who teach them and those students who read and respond to them. As for their overall social function, textbooks act as the interface between the 'officially' state adopted and state sanctioned knowledge of the culture, and the learner (Olson, 1980). Like all text, school textbooks remain potentially agents of mass enlightenment and/or social control (cf. Goody, 1978).

The development and marketing of the modern school textbook in the last century has been subject to progressively more industrialized, and systems-oriented approaches to curriculum development (Cremin, 1976; Hamilton, 1978) and to the economies of scale of what has become historically an increasingly monopolized publishing industry (Apple, 1985, p. 153; Lorimer, 1986). In the U. S., combined textbook sales rose from \$7,400,000 in 1897 to \$17,275,000 by 1913. By the end of World War II, sales had risen to \$131,000,000 (Madison, 1962, p. 218).

Beginning in the twentieth century, the influence of "applied psychology" spread to all sectors of the industrial economy (Boring, 1950). The rationale of the universal application of scientific inquiry to social and cultural

domains in industrial and post-industrial society was, and remains, a belief in the unbiased, ideological neutrality of science (Habermas, 1973). As noted in Chapter 1, the enthusiasm of Progressive educators for scientifically-based pedagogies was fuelled by a postwar belief in the prospect of unlimited economic growth and scientific development, even in an outpost of the industrialized world like British Columbia. Certainly, the extension of applied psychology to such practical domains as education, mass media, advertising and marketing is a paradigm case of the Progressive advocacy of the application of "scientific" approaches to the remediation of institutional life.

Early twentieth century psychologists like Wundt's student Hugo Munsterberg, Elton Mayo and others led the way to the scientific assessment of social and industrial needs (Joncich, 1962; Boring, 1950, p. 428). While "scientific management" offered increased output of standardized products through normed and controlled production processes (Taylor, 1917; cf. Braverman, 1976), "market research" yielded data on consumers' wants and needs, and the "science" of advertising played an increasing role in the stipulation of consumer demand. John B. Watson's departure from foundational academic research on behavioral psychology to the greener fields of Madison Avenue in the 1920s exemplified this application of science to early twentieth century enterprise.

Since the rise of Progressive and scientific approaches to educational practice, curriculum theorizing, making and evaluation has fallen under the auspices of this technocratic rationale. The "assembly-line" approach to curriculum developed by Charters and Bobbitt at the University of Chicago (Hamilton, 1978) and the later educational "needs assessment" and "goal"



formulation advocated by Tyler (1949) laid out a wholly "scientific" rationale for the selection of curricular knowledge. Much of this foundational research for the development of a science of curriculum development and evaluation, moreover, was undertaken during the interwar years with increasing support of private corporate funding (Hamilton, 1978, p. 327). Cremin (1976, p. 213) describes this historical application of systems management to curriculum and instruction:

From the second decade of the twentieth century ... Taylor's ... scientific management swept not only industry, but education as well. ... its influence is manifest in the work of Franklin Bobbitt and W. H. Charters ... [who] tended to analogize from the world of the factory to the world of the school, conceiving of the child as the raw material, the ideal adult as the finished product, the teacher as the worker, the supervisor as the foreman, and the curriculum as the process whereby the raw material was converted into the finished product. To the extent that the characteristics of the raw material, the finished product, and the conversion process could be quantitatively deferred, rationally dealt with and objectively appraised, curriculum-making could become a science; to the extent that the workers and the foreman could engage together in the scientific determination and rational pursuit of curriculum objectives, teaching could become an applied science, a form of educational engineering.

The historical end product of this inter- and postwar trend towards the mechanization of curriculum development is the standardized and mass marketed curricular package, an exemplar of "technical form" (Apple, 1982; de Castell and Luke, in press).

These early- to mid-twentieth century developments in curriculum were concomitant with expansion and growth in the publishing industry in general, and in the marketing of educational products in particular. In Communications (1968), Williams explicates the effects of capital expansion on the development of textual and electronic mass communications media. Williams argues that the larger (and by definition more heterogeneous) the audience of a mass media message, the greater the message is generalized and

universalized, diluted of any potentially problematic and thereby unpalatable meanings. The result, Williams claims is development of a "synthetic culture, meeting and exploiting the tensions of growth" (p. 33) of the market.

Surveying the status of text publishing in this culture industry, Williams maintains that "the production of books seems to be undergoing similar changes of ownership to those noted for the Press at the end of the nineteenth century", namely the "tendency towards combine ownership" and the absorption of independents into large media corporations (p. 32). The result was the subordination of more traditional motives for publishing (e.g., bookcraft, literary and aesthetic merit, political expression, religious conversion) to the "methods and attitudes of capitalist business". Williams goes on to argue that "all the basic purposes of communication - the sharing of human experience - can become subordinated to this drive to sell" (p. 33). In an increasingly competitive market, he notes, decisions about what will be published and how are concentrated in the hands of fewer and fewer individuals. This "concentration of ownership" he views as a "severe threat to the freedom and diversity of writing" (p. 152). The twentieth century selective tradition, then, has been mediated to an ever greater extent by the economic interests of corporate publishers. Commenting on the situation after the Second World War, Miller (1949, p. 32) noted that "as more American houses became big and bureaucratized", "financial terms" had become the "basic language of the firm".

Clearly, audience and consumer demand maintains and spurs on modern culture industries like publishing. As with Eco's (1978) "consumer of text", "hungry" from and for "redundance", the culture industry creates in its audience a sense of dependency on the continuance of its conventions, codes,

and messages (cf. Horkheimer and Adorno, 1972, pp. 120-67). In this manner, market demand is generated and sustained by the accessibility and ease with which cultural products can be consumed. Hence, the need to produce further "identical" (textual) products is increased: referring to modern publishing, Coser, Kadushin and Powell (1982) call this the "manufacture of appeal". Cultural production, then, becomes an ideologically and aesthetically nonproblematic process, and worth is determined primarily by increased demand. Consumption does not satisfy "need", nor does it simply exhaust supply, but conversely generates greater "wants" for and "output" of similar, standardized products.

Since the turn of the century era of what Henry Holt called "the commercialization of literature" (cf. Madison, 1962), modern publishing houses have operated on the basis of a tension between the maximization of profits and editors' perceived cultural and social responsibilities: "operations are characterized by a mixture of modern mass-production methods and craft-like procedures" (Coser, Kadushin, and Powell, 1982, p. 198). Book making itself gradually has evolved into, in the words of Williamson (1983), "an industrial craft". Textbook authors and editors remain, however, members of "rhetorical and interpretive communities", which in turn share knowledge and values, political ideologies and economic interests (Crismore, 1984, p. 279). The development of books is most certainly dictated by editorial behavior which reflects market and economic interests, as well as the cultural values and editorial perception of the needs of the market shared by a particular class of modern professionals. In the case of the textbook, editorial behavior and authorial conception also are influenced by dominant trends in educational research and regional educational policies - both of which historically have

been far from ideologically and economically disinterested enterprises (cf. Popkewitz, 1986).

To summarize: over the last century, educational products have been developed on the basis of conventional assumptions about text making and marketing, about curriculum development, and about the domains of knowledge they set out to teach. Hence, the critique of modern educational materials of mass culture must include a greater understanding of their conditions of generation, of the assumptions of authors, and of their actual fiscal and sociocultural environments which led to the selection, development, adoption and dispersal. Then we might better see how these particular textual artifacts and structures were developed intentionally, with both overt and covert, conscious and unconscious ends in mind. The school textbook as icon is, after all, a material creation, a physical product of a particular industry and 'science' whose generation and subsequent acceptance as a taken for granted element of modern pedagogy has been governed by the conditions and rules for the development of all products and merchandises of modern capitalism. Without this kind of extrinsic analysis of the text as historical artifact, the generation of what seem today to be 'biased' and discriminatory texts implies a Machiavellian turn by curriculum developers and authors, where none may have existed. Getting beyond a naive condemnation of the evils of corporate production requires a more complete understanding of the conceptual, social and economic relations of text making.

What follows is the history of the publication, design and conceptualization of Gray and Arbuthnot's Curriculum Foundations Series, texts used in British Columbia and throughout the English-speaking world before and after World War II. This should provide further understanding of how the "Dick

and Jane" series became the standard text of a generation of Canadian and American readers.

2.1. The best of intents: William Gray and the historical development of the Scott Foresman basal readers

By the end of the War, Scott Foresman and Company had become the largest publisher of elementary school, high school and college textbooks in the United States, having captured nearly one fifth of the educational market. Of their total sales, some US \$20,407,000, elementary school textbooks accounted for 80% (Madison, 1962, p. 449). This success was due largely to a series of elementary textbooks under the head editorship of William Gray of the University of Chicago, perhaps the preeminent reading psychologist of the inter- and postwar period.

The connection between Scott Foresman and Gray's best selling Curriculum Foundation Series can be traced back to the 19th century. In 1896, E. H. Scott, and W. C. and H. Foresman founded a publishing house which within two years was the only American publisher printing both high school and elementary textbooks. This was accomplished largely through the purchase of catalogues from other companies (Madison, p. 246). The buying out of financially troubled competitors was an early form of corporate consolidation (Coser et al., p. 22). Within a year of beginning operation, the Company landed the first in a series of statewide adoptions: Kansas, then Texas, Oklahoma, Oregon and other states. Then as now U. S. textbook adoption was largely decentralized: local and state officials selected texts. As a result sales to those states and large metropolitan school districts that did pursue centralized adoption policies were (and remain) crucial for competing companies like Scott Foresman, Ginn, and the American Book Company

(Fitzgerald, 1979).

The increased competition and frequent mergers were not without effects. During this period, several firms were taken to court for corrupt dealings with state officials. Of the effects on the quality of trade and textbooks, Henry Holt, founder of Holt, Rinehart and Winston, wrote in 1905 that "the more publishers bid against each other as stock brokers do, and the more they market their wares as the soulless articles of ordinary commerce are marketed, the more books become soulless things" (in Coser, et al., p. 18).

Among Scott Foresman's first successful series was W. H. Elson's Grammar School Readers (1909-1914), which quickly became known as "the modern McGuffey". This series - from primer to fourth reader - was an exemplar of the emergent new synthesis of 19th and 20th century orientations to literacy instruction. Elson saw himself as the bearer of a longstanding tradition in the development of readers, a tradition which emphasized "literary values enriched by familiarity with the classics of our literature" (in Smith, 1962, p. 153). Like E. B. Huey (1909) and other early reading experts, Elson believed that moral and cultural edification was an essential element of early literacy training. Primers and readers, he argued, should elevate the "taste and judgement" of youth. Nevertheless, Elson agreed with Progressive-era educators like Gray that "interesting material is the most important factor in learning to read".

The selection of literature for the readers indeed reflected this dual conception of the role of the text. Some stories covered topics traditionally included in primers and readers: traditional folk tales and history, nature and science, history and biography, and industrial invention. Others evinced the more "civic" concerns of Progressive education, including transportation

and communication, citizenship, industry, adventure, humor, travel and world friendship (Smith, p. 153). In Elson's early readers, then, stories of modern life were set beside more traditional Mother Goose and folk tales. By modern standards, they were sparsely illustrated: about a third of the primer consisted of large two color pictures. The fourth reader, for the intermediate grades, was largely printed text, with only 13 pictures in 320 pages. It included stories by American authors about home and country, fairyland and adventure, nature, American and world heroes (Smith, p. 154).

Elson's Grammar School Readers, then, were transitional textbooks between two historical types: the traditional literary texts favored by the likes of McGuffey, Elson, and Huey, and the later, more lexically and syntactically controlled, more brilliantly illustrated and packaged basal readers of the mid- and late 20th century. Canadian publisher Ryerson Press's Highroads to Reading (Ormond, Ormond, and Beresford, 1932) series, used in British Columbia from the 1930s until the 1950s, was a similar transitional type, linking the 19th century British Columbia Readers and Ontario Readers with the modern basal series (cf. Luke, 1980).

Yet while a text like McGuffey's was used with minor revisions for over a hundred years (Elson, 1964), rapid developments in the fields of curriculum and educational psychology in the early twentieth century accelerated cycles of obsolescence, revision and replacement of textbooks. In an attempt to keep up with near continuous changes in educational theory and research, publishers competed for liaisons with university-based academics. For Scott Foresman, the modernization of the Elson's readers began nine years after Elson's own 1920 revision when educational psychologist Gray was brought in "for the purpose of taking advantage of later developments in the field of reading

instruction" (Smith, p. 154). The product of this editorial merger of two distinct and in some ways divergent approaches to children's reading texts, was the The Elson Gray Readers (Elson, Gray, and Runkel, 1930). This series foreshadowed the development of a more scientific, psychologically derived approach to reading instruction. Additionally, it introduced American students and others to Dick, Jane, Sally, Father, Mother, Spot, Fluff and an array of what would become archetypes for basal characters. Its publication, moreover, marked the expansion of firms like Scott Foresman into a growing international market: the 1930 edition was copyrighted in, among other English-speaking nations and American colonies, the Phillipines. The series subsequently was licensed to publishers in Canada and Great Britain.

The Elson-Gray Readers were part of a brilliant editorial strategy and pedagogical conceptualization on the part of the remaining Foresman brother and Gray himself. By 1933 Hugh Foresman's publishing company - E. H. Scott had died in 1928 - was able to offer a striking and comprehensive array of state of the art educational texts, including E. L. Thorndike's Thorndike-Century Junior Dictionary (1932), adopted in both the United States and Canada. Reflecting the Progressive preoccupation with the integration of language and literacy across a range of curricular subjects, the Elson-Gray Life Reading Service texts were linked under Gray's editorial direction with other existing series. This unified curricular package was marketed as the Curriculum Foundation Series. Under various editors the series carried on for over forty years.

This was a major development in modern curricular design and in the marketing of educational textbooks with the provision of books in different curricular fields - all structured for readability and developmental



appropriateness under Gray's watchful eye - which correlated with an extremely popular basal reader series. They promised teachers a unified, up-to-date approach to the total elementary curriculum, designed by preeminent curriculum experts and psychologists. Moreover, with state adoptions and an emergent international market, it was a brilliant stroke of marketing. The "piggybacking" of products by publishers under a similar brand name can lead to the development of mass "product loyalty" (cf. Lorimer, 1986). Children, teachers and administrators would feel that they were dealing with a familiar product of proven quality. During the 1930s, Scott Foresman augmented the series with texts in social studies, arithmetic, health, art and science.

The basal series, then, became part of a total cross-curricular package. The readers themselves - two pre-primers, a primer, a first reader and a reader for each of grades two through six - were highly innovative. Frequent multiple colored pictures marked a major advance over Elson's Grammar School Readers. Other innovations followed suit: along with the already common "teacher's guide", Gray introduced "workbooks" and a "Junior Dictionary" for the readers. Also available was the Literature and Life series, supplemental reading materials which correlated with and enhanced instruction with the basic series (Smith, p. 225). Sustained sales enabled Scott-Foresman to achieve a new standard in production and format: the new series was set in the Century Schoolbook typeface, a specialized type introduced in 1927 (See Appendix A). Its letters were strongly drawn, with emphatic serifs, aiming at maximal clarity for young readers (Williamson, p. 132).

A range of other basals authored by prominent reading psychologists like A. I. Gates and M. Huber (1930) marked increased competition between publishers

for the basal reader market, which alone constituted a sizeable portion of textbook sales. But none demonstrated the consistent market strength of the Scott Foresman Series, which stands as one of the most successful textbook series of the mid 20th century.

In the 1940s, Elson and Runkle were replaced by M. H. Arbuthnot, author of a well-known book on reading and children's literature (Arbuthnot, 1947). Illustrator M. S. Hurford was replaced by E. Campbell and K. Ward, and the modernization of beginning reading texts was complete. Under Gray's supervision, primers and readers like Fun with Dick and Jane and Our New Friends were total curricular creations: all stories were written specifically for the textbook.

What emerged was an altogether unprecedented genre of literature: the short literary passages consisting of fables and tales of the 19th century had been superseded by the lexically, syntactically and semantically "controlled" texts about modern postwar life in an industrial democracy. These tales were fabricated solely for the purposes of teaching the "skills and habits" of reading. The application of scientific theories of reading and linguistic development to the engineering of basal readers completed the shift from overtly traditional literary content. While narrative remained the primary discursive structure of primers and early readers, "old tales" and poetry were replaced with "modern fanciful tales". In the "Fourth Readers" (about grade three level), myths and fables were supplanted by informational reading, stories of everyday life, civic socialization, and, of course, "silent reading exercises".

Certainly the Curriculum Foundation Series, led the way for many of the next generation of readers, D. C. Heath's Reading for Interest Series (Witty,

1942-1955), the Ginn Basic Readers (Russell, 1948-1964), Silver Burdett's Learning to Read (Smith, 1940-1945), and the American Book Company's Betts Basic Readers (Betts and Welch, 1948-1964). Though varying in approach, these series retained many of the structural characteristics of Gray's readers: teachers' guides, workbooks, related and supplementary series of texts. The scientifically designed and packaged reading series had come of age. In both conception and content they were and could only have been the products of an inter- and postwar America that believed that social institutions (e.g., the family, the school, the workplace) were progressing thanks to the application of modern science.

The traditional cultural orientation of nineteenth century readers had given way to Deweyian concerns of civic relevance and adaptability to environment. Gray (1959, p. 513) spoke of the need for children to judge "the value and significance of the ideas acquired and, in many cases, the beauty and quality of the language used". In fact, Gray and other reading psychologists were committed overtly to early reading as a process for the transmissions of values and cultural knowledge. But as to the nature of those values, their position diverged considerably from that of McGuffey and Elson, who had inherited an understanding of literacy training as moral instruction from the Protestant Reader tradition (cf. Elson, 1964, pp. 45-6). The emergent sense of the normative goals of education fit closely with Progressive rhetoric: they aimed for, in Gray's (1959, p. 411) words, "children ... to mature into efficient [emphasis added] citizens, and to cultivate and preserve the democratic heritage which we prize so highly today". Reading fitted squarely within this normative agenda of social adaptation. In an interview published in the April, 1950 edition of the

British Columbia Teacher, Gray argued that "there was never a time when reading was more useful in promoting personal development, school progress, and social understanding" (p. 316). In other words, the postwar educational scientists' sense of the end-product of this modern instruction was an "efficient" citizenry, capable of "sound judgements" in "democratic" society. These goals - the creation of a new kind of literate - were to be achieved through a literacy pedagogy conceived as the "systematic" cultivation of "habits" and "skills" of oral and silent, "work-type" and "recreational" reading (Gray, 1950; British Columbia Department of Education, 1947, 1954).

The interwar and postwar success of this modern version of the basal reading series, and the emergence of reading psychology as the foundational basis for the educational practice of early literacy training is exemplified in Gray's career. In the early 20th century, while other psychologists' interest in reading came and went, Gray's influence on research and the teaching of reading was constant. He became arguably the single most influential academic expert on reading in the twentieth century. Gray personally dominated reading research for a period of nearly 40 years, beginning with his initial published experiments in the 1910s until his death in 1960.

Gray - who had studied educational psychology under E. L. Thorndike at Teachers' College from 1912 to 1914 - influenced the development of every phase of reading research: experimental design, pedagogy, curriculum development, testing, and in the 1950s, functional literacy and language planning. Gray's work on reading with G. Buswell and C. Judd at the University of Chicago was highlighted by publication in the 1910s and 20s of major research on silent and oral reading (e. g., Gray, 1922; Judd and Buswell,

1922). His standardized paragraphs for the assessment of oral reading remained benchmarks for over forty years. Gray's influence on trends and developments in reading research also is evident in his editorial work: between 1925 and 1932 he contributed a regular "Summary of reading investigations" to the Elementary School Journal; between 1932 and 1960 his widely cited summaries appeared in the Journal of Educational Research. He is considered a pioneer in research on oral reading; the use of prose passages for the testing of silent reading; the "diagnosis" and "treatment" of "remedial cases in reading" (Gray, 1925, 1935; see Chap. 5); developmental stage theory of reading acquisition (Gray, 1925, 1938; cf. Chall, 1983; see Chap. 5); the extension of systematic reading instruction into the secondary schools (Gray, 1948a); the definition of "functional literacy" (Gray, 1956a, 1956b); and, the pre- and in-service training of teachers of literacy (Gray, 1960). He edited three of the four (U.S.) National Society for the Study of Education yearbooks on reading between 1912 and 1960 and he wrote one of the first UNESCO (1956b) postwar reports on literacy.

Gray's first published works on reading appeared in the 1910s, concurrently with research by Thorndike (1917) on silent reading, and shortly after work by Huey, Dearborn and others on eye movements and "reading hygiene". By the early 1920s, many of his fellow psychologists had moved away from a concentration on reading as an object of study. Gray's and Gates' mentor Thorndike's early empirical research on recall, recognition in silent reading and lexical usage had generated the first silent reading tests. Both the Thorndike-McCall reading test and the Gray Standardized Oral Reading Paragraphs were used throughout British Columbia and the English-speaking world through the interwar period. Through lexicographical studies and the

development of "word books", Thorndike (1921), Gates (1926) and others had succeeded in defining the core vocabulary of basal readers as well. In the post-Elson period virtually every children's reader was constructed according to these word lists. By the 1920s, having established himself as the most prolific and influential educational psychologist since James and Hall, Thorndike's research and publication interests ran far afield to include IQ testing, and the expanding range of social and educational applications of psychology. Many other early reading researchers like Huey, Terman, Pinter had begun to concentrate on more general issues of mental measurement. At Chicago, Judd, whose 1920s work on reading as social experience was often quoted by Gray, had moved into the field of general social psychology pioneered in the United States by Mead and Tufts.

This left the field in the hands of two psychologists: Gates of Teachers' College and Gray at Chicago. Both Gates and Gray authored basal reading series, developed a range of tests of silent and oral reading, and provided guidelines and suggestions for teachers. Articles by both were republished in various British Columbia teachers' journals (e.g., Gray and Arbuthnot, 1947; Gray, 1948, 1950); their National Society for the Study of Education yearbooks were quoted in curriculum guides (e.g., British Columbia Department of Education, 1947, 1954); their work and that of other reading psychologists was referenced in these same journals and guides and; most importantly, their texts and tests were used in elementary reading instruction. Certainly, in the field of reading education - as well as administration, curriculum design and so forth - trends and developments begun at Teachers' College, Chicago, Stanford and other American universities (cf. Tyack and Hansott, 1982) spread across the U.S. and Canada to remake basic instruction in reading and the

language arts for several generations of children.

Gray and Gates oversaw the application of reading research to all aspects of the teaching of reading - and by extension but to a lesser extent, writing, oral language, and spelling - in the period from the 1910s through the 1950s. The 1937 N. S. S. E. yearbook on reading, The Teaching of Reading, highlighted findings of a committee chaired by Gray. This framing of "desireable trends in reading" set the stage for the postwar modernization of reading instruction which would follow a wartime hiatus in research, development and implementation (cf. Smith, 1965, p. 298). These trends included: increased interest in reading problems; greater recognition of every teacher's responsibility for the teaching of reading; allocation of more time to guidance of reading in different subject areas; a greater concern for reading "readiness"; increased use of better curricular materials; progress in the organization of reading pedagogy into "units" which reflected areas of interest; greater emphasis on comprehension; increased recognition of children's varied motives and interests; greater provision for "individual differences"; wider use of standardized reading tests; and the systematic diagnosis and remediation of problem readers (1937, p. 5-38).

This was, in all, a description of the new paradigm of reading and language arts instruction advocated by reading psychologists. It called for an admixture of identifiably humane, "child centered" practices (e.g., units or projects, teaching for individual difference, early childhood intervention, curricular integration) and scientific approaches to pedagogy (e.g., use of tests, systematic diagnostics and remediation, the use of modern systematic curricula). The extent to which many of these prewar recommendations remained throughout subsequent decades and indeed constitute the matrix of basic

assumptions about the teaching of reading today, testifies to the significance of this particular paradigm shift towards more scientific, research-based approaches to curriculum and instruction.

At the center of this scientific approach to literacy was the use of modern curricula like Gray's reading series which provided the teacher with (textual) guidance in all of the aforementioned areas. Upon what assumptions did Gray develop and design the Dick and Jane series? Gray's was not a wholly mechanistic reading psychology by any means, for he was basically in agreement with Thorndike that reading is "clear, vigorous and carefully directed thinking". Citing Thorndike, Gray (1959, p. 411) argued that "in effective reading, the mind selects, softens, emphasises, correlates, and organizes information" according to "mental set or purpose or demand". Nor, as noted, was Gray strictly opposed to literary merit per se. However, his sense of the kind of literary content which could stimulate such thinking (conceived with Thorndike as a "reaction" to textual/experiential stimulus) remained acritical. He noted a truism shared by reading psychologists:

As psychologists pointed out long ago, it is not what is presented to a child that promotes growth, but rather his reactions to the ideas acquired. (p. 415)

Far from being a blanket dismissal of the importance of content, Gray's statement reflects the Deweyian concern with teaching "the child not the subject". He saw in an overriding concern with literary quality a failure to consider the validity and value of student "reactions". Moreover, while the "formal" and traditional classroom had stressed "oral interpretation" with "little adaptation of instruction to meet the varying needs of the pupils", the modern classroom depended upon "flexible" yet "carefully planned" and "systematic" approaches (Gray, 1950, p. 316-17).



Yet Gray's concern with student "reaction" led to a relativist position on the selection of content for children's texts. In his skepticism of the traditional cultural approaches to reading, Gray, like many of his contemporaries, had developed a critical blindspot on the matter of literary and ideological content. This is not to say, though, that Gray had neglected altogether the specification of criteria for selection and development of children's stories. On the contrary, appropriateness could be determined according to how text enhanced the development of reading and general linguistic competence. Gray, drawing from Judd's work in the 1910s at the University of Chicago, believed that "reading was experiencing": the vividness of image and the range of possible meanings showed how text was both "a process of reexperiencing" and potentially a unique experience itself (1959, p. 416). To this end, he noted that "as pupils grow in ability to use familiar experiences in interpreting what they read, they also increase in ability to acquire new experiences through reading" (1959, p. 418). However mundane by traditional standards, everyday experiences - "various purposes and needs ... both in and out of school" (1950, p. 317) - were posited as both the basis for the selection of educational knowledge, and the end of successful pedagogy.

Hence Gray advocated an initial reading experience which reflected "familiar experience" gradually moving forward to works by "the author who combines familiar concepts in a form that presents new ideas." Accordingly, reading was to be taught in conjunction with pedagogically constructed language experiences: field trips, unit study, activities, simulations, role playing, and so forth. His reading texts were conceived of as authentic representations of children's lived experiences. By extension, the

representation of social reality therein was completely in line with his experiential theories of reading. The aim was to generate in the reader "a focus, or radix, of interest to which much of his reading relates and which serves as an inner drive or motivating force" (Gray and Rogers, 1956, p. 236). Texts were to be experientially based on the everyday, until the child had the ability to confront through text "new experiences", tales for instance of "Eskimo land" and "Niagara Falls" (1959, p. 418), to cite Gray's own examples.

This concern with the textual representation of the known, the familiar, and the everyday was linked to his particular approach to teaching reading. In a 1955 Reading Teacher response to Flesch's popular crusade for phonics, Gray argued that "contrasting methods" differed mostly in that they "secured most growth in different aspects of reading". He contraposed those methods which concentrated on smaller linguistic units (e. g., the "alphabetic or spelling method", the "phonic method", the "syllabic method") with those models which concentrated on meaning (e. g., "the word", the "sentence method", the "story method and the experience method"). Like Chall (1967) twenty years later, he noted that "the results of studies of the relative merits of teaching beginning reading do not show conclusively which is best" (1955, p. 311).

But Gray clearly had his preference. Citing Buswell's research, Gray argued that "word recognition" would lead to "word reading": "an ability to follow the printed lines, to pronounce all the words but to display no vital concern for the content". What he argued for was a mixture of "word recognition" (e. g., both whole word and phonics) with other pedagogies which "cultivate a vital concern for the content and a clear grasp of meaning" (p. 313). Far from avoiding consideration of content, then, Gray clearly believed

in its importance. For "effective progress would only result from parallel emphasis on meaning and word recognition" (p. 313). While not against phonics per se, he, like many of his contemporaries, saw it as only "means to broader ends" of word recognition and language experience.

Accordingly, the Gray-Arbuthnot readers reflected several basic principles of construction. First, Gray's concern for the representation of the actual language and experiences of beginning readers led him to write and edit texts according to strict controls on lexical selection and syntactic complexity. Each reader, following strict readability guidelines, introduced a limited amount of new words and syntactic structures; the readers for grades 1-3 were pitched almost exclusively in dialogue intended to simulate children's oral language. These new words were gleaned from the beginning reader's oral language vocabulary as represented in word lists by Thorndike, Gates, Dolch and others. The Dick and Jane narratives, then, were to be recognizable texts; these texts required of children the recognition of words already in their oral lexicon. Once established, commonly occurring words were repeated in simplified sentences, versions of direct speech.

Second, Gray extolled the virtues of high interest, 'populist' texts which provoked thinking and meaning in a wide audience of students. The semantic possibilities of the text, the interpretations and meanings enabled by Dick and Jane narratives were those that Gray thought children could easily relate to: the texts were not about fairy queens or princes, but about what he considered typical and shared childhood experiences in a nonspecific locale which resembled Lynde and Lynde's Middletown (or, for that matter, the midwestern American community described by Lewis in Babbitt). The setting and construction of stories, then, was not intended to be "biased" or overtly

ideological. Rather Gray set out with a stated concern for "average" and "slow" children, to ease the transition from preliteracy to literacy by offering texts which were lexically, syntactically and semantically accessible to all. The design of a redundant, recognizable and predictable text was, then, intentional.

The 1960 N. S. S. E. Yearbook on Reading solemnly noted Gray's death. In that same year E. H. Scott, the last of the remaining founders of Scott Foresman, died as well. Yet their shared legacy remained. There was nothing Machiavellian about the standardization of literacy instruction: Gray operated from the best of intents. He believed in the egalitarian ends of Progressive education: the advancement of every child's opportunity to participate "efficiently" in "democratic" society. While Hugh Foresman set as his goal the successful development and marketing of the comprehensive educational product, Gray and his contemporaries had sought to supplant the inflexibility of traditional, rote instruction with the teaching of reading and linguistic competences which they hoped would address "various purposes and needs they [children] face both in and out of school". There was, he wrote shortly before his death, an increasing recognition among educators of the "expanding role of independent, critical reading on the part of all citizens if they are to understand the problems faced in a rapidly changing world, to participate intelligently in the duties of citizenship and to lead rich well-rounded personal lives" (1961, p. 161). And for this the compulsive, habituated ways of nineteenth century pedagogy and curricula would not suffice. In its place, a thoroughly 'scientific' approach to literacy teaching was needed, one which emphasized

... psychological background for teaching, including known facts and

their implications about human development, individual differences, learning theories, emotional problems, motivation, and the psychology of school subjects including the psychology of reading. (p. 151)

As well, he noted that teachers needed to be aware of "the social purposes and foundations of education; the role of reading and other mass media in current life; the nature and diversity of the cultural background, personal characteristics, and capabilities of children and youth" (p. 161).

The Curriculum Foundation Series was indeed a mass produced and standardized product distributed internationally on a monopoly scale. It became an archetype, a model for dozens of imitators and would be sales leaders. And it was the product of a series of overlapping educational sciences. This particular exemplary modern basal series is indicative of a central shift in assumptions about children's reading and the teaching of reading towards a systems approach, featuring "diagnosis" and "clinical" intervention (Gray, 1935, p. 410). The educational psychology of Thorndike, Gates, Gray, Terman and others was an applied science, and the remaking of pedagogy and of the experience of schooling was an extension of the application of that science. Enhanced by Charters and Bobbit's interwar "assembly line" model of curriculum development, and the subsequent "needs assessment" model of Tyler in the postwar period, a wholly scientific orientation to curriculum development and instruction and assessment had been born. A principal ramification in terms of reading pedagogy was that reading texts should be and could be so designed, and, moreover, that the efficacy of curriculum, pedagogy and actual learning could be verified through the use of standardized tests (see Chap. 5).

Gray - like King, Conway and other Canadian Progressives - would have teachers be reading "experts", knowledgeable in the ways of instructional

psychology. Certainly, the grounds had shifted from the previous century. The discourse of applied educational science served the dual functions of framing and prescribing a set of practitioner/consumer needs while simultaneously - in collaboration with the publishing industry - developing educational products which ostensibly satisfied these needs. As a result, there was an progressive narrowing of the range and diversity of educational texts/products available for use by teachers, many of whom themselves had been educated with and trained to use more traditional, literary readers.

Within this new orientation, literary merit, cultural tradition and Protestant morality no longer stood as central criteria in the development of children's readers. It was now a matter of selecting and adopting appropriate literature on the surface of the curriculum development process only. The development of a reading textbook depended, in this new administrative and institutional regime, on the possession of a theory of reading (e.g., phonics, word recognition, developmental stages, readiness), on the intentional construction of specialized, standardized texts to enhance assessable "skills", and, of course, on a significant capital investment by the publisher to provide a total curriculum package. Related, moreover, was a prescriptive sense that the aim of literacy, of the "personal and social development of youth" (Gray, 1948a, p. 42) was more efficient adaptation to existing social knowledges and organization.

Assessing the modern legacy of the early- and mid-century modernization of curriculum development and pedagogy by educational scientists like Charters and Bobbitt, Gates and Gray, Apple (1975, p. 116) comments that

... systems approaches are not essentially neutral, nor are they performing a 'scientific' function. By tending to cause its users and other publics involved to ignore certain possible fundamental problems with schools as institutions, systems management also acts

to generate and channel political sentiments supportive of the existing modes of access to knowledge and power.

These were consensus texts on several levels: certainly they represented what Gray and Arbuthnot construed as the shared images and messages of democratic life in the 50s. But as well they represented an emergent scientific and professional consensus, an agreement among publishers and researchers that psychologically-based pedagogies, and readable, mass-produced and consumed texts would be more "efficient" at the transmission of literacy (and the accumulation of capital) than the previous generation of traditional, literary readers. Gray, Gates, Russell and others, professed to be concerned with literary content, with Progressive social values, and highly motivational pedagogy. Yet their texts remained the products of Thorndike's conception of reading as a "sarbond" activity, as "response" and of Watson's Madison Avenue (or Scott Foresman's Madison Avenue, to be more precise). The rules of capital expansion, as well as the science of Teachers' College and the University of Chicago, helped shape what would count as children's readers, and what would count as reading and language arts instruction. And Gray and Arbuthnot's texts dominated the market for over three decades. The New McGuffey indeed.

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Chapter 3. READING THE TEXT:  
DICK AND JANE AS INTRODUCTIONS TO LITERACY

3.0. A Story grammar analysis of Fun with Dick and Jane

Were Gray's good intentions realized? The foregoing analysis of the development of the Curriculum Development Series pointed to historical tensions and contradictions within the dominant discourse on literacy between egalitarian goals of Progressive education and evolving industrial orientations to curriculum and educational publishing. Scrutinizing the Dick and Jane texts, several critics of the 1960s and 70s have argued that they conveyed a postwar ideology of individuality and compliance to authority (McClelland, 1961; Klineberg, 1963; Zimet, 1972a, 1972b). Zimet (1972a, p. 94) sees the shift from more traditional textbooks to the Dick and Jane genre as indicating a movement from the "inner-directedness" of 19th century life to the "other-directedness" of 20th century industrial culture:

Contemporary America, as seen through these readers, is an other-directed society in which the individual is not motivated to act by traditional institutional pressures but by others whose requests or demands are respected enough to produce compliance. Individuals enter into relationships for specific reasons, and these relationships are generally controlled by the opinions of others.

Obviously, Gray's texts, seeking a broad audience in a national and international market, distorted the "pluralistic" character of American society. In the estimation of liberal and left critics, the texts are blatantly classist, sexist and racist. The gender relations portrayed in these readers, moreover, commonly are cited as archetypal cases of textbook stereotyping (Zimet, 1972b, pp. 80-85).

In contrast, according to some of the more conservative critics, this kind of distortion is a manifestation of a "secular humanist" orientation in

school curricula (cf. Jenkinson, 1979, p. 95).

One might conclude from these books that Americans are almost exclusively Caucasian, North European in origin and appearance, and are quite well to do. . . . Religion is rarely mentioned, but Christian religious observance is over-emphasized with no hint of the range or variety of observances found among different religious groups. (Klineberg, 1963, p. 75)

For their part, child psychologists Bettelheim and Zelan (1981, p. 266) have compared the literary and psychological content of American basals in the "Dick and Jane tradition" with those of European schools.

The universal use in the United States of basic texts that are alike in their repetitious emptiness, and of stories that tell only about the most shallow "fun" activities, makes one wonder whether it is indeed possible to teach reading to modern children by means of texts that are neither condescending to them, nor dull, nor excruciatingly repetitious, nor restricted to the use of a few simple words.

They argue further that traditional fairy tales, children's poetry and novels should "stimulate and encourage children's imaginations" by providing "literary images of the world, of nature and of man" (p. 264; cf. Bettelheim, 1976; Stein, 1986, p. 178). Bettelheim and Zelan (p. 264) conclude that primers and early reading textbooks

... should be able to render in a few sentences three-dimensional, true to life images of people in their struggle with some of life's more serious problems, demonstrating how, through these struggles, people are able to achieve greater clarity about themselves, about their relations to others, about what is required to be able to live a meaningful life.

These assessments, however astute, are based on general impressions of the textbooks in question. Although the "Dick and Jane Readers" are often cited as models of postwar American educational ideology, a closer analysis of their textual content and structure has not been undertaken. In this chapter, modes of discourse analysis described in Section 1.3.2. are used. First, a story grammar analysis of nine selected narratives from Fun with Dick and Jane is used to establish the relationship between story syntax and semantics. The

aim of this analysis is to indicate how ideological themes and contents are established through the repetition, within and across story grammars, of particular social roles, relationships and intersubjective exchanges. This is followed by a survey of pictorial and lexical content which specifies how the narrative establishes a total fictional reality, which in turn acts as an overarching contextual frame for the situating of particular social roles and actions. The role of the narrator, lexical choice, and pictorial content are examined to establish how stylistic and literary conventions serve the didactic and pedagogical intent of the narratives to present a univocal version of post-war childhood.

A further examination of stylistic and literary devices is undertaken to specify how this portrayed reality is posited by the narrative in relation to other "possible worlds" of the authors, characters and readers. The text analysis concludes with a summary critique of the ideological contents, literary merits, and possible pedagogical effects of the text, using Barthes' (1957/1982) concept of the ideological function of modern "mythologies" in conjunction with Eco's (1979) category of the "closed text". The use of Eco's category enables the reconstruction of the particular "role of the reader" generated by the Dick and Jane texts. It is argued that the semantic structure and literary stylistics of the text precluded critical and interpretive reading.

The early primary readers Fun with Dick and Jane (Gray and Arbuthnot, 1946) and Our New Friends (Gray and Arbuthnot, 1946), were designated for first grade reading instruction. Both texts, while composed of distinct stories by eight different authors, were adapted to repeat basic themes, lexis, syntactic structures, and macropropositional structures across and

within successive episodes. Fun with Dick and Jane, the grade one primer, comprises thirty-three stories organized into four subsections: "Family Fun", "Fun at the Farm", "Fun with Pets and Toys", and "Fun with Our Friends".

The particular set of nine episodes in "Family Fun" is the first series from the first primer and hence many six-year-old children's actual first institutional encounter with reading curriculum. In what follows, each episode's basic story grammar is outlined according to a Stein-Glenn story grammar model. A running commentary highlighting continuities and discontinuities between story grammar and thematic content ensues.

Episode 1 - "See It Go": In the backyard (setting), Dick throws a toy airplane (initiating event); Sally and Jane observe (internal response); the plane goes over the fence beyond the yard; it almost hits Father who, in a business suit, is walking home (consequence); Jane expostulates "This is not fun for Father" (reaction/didactic reiteration).

Commentary: In this particular passage Dick is the initiator of ensuing action while Sally and Jane are relegated to secondary roles as observers and commentators for male play. Their conversational description (which enables the teaching of high frequency prepositions: "Up up! Down down!") narrates the plane's flight. These utterances also form an internal response: readers do not glimpse the thoughts of the characters, but rather observe and hear the characters' observations. Father, who is apparently coming from work or another business engagement (signified here by grey business suit and hat), seems startled when the plane knocks his hat off. It is left to Jane to distill verbally the event into a lesson.

A unique discourse option is exercised throughout this and subsequent episodes. The "reaction" in the story grammar takes the form of a didactic utterance by a principal character which in turn reframes for other characters



and readers the foregoing events. This discourse feature functions as an interpretation within the text to reinforce and restate an intended message. It provides simultaneously a dramatic resolution and reconciliation, closing down the narrative and restoring all to their original psychological (and temporal) states. In all, it would seem that this is a parable about children's play running into the adult world with unexpected, if harmless results. It remains nonetheless a didactic tale which teaches the concepts of "family fun/not fun" in relation to judgements.

Episode 2 - "Guess": In the house, Dick approaches Mother from behind (setting); she is seated in an easy chair, sewing; Sally and Jane crowd around and Father and Spot enter the room from behind; Dick places his hands over Mother's eyes and asks her to guess who it is (initiating event 1); Mother guesses correctly (internal response 1/attempt 1); Sally verbally confirms (consequence); Father places his hands over Mother's eyes from behind (initiating event 2/reiteration of 1); after verbalizing a process of elimination (internal response 2), Mother guesses correctly (attempt 2); Jane verbally confirms (consequence 2); Sally places her hands over Mother's eyes and Jane asks for a guess (initiating event 3); Mother guesses that it is Jane (internal response/attempt 3); Sally expostulates "This is fun, Mother can not guess"; Mother guesses Sally (consequence 3); Dick confirms the guess; Mother expostulates "My family is here. My funny, funny family" (reaction/didactic reiteration).

Commentary: A more complex and intentionally structured pattern of intersubjectivity is instantiated in this episode's story grammar. Verbal and behavioral repetition of a pattern of play involves the whole family and this pattern in turn acts as a set of unstated social rules.

But the point of the game is not its rules: there is more to it than this. Dick and Father, who again is pictured in three piece suit with Spot (the family dog) nipping at his heels, are the primary initiators of action in this domestic set piece. Mother is carrying out her daily routine. The males' actions are repeated with variations by the other characters. Invariably, Dick and Father initiate the pattern and Jane follows naively;

Mother pushes the game along as a physically passive resposdee to the family's actions. The schematic structure of repeated actions, designed to enable repetitive recognition and oral recitation of key words and phrases (e.g., "Guess, guess!", "Mother can not see"), has a dramatic effect: the reiterated attempt --> consequence --> attempt --> consequence... pattern is self-referential and self-reinforcing, conveying the need for behavioral modelling, imitation and practice in play situations.

Yet within the rules of family intersubjectivity novelty is not altogether ruled out. Baby Sally - a Progressive-era Noble Savage - begins to evince a characteristic of infancy which recurs throughout the series, a capacity for creative extrapolation within the rule structure of male-initiated play. In subsequent stories, Sally, the young pre-school child, will come up with novel approaches, at times indicative of her naivete of rule systems and at others showing her (innate?) cunning ability to set up her elders' (and the readers') expectations and reverse them. Her socialization into rule-bound intersubjectivity is focal throughout this sequence of episodes. Here it is left to Mother, who verbally interacts with the children more than Father, to confirm the value of non-violent, interactive play involving the entire family unit: a "funny, funny family" indeed.

Episode 3 - "Something for Sally": In the house, Father asks Sally (setting) to "find something" in his coat pocket (initiating event). Digging into Father's pocket (attempt 1), Sally discovers a red ball (consequence 1); Father asks Sally to "Look in the ball" (reaction 1/initiating event 2/reiteration of 1); Sally discovers a blue ball within the red (attempt 2/consequence 2/reiteration of 1); Father asks Sally to look in the blue ball (reaction 2/initiating event 3/reiteration of 1); Sally discovers a yellow ball within the blue ball (consequence 3/reiteration of 1); Sally states her intentions to share the three balls with Dick and Jane (reaction/didactic reiteration).

Commentary: This particular episode highlights the formal didactic

relationship between Father and Baby Sally. Again a male is the initiator of the incident: Father is introducing Sally to an traditional toy, the object concealed within an object. Lexical and syntactic repetition (e.g., "Look and see! See the yellow ball") is enabled by repetition in the story grammar of a macropropositional attempt --> consequence sequence. The character's attempts to resolve the cognitive/play problem in turn result in a moral lesson.

Contrasting with Mother's role in Episode 2 as the recipient of children's play is Father's verbal and behavioral control over the initiating event --> attempt --> consequence sequence. Father's paralinguistic (e.g., physical distance, directive gestures) and linguistic expression (e.g., "Find something!", "Look in the ball") is imperative. Notable is his lack of physical contact with Sally: he holds his arm out of the way so that she can inspect his coat pocket; he leans over her with his hands on his hips; he sits with his hands clasped in front of him. He of course is garbed in his business suit and tie, even in this casual play setting. Clearly, Father adopts a detached, explicitly pedagogical role (give/take/question/answer), instructing Sally in patterns of play and discovery that involve manual dexterity and thinking.

On the literal level of story grammar consequence, two beneficent pro-social behaviors are conveyed: gift-giving and, as underlined in Sally's reappraisal of her own learning, sharing rather than egocentric hoarding of toys. But at the level of the repeated interactional pattern in the story grammar, this finale acts as a confirmation of a foundational social relation: Father teaches, daughter learns.

Episode 4 - "Do What I Do": In the house, Dick jumps (setting) over a play bridge made of blocks and challenges the observing family to "do what I do" (initiating event 1); Jane, Mother and Father all comply (multiple attempts/subordinate consequences to 1); Sally tries

(attempt) and fails, knocking over the bridge (primary consequence to 1); Dick verbally chides Sally arguing that she, "a baby", is "too little" to play (reaction/didactic reiteration 1); Father asks the family to touch their toes, to imitate his behavior (initiating event 2); all are able to comply (multiple attempts/consequences 2) except Sally (attempt/consequence 2); Father chides Sally as "too little" to do this (reaction/didactic reiteration 2); Sally asks the family to crawl under a wooden chair (initiating event 3); all fail in their attempts to imitate Sally (attempts/consequence 3); Sally concludes that all are "too big" to "do it" (major reaction/didactic reiteration to 1/2/3).

Commentary: Again, an archetypal play pattern is introduced, one that requires repetition of an intersubjective pattern, that of "Simon Says", and again, the males take initiating roles. Sally's inability to participate in this particular kind of family play which requires advanced psychomotor development is highlighted. Both male figures take turns at berating her and denigrating her inferior social status, visibly without cheer (e.g., Dick: "No, Sally, you can not play. You are too little. You are a baby"). Dick gesturally embellishes this utterance, leaning over towards her and pointing his finger at her. Father ("No Sally! You can not do this. You are too little") proceeds to Sally's turn without the visible smiles of encouragement and verbal approval present in Episode 3. Nonetheless, Sally turns the tables on her elders and has the last and concluding didactic word.

To this point the only divergent actions in family relations have been initiated by Sally, whose unpredictability is becoming predictable. While others reflect the adequacy of their socialization by carrying through their parts in the causal chains of the story grammar with utter predictability, Sally, the uninitiated, blunders her way through play sequences, characteristically vindicating herself through novelty of action. Yet her immature ego-identity is implied and throughout she refers to herself as "Sally", excluding a personal pronoun.

By this point in the initial section, distinctive character traits are beginning to emerge. Father is involved formally in family play and learning yet he seems emotionally detached. Dick is active, somewhat impulsive and domineering of the female children. Of the female figures, Mother remains on the sidelines while Jane is an omitted, often silent middle child. Sally's verbal and behavioral cleverness is restated in this episode.

Episode 5 - "Father Helps the Family": In the house Mother brings Father (setting) a broken wooden chair to fix (initiating event 1); Father changes into work clothes and repairs it (attempt/consequence 1); Jane brings her baby carriage wheel for repair (initiating event 2/reiteration of 1); Father repairs it (attempt/consequence 2); Dick brings his roller skate for repair (initiating event 3); Father repairs it (attempt/consequence 3); Sally brings her ripped dress for repair (initiating event 4/attempt); Father refers her to Mother (reaction/didactic reiteration); Mother sews the ripped dress (consequence 4/subreaction 4).

Commentary: This episode signals the introduction of two new concepts, "help" and "work", within a specified division of labour in the home. Again, the story grammar consists of a repetition of an intersubjective exchange, building readers' expectations of similar outcomes and providing maximal opportunities for the repetition of key words and phrases. For the first time, a female initiates the episode, though her problem is an indication not of her ingenuity or control (as in previous and subsequent male-initiated episodes) but rather of her reliance on Father to undertake repair of mechanical objects.

Jane, still extremely passive, imitates Mother's request, impelling Father with the utterance: "You work for Mother. Can you work for me, too?" As a speech act, this is a direct invocation of Father's responsibility to extend the services provided Mother to other female members of the family. It begets a pro forma compliance, which is both tentative, stern, and impersonal (Father: "We will see"). In sharp contrast, Dick's request is responded to

with a cheerful "Yes, Dick."

In each successive case Father, who finally has shed his business suit for coveralls, complies. The didactic reinforcement of specific service roles in the household concludes with Father somewhat brusquely leaning down and teaching Sally the proper roles within the domestic division of labour (Father: "I can not help you. Mother can help you."). Sally's naivete here emerges as undersocialization. In her attempts to imitate and repeat the model pattern of intersubjectivity, to follow the script of family relations, she has shown her ignorance of the social norms underlying and mediating action within that script.

As if to underscore her compliance with Father's verbal injunction and the sociocultural norm it implies, Mother is depicted in the lower right hand corner of the last page sewing Sally's dress. She is silent. There is no correlative verbal exchange between her and Sally, or any of the children. Father has stated and enforced the rules. Clearly, Dick and Jane have learned who does what within the family unit and Sally's socialization into that unit is the focal point of this episode. Within this narrative portrayal of hierarchical roles and interrelationships of the family, Sally (and perhaps the reader as well) is pressed to modify her schematic expectation of typical events and patterns of action.

Episode 6 - "Sally Makes Something": In the home (setting), Dick draws boats and cars on a large sheet of paper while Spot and Puff and Sally observe (initiating event); Sally observes that Jane is also "working", drawing a "big big boat" (attempt); Jane corrects Sally and states that she is drawing a house (consequence); Sally asks whether Mother and Father are in the house (attempt); Jane responds that Sally, Jane, Spot and Puff are the inhabitants (consequence); Sally draws "something yellow on Jane's picture while Dick and Jane observe and asks them to "guess what it is" (initiating event); Jane guesses that it is a ball (attempt); Sally expostulates that it is "a big, big cookie for Sally" (consequence/response).

Commentary: The attempt/consequence structure of this episode's story grammar mirrors Sally's efforts to participate in this work/play situation. This particular episode, the first without explicit adult participation or intervention, takes a different format. Although the narrative begins with the usual focus on Dick, it soon becomes clear that Sally is the initiator. Her responses to Dick and Jane's drawings generate further action.

The content of each drawing portrays prototypical "boys'" and "girls'" interests. Dick, reflecting the aforementioned division of labour within the home, is concerned with mechanical and technological items, while Jane is clearly interested in domestic matters. Curiously, her ideal world (in her drawing) depicts a nuclear family which excludes Father, Dick and Mother, implying her role as surrogate mother for Sally. This role in turn is reflected by her status as teacher within the narrative.

On schedule, though, Sally outmaneuvers the other children, generating the only clear problem to be solved by challenging her siblings to guess at her drawing. Jane's interpretation of Sally's drawing is incorrect; Sally again has baffled the other children, albeit with the absurdity and novelty of her drawing. Clearly, a different kind of schematic structure is at work here: the only obstacle in the children's play pattern is generated by Sally's participation. In all the scene represents the model of quiet play unaided and unstructured by direct parental intervention and it is left to Dick and Jane to incorporate and domesticate Sally into their play patterns, though Dick's involvement gradually declines as the story proceeds. Unlike previous episodes, there is no overt didactic reiteration. Messages regarding children's stereotyped interests are coded in the content of their pictures while norms of play are coded in portrayed social interactions and

relationships.

Dick is noticeably less rambunctious in an environment free of parental observation. Yet the work/play theme is established at the onset with Dick's initiating utterance "see me work"; in this sense, Dick's very presence frames the interaction between his sisters. The boundaries between work and play and between adulthood and childhood here are blurred intentionally for didactic purposes. In this particular fictional reality they become one and the same entity.

Episode 7 - "Pretty, Pretty Puff": In the house (setting), Jane is unable to find Sally and seeks Dick's assistance (initiating event); Dick leads Jane inside to find Sally (internal response); they find "something white" on a child's cushioned chair (attempt); they find similar material underneath the bed (attempt); they discover Sally under another bed with Puff (consequence); Sally has powdered Puff, their yellow cat, white and left traces of powder throughout the house (explanation).

Commentary: Here Dick and Jane, without parental supervision, are cast in the role of detectives, simultaneously fulfilling their obligation to monitor their younger sister. Jane, like Mother in previous episodes, is the initiator by default, having recognized Sally's absence. Typically she turns to Dick for assistance and it is Dick who subsequently uncovers all essential clues. Again, the hunting of clues facilitates a lexical and syntactic redundancy ("Can you guess what it is?"). The children employ a deductive method to find Sally who, as usual, is engaged in novel and unconventional play. As in Episode 6, the lack of adult intervention eliminates the need for an explicit didactic reiteration: messages regarding who does what, how and in what circumstances are again conveyed by the assignment of agency within the story grammar.

Episode 8 - "Jane Helps": In the kitchen (setting), Dick declares that "I can work. I can help Mother" and Jane agrees that she can



help too (problem/initiating event); Jane begins setting out dishes for the family, counting out four plates (attempt); the family sits down for dinner but is one setting short (consequence); Dick points out Jane's error and laughs at her, pointing out that she has excluded herself (didactic reiteration); Jane gets a plate for herself (reaction).

Commentary: This episode again highlights the notion of work, in this case helping with domestic chores. Although Dick initiates the event with a statement of intent to "work" and "help Mother", he disappears shortly thereafter, leaving Jane to lay out the table. At the actual dinner - Father is again dressed in a double breasted business suit and is the last to be seated - Jane's folly is pointed out once again by Dick, who literally reminds Jane that she is part of the social group: "Dick laughed and laughed. He said, 'Oh Jane! You are funny. You are in this family too.'"

In this case, the 'neglected' middle and female child here has made a cognitive/social error, counting for all members of the family unit but failing to include herself. In her rehearsal for adult female self-sacrifice and self-effacement she has literally become a selfless domestic worker, eradicating her selfhood through labour. Like Sally, she refers to herself in the third person (Jane: "I will get one for Jane too") a discursive habit never employed by mature ego-identities like Father and Dick.

Suitably amused, Jane rectifies the error. Jane is being socialized into a subordinate domestic role and again Dick is the one to initiate, mediate and adjudicate the entire affair. Although the notion of helping and miming adults is reiterated, parents are seen but not heard: it is left to Dick to indicate the error of his younger sister's ways, here assuming Father's role and reassuring Jane of her social role in the family (as domestic helper).

Episode 9 - "A Funny Ride": The family is riding in the car (a gray four door sedan) through the generic community (setting); Father declares that "he wants something for the car" and pulls up to a

service station (initiating event); Sally requests further information (attempt), but Father bids her wait and see (consequence); a uniformed service station attendant, speaking with Father, puts the car on a hoist while the family observes (initiating event 2); Spot and Puff remain in the car and Tim, Sally's teddy bear, sits on the running board (initiating event 3); while Dick observes the attendant undertaking the repair, Sally pleads with Father to rescue the animals (attempt); with Dick narrating, the car is lowered and Sally rescues her teddy bear (consequence); the family reboards the car and father declares it repaired (reaction); the family drives "away".

Commentary: Father is clearly master of the family technology - and on this weekend ride, he is captain, garbed in brown business suit and hat. Dick and Spot ride in the front with Father; Mother attends to the cat, stuffed animals and two female children in the back seat. Sally's problem is apparently the result of having dropped her teddy bear on the running board.

Regarding Father's intervention, his problems/conflicts seem to emerge from three primary sources: children, females and technology. Throughout, Mother and Jane are omitted and the focus is on Sally's despair. Dick remains thoroughly preoccupied with the actions of the mechanic and the machinery involved. Again following Father's lead, Dick acts as a surrogate for his Father, narrating the lowering of the car and interpreting the events for both, Sally and Spot (e.g., "Look Sally! See the car coming down").

The final scene returns Father to the situation. The interesting aspect of this episode is the role exchange which Father and Dick undergo. Both are charged with the male roles of (a) monitoring the repair procedure and, simultaneously (b) allaying the anxieties of Sally. At this stage in his development Dick is aspiring to Father's position in the family.

Summary Comments: These initial nine stories constituted approximately two to three weeks of basic reading and language arts instruction. As such, they provided an introduction to the principal characters and setting, and a

linguistic foundation for subsequent stories and textbooks. Subsequent sections in this first primer present a trip to Grandmother and Grandfather's farm, animal and pet stories, and play with other children. Readers, with Dick and Jane, are introduced to a range of family rituals: the family meal, household labour, the Sunday drive, a visit to the country, the birthday party and so forth.

A coherent relationship between overt ideological content and story grammar emerges. Each narrative conveys an obvious moral lesson. But each is also didactic in a more subtle manner: fundamental patterns are repeated both within and between stories, modelling and illustrating typical behaviors, turns of events, and sequences of action. With the related employment of characters to restate the obvious in didactic reiterations, the text literally interprets itself for the child reader, holding its interpretive uptake in line with its didactic intent and thereby militating against any aberrant readings. Typically, the character interprets his/her experience and the narrative chain of events through an utterance for the (moral) benefit of the other participants, including the child readers.

To illustrate: Jane receives three baby dolls from Mother and Father, Grandmother and Grandfather. This story, like the others, relies on the conceit of repeated action: first Dick and then Sally secretly communicate to family elders what Jane wants for her birthday. Her "reaction" within the story grammar is as follows:

"Oh my!" laughed Jane.  
"Three new dolls!  
Three baby dolls!  
I like baby dolls.  
I wanted one for my birthday.  
Now I have three.  
Now I have a big doll family.  
Thank you, thank you, thank you.

This is a happy, happy birthday."  
(Gray and Arbuthnot, p. 133)

In the reaction component, Jane here signals to the reader her assessment of the chain of events. In this particular didactic reiteration, she indicates to the audience (both the assembled family in the story and assembled student readers) how they are to react and how they are to interpret the story ("I like baby dolls. ... This is a happy, happy birthday"). There is, moreover, a concomitant prescription of social norms for subsequent speech situations (e.g., "Thank you, thank you, thank you"). With this structure of characterial paraphrase and reiteration concluding each story, the reader is invited to identify with the characters, to interpret experience as the characters do, and to mime the character's verbal graces.

Rarely but occasionally, the help of an omniscient narrator is required. For example, Sally's venture onto the bus concludes with "Sally was happy. She said, 'Look at me. I am a big, big girl. I can ride up here,'" (p. 139). Here, by describing Sally's psychological state, the narrator collaborates with Sally to provide a full interpretation of the lesson to be extracted from the text. So in the event the reader missed the authors' preferred interpretation of the story, it is restated explicitly by the character. This effect of leading (and thereby constraining) the child reader is also enhanced throughout by the use of the imperative case by the characters (e.g., Sally: (You) "Look at me!").

The ideological didacticism of the episodes in Fun with Dick and Jane, then, is achieved at the level of literal lessons stated by characters, through verbal modelling, and at the level of the story grammar itself, which instantiates patterns of action and social relations. As shown in Episode 3, "Guess", the lessons yielded on these different levels while complementary,

need not be identical: there the overt lesson concerns gift-giving and self-centered behavior, the covert lesson fixes father/daughter social roles and relations.

As stated by the title, the unifying theme is "fun and play", represented in various typical settings and locales. But this is a kind of play that goes into the making of "efficient" citizens, for beneath the veil of play is the rehearsal of adult social roles and relationships. Sally's predictable wit - her creative rule-breaking - is attributed to naivete, and consequently her socialization into the family unit requires that she be domesticated. This ideological theme correlates with the Deweyian and Meadian maxim that play is not without pedagogical merit and that children learn, develop and grow through creative play, rather than through formal discipline, didactic instruction and hard work.

In this manner, the lessons of Dick and Jane's universe stand centrally within the curricular goals of "progressive adaptation" to social environments, and of creative development, the very essence of Progressivism restated in Departmental curriculum guides (British Columbia Department of Education, 1947, 1954) which so rankled postwar classicists (e.g., Neatby, 1953, pp. 132-54). The kinds of play portrayed - playing house, playing school, "Simon says", hide and seek, guessing games, and cooking - are not gratuitous but rather direct preparations for mature social life. Hence, "adaptation" is selective, a kind of conformity to highly conventionalized authority and gender relationships within the family structure: the text displays parallel but altogether differentiated paths to social development for male and female children. Yet do Dick, Jane, Sally, and their friends model authentic development, change and growth throughout?

The answer to this question lies in the inter-narrative structure of the textbooks. Throughout the basal series, the groups of seven to nine stories are in fact autonomous episodes strung together in similar settings with recurring characters, constituting a closed universe of discursive possibilities, social relations and possible actions. What counts as a legitimate social or linguistic action within these story grammars tends to fall into identifiable patterns repeated even within the narrow confines of the nine episodes sampled: males initiate action, females respond and observe; small children innovate and experiment but are ultimately initiated into a script of conventionalized roles and expectations. There remain points of thinly concealed disagreement and overt competition in play, and at times Dick's condescension to Sally and Jane verges on becoming gloating and hostile but within these patterns overt conflict is never portrayed.

Additionally, inter-narrative cohesion is established through the use of the same characters across episodes and through the repetition of singular attempt --> consequence --> reaction patterns. Stories have a high rate of lexical cohesion: the limited vocabulary is repeated through and across stories, each new story building on vocabulary introduced in previous stories and textbooks (See Section 3.1.). Settings also are sustained: several successive stories begin in the house, at Grandfather's farm, in the larger community.

However, narrative cataphoric and anaphoric references are altogether absent and throughout the series, previous actions and events are not referred to, future events and episodes are not foreshadowed. Each episode, then, essentially operates as an independent (though redundant) story grammar, as a self-contained unit with no stated relation to previous or subsequent

episodes. Basic macropropositional structures are repeated again and again, but without any explicit reference to each other. Consider that neither Dick nor Jane would ever say "this reminds me of yesterday!" Obviously this serves pedagogical purposes, enabling the teaching of a separate story in a distinct, boundaried lesson to be covered within a 20-40 minute time span. But there is more to it than this: the "familiarity" sought by Gray and Arbuthnot is achieved through the repetition of story grammar organization, sentence-level syntax and vocabulary, without the development of any coherent narrative cross-references.

There are significant implications of this text structure qua series of unrelated but similar episodes in terms of character development, thematic continuity and narrative temporality. Each story takes up in "virtual beginning" (Eco, 1979, p. 117), and concludes with complete narrative resolution and closure. In each, the setting is established pictographically, the initiating event occurs, a familiar and recognizable sequence of 'caused' events ensues towards a resolution, and a 'lesson', in case the reader has missed it, is paraphrased in a character's didactic reiteration. The anonymity of place is matched by a similar suspension of time: the passage of time between episodes seems non-existent. Dates and times, seasonal change are omitted altogether. This putative cross-contextuality and universality furthermore is constituted through characterization: without time, characters cannot develop and change either systematically or incrementally. The text provides no evidence that, for instance, Baby Sally brings what she has learned from a previous episode to a new one, or that Jane bears a grudge over being repeatedly ignored or dominated. These episodes, then, hide their temporality and spatial location through their autonomy from each other.

In all, then, the story grammars in these selected narratives are simple, linear, highly redundant and repetitious. As noted, it is the repetition within and between story grammars of particular social relations and actions - rather than the establishment through reference of temporal, spatial or human relations across the episodes - which unifies the text. This kind of didactic priming of particular patterns of social interaction is paralleled by a high degree of lexical and syntactical repetition. The strict control of lexical content, in concert with the provision of pictorial cues throughout, shaped a particular kind of universe: a synthetic culture of children's talk.

### 3.1. The fictitious reality of Dick and Jane

The analysis of selected story grammars from the Curriculum Foundation Readers enabled the identification of typical ideological content in terms of both the overt lessons stated in the texts, and in terms of the actions and social relations expressed through discourse structure. Yet the total fictitious reality of Dick and Jane's further community is expressed through other literary means as well: specifically, through information at the micropropositional level of the word and sentence, and through the extensive use of pictorial information. The identification of the "content segments" which are "articulated in larger sequences according to inferential links" (Eco, 1980, p. 291), enables the detailing of the fictitious reality in question. By "content segments", Eco refers to the elements which together constitute what Van Dijk (1977) called a content "frame". This section categorizes words and meanings and notes literary stylistics in order to indicate how this particular text represents a particular ideological fictitious reality.



As noted in Chapter 2, Gray and Arbuthnot wanted to control the input of new lexis, aiming to ease the developmental transition from oral to textual linguistic competence. Accordingly, the lexical structure of the text reflected a high repetition of key words. Fun with Dick and Jane was built upon a core "pre-primer vocabulary" of 66 words established in We Look and See, We Work and Play, and We Come and Go. To this basic vocabulary, the grade one text added 99 new words. To illustrate: in Episode 1 ("See it Go") 84 words are used. The words "see", "it", "go" and "up" are repeated 6 to 8 times each. As new words are introduced, they too are repeated to reinforce word attack skills and sight vocabulary. A scan of this 84 word structure also highlights how the text establishes narrative action: 66 words (.79) of the text consist of direct speech by characters. The remaining 18 words (.21) are devoted to attribution of dialogue, mainly reiterating the verb "said" (e.g., "Dick said...", "Jane said...").

Herein is the key to the intentional developmental structuring of this early reader. The text as a whole consists of .60 direct speech and attribution; in the sequence of nine episodes examined in the previous section, this level is over .90. It is not until well into the textbook, in episode 9, that the narrator interjects descriptive statements: "Up, up went the car" and "Father went to the car" (p. 44). This minimal narratorial intervention, when not functioning to mark direct speech, is almost exclusively devoted to the (extremely literal and denotative) provision of further visual data to augment pictorial cues (e.g., "Away went the pony").

Where the serial disclosure of information cannot be undertaken through pictures or dialogue, however, the narrator's role must expand. In three animal stories which follow the human-like adventures of Spot, Puff, "Baby

Quack" and other animals, the narrator provides a third person recounting of events, augmented by the speech of intervening human characters. Unlike many characterizations in children's literature, these stories' animal characters are not afforded human voices, remaining restricted to "mew, mew" and other onomatopoeic expressions.

In the larger text, only twice does the narrator describe what even vaguely resembles an inner mental state: "Sally was happy" and "Dick wanted to talk to Grandma". In the latter instance, Dick's motivation, or cognition is described, insofar as a "want" could be said to reflect a cognitive state. For the most part however the narrative manages to operate without third-person observation: "said" and "laughed" are the predominant devices for attributing utterances to speakers. Hence readers are left to ascertain internal responses within the story grammar almost exclusively through characters' utterances and pictured actions.

What then provides contextual information about affect, setting, and spatial/temporal relations? How does the text manage to build a fictitious reality without a total reduction to a set of redundant exchanges between predictable speakers? The key lies in the pictures, which provide an identifiable environment for speakers to gesture and interact within. Following the conventional wisdom that picture books can serve to provide context clues for the making sense of text, the episodes are conveyed in a cohesive admixture of color illustrations and text. The text semantics in the Dick and Jane series rely heavily on the temporal, spatial and intersubjective context established in these pictures, without which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to comprehend the narrative. In this regard, the 1940s and 50s version of the Curriculum Foundation series differs fundamentally from the

earlier Elson-Gray texts of the interwar years. Text with pictures of thirteen colors appears on every page and, unlike earlier basals, there are neither sequences of illustrations without text nor is there text without pictures.

This system of text semantics, contingent on the total graphic and linguistic composition of the textbook qua sign system, was a significant aspect of the evolution of basal series. While the Elson-Gray textbooks often used cartoon-like colorful borders, the pictures in the Dick and Jane readers are without borders (See Appendix A). Consequently, in the latter series the environment - the suburban community, the farm, the backyard, the school yard - is less claustrophobic, conveying a sense of limitless space. For instance, Dick's toy plane appears to be flying off the page altogether; trees and lakes extend off the page; cars and shops extend beyond the page; ceilings are implied but never drawn; and, notably, paths, staircases and playgrounds lead off the page. The sum total of this effect - which is noticeable only by contrast to earlier readers - is a subliminally implied openness of the environment, and hence, of the children's movements and actions. Dick and Jane's universe thus is one of virtual but not actual movement and space.

The 'openness' implied by the text's pictures, however, is connotative rather than denotative. Paradoxically, the 'outside', the pictorially implied world beyond the boundaries of the the printed page, remains merely implied: neither real places, nor settings are textually (verbally) referred to. What one sees (and hears) is what one gets. Within this textually bracketed universe, all specific locales are generic; that is, service stations, schools, farms, streets, and zoos are not commercially identified or labelled. Whether this portrayal of an unbounded yet anonymous universe is fulfilled in

the range of human actions and intersubjective relationships is, however, another matter.

These narratives thus rely on graphic cues similar to comic books: it is through pictures that this universe becomes fully inhabited and animated. Pictured but not named is an entire array of inanimate objects (e. g., telephone, books, newspaper, picture book, sandbox, various toys, furniture, gas pumps and garage in the service station, bus, various shop facades, barn, school) and human subjects (e. g., the uniformed bus driver, a middle-aged woman on the bus, the uniformed service station attendant). All are generic. Within this sign system, clothing acts as a cue for character traits. Each character has an extremely limited and color coded wardrobe (e. g., Mother in pastel house dresses, Father in dark suits, Dick in dark shorts and striped knit and cotton shirts, girls in single-color dresses, frocks and sweaters).

This reliance on pictorial cues, in conjunction with the emphasis on dialogue and direct speech, compensates for the lack of volume and variety of nouns and adjectives. And if we combine these portrayed but not named objects with objects and individuals named in the text, a total picture of Dick and Jane's environment emerges. The dramatis personae reads as follows: Dick, Jane, Sally, Father, Mother, service station attendant, Grandfather, Grandmother, Jack and Susan, three to ten unnamed (and in some cases, faceless) children without speaking parts, the bus driver, and the middle-aged woman on the bus. Animals include Spot (dog), Puff (kitten), Tim (stuffed bear), and unnamed horses, ponies, dogs, cats, kittens, "Little Quack", "Little Rabbit" and five zoo animals including a kangaroo. In addition to the inanimate objects portrayed, improper nouns used include: "cookies", "toys",

"dolls", "tail", "boy", "girl", "friend", "school", "eggs", "house", "barn".

Within this universe the characters' actions are constituted by the use of simple and direct verbs. If indeed story grammars represent particular syntaxes of social action, verbs function at the micropropositional level to describe and constitute actions, as lexical indicators of intersubjectivity. In accordance with the aforementioned dissolution of real time, the present tense is predominant, with occasional variation of the simple past and future tenses. The high frequency verbs in Fun with Dick and Jane mainly express physical action (e.g., "have", "ride", "go", "sit", "run", "eat", "jump", "make", "do", "get") and observation (e.g., "look", "see"). Only two verbs could be seen to express cognitive or psychological action ("find", "guess"), and again this would seem to coincide with the text's omission of the cognate, the physically invisible.

To ascertain the particular inner states and perspectives on the world of the characters a similar surveying of adjectives and adverbs can be undertaken. These include words which describe qualitative mental and emotional states ("good", "happy", "fun", "well"), characteristics of physical objects (e.g., "good", "new"), size, primary color and speed (e.g., "fast", "baby", "little", "white", "black", "yellow", "blue" and "red").

The cognitive operations of the personae, then, are restricted in the main to basic pro-social emotions (fear, hatred, anger are omitted altogether) and the empirical observation of sense data. Notably, children never use intentional predicates which specify thought (e.g., think, understand) and dialogue is devoid of argument, metaphor, irony or other figurative and strategic uses of language which might indicate or encourage speculation on internal responses, plans and cognition. The resultant preoccupation with the

tangible and the immediate complements the thematic onus on immediate behavior and social interaction. The aforementioned verbs and adjectives are matched by verbs which mark desire and possession ("want", "like", "have"), forms of social interaction ("help", "work", "play") and individual expression ("say", "laugh"). These tend to underscore the theme of 'harmonious' adaptation to existing social relations.

A range of other speech acts model rules of social decorum and authority: the social actions of giving and receiving ("please" and "thank you"), greeting and departing ("hello" and "goodbye"), and obligation/obedience (e.g., "must") are enacted. These generally appear in conjunction with a particular set of social rituals pictorially or topically portrayed: e.g., shaking hands, getting service for the car, giving and receiving gifts, food preparation and table conduct, respect for the aged, riding the bus.

Given strict limitations to a lexicon of 159 words, the detail and complexity of the fictitious reality conveyed in Fun with Dick and Jane are remarkable, particularly in light of the noted omissions of verisimilitudinous settings, human subjects, actions and emotions. The fictitious reality could be said to represent Gray and Arbuthnot's version of the possible world of the reader: a clapboard house, white-washed fence, straight walkway, treed and turfed garden, all within driving distance of the Grandparents. All of this is located demographically within a clean, orderly community where citizens come and go like clockwork.

But the outstanding top-level, generic trait of this particular narrative world structure was its construction with minimal narration, through pictures and dialogue. Gray's aim was to create simple narrative reproductions of children's lived, experienced oral language and social

interaction. Operating from core word lists, Gray and other American and Canadian textbook authors (see Section 4.1.) felt that by structuring text language around children's dialogue they could construct texts in which the themes, portrayals of social interaction and very words would not have to be acquired, but merely recognized. This reproduction of direct speech would bridge the gap between the oral language competence and the understanding of the social world the child brought to school and the official textual language of early literacy training.

Yet while Gray may have captured much of the vocabulary children commonly use, the regularity and simplicity of syntactical structure combine with the wooden attributions to preclude naturalism. Fun with Dick and Jane was not, and could not have been interpreted as 'real' speech: it was centered on fabricated dialogue with high repetitions and unnatural, non-idiomatic expression.

Generalizing from more recent sociolinguistic studies of the spread and distribution of dialects (e.g., Stubbs, in press; Ferguson and Heath, 1981), this version of standard American English probably was rationalized as common among particular classes and regional groups. Yet the stilted artificiality of the dialogue would have been unrecognizable even to these children. Gray and Arbuthnot's representation of direct speech lacks the patterns which characterize authentic conversation: never does a misfire, false start or local idiomatic usage occur. Carroll's (1978) comments on more recent basal series seems apt: "The language of most primers and 'basal readers' is far short of what most children can handle in lexical and grammatical complexity". What seems clear is that while Fun with Dick and Jane reproduced the lexis of many children, its fictions - aiming at mimesis - were inaccurate

representations of children's natural speech and most children's sociocultural milieux.

To review: Gray and Arbuthnot did not provide any explicit authorial intervention. The author/narrator, the constructor and judge for the reader of this particular universe was absent, speaking only through his/her characters. In lieu of providing information on motive, cause, possible outcomes, psychological state, the narrator's presence only serves to denote motion in and through a physical universe pictured through text graphics (e.g., "Away, away went the Cat" (where?), "Father went to his car" (why?), "Dick and Jane went to the barn" (to do what?)). And even then, describing human movement through space, the narrator in fact assumes the same repetitive voice, developmental limitations, and epistemological vantage point as Dick. Dick may indeed be the narrator. In this sense, the narrative never makes its status as authored artifice transparent to the reader. The text has been stripped of the narrative conventions of children's literature, which have been used to situate the tale in time (e.g., "Once upon a time") and space (e.g., "In a universe far far away") relative to the teller and hearer.

In the Curriculum Foundation Readers a curious and historically unprecedented genre of text emerges: 1) it was devoid of poetic tropes (metaphors, similies, story language); 2) it was without an explicit or sustained narratorial/authorial presence; 3) its serial disclosure of story schemata and contextual information was driven by dialogue and pictures. Ironically, by aiming to reproduce direct speech Gray effectively removed the literacy text from the oral tradition. There is no epic poet, no story teller, no story language to make the audience aware of the artifice, no sense of historical lineage or tradition and location is limited to a generic North



American space and time. Gray created a composite artificial version of natural language, and in so doing he created a new kind of literature.

This literary form is characterized by micropropositional and macropropositional repetition. In the text designed for the maximum number of opportunities to practice word recognition, the same ideas and themes were repeated over and over again. Through the use of repetition at the multiple levels of lexicon, sentence syntax, and story grammar a total didacticism is achieved. Even given its "secular humanist" values, this kind of text may have been a less overt but perhaps more effective transmitter of ideological values and rules for life than the previous generations of literary and moral textbooks. The sheer thematic repetition of play, fun, family, politeness, respect and the like coalesce at multiple levels of coding to present a particular ideological fictional reality.

What remains resembles a cartoon: a series of vignettes or scenes, of repeated actions and words, of speakers interacting in a visually/graphically displayed social environment. The words one reads are what Dick et al. say to each other, not the words of the storyteller which remind us that this is indeed a tale. If the authors' goal was the portrayal of "vicarious experience", in one sense they succeeded: in this universe of developing social speakers/actors, this pure unsullied dialogue could be construed as a kind of postwar modernist realism. But unlike cinematic realism, it does not follow the eye; unlike psychological realism, it does not reveal mental states, emotion or motive; unlike naturalist realism, it does not focus on ecosystemic relations. Rather it is an didactic sanction of certain social relations and attitudes, a portrayal and transmission of patterns of language and interaction between child and child, child and parent, child and

grandparent.

It is perhaps too easy to surmise that the fictitious reality which resulted was chauvinistic, myopic and prescriptive: indeed, Gray's utopian vision of growing up in America was reappraised critically by sociologists like C. Wright Mills and novelists like Sinclair Lewis. But Dick and Jane were unsubstantial as children's literature. As Bettelheim and Zelan note, traditionally valued fairy tales, poetry and biblical stories - overt ideological content notwithstanding - offered children a richness of language and imaginativeness of content which the modern "controlled" basal, predictable and located in the perpetual present, could not.

### 3.2. One world: The world structures of the text

The linguistic properties of these children's textbooks, then, joined with pictorially presented information to portray a total fictional reality. In turn the particular ideological values, beliefs, social understandings and orientations to action which constituted this reality were rendered official through their inclusion in a formally prescribed and taught textbook.

Yet this sanctioned version of culture, intersubjectivity and childhood is but one of the multiple possible worlds entailed in the text's authorship and readership. How these worlds are juxtaposed and valued relative to each other can rely on the use of particular discourse options by the author. For instance, an active and intervening narrator can encourage the reader to assume a divergent perspective on a particular portrayed world. The story within a story frame of the traditional fairy or folk tale, to take another example, can alter the reader's perceptions of the fictitious reality presented and of the framing environment within which the storyteller is telling the story. The ultimate interpretation, acceptance, rejection and mediation of

the portrayed version of culture, therefore, is subject to the way that a given narrative situates that portrayed world in relation to the other worlds it projects and assumes.

While the text's sentences indeed stand as "recipes for building possible worlds" (Olson, 1986), they also mediate relationships between possible worlds. The portrayed fictitious reality necessarily stands to some degree in divergence with the authors' and readers' actual reality (Kuroda, 1976; Eco, 1979). Defining a possible world as "a possible state of affairs" and/or "a possible course of events" expressed by a set of inferentially linked textual propositions (p. 219), Eco further argues that readers' ability to comprehend and interpret is constrained by the "possible facts of our actual world" (p. 12), as well as by how and to what degree the text "invites" the reader to use that background knowledge and to speculate on the diversity of the characters' thoughts. So seen, interpretation is conditional, bounded by the contingent conditions of possibility in the reader's actual milieu and by the relative degrees of "freedom" (p. 19) the text invites and enables.

Readers' experience and understanding of the text, then, involves a dialectical tension between their real worlds and their capacity to abstract beyond those worlds, for the construction of meanings proceeds from and may negate readers' actual senses of (psychological, social and physical) reality.

While textual narratives may entail the unitary projection of a single fictitious reality, then, readership relies on the juxtaposition and layering of multiple possible realities:

... the text is not a possible world nor is the plot. It is a piece of furniture in the world in which the reader also lives, and it is a machine for producing possible worlds (of the fabula, of the characters within the fabula, and of the reader outside of the fabula). (Eco, 1979, p. 246)

Eco here points out that even the most rudimentary of textual narratives calls a range of possible worlds into play, and it is through the interplay of explicitly portrayed and implicitly presupposed realities that messages emerge from a reading. For example, a densely layered literary text (e.g., Joyce's Ulysses, or even a more popular work like Vonnegut's Slaughterhouse Five) attempts to create a field between portrayed realities and the fantasies projected by the characters. Correlatively, it presumes a prior knowledge of those realities on the part of readers, that they have access to schematic repertoires consisting in part of a range of previously portrayed worlds and characters. Literary allusion thus operates as a kind of intertextual cataphoric and anaphoric device, referring to previous texts and readings and laying the grounds for subsequent readings of other texts (Eco, p. 19). These are played off against the primary backdrops of the authors' real and ideal senses of reality, the characters' real and imagined possible worlds, and what the author presumes the reader has experienced and will experience.

While all texts presume and interrelate diverse world structures, they may or may not - depending on their literary and pedagogical intents - draw interpretation into line with a confirmation of the portrayed fictitious reality. This insight often has escaped those curricular critics who single out portrayed (ideological) worlds for criticism, inasmuch as many condemnations of the political content of particular texts have been premised on the assumption that the portrayed world is the didactically sanctioned or approved world. It would be naive to assume, however, that Orwell's fictional reality in 1984 was portrayed favorably. As noted, many texts rely on the very divergence between textually generated reality and readers' realities, or between portrayed reality and characters' hopes and aspirations, to question

the moral or ideological worth of the portrayed world.

The literal gloss of selected story grammars, stylistics and ideological content of the text completed, a further examination of how the Dick and Jane texts project and juxtapose possible worlds against the portrayed fictional reality is in order. For this purpose, the analysis turns to a detailed examination of "The New Family", a story from the reader which grade 1 and 2 students proceeded to after completing Fun with Dick and Jane, Our New Friends. In the following discussion, the story grammar is outlined, the implied and portrayed worlds charted, and implications for readership noted.

From their backyard (setting), Dick and Jane watch six workmen refurbishing the house next door (initiating event 1). Jane asks, "Who will come to live in it?" (problem/goal). Dick deduces from the size of the house that it will be a large family (internal response/attempt 1). Jane hopes for girls for her to play with (internal response/attempt 2/elaboration of 1); Dick hopes for boys (hypothesis/attempt 3/elaboration of 1). "One day", Jane observes a moving van with men unloading toys. Noting a doll house and dolls she views this as proof of her hypothesis (consequence 1). Dick sees toy horses and views this as proof of his hypothesis (consequence 2). A blue car pulls up and a young well dressed couple emerge. To Dick and Jane's despair, they are without children (consequence 3/refutation of all previous hypotheses). A black car pulls up and a Grandfather and Grandmother emerge (consequence 4/refutation as in 3); following are a boy and girl dressed similarly, and resembling Dick and Jane (consequence 5/confirmation of internal responses/attempts 1/2); Grandmother introduces the children, Peter and Ellen, to Dick and Jane (consequence 6). Jane introduces Spot to Peter and Ellen, declaring "This is our dog Spot. He wants to say hello. He wants to say hello to our new friends" (reaction/didactic reiteration).

"The New Family" is a considerably more complex story than any presented in Fun with Dick and Jane: clearly, lexicon, concepts and complexity of story grammar increase incrementally throughout this, and other basal series. Here, for instance, the passage of time elapsed in the narrative extends beyond the actual reading time (e.g. "One day"). The portrayed problem is mental rather than behavioral, enabling readers to glimpse Dick and Jane's imaginations and

aspirations. The story grammar resembles that of a mystery novel: Dick and Jane hypothesize, attempting to use clues to solve what is presented as an anomaly in their community/universe. As in Fun with Dick and Jane, the action of the characters stands as a parallel invitation to the child reader to forecast as well. The actual story grammar, then, bears potential for the juxtaposition of other possible worlds against Dick and Jane's lived sociocultural milieu.

The pivotal choices presented by a textual narrative to the reader can be delineated in terms of similarity and difference: typically the modern novel, for example, uses the potential of text to layer, interrelate and refer to a range of possible worlds through the exercise of a range of discourse options. In Dickensian novels, for instance, readers may distinguish the world of the author (W1), from the ideal world envisaged by the author (W2), from the version of Victorian England implied by the text (W3), from the portrayed worlds of the characters (W4). There is no necessary identity among W1, W2, W3, and W4. Add to this the possible worlds embodied by scenarios of future actions, fantasies and dreams of the characters (W5), and the world experience and knowledges which Dickens assumed his readers would have (W6). In the case of modernist narratives, like those of Joyce and Kafka, the very conflation and possible combination of (polysemous) possible worlds, enables an "opening" of the text to diverse and potentially conflicting interpretations.

To take a simpler example, a traditional fairy tale like Cinderella relies on the difference between Cinderella's portrayed existence from her projected ideal, invoking the imagination of the reader accordingly. Modern children's narratives by Dahl, Lobel and others juxtapose possible worlds through a range of literary techniques. For example, Lobel's Frog and Toad

(1981) stories while pitched at a primer level audience nonetheless employ such literary devices as stories within stories, dream and stream of consciousness sequences to portray and invite the further construction of imaginative possible worlds. While readers, particularly child readers, may not be conscious of the positing and interrelation of world structures occurring in the text, how such structures are interrelated can encourage or discourage speculative interpretation, inasmuch as "the pragmatic process of interpretation is not an empirical accident independent of the text qua text, but it is a structural element of its generative process" (Eco, p. 19).

In "The New Family", a range of possible worlds are implied in the narrative structure:

- W1 = The authors' real world
- W2 = The authors' ideal world
- W3 = The implied state of the real world referred to by the text
- W4 = Dick and Jane's world portrayed by the text
- W5 = The world projected/predicted by Dick and Jane on the arrival of the family
- W6 = The readers' world as projected by the author/text
- W7 = The readers' actual world
- W8 = The readers' projected/predicted world of Dick and Jane on arrival of the family

In the narrative, the range of possible worlds is narrowed progressively: the text invites the reader to speculate, but then, as Eco's "closed text", begins inexorably asserting "its rights as a text" to "say without ambiguity what is to be taken as 'true' in this fictional world" (Eco, p. 34). That is, instead of leading towards "pluriprobability", the text structure consists of a linear movement towards closing down interpretive possibilities. To begin with, W4

is equated with W5: Dick and Jane, verbally forecasting the arrival of a new family, are engaged in projective identification of their own ego identities onto the generalized other. That is, the possible world they imagine and predict reflects their deepest desires, for someone like themselves to play with. Competing versions of W5 are introduced: Jane hopes for a female counterpart and Dick for a male.

In all, the narrative synthesizes into a unitary version of these ostensibly alternative possible worlds. Apparently, Dick and Jane are characteristically unable to disembed, with W5 standing as a narcissistic self-projection (later confirmed as valid) of W4. One can only assume that Spot as well is hoping for a new dog of identical pedigree.

In terms of its pedagogical function for an intended audience, Gray and Arbuthnot's "high interest" text can be taken on its word: that ideally W4 will bear some resemblance to W6, that the student readers will find in Dick and Jane versions of themselves represented and thereby recognize familiar patterns and language. To further the equation, by extension W5 = W8: the sensibilities portrayed are similar to those of readers, and readers are encouraged to share Dick and Jane's forecasts. The literary effect here is the cancelling of potentially divergent possible worlds into a single (highly ideological) fictitious reality. The text directs the reader towards the singular version of culture: the formal prescriptive equation of the world portrayed in and by the text, with the world sought by the characters, with the knowledges and aspirations of the reader.

This is certainly common narrative practice, to generate a set of semantic equations in the hope that empathy and solidarity with the characters will result. Hemingway's use of long passages of quotation, for instance,



force the reader to adopt the epistemic position of the main characters. Where the narrator steps in to provide further information, his/her voice is markedly similar to that of the protagonist. Accordingly, the author's world view is intentionally aligned with that of his male protagonists. But narratives, particularly children's narratives, may invoke an autonomous, if obviously opinionated narrator who, if not an actual character in the story, through his/her omniscience implies or situates a third person perspective and value position extrinsic to the portrayed characters' universe.

Such an explicit narratorial presence - which provides contextual information, a running commentary on actions, transitions, and also describes the inner working of characters, motivations for actions, circumstantial information hidden from characters and so forth - enables readers to hypothesize W1 as different from W2, from W3, from W4, to differentiate the authors' real/actual world from their perspective on that world, from the portrayed world, and from the state of the 'real' world it implies. The established disjunctions between authors', narrators' and characters' epistemological perspectives, then, can make more explicit the authorship of the text and hence render the text more criticizable (cf. Olson, 1977).

In the case of Dick and Jane's tale, however, the relationships both within the text and between author and reader are effectively run together in a set of simple equations. It is assumed by the author that the reader's possible world is similar to the portrayed world. Moreover the characters within that portrayed world are apparently unable to envision anything other than more of the same. In this manner the relationships in the text (and the paradigmatic cultural ones they imply) may act to cancel any divergent or conflicting cultural understandings (and competing ideologies) invoked by the

reader. This literary effect is generated by the discursive options exercised in the narrative: the omission of an explicit third person perspective and the resultant implication of an author's voice autonomous from that of the characters'. The sum result Eco would call "ideological overcoding". All potentially different but related worlds, portrayed, real and implied, are joined in the text to become one, leading the reader (and Dick and Jane) back to the portrayed reality as 'correct' and constraining the possibility that the reader may 'second guess' the text.

This portrayed world is highly invariable. Social conflict, ethnicity, cultural difference and divergent courses of action are absent. Here Dick and Jane (and apparently the authors) seem incapable of projecting difference and divergence. Instead of functioning as a fantasy - a decontextualized representation of another community and another time - the world of Dick and Jane is absolutely serious: the "once upon a time" is now and the characters are the student readers. Readers are reminded of this in the closing story: Dick's class is portrayed sitting in a reading group studying basal reading storybooks with a teacher. The text not only prescribes the conditions for its own reception and its model readers but, through omission and the use of the variety of literary devices examined above, it offers up this particular social reality as the only possible childhood within the dominant culture.

### 3.3. The mythology of the modern family

How ideology is coded at the level of the structure of the sign is explicated by Barthes (1957/1982) and Eco (1979) in their analyses of the nature of myth in modern popular culture. It is Barthes' contention that certain signs and symbols of mass culture serve a complementary function to

myth in primitive cultures. Like authentic myth, these portrayals serve to justify the ways of the sociocultural system to the populace, offering plausibility structures for the apprehension of everyday life. Modern "mythologies", however, are forms of "depoliticized speech" with the capacity to "naturalize" (1957/1982, p. 116) and thereby render palatable the historical, the ideological and the artificial for a populace of "myth consumers". He calls this a "conjuring trick" (p. 131):

What the world supplies to myth is a historical reality, defined, even if this goes back quite a while, by the way in which men have produced or used it; and what myth gives in return is a natural image of this reality. And just as bourgeois ideology is defined by the abandonment of the name "bourgeois", myth is constituted by the loss of the historical quality of things: in it, things lose the memory that they once were made. (p. 131)

Barthes construes myth as a structural metasignification, showing how, in various modern mythologies, the structure of coded information comments upon the literal or object level message. What it signifies can be broken down into a literal paraphrase, what Eco calls an ideological "axiom". But its power rests on its interplay of structure and message. When a message is accordingly "implicit in its metasignification", it becomes more subtle, subliminal and ultimately more effective at "glossing over an intentional concept" (p. 116).

Ideology can be coded in modern mythology at two interrelated levels: at the literal level of the concept (axiom, theme, value, world view) and at the level of its deep structure, in the very principles which govern its organized expression. "The very principle of myth" is its "transformation of history into Nature" (p. 116) and to achieve this it must hide its very artifice. But, Barthes reminds us, "myth encounters nothing but betrayal in language, for language can only obliterate the concept if it hides it, or unmask it if

it formulates it" (p. 116). Close scrutiny of the linguistically coded myth can "unveil or ... liquidate the concept". Eco (p. 147) argues further that "the analysis of temporal structures" in textually inscribed myths can reveal "the image of a way of telling stories which would seem to be fundamentally tied to pedagogical principles that govern ... society".

In postwar society, a range of texts of popular culture - television, mass education, print advertising, radio - increasingly superseded more traditional community, political and religious rituals as a source for the maintenance of ideological control and legitimacy (cf. Kellner, 1982, pp. 133-4). Institutions which sustain a selective cultural tradition conceal the ideological character of that selectivity: presenting as "natural" a "particular way of seeing the world and human nature and relationships" (p. 146). The modern ideological mythologies forwarded gloss over difference, representing ideological consensus as somehow natural, where such consensus may in fact not exist, or representing as "timeless" fundamental expressions of certain properties of the human mind, and "even of basic mental or psychological human organization" (Williams, 1976, p. 212). Correlatively, such signs/symbols/texts may socialize their addressees into systems of social relations and social organization required by the dominant culture (e.g., the modern family as social institution (cf. Williams, pp. 131-4)).

Within a closed textual schema, Dick and Jane are presented as mythological characters: that is, they are cultural archetypes, "totalities of certain collective properties and aspirations" (Eco, p. 108). Dick, for instance, is mischievous, helpful, respectful of parental and community authority, disdainful of females, kind to animals and paternalistic towards his little sister, cooperative (and competitive) in play and enthusiastic at

work. As such he is an "emblematic" figure: these characteristics remain fixed and easily recognizable. Dick and Jane become phantom representations of a 1950s Everychild.

The mythological Dick and Jane, like Eco's Superman, are taken through a series of obstacles, and time is literally suspended throughout. The passage of time, and hence character growth and development, is marked only by repetition rather than elaboration of rudimentary discursive structures (and hence, intersubjective relations). Episodes string together causal chains, and time is marked only by an overcoming of or unknotting of successive problematic situations. We have no evidence, for instance, that Dick or Jane learn from these situations or change as a result of them, for both children are portrayed statically. The desired values are there at the onset and remain throughout.

Accordingly, characters' recognizability is heightened by virtue of the fact that they begin each set scheme with the the same characteristics, traits and attributes.

A series of events repeated according to a set scheme (iteratively, in such a way that each event takes up again from a sort of virtual beginning, ignoring where the preceeding event left off) is nothing new in popular narrative. ... Nor are we dealing only with a schematism in the order of a 'plot', but with a fixed schematism involving the same set of sentiments and the same psychological attitudes. (Eco, pp. 117-18)

Herein lies a central paradox in the "mythic characters" of the "closed text". As Eco notes - following Aristotle - the passage of events in narrative implies the passage of time: the passage of time implies change, growth, aging, development on the part of the human or human-like subjects within a given narrative. Accordingly, Eco argues that characters are "consumable" within narratives. By contrast, the "mythic" character defies consumption,

defies change, and conveniently can be resurrected in each succeeding episode intact, unchanged, and hence, recognizable.

Within this pattern of familiarity, each episode from these readers involves roughly the same set of sentiments and psychological attitudes. The pictographic and orthographic cues of the text are intended to connote familiarities, rather than to present new and varied situations. And the episodic structure becomes what Eco calls an "iterative" series, each event is repeated according to a set scheme and each takes up in virtual beginning, ignoring contingencies of environmental and individual change which occur in 'real' and 'open' settings and texts. Moreover, the "inferential walks" invited by the story grammar, encouraged by the serial disclosure of semantic information, are few, excessively guided by the authors, and limited to predictable or gratuitous outcomes. Hence, this iterative scheme, consisting of a recurrent repertoire of topoi - stock situations, stock reactions - both breeds and satisfies what Eco calls a "hunger for redundancy" (p. 120). Pointing to the success of other texts of popular culture, Eco argues that this kind of archetype working his/her way through thoroughly familiar territory does not lead readers to a state of boredom but conversely creates in them a further dependency, a hunger for repetition.

Eco would have it that all of the characters of popular literature, James Bond, Wonder Woman, Superman and so forth, are similar emblematic figures. Closed texts rely on a pattern of mere recognition of previously encountered characteristics. Thus, Eco concludes, the character is "consumed" but not understood, the pattern of semantic disclosure of the text encourages readers to recognize rather than understand.

How did this particular official mythology - the white-washed world of

Dick and Jane, of untroubled Progressive childhood, of the simplified nuclear family - fit into the postwar child's broader discursive universe of images and understandings? The postwar culture industry - armed with that new medium of television - forwarded a range of complementary mythological images of the family and childhood which resembled both in content and form Gray and Arbuthnot's creations. Commenting on the television of the era, Gitlin (1982) and Kellner (1982) note that the family situation comedy/drama - like Dick and Jane readers - re-presented and justified for an international audience the emergent ideology of everyday life in industrial democracy. Certainly there are striking schematic likenesses between Dick and Jane's universe and that of programs like Father Knows Best, the prototype for the weekly family parable/drama. The lineage extended through The Donna Reed Show, Leave it to Beaver, My Three Sons, all broadcast in Canada as well as the U.S. The modern day exemplar, rerun after school hours for the consumption of the student audience, is The Brady Bunch.

Like Dick and Jane, each story does not begin where the last episode left off, but rather in virtual beginning. By contrast, while the modern soap opera relies on inter-episode continuity, each beginning in media res and reinitiating a process of serial disclosure, the characters in family dramas are the same week after week. Rarely does the audience glimpse character evolution or growth: Beaver makes similar mistakes week after week, Eddie Haskell is nasty week after week, neither seems capable of growth and development. Largely, plots consisted of simple goal/problem solving activities on the part of children. And, as in Dick and Jane, play, work, and other developmental activities are of focal importance, each concluding with some sort of parable or moral articulated by Mom, Dad or the character

him/herself for the family and youth audience. Yet despite the moralizing tone of these narratives, it is as if the characters are never able to carry the learning which has occurred from one episode to the next.

Actions are set in a mid and late 1950s idealized suburb (Universal Studio) which is never named and without conflict or violence. These texts of popular culture graphically illustrate the same basic semantic structures (in a different communications medium) noted in Dick and Jane: a strict delimitation of possible worlds to be envisioned by readers/viewers and characters and a flattening out of the characters such that their interaction with the environment becomes wholly schematized and predictable. In all, they close down the conceptualization of alternative courses of action, alternative possible worlds. Action/reaction/interaction: the sum total of syntaxes of human action in these postwar utopias are contingent on a reduction or elimination of any real or authentic human characteristics.

Gitlin (1982) furthermore remarks that this particular genre of youth portrayal - within idealized family units, in suburban environments of inexact or mythical specification - was not superseded until the mid 1960s, when the first of the "social issues" series was developed by Norman Lear and others in the United States. Dick and Jane were by no means exclusively determining factors in the development of readers' attitudes and beliefs, for there is always overlap between the myths of popular culture in a given period. Texts of a variety of media complement, reiterate and perhaps contradict each other. All were manifestations of the possibility of the mass production of discourse. All were forms of standardized discourse themselves. The foregoing analysis has identified some points of convergence both at the level of overt ideological message, and at the level of discourse structure.



All as well prescribed the conditions of their own reception, actually working at remaking the human subjects which they took as their objects. Closed texts "presuppose an average reader ... in the same way an advertisement chooses its possible audience" (Eco, p. 18). Mowitt (1979) locates the power of modern mythology in this, its ability to recast its viewers/readers in its own image. In a critical analysis of The Mickey Mouse Club, another social text of the 1950s, Mowitt describes how a (video) message structure makes for the social organization of its own reception. The possible world of the Mouseketeers - Mouseland - is idealized perhaps to the point of portraying an "alternative set of social relations". There exist another set of mythological characters - Jimmy (head Mouseketeer), Big Roy, Annette (who later appeared in Beach Blanket Bingo with Frankie Avalon), Spin and Marty, and of course the Disney cartoon characters - with almost as extensive an audience as Dick and Jane. Mowitt describes the ritual of watching The Mickey Mouse Club: wearing their mouse ears and t-shirts, viewers crowded around the small black and white screens of the 1950s in martial array, watching the Mouseketeers watch them. He argues that the structure of this particular myth/message of popular culture made for the social organization of its reception. What Mowitt's analysis brings into focus is how the message structure and content can prescribe the context and the character of its own reception. The final scene in Fun with Dick and Jane, with children arrayed in a reading group studying their basal texts, provides a similar image.

What kind of readership might Gray's fictions have engendered among its audience? Indeed, the obvious criticism of the semantic structure of the Dick and Jane readers is that it presumes that the reader's lived experience, and

encyclopedia of "possible worlds" is akin to the possible worlds portrayed in the text. Clearly, for those children whose backgrounds diverged, the text would have been less accessible and more "irrelevant", to borrow the key word of 1970s curricular criticism. Indeed, the case that such basals discriminate against non-mainstream children's experience by failing to recognize and represent their background knowledge is at the crux of both liberal and NeoMarxist critiques.

But it is not a simple matter of convergence or nonconvergence of the readers' possible worlds with the possible worlds of the text. It is quite tenable that a steady diet of highly contextual, relevant texts may in fact inhibit readers from disembedding, from engaging fantasy and imagination (cf. Egan, 1979, 1986). The implication of this perspective on the developmental acquisition of schemata and possible worlds is that literate development requires an enhancement of one's semantic encyclopedia, an elaboration of existing schemata. Accordingly, such texts may not only discriminate against non-mainstream learners, but may as well preclude literate development of mainstream learners (de Castell and Luke, in press).

Eco (pp. 224-5) points out that convergence/nonconvergence may be but one aspect of "schematic accessibility" of the text. In the closed "high redundancy" text (p. 120) the story grammar can be so dictatorial and delimiting in its representation of the familiar, in the extent to which it leans on and triggers the reader's life context, that it may effectively constrain comprehension and criticism. This is precisely what occurs in Gray and Arbuthnot's assemblage. The basal readers of the 1950s may have acted to close down interpretive possibilities of the reader. Lacking allusion, connotation, and nonliteral inference, missing temporal and spatial deixis,

omitting a critical narratorial voice, they preclude the reader from expanding/testing his or her schematic repertoire, of constructing and overlaying multiple possible worlds. By portraying and modelling a universe of speakers (rather than thinkers), this effect is compounded. These textbooks expressed little about the possibilities of self-reflection or even the strategic use of oral language as mediating factors in social relations. Following Williams' explanation of the dilution of message for mass media audience, by attempting "to speak to everychild", moreover, such texts may have succeeded in addressing no one (cf. de Castell and Luke, 1983).

In the foregoing chapter, story grammar analysis enabled the identification of patterns of macropropositional and semantic redundancy in these exemplary postwar basal reading series. This analysis confirms and reinforces the aforementioned observations of the ideological bias of these readers. But it does so in a way which enables us to begin explaining how that bias is achieved and its possible effects. Specifically, representations of intersubjectivity coded at the level of story schemata are repeated within and across episodes, constituting a subliminal and powerful didacticism. While story grammar analysis does not enable identification of the actual teaching and learning which transpired, it does enable the identification of overall semantic/literary structures which constrain readership.

What does the closed text teach? The implication of the foregoing analysis is that texts teach a set of interpretive strategies, in Eco's words, a "code" which will in turn be utilized in the processing of subsequent texts. Eco also argues that texts prescribe their "model readers" (p. 17), creating a further dependency on certain ideological contents, discourse structures and literary conventions. What might have been the characteristic ideological

effects of the code of Dick and Jane? The calculating reduction of semantic and lexical variability in the text, while it may have enhanced word recognition, also contributed to a reduction in semantic possibility. The causal, linear and episodic nature of the text does not encourage speculative transformations of the story grammar, the authentic interaction of children's background knowledge with the portrayed reality of the text. The text is not structured "in such a way that each individual addressee can refashion the original composition devised by the author" (p. 49) to even the most minimal extent. Hence, what children acquired were special purpose schemata, a set stock of interpretive strategies for the 'correct' consumption of this particular kind of text: the school reader.

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Chapter 4. CANADIAN CONTENT:  
THE DIFFERENCE THAT MAY HAVE MADE A DIFFERENCE

4.0. Changing assumptions of textbook authorship:  
Nationalism in the elementary curriculum

As a legacy of Lord Durham's 19th century report condemning U.S. textbooks in Canada, there remains continuing complaint against the use of American curricular materials in Canadian schools (e.g., Lorimer, 1984). Canadian curriculum historian George Tomkins (1981, p. 165) traces the growing "Americanization" of Canadian curricula and an increasingly vocal nationalist response in the 1950s:

The considerable Americanization of Canadian curricula since the mid-1950s, a process which undermined the old colonial curriculum in anglophone Canada, provoked a reaction in the form of demands for more Canadian content.

The lack of explicit identification of settings, cultural activities and history in texts like Fun with Dick and Jane and Our New Friends certainly led to the omission of anything which could have been construed as distinctively Canadian. By the 1950s several reading and language arts textbook series conscientiously attempted to represent for Canadian children distinctive aspects of Canadian sociocultural ideology and history. But did alterations in curricular content make a difference? As Tomkins (1977, 1981, 1984) has noted, the American technical/scientific approach to curriculum making crossed the border to Canada during the interwar years. Alteration of overt ideological content notwithstanding, whether there was a substantial difference between Canadian and American learning materials in conception, development, linguistic and literary structure may be another matter altogether.

In what follows, the responses of Canadian educators, public figures and

publishers to texts like Gray and Arbuthnot's is sampled. This description of changing conditions of textbook generation provides an historical backdrop for a critical analysis of the ideological content of selected texts from the other reading series principally used in British Columbia in the 1950s, The Canadian Parade Readers (Dickie, Ricker, Tyner, and Woodhead, 1947-1962). A review of selected narratives indicates how Canadian textbooks - despite the importation of US assumptions about and approaches to curriculum development - attempted to address nationalist concerns. In part these texts succeeded in providing school children with a version of culture distinct from the Dick and Jane mythology. In so doing; however, these texts expressed a vision of postwar Canada as an economic colony devoted to resource-based primary industry.

The war had signalled to the governments and peoples of Canada and the United States the extent to which the two countries' economic, military and cultural fates were intertwined by shared geography and political interests. Many postwar Canadian educators were reappraising remaining historical allegiances to the Commonwealth in light of an expanding economic and military alliance with the United States and a new found cultural nationalism. The British Columbia Programme of Studies (1947, p. 7), for instance, noted "the heroic resistance of the people of the British Isles in the struggle of other countries for freedom" and encouraged "the teachers of British Columbia ... to foster those loyalties to the throne, to our fellow countrymen, and to democratic institutions". And yet ranking Departmental officials never tired of directing teachers' attention to modern, "child-centered" and democratic pedagogies favored in American schools and universities. It was this enthusiasm for the distinctively American approach to the application of



scientific research and to the development of humane, non-traditional pedagogies - particularly strong among King, Weir, Conway and Campbell - which weighed in favor of selecting American texts (and related pedagogies) like Gray and Arbuthnot's basal series.

Nevertheless a burgeoning nationalist sentiment remained among artists, intellectuals and educators, reflecting a profound skepticism towards cultural and economic dependence on the United States. In 1949, the Bennett government named eminent Canadian actor Vincent Massey to lead a Royal Commission inquiry into the state of the arts and culture, including broadcasting, book publishing, performing arts and related areas. While a study of formal education as such was not included in the Commission's official mandate, its critiques of American influence on the culture industry extended to encompass a discussion of formal educational systems. This orientation reflected the participation of N. MacKenzie, president of the University of British Columbia, and H. Neatby, head of the History Department of the University of Saskatchewan and longtime critic of Deweyianism. What emerged was a nationalist document which forwarded policies designed to defend the autonomy of Canadian publishing, media, art and culture.

The Commission's specific comments on education were in line with this general orientation. Canadian educators' reliance on American training and expertise was singled out for criticism.

How many Canadians realize that over a larger part of Canada the schools are accepting tacit directions from New York that they would not think of taking from Ottawa. (Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, 1951, p. 15)

The Commissioners disdainfully noted that it was the common practice of Canadian teachers seeking to upgrade their professional status "almost

automatically [to] make their pilgrimage to Teachers' College at Columbia or to one of half a dozen similar institutions" (p. 15). Returning with upgraded U.S. credentials, these teachers would rise through the ranks, noted one British Columbia teacher, "to occupy senior positions in elementary or high schools and to staff our normal schools and colleges of education" (Anon., 1952, p. 257).

The Massey Commission's critique of the English-Canadian educational establishment extended further to the fiscal dependency of writers, artists, publishers, libraries and educators on such U.S. donors as the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation.

Granted that most of these American donations are good in themselves, it does not follow that they have always been good for Canadians. We have been content with an unnecessary dependence on the contributions of our rich neighbor. We have been tempted by her too easy benevolence. This has left us in an undignified position, unworthy of our true power. We have been content to focus on the bounty of our neighbor. (1951, p. 14)

As for the cultural effects of economic dependence, the Canadian Writers' Committee testified before the Commission that "a mass of outside values are being dumped into our cities, towns and homes. ... We would like to see the development of a little Canadian independence, some say in who we are, and what we think, and how we feel and what we do." (p. 225). Further considering the manifestations of this kind of cultural imperialism in schools, the Commission criticized the overreliance on U.S. curricular materials, stating that "the dependence of English-speaking Canada on the United States for such teaching aids is excessive".

Massey's personal perspective on Canadian education and the use of imported curricular materials was stated in his own best seller, On Being Canadian (1948, p. 103):

It is no doubt simpler to accept a ready-made book from the United States than to encourage the production of one at home on the same subject ... but it is of obvious importance that Canadian scholars should be employed in such tasks ... and that the Canadian character of Canadian education should be preserved.

In the early 1950s, this general critique of the "passive acceptance" of imported curricula was echoed in provincial and national teachers' journals. In a 1952 article in the British Columbia Teacher, a local teacher writing under the pseudonym of "A Canadian" put the case for Canadian content before provincial teachers:

Great numbers of Canadian teachers ... will agree that far too many of the texts authorized for our elementary and secondary schools, and far too much of the supplementary reading material, are American, with an emphasis and a direction appropriate for American students but unsuitable for Canadian boys and girls. What is the situation with regard to textbooks in British Columbia?... The official list of texts issued by the Textbook Branch shows ... large numbers of American books. (p. 257)

Lest s/he be accused of cultural chauvinism, the author cautioned that s/he was not aiming "to sponsor bitterness against the United States, its people or schools". Simply, s/he was agreeing with the Massey Commission that

Canada is a nation in her own right, that she is not part of the United States, and that textbooks prepared for the use of American schools are not necessarily suitable for use in Canadian schools if our children are to be educated as Canadians.

"A Canadian" closed with a call for "our educational authorities in British Columbia ... [to] accept the challenge with which the Massey Report confronts them in this matter of building up a stronger and truer Canadianism in our schools through the greater use of Canadian textbooks" (p. 259).

Dick and Jane's days in Canada, it appeared, were numbered. Massey's comments were a reassertion of Durham's initial bar of U.S. texts a century earlier, although in this instance support for Canadian curricula was seen not as a defense of British colonialism but rather as the means for nurturing a

distinctive Canadian culture. The historical objections to the overuse of U.S. curricular materials pivoted on two crucial arguments: first, that importation of (educational) culture was hindering the autonomy and financial independence of the Canadian culture industries in print and electronic media, the arts, literature, and related research; and second, that the use of such materials was preventing the further development of an independent Canadian national identity.

Regarding the claim of economic dependency, the large scale adoption of U.S. textbooks led to a movement of public funds, taxpayer capital, to firms like Scott Foresman via their Canadian subsidiaries and licensees - in this case Gage. Following existing economies of scale, Gage and other companies paid a significant percentage of their profits on locally licensed U.S. series back to U.S. publishers, and by extension, to U.S. curriculum authors like Gray, Arbuthnot, Russell, Witty and others. So in terms of definite fiscal effects, the use of U.S. learning materials led to a movement of capital from Canada and discouraged the development of texts by smaller Canadian houses. Regarding the argument that such licensing agreements enabled independent Canadian publishers like Gage to retain their financial viability, it is notable that, by the mid-1960s, both Gage and Ryerson Press - two of the remaining independent Canadian producers of educational materials - had sold out to U.S. companies, effectively becoming official and no longer de facto "branch plants" (Hindley, Martin and McNulty, 1977, p. 17).

The analysis of 1950s literacy texts undertaken in the foregoing chapter confirms the second concern of reports like the Massey Commission - that such texts portrayed something less than an indigenous cultural heritage. Granted, there was little in the ideological content of the Curriculum Foundation

Readers which could be seen to contradict many Canadians' sense of national destiny. The industrial and military power of the U. S. was held in awe by many and no doubt some Canadians would have aspired to the the idealized suburban lifestyle portrayed. Indeed, 1950s English-Canadian curriculum documents spoke glowingly of the parallel interests of America and Canada, Canada and Britain: all were seen to aspire to "democratic" principles and "industrial progress". This internalization of a distinctively American ethos - of a progressivist/technocratic sense of the normative goals and scientific means of modern education - remained largely unchallenged until the Massey Commission and contemporaneous criticism by Commission member Neatby (1953).

But readers like Fun with Dick and Jane obviously failed to enlarge and enhance children's understandings of local, provincial or even national culture. This is not to suggest that this ideological content and structure in early reading/language arts curricula was not as limiting on American children, inasmuch as the postwar United States also featured an increasingly diverse populace, divided by social class, ethnic and geographical boundaries. For American urban Black children, rural Midwest farm children, west coast Asian or Hispanic children of the 50s saw little more of their lived experience portrayed in these readers than their Canadian or Fillipino counterparts. Texts like Fun with Dick and Jane served up an assimilationist ethic: the understanding that schools should recast culturally different children into "Americans" and transmit a (lower) middle class "American dream" to children of all different class and racial backgrounds.

Accepting at face value the analytic distinction between "melting pot" and "mosaic" cultures, emergent in the late 1950s and early 1960s (cf. Porter, 1965) - that Canadian society reflected a different set of assumptions and

attitudes towards cultural and social class variation - it would appear that the Dick and Jane/Leave It to Beaver world view served the former.

Accordingly, nationalist critiques (e.g., Repo, 1974; Freidenberg, 1978; Lorimer, 1984) hold with some justification that such texts represented another nation's ideology and culture, in spirit if not in name, and thereby precluded in Canadian children an understanding of how their culture was distinct from a generic North American culture.

The Dick and Jane series was not the only U.S. basal used in early primary literacy instruction. Taught in British Columbia schools as second issue, early primary readers were other texts like the Chicago-based Beckley Cardy Company's basal series Functional Phonetics (1954), by Anna Cordts of Rutgers University. Series like Cordts', which emphasized a systematic teaching of phonics, became increasingly common in the midst of the popularization of phonics as an instructional panacea (Flesch, 1955; cf. Chall, 1967). Cordts' reader, which taught color-coded "phonetic cues", was used in some schools as an auxilliary text for "slow readers". To understate the case, I Can Read, the first text in the series, has a paucity of semantic structure and content which made Dick and Jane seem like rich literary works. As in many modern phonics series, each lesson was designed to teach a specific phonetic word attack skill. Words were color-coded and on each page stick figures pointed to the specific digraph or diphthong to be taught. Sustained narrative was lost altogether in this systematic, hierarchical decoding training (see Appendix A). On a page by page basis the text shifted arbitrarily from topic to topic, setting to setting, never attempting to establish a viable story grammar.

Also used in British Columbia as an augmenting text was John C. Winston

Company's Easy Growth in Reading (Hildredth, Roy, Biehl, Felton, and Henderson, 1950). Unlike Cordts' texts, the Winston series was clearly designed as a competitor to the Curriculum Foundation texts: simple narratives based primarily on dialogue introduced children to a controlled sight word vocabulary which increased incrementally with each story. Written by U. S. reading researcher G. Hildredth, this series was contemporaneous with D. C. Heath's Reading for Interest (Witty, 1942-1955), American Book Company's Betts Basic Readers (Betts and Welch, 1948-1963), and the Ginn Basic Readers (Russell, 1948-1968). Hildredth was a leading American reading expert, having authored several professional books on reading (cf. Smith, 1965, pp. 273, 322). The former was a discussion of pedagogy and the latter an analysis of historical trends in children's literature. Her series resembled Gray's: adjunct materials, tests, guides, and so forth were provided; the semantic content reflected strict vocabulary controls; the licensing agreement covered the U. K., the Philippines and Canada.

Early primary grade children followed Dick and Jane clones Nancy and Bob, with cat Muff and dog Mac, neighbor twins Tom and Don through regimens of play, going to school, learning through experience, all detailed in multi-colored illustrations provided by C. P. Waterall. As with Gray's series, the lack of temporal and spatial referents made it such that local contexts were impossible, albeit unnecessary to identify.

But the Easy Growth in Reading series also models an emergent response by American publishers to charges of lack of local involvement in development and hence lack of verifiable Canadian content. The strategy used by John C. Winston Company was to list on the "Canadian Edition" as co-authors local consultants. In this case E. Roy, primary supervisor of the Vancouver School

District and F.C. Biehl, of London were listed with Hildreth and others. At the time Roy was an active force in professional development in the Vancouver area. One primary teacher - a graduate of the provincial normal school in the early 1950s - recalls that Roy used to hold curriculum workshops every fortnight for beginning teachers, discussing the range of approaches and methods for the teaching of early reading (M. Cronkite-Weir, personal communication, 12 June 1981). The documentation to establish the extent of Roy's actual involvement in the authorship of Hildreth's series is lacking. But it should be noted that there is nothing distinctively Canadian, or more precisely British Columbian about these texts and that U.S. versions do not list Roy as an author.

The prototypical marketing strategy of 'Canadianization' had been initiated by publishers like Winston. The use of local consultants and collaborators stamped the text with the veneer of local relevance. Of course local teachers, district consultants, and practitioners have not taken part in the curriculum development process for the last century; Charters and Bobbitts' and later Tyler's curriculum development schemes employed local teachers and consultants in pilot testing and implementation phases. But this scheme of local consultancy - emblazoned on subcontracted editions of U.S. series - was an increasingly popular development and marketing strategy of publishers and one which potentially could deflect spreading popular, professional and academic hostility towards the importation of U.S. curricula.

But there was a significantly more educationally legitimate response of publishers and Canadian academics to complaints of the lack of Canadian content: in the 1950s British Columbia and other provinces adopted several series of early literacy texts which were distinctively Canadian in origin,



authored by Canadian reading researchers and curriculum developers. Specifically, an Interprovincial Committee on Readers (cf. Dickie, Rickner, Tyner, and Woodhead, 1957, p. 8) influenced the development, adoption and revision of texts like The Canadian Parade Readers (Dickie, Rickner, Tyner and Woodhead, 1947-57) and the Canadian Spellers (Quance, 1950). The intent of the former series was, in the words of its authors, "to offer books with a truly Canadian atmosphere which present ideals of the Canadian way of life" (Dickie, et al., 1957, p. 3).

Likewise, the Canadian Spellers, developed and published by Gage, featured stories by Canadian educators and were based on a detailed University of Saskatchewan study of the writing of Canadian children. Quance, of the University of Saskatchewan, shared with Dickie a concern with the irrelevance of U.S. textbooks. Yet his was a unique approach to the inclusion of Canadian content, and the conception and development of The Canadian Spellers embodies the tension between (U.S. developed and researched) technical approaches to curriculum development and the provision for Canadian content.

While principals and teachers could choose, depending on availability, to augment and supplement the prescribed Scott-Foresman readers in the early primary grades and the Canadian Parade Readers in the intermediate and upper primary grades, Quance's spellers were prescribed exclusively by provincial officials for all elementary school children on a daily basis (British Columbia Department of Education, 1954, pp. 65-77). Hence, between their licensing agreement with Scott Foresman for the Dick and Jane series and their development of the Canadian Speller, Gage assumed a dominant role in the production and marketing of textbooks for the teaching of reading, spelling and related language arts.

The Canadian Spellers were first introduced in 1930. A second edition was released in 1932 and an updated third edition was available in 1950. Quance's textbooks provided a systematic instructional program based on extensive psychological research and development. The texts were sequenced developmentally, progressing through all elementary grades. For approximately one half hour each day, school children throughout English Canada studied Quance's series and the Monday through Friday word study/pre-test/review/post-test instructional sequence became a staple of early literacy training (see Section 5.2.).

Quance (1951, p. 1) believed that "the essence of a good textbook is the guidance of learning" and that "this, too, is the essence of good teaching". He instructed teachers that "to obtain the best results", they should "study the text, learn its goals, its underlying principles, its general plan, and its program of specific activities for both the pupils and the teacher". Spelling was conceived "not ... as an isolated subject, but as one of the related language arts". Quance, then, shared with his contemporaries a concern that various aspects of early instruction in literacy and oracy be as fully "integrated" as possible via highly systematized and interconnected curricula and pedagogy.

Spelling itself was considered part of a child's total literate development:

Before school age, he sees signs and advertisements on the streets, and large headings in newspapers, and thereby discovers that the symbols that we call letters convey meaning. ... Soon, occasions arise when he ... meets the need to express his own ideas by means of written symbols. He finds, however, that he does not know how to write the words he needs to use to express these ideas. He knows neither the letters, nor their order; in other words, their spelling. By this time, he has learned that not only what he reads but also what he is to write is filled with meaning. ... Therefore, spelling is associated in the pupil's mind with meaningful experience. (1951,

Quance thus saw the key to the teaching of literacy in the representation of meaningful, recognizable experiences. In accordance with his general concern for the "meaningful" integration of spelling instruction with the teaching of reading and writing, Quance commissioned a team of authors - M. Daykin, N. Johnson and K. Duncan - to develop prose passages and stories to accompany each weekly list (p. 1). Their task was to lodge the teaching of "basal words" to the point of "automatic response" within portrayals of "living experiences".

Like the modern basal reading series, then, The Canadian Spellers was a complete, comprehensive curricular package, featuring adjunct exercises, tests and reviews, and, of course, the Teacher's Manual for The Canadian Speller (Quance, 1951). The pedagogical structure which Quance's program imposed on the daily classroom routine of literacy learning will be examined in Chapter 5. The present discussion focusses on Quance's scientific/technical approach to the Canadianization of the curriculum.

Though he drew dictionary passages from the Thorndike-Century Beginning Dictionary and Thorndike-Century Junior Dictionary (p. 14) and cross-checked selections with American word lists by Gates (p. 17) and Dolch (p. 17), Quance saw the need for textbooks which would reflect "Canada's social, political and economic life" (p. 5). Hence, he argued that a course in spelling should reflect Canadian content as faithfully as "a course in Canadian history". American courses, he noted, tended to have "a much lower validity" for "Canadian school children" (p. 6).

Courses built, for instance, on counts made in the United States would omit hundreds of words like rugby, tractor, bazaar, poppy, toboggan, municipal, British, and dandelion which Canadian children use with considerable frequency in their free writing.

To develop a more appropriate textbook for Canadian students and teachers, Quance undertook a massive research project. He and his graduate students examined "nearly 600,000 running words of children's writing" (p. 5) drawn from a "representative" group of Canadian school children in an attempt to develop "the most valid word count extant on which to base a series of spellers for Canadian schools" (p. 6). His study "rigidly controlled factors" like "national origin of parents, occupation of parents, rural and urban residence, regional areas of Canada, and sex of pupils" (p. 4) to assure the "validity" of his selection.

Quance, then, viewed the task of generating a truly Canadian curriculum in technical terms. He was confident that the matter of Canadian curricular content could be addressed through a simple and direct application of existing empirical research methodology. The solution was highly conventional: the development of readers and spellers on the basis of empirical studies of the lexicon of children's oral and written language had been pioneered by Gates, Gray, Dolch and Thorndike in the United States. But unlike Dickie and other Canadian textbook authors who continued to rely primarily on American word lists, Quance undertook the development of a Canadian data base from which he would cull the words for spelling instruction. This done, he turned to Daykin, Johnson and Duncan for prose selections "closely integrated with the spirit and aims of the curricula of Canadian schools, particularly in the social studies, health, language, and science phases" (p. 9). These selections would provide a "meaningful" prose context for each weekly spelling list. The result was a series of spellers which were truly "Canadian", inasmuch as they were developed exclusively on the basis of Canadian research and published indigenously. Nonetheless they mirrored basic approaches to

curriculum development and the technical form of modern curricula pioneered by American educational researchers.

To summarize: the postwar atmosphere of skepticism towards the importation of U.S. educational materials led to a change in the assumptions guiding Canadian textbook generation and adoption, spawning a range of publishing, marketing and curriculum development strategies. These ranged from the alteration of provincial textbook adoption policies under the aegis of consultant bodies like the Interprovincial Committee on Readers, to the use of local consultants by publishers to augment multinational textbook series, to schemes like those of Quance which drew heavily from technicist approaches to curriculum development. The ideological content presented in curricula like Gray and Arbuthnot's had become the target for an emergent nationalism among Canadian educators and by the early 1950s a response from policy makers, educators, curriculum developers and researchers was forthcoming.

#### 4.1. Locating the reader in time and space: The Canadian Parade Readers

Apart from Quance's spellers, D. Dickie's Canadian Parade Readers were the most widely used Canadian texts in the British Columbia primary reading and language arts curriculum (British Columbia Department of Education, 1951). Many student readers in British Columbia began their literacy training in early primary school with Gray and Arbuthnot's series, moving on to Dickie's texts in the intermediate grades. Like Quance's texts, they too embodied an essential tension: they were founded on assumptions drawn from educational research, the kind of curriculum development via empirical study undertaken by the likes of Gray; yet they were self-conscious attempts to vest educational material, and early literacy instruction, with culturally specific content and

knowledges.

Dickie, of the University of Alberta, was a leader in the Progressive education movement in Canada. Her book The Enterprise in Theory and Practice (1941) "considerably influenced teaching methods" throughout Canada, according to Johnson (1964, p. 164). Dickie advocated the Progressive notion that the purpose of education was social adaptation, rather than the acquisition of rote knowledge. Writing in the British Columbia Teacher, Dickie (1940, p. 19) paraphrased the Deweyian ideal of social learning through "problem solving":

Pupils who are to learn to adjust themselves satisfactorily to any social situation in which they find themselves need daily experience in adjusting themselves to the stream of situations that group living continuously provides. . . . any and every social situation presents the participant with a problem to solve. The afternoon is sunny, you go out or remain at home to work; you need a new suit, it must be chosen; you are to teach a lesson or make a speech and must prepare it; there is a community bowling game, a church supper, an election and you do your part.

But this kind of emergent training through civic activities, leisure and family life was matched by Dickie's recognition of the role of schools in training industrial workers. She saw the school as historically assuming the roles traditionally performed by the home and business:

Modern commercial life has no place for apprentices, the competition is too keen; industry now demands workers ready trained. As the home and industry have ceased to train for social and industrial adjustment, the school has been forced to add these fields. . . . Preparation for industrial life is now almost completely in the hands of the school and education for social adjustment is rapidly being taken over. (p. 18)

Dickie's sense of the sociocultural purposes of education was echoed in the British Columbia Programme of Studies for the Intermediate Grades (1947, p. 7), which stated that "a democratic state such as Canada" required "integrated personalities", "socially efficient and capable of further growth". In a paraphrase of the American Progressive philosophy, the Canadian

curriculum was conceptualized as follows:

The materials of a curriculum should be a selection of subject matter and experiences chosen and arranged to stimulate the growth of the child and to assist him in fitting into his environment [emphasis added].

For Dickie (1940, p. 19), this kind of social and industrial adaptation required not "drill for the inculcation of skills and facts" but rather that "teacher and pupil together take up a social situation, identify the problem it presents and, as a group ... undertake the solution of that problem". Learning, then, was considered an approximation of life itself: goal-seeking cognition and intersubjectivity towards the solution of "problems" arising in social, cultural and economic reality.

Dickie's work marked the reiteration and extension of Deweyian approaches into the postwar era. The "enterprise" was the "unit work" or "project approach" advocated by the British Columbia, Alberta and other Departments of Education (e. g., British Columbia Department of Education, 1947, p. 16). It entailed a unified, thematic approach to teaching, whereby teachers would teach projects across the primary school curriculum. Dickie (1941, p. 125) defined the enterprise as "the co-operative achievement of a social purpose that a teacher presents to her class with a view to having them use it as intelligent social behaviour". In the interwar years, the British Columbia curriculum had heralded the "socialized recitation" and "project method" as universal pedagogies (Luke, 1980), while during the war the Summer School of Education at Victoria had offered teachers a course on "integrative teaching" (Johnson, p. 164).

As Dickie saw it, the enterprise method not only required an integrated, project-centered approach to pedagogy, but also depended on adequate curricular materials. In the political and educational climate which had

spawned the Massey Report and the Interprovincial Committee on Readers, Dickie, T. W. Woodhead - president of the British Columbia Teachers Federation from 1928 to 1929, interwar Principal of Kitsilano School, and early local advocate of the teaching of silent reading (Woodhead, 1930) - and coauthors B. Rickner and C. Tyner set out

to offer Canadian boys and girls, in whom an interest in community life is dawning, books with a Canadian atmosphere; to build into the consciousness of their readers a general picture of Canada and a definite impression of the ideals of the Canadian way of life. (Dickie, et al., 1957, p. 2)

Their efforts - culminating in the production of the Canadian Parade Readers - were supported by J. M. Dent and Sons, a British publishing house which, like Macmillan, Oxford University Press and Thomas Nelson and Sons, had established a Canadian branch in Toronto after World War I (Hindley, et al., p. 16). It is somewhat ironical that Gage, an independent Canadian publisher, chose to purchase reprint rights to the Scott Foresman series while Dent's Canadian branch plant supported the development of a series expressly designed in response to the call for nationalism in educational materials. Though the quest for profit was clearly Dent's intent, it should be noted that the Canadian Parade series, by virtue of its national content, had limited sales potential on the multinational English-speaking market. Eventually the series was "authorized for use in Alberta and British Columbia" and for "permissive use" in Ontario. First published in 1947, printed and bound at the Evergreen Press in Vancouver, the series was revised and reprinted until 1964.

Dickie and colleagues' goal was not "to foster a narrow Canadian nationalism" and they recognized that Canada is "perhaps the least nationalistic" of Western nations. But, they argued, "she has a personality of her own, the expression of the way of life created by the Canadian acting



upon the inherited tendencies of her people". Hence, they reasoned, it was only through the development of "her national personality" that "Canada can make her contribution to the development of the world". Clearly, in spite of its financial link with a British publishing house, this basal series was a Canadian enterprise.

The authors - under the general editorship of S. Shopland of the University of British Columbia - recognized that it was in initial literacy training that citizenship education was indeed taking place: "boyhood and girlhood", when "the beginning reader must grasp ... that printed symbols present ideas", was the time "to make conscious" that national sensibility. This, they argued, was "too often forgotten" in the belief "that reading ... is just a mechanical process [emphasis added]". In early elementary school literacy training they perceived a need to "present ideals of the Canadian way of life," of "Canada's achievements and of her place among nations" (p. 2).

Dickie's "integrated" approach to the teaching of literacy and a distinct emphasis on Canadian ideological content were the two guiding principles in the development of the Canadian Parade series. Not surprisingly the design of the curriculum also derived theoretical presuppositions from modern reading research despite its critique of the "mechanization" of reading instruction. Like Gray and Arbuthnot's series, it provided a total curricular package: teachers' guides, lists of adjunct standardized reading tests, a "workbook" for student exercises, and so forth. Moreover, the reading process was conceptualized in accordance with Departmental guidelines (British Columbia Department of Education, 1947, pp. 51-62). Avoiding a narrow phonics emphasis, the series stressed a whole word approach to the teaching of "reading for pleasure" (cf. Gray's "recreational reading" noted in the

provincial Programme of Studies) and "reading for information" (or "work-type reading"). The former was used to rationalize the selection of literature, myth, and cultural tales while the latter was used to justify content-area reading.

Like Gray and Arbuthnot, the authors of the Canadian Parade Readers were also concerned with the systematic and gradual introduction of new vocabulary and syntactic structures, recognizing that "word burden is the most common difficulty confronting the average or new reader". Accordingly, they generated a "general scheme of progression in word burden, sentence structure and punctuation" (Dickie et al., 1957, p. 2), under the assumption that the "good reader" in grades 3 to 5, for instance, could handle "one new word in 25", the "average reader ... one in thirty five" and the "poor reader ... one in fifty five" (p. 3). Consequently, the grade 3 text Young Explorers offered an "average word burden" ranging from 4.3 to 5.4 per page; the grade 4 reader Gay Adventures ranged from 5.3 to 7.3 (pp. 4-5). Some allowance was made for passage to passage variability, and the teachers' guide commented on the relative "difficulty and use of each selection".

As in Gray's texts, "the sentence structure and punctuation" were "adapted to that being taught the grade in the language class" (p. 3). But Dickie, Woodhead, Tyner and Ricker additionally noted the kinds of pedagogical ramifications of too systematic control, arguing that "if the word burden is too light, the material ceases to be a challenge to the good and average readers" (p. 3). There is a clear recognition here of the pitfalls of contemporaneous series, an understanding that excessive limitation of the lexical variation of the text would hinder reader motivation and might not challenge "good and average" readers. In what they considered a "general

purpose reader" the solution lay in the "varying of word burden".

This variation was to be achieved through a range of editorial strategies. First, Dickie et al. refused to "interfere" with the "sentence structure and punctuation" of poetry, plays and literary stories. Though only segments of existing literary works were presented, their lexical, syntactic, and hence semantic structures were left intact such that "the pupil meets constantly, as he should do, with new and advanced forms" (pp. 2-3). Their second solution was aligned with their stated ideological mission to represent Canadian culture. In controlled "informational passages and stories of current quality", they attempted to provide for the reader "a context which will enable him to make out its [the new word's] meaning." (p. 3). This entailed the discussion of identifiable Canadian locales, myths and legends which would offer the reader a semantic context with which to attack new vocabulary. Third, in a like departure from convention, Dickie et al. encouraged teachers to teach the text in a non-linear manner. Teachers could, using the charts of "average word burden per page", move children through chapters "in ascending order of difficulty" (p. 5) as advocated in other series. Or they readily could jump from story to story according to student reading competence, grouping, or interest in particular themes (p. 4).

In these three respects, the Canadian Parade Series attempted to surmount the semantic and literary problems which the strict control of basal reader lexical content and syntactic structure gave rise to. Certainly, the Canadian authors of this series had in mind a range of considerations regarding semantic structure and content not shared by their U.S. counterparts, given their broad understanding of the significance of ideological content in early reading instruction. Moreover, their work evinced an awareness of the very

pitfall of the scientific oversystematization of learning materials, namely the loss of literary quality and related problem of ideological irrelevance.

The grade four reader, Young Explorers (Dickie et al., 1947b) was 420 pages long, consisting of 123 stories, poems and articles, with a Dictionary, "word list", and a listing of prose selections "in order of vocabulary and concept difficulty" (p. ix). The pieces are arrayed in nine thematic sections: "Canada is Our Country", "Good Citizens", "Round the Fairy Ring", "Animal Friends", "Good Neighbors", "The Workers", "Workers' Helpers", "Skyways", and "Out of Doors". Canadian authors are broadly represented throughout, including Myles, Benson, Connor, Moorhouse, and Woodhead himself. These are interspersed with more traditional works by Longfellow, Milne, Carmen, the Brothers Grimm, Anderson, Stevenson, Roberts, Lowell and Grahame. As noted, "literary works", like Longfellow's "Hiawatha", and Andersen's "Princess and the Swineherd" are presented excerpted but unedited.

Young Explorers thus offers a variegated set of possible worlds and meanings for 9 to 10 year old readers. Recall that the Curriculum Foundation Series texts used in British Columbia were intended for grades 1 and 2 (6 and 7 year-old readers) and that Gray's texts incrementally developed more complex lexis, syntax and semantics. Nonetheless, all of the multinational texts lacked that crucial ingredient noted by Quance, Dickie and the aforementioned critics of U.S. curricula: context and content meaningful to Canadian children. While it could be argued that the difference between the Dick and Jane texts and Dickie's series represented differing developmental orientations, the fact remains that the two prior generations of reading textbooks in British Columbia schools, the British Columbia Readers and the Highroads to Reading series, introduced children to traditional folk tales,

English literature and English-Canadian content at the earliest primer and pre-primer levels.

The Canadian Parade Readers - like their 19th century Irish, Ontario and British Columbia predecessors - began by foregrounding national identity and ideology. In the initial passage of Young Explorers, "Canada is Our Country", the authors point out that "Canada is a good country for boys and girls. The sunshine is bright. The air is fresh and clear ...". Here children encountered a form of direct address to the reader not found in any of the imported series. In addition to locating the readers in a particular national context, the text states explicitly to its readers a normative agenda of industrial and social adaptation:

There is also a great deal of work to do here. Canada needs her boys and girls. Everywhere in Canada there are boys and girls about your age. They go to school and work and play just as you do. Let us go to see what they are doing. (p. 1)

As with Dick and Jane, the child reader was to see her/himself in the text. The ensuing portraiture would not present an imaginary Everychild from Anytown, North America. The purpose of this text was to portray however idealistically and prescriptively a range of children's experiences, English-Canadian, French-Canadian and foreign. Readers were introduced to Jill and Angus Maclean, English-Canadians children who go fishing with French-Canadian Gaston and his father Henri; Rural Quebecois Juli, Henri and Petit Jean; Jim and Joe Sandford, eastern Canadian children holidaying in Niagara; Barbara and Ted visiting Manitoba; Albertan "Speed" Cannon in a roping contest; and a host of others engaged in suitably civic and industrial learning and 'doing'.

Notable here is the manner in which the text utilizes both characterization and direct reference to locate geographically and culturally

the reader. Though the text was constructed using the Thorndike Twenty Thousand Word Book, direct references to Canadian locales are interspersed throughout. Cities mentioned include Vancouver, Montreal, Niagara, Calgary, Shady Creek, Winnipeg, Banff, Lytton, Yale and Lilloet; provinces noted include Manitoba, Ontario, Alberta and Quebec. As a text adopted in Alberta and British Columbia and written by educators working in those provinces, The Canadian Parade Readers not only express "Canadian" content, but a distinctively western provincial orientation. Specific localities familiar to western Canadian children like Hell's Gate, Lake Kamloops, the Fraser Canyon, and the McLeod River provide story settings. In later chapters these locales are augmented with stories set in Brazil, El Salvador, "Cathay", Holland, France, the Middle East, Babylon, and "Buckingham Palace". The effect of this geographical and demographic deixis is that the reader is aware that s/he is moving from one locale to another, from one time period to another.

Three major sets of themes emerge in Young Explorers: stories about Canadian children at work and play; stories about contemporary children from other cultures; folk tales, myths and legends; and content-area texts linked to social studies and science curricula (e.g., a series of poems and stories about modes of transportation, a poem about shipping and trade, stories about primary resource-based economic activities). The folk tales included European fairy tales, Biblical tales, Canadian Indian legends and an American tale of "Young Tad Lincoln". The collection set out, then, to put children in touch with aspects of a modern Anglo-Canadian/Protestant selective tradition. The identification for children of key texts within their cultural tradition is augmented by the construction and themes of the stories about contemporary Canadian children.

#### 4.2. Cultural assimilation through individual enterprise

What follows is a critical analysis of two stories: "Dutchy Becomes a Canadian" and "Boots are Very Grown Up in Quebec". They are nominally about Canadian children, yet they discuss two identifiable groups which comprised a significant segment of the Canadian school age populace definitely excluded from the aforementioned U.S. series: postwar migrant children and French-Canadian children. Both were written expressly for the textbook: neither was among the aforementioned literary texts left lexically and syntactically intact. As in previous analyses, the reading moves from a story grammar outline to a discussion of the interrelationship of discursive form and ideological content, and of the possible worlds implied by the narrative. First, "Dutchy Becomes A Canadian", from the "Good Citizens" section of Young Explorers, is considered.

At Garry school, Heinrich, a grade 6 Dutch immigrant student known as "Dutchy", stands dressed in Dutch clothing "at the edge of the crowd"; he is quiet, detached and generally alienated from the other Canadian school children (setting). Try outs for the school speed skating races are announced (initiating event); Roger, "captain of the elementary hockey team" and Dutchy volunteer (internal response). Dutchy beats Roger in the preliminaries and wins the praise and recognition of his classmates (attempt/consequence). Roger, Dutchy and two other students are chosen to represent the school at the city relay races (consequence), to be held in the City Arena (setting); Roger is to race third and Dutchy the final leg. Dutchy exchanges his ethnic garb for a school sweater which, metaphorically, doesn't quite fit right (internal response/metaphor). The race begins (initiating event). Roger trips and falls (attempt); Roger crawls on the ice to reach Dutchy (consequence), who begins the final leg of the race far behind the competition (attempt). Dutchy imagines himself racing past windmills and canals (internal response) but then, realizing that he is in Canada and that "he must win his place as a Canadian away from his Canadian school mates", wins the race (major consequence). Dutchy is accepted, "thumped on the back by his teammates" (reaction). "Now he was one of them; now he was a Canadian" (didactic reiteration by narrator).

Commentary: "Dutchy Becomes a Canadian" is a densely layered parable. Like

many other stories in the reader, 'real life' conflicts are presented and the protagonist is forced to overcome successive problems: speaking out to volunteer, beating Roger, recovering from and compensating for Roger's fall, and finally, and significantly, contending with his own fantasy. Each internal response --> attempt --> consequence sequence forms a metaphoric hurdle for the establishment of his assimilated identity: Dutchy defeats the archetypal Canadian child ("captain of the hockey team") at a Canadian national sport; he receives and wears the ill-fitting school sweater "proudly", "like a King's robe". This use of simile underlines the message of cultural assimilation. Subsequently, he achieves hero status before Canadian cheerleaders in a civic event after having compensated publicly for a Canadian child's mistake. Throughout an explicitly judgemental narrator signals the reader that this is more parable than simple schoolyard tale.

The narrative thus portrays in microcosm the very assimilation process of postwar European migrant children into mainstream Canadian culture. And despite 'old world' trappings - Dutchy wears "heavy Dutch skates with their long curling ends" - the migrant child emerges victorious. The spoils are acceptance by peers, teachers, community and by self as an authentic Canadian child. This is indeed a tale of adaptation to set (and subtly non-negotiable) social situations and cultural circumstances, of "problem solving behavior", to paraphrase Dickie.

It is the latter acceptance which is most curious: the narratorial voice explicitly describes Dutchy's inner mental state, and what emerges is an internal psychological conflict over cultural identity. Dutchy's final attempt/consequence focusses on a psychological problem generated within the self, rather than a mere physical or social obstacle. The race itself is



epiphanic: Dutchy's realization that he is not in Holland but in Canada enables him to win the contest and, hence, to reconcile his cultural identity crisis. This signals that the problem of culture shock and assimilation largely rests in the psychic state of the immigrant child, for while the Canadian school children's response to Dutchy is modelled, no negative or blatantly discriminatory behavior emerges.

To illustrate: Roger, the archetypal Canadian boy, is but a character foil. The reader hears of his actions but never hears or (though the narrator) gains any insights into what the Canadian children are thinking. Pictorially, the text portrays Canadian girls in cheerleader outfits egging Dutchy on. They gossip about his victory over Roger, but they too are cardboard portrayals. The focus of the story, then, is not on the Canadian children's reaction to the migrant child but on his psychological battle to win acceptance. This message is reiterated figuratively by the ritual "thumping on the back" and literally by the narrator's didactic reiteration.

Agreement with this particular ideological message notwithstanding, "Dutchy Becomes a Canadian" is an exemplar of the multilayered semantic structure of the Canadian Parade series. The macropropositional structure consists of successive goal-formations and sub-attempts, and partial outcomes which lead to further psychological and social problems. The narratorial presence enables insight into the protagonist's mental states. Hence, not only does the student reader encounter a series of sub-resolutions leading to a major, pro-social catharsis, but as well s/he encounters a much more complex interrelationship of explicitly projected possible worlds than in the early primary texts:

W1                      The authors' world

- W2            The narrator's world
- W3            The narrator's projected ideal society
- W4            Dutchy's world view
- W5            The portrayed Canadian children's and teacher's world view
- W6            The reader's actual world as assumed by the author
- W7            The reader's actual world

First, there is an unmistakable synthesis of the authors' point of view with that of the narrator, hence W1 = W2. It is clear that the nationalist but egalitarian (viz., assimilationist) perspective of the narrator is also held by the authors. Notably the author/narrator does not assume any immediate identity between the world view of the protagonist and the world view of the reader (W4 ≠ W6). This story is about the social other the reader encounters in an actual school setting. More importantly, it is confirmed that Dutchy does see the world differently, that W4 ≠ W5 or W6. Moreover, while their stated intents indicate that Dickie et al. hoped that W5 = W6 = W7, that the readers would see themselves in the Canadian school children portrayed, there remains a fundamental supposition that some children - in this case migrant children - actually do conceive of the world with different categories and referents. Upon conclusion of the narrative, however, this observation is overridden by the conflation of W4 with W5 and W6 within the ideal possible world, racially integrated and harmonious (English) Canada (W3). Through the appropriate "enterprise" - the skating race as school-based, problem-solving activity - Dutchy has learned to adapt and adjust.

The reader thus is led to the conclusion that, having psychologically and symbolically "become a Canadian", Dutchy will now share experiences, aspirations, competences and knowledges with the other children. Even Dutchy,

who has altered his mental projections to fit Canadian social reality, shares this egalitarian ideal. In other words, to win the race and thereby acceptance, Dutchy has sacrificed W4 for W5 - he has relinquished the reality of cultural otherness in order to be fully accepted and to 'succeed' in this new culture. An attendant, yet extremely subtle, conflation also occurs with the story's resolution: the initial conflict-laden situation is transformed into the author/narrator's ideal Canadian society realized for all. Through the omniscient and interpreting narrator (W2), the text establishes that indeed W1 = W3 = W4 = W5 = W6. The greater didactic presumption is that W7 might/will change accordingly, that in future Canadian school children/student readers will be more prone to accept migrant children and that migrant children will make the psychological adjustment to become Canadians.

In this way, the ideological message that cultural assimilation is primarily the responsibility of the immigrant is encoded in the story grammar and literary stylistics. The multiple physical and social goal --> attempt --> consequence pattern of the narrative parallels an interior psychological sequence which occurs within, and as a result of the physical and social situation. In a correlative manner, the catharsis, the 'happy ending' and moral of the narrative are contingent on a psychological act, the sacrifice of Dutchy's ethnic identity. The symbolic shedding of clothing, of fantasies, and of illusions is confirmed by the ritual "thumping" and chanting.

What is notable about the story is that it does tackle explicitly the weighty postwar social problem of increasing numbers of migrant children in Canadian schools, implying the problem of discrimination and ostracization. Beyond its willingness to address a contentious postwar social issue, "Dutchy

Becomes a Canadian" differs from the aforementioned Dick and Jane type readers in that it represents for readers a world view and psychological sensibility which is explicitly 'other' to its intended audience of student readers.

The literary structure of the text furthermore underlines the text's didactic function: a ritualized vicarious participation in a familiar activity is invited. Granted, the layering of conflicts and subconflicts, and the presentation of an identifiably foreign protagonist might enable conflicting interpretations better than the literal and repetitive texts of the Dick and Jane series. The chance of "pragmatic accident" on the basis of the reader's racial and cultural intolerance (or in the case of the migrant child reader, actual cultural difference) might cause him/her to take issue with the narrator, who at least is present and thereby criticizable. But, as in Gray and Arbuthnot's texts, the didactic reiteration is univocal and unambiguous. The English-Canadian child reader is steered towards a ritual participation in a familiar form of social bonding with the protagonist, and thereby towards an appropriate interpretation. In this way the text attempts to pull the reader's real world (W7) into alignment with the portrayed worlds and with the authors' normative ideological world view.

This particular story structure is characteristic of Young Explorers: semantic choices are available to the reader as a consequence of a wider selection of portrayed characters, easily marked and identifiable settings, a more complex story grammar, and the disclosure of information about characters' mental states by the narrator. All of this demands the participation of the reader not just in inferring the outcome (happy endings abound) but as well in inferring the mental states of the characters. In this regard, the text through a more complex semantic structure invites

interpretation of portrayed motivation and action more explicitly than texts like Fun with Dick and Jane. Yet the invitation to forecast is overridden by the univocal didactic reiteration, through which the text reasserts its claims on what will count as a valid outcome and interpretation.

As noted, the text was adopted for use primarily in English Canada. The story "Boots Are Very Grown-Up in Quebec" offers another portrayal of what for British Columbia and Alberta school children would have been a social other. It too takes an explicitly didactic, parable-like form.

On a rural Quebec farm (setting), children Henri and Juli wish for their new boots and hats (goal). Papa Jean has slipped by the barn door, twisting his leg and cutting his foot (initiating event); Mama Jean has taken him to the hospital on their two wheel cart. Now Henri and Juli will have to take on daily adult labour (subgoal), transporting their farm milk to town to exchange for goods and supplies (plan). They realize that their hopes for new boots, and a new hat are now dashed, as money will be lacking (internal response). Henri, Juli and dog Bobo hitch up the cart to go to the village (attempt 1); Bobo cannot pull the heavy cart (consequence 1/subproblem 1); Henri and Juli push the cart to get it moving again (consequence 2/resolution of subproblem 1). Reaching the village (consequence 3 to attempt 1), they are unable to unload the cart (consequence 4/subproblem 2); "Old Louis, the woodcarver" helps them unload (consequence 5/resolution to subproblem 2). The children order the goods, returning home (consequence 5/resolution to major attempt 1). Mother returns from the hospital, informing them that Papa will be in the hospital for a week (consequence 6). Papa Jean returns with new boots for Henri, a new hat for Juli, a pink dress for petite Marie, and a bone for Bobo (consequence 7/resolution to major goal).

Commentary: The assumption of real adult responsibilities is foregrounded here as a constituent part of development. The children are forced out into the community by a conflict situation which has generated a disequilibrium in their family. Following Dickie's notion of the enterprise, the characters are portrayed in a multiple long and short term goal --> attempt sequence which requires learning qua "problem solving" and perseverance. In this sense, the story grammar models the particular version of goal-seeking human

intersubjectivity and social adaptation favored by Progressives. Hence, as with Dutchy's portrayal and others throughout the series, the ideological lessons (e.g., how children live and cope in Quebec, loyalty to family, the work ethic) are accompanied with a deeper message about ingenuity and problem-solving. At another level, readers learn that even within a culturally different context, certain universals about child development and learning, human intersubjectivity and needs are asserted.

In this case however the children are not simply rehearsing adult roles by choice, or modelling for the reader constructive patterns of play: fictional versions of real problems and conflicts are at work. Physical injury to the male head of family is the catalyst for the enterprise and the poverty and the austerity of rural life, while romanticized to some extent, are not avoided. If anything, poverty is implied throughout: the family is depicted eating "cold breakfast"; the children must assume these responsibilities or there will be disastrous economic ramifications. Stereotyping of culturally specific needs and wants is, of course, involved here. Students are told that "all Quebec boys and girls" desire new boots and hats, that "in Quebec boots show that a man's work is to be done", and that "Hats with trimmings add to the grown upness of girls". But, as in Dutchy's story, a real conflict is portrayed, begetting a pattern of multiple attempts/resolutions, each of which in turn is overcome by the children.

Summary Comments: It could be argued - as no doubt many 1950s designers of basal series would - that the semantic complexity here is appropriate for children in the eight to ten year-old age group, and that the simple story grammars in the Dick and Jane series are incomparable with the multiple attempt/resolution sequences of these texts for older students. The point is

indeed valid, inasmuch as children developmentally are able to comprehend progressively more complex syntaxes of human motivation and action. There is nonetheless a very different approach to the portrayal of the contexts, structures and relationships of human intersubjectivity in the Canadian Parade Readers than in the aforementioned Curriculum Foundations texts.

As in its late nineteenth century and early twentieth century predecessors, this Canadian reading series foregrounds themes of national ideology and regional identity. However sanitized, the portrayals of Canadian experience in this textbook reflect a principal thematic preoccupation of Canadian literature: conflict with a hostile social and geographical climate. The more complex story grammars signal to readers that life is not conflict-free, but rather fraught with both environmental and social dangers, pitfalls and potential problems: the alienation of the migrant child, rural poverty and family illness, physical injury to loved ones and peers. This Canadian Lebenswelt is not one of simple adherence to authority and law. Nor is it limited to the childhood construction (following Dewey and Mead) of play situations for the rehearsal of adult-like roles and behaviors. The inferences invited by the text require participation in the cognitive and social problem-solving processes of the characters, which often occur against archetypal aspects of the Canadian environment.

The likes of Dutchy, Henri and Juli, and their English-Canadian counterparts do not wile away their time watching firemen in action, waiting for Father to return from the office, or even meeting new friends next door. Their ontological status is not one of imminence, one in which they await and practice adulthood, but rather one of immediate experience brought about through direct conflict with the social and physical environment. Clearly,

Dickie et al.'s interpretation of the Progressive cliché of "learning through experience" had a distinctive Canadian dimension. Despite the inclusion of the mundane summer vacation and animal stories which pass as "high interest" children's fiction, many stories in The Canadian Parade Readers feature versions of real conflict with the physical and social environment, however sanitized.

The didactic message of many of these stories then is not simply an ideological statement of the value of Canadian identity and nationality. Turning to the kind of semantic messages embedded in the story grammars, it is obvious that children, both fictional characters and model readers are being taught the value of social and cognitive autonomy: to analyze situations, to develop action plans and to modify or adapt those plans to subsequent change. They are being taught that rewards, gratification and the realization of goals are contingent on a strategic admixture of short and long term goal-seeking action. Conflicts which are seen to require autonomous and moral behavior are not limited to childhood's egocentric preoccupations (e.g., a lost toy, a silly domestic pet, or meeting new kids on the block) but rather are concerned with adult problems, often requiring direct confrontation with both natural and social forces beyond immediate control. At the conclusion of Henri and Juli's tale, the characters had foregone expectation of egocentric desires for material, but culturally significant objects. It is as if their 'forgetting', their suspension of immediate childlike wants and their subsequent assumption of adult responsibilities, had led to the gratification of those wants.

In these texts - characterized as they are by a narratorial presence which enable detailed portrayals, story grammars which beget multiple prospects for "forecasting" and interpretation, and spatial and temporal



denotation which enables the reader to situate portrayed patterns of intersubjectivity - a complex, subtle and effective didacticism occurs. For they remain tales of adaptation, of children 'fitting in', albeit cleverly, to an extant social order and a harsh physical environment. The 1947 British Columbia Programme of Studies for the Intermediate Grades frames this kind of socialization:

The school assists the child in his adjustment to society. As society is constantly changing, the adjustment must be flexible and progressive. The child not only must make a temporary adjustment, but he must acquire capacity for readjustment. (p. 7)

In accordance with Dickie's notion of "industrial" socialization, the child was to be assisted in "making adjustments to his environment, and, it may be, in modifying this environment [emphasis added]" (p. 7). However, this tension within educational Progressivism between education for "social stability" and "social progress", between individual "adjustment" and the need to "modify" the economic and social environment was not fully reconciled in the text semantics of the Canadian Parade Readers. From Dutchy to Henri, social adaptation entails acceptance of and working within a preestablished social and economic environment. Goal-seeking action requires wit and ingenuity on the parts of both fictional children and real student readers, but here goals and outcomes remain non-negotiable.

#### 4.3. The semantics of being Canadian

The possible educational and cultural effects of the overt ideological content of U.S. textbooks did not escape the gaze of increasingly vociferous postwar Canadian nationalists. Accordingly, both Quance's Canadian Spellers and the Canadian Parade Series were designed with an eye towards the preservation of explicit ideological content. The dissemination a Canadian

way of life was a paramount consideration. Following the earlier analysis of the effects of scientific/technical approaches to textbook authorship and curriculum development, it would seem that the pitfalls of modern curriculum - national content notwithstanding - lie in the very technical form of the modern textbook, and the possible ideological effects of 'closed' semantic structures on readership. Certainly, Quance, Dickie et al. operated within a tradition which drew suppositions about the nature of literacy and the forms and purposes of the pedagogical text from mainstream American educational research and from Progressive educational philosophy. However, even though constructed within the conventional confines of "word burden", The Canadian Parade Readers were identifiably more "traditional" in literary orientation and national ideology. Representing a range of cultural experiences, locales, values, myths, legends, and genres of short poetry and prose, these textbooks remained anthologies of literature representative of a distinct, if somewhat fabricated, cultural tradition.

Dickie expressed an identifiable Canadian ideological content in the series. Considerations of lexical and syntactic control did not prevent the building of fairly complex story grammars in those texts written expressly for the textbook. Moreover, these were augmented with 'uncontrolled' poems and literary passages. This Canadian content is achieved not only through the aforementioned lexical reference to Canadian scenes, but also through both characterization and the thematic addressing of contemporary social and economic concerns (e.g., European immigration, expanding trade and transportation links, rural poverty).

In contrast with Dick and Jane's idealized suburbia, the fictitious realities of the Canadian Parade Readers are inhabited by identifiable

historical and contemporary characters. In the series as a whole, English-Canadian characters (modern workers and children, 18th century United Empire Loyalists, major past political figures, etc.) are intermixed with token French-Canadians, Manitoba Cree, European migrants. These stories alternate between Canadian portrayals, characters from traditional societies (e.g., Babylonians, Biblical figures, fairy tale characters) and more modern international "neighbors" (e.g., peasant Latin Americans, quaint Eastern Europeans, anachronistic Chinese of undesignated historical origin and, of course, patriotic Americans).

Indeed, all characters are portrayed in (albeit positive) stereotypes, garbed in culturally typical clothing, engaging in culturally typical activities, expressing local concerns. Canadian Indians are characterized as pure, unsullied and close to the environment. French-Canadians are hard-working and stoic, while English-Canadians are portrayed as the norm: adventurous, hard-working, clever and fair. This kind of stereotyping is typical of modern basal series. But, unlike in the multinational basals, this stereotyping occurs in identifiable geographic and historical contexts. Coupled with a present, if explicitly directive and didactic narrator, this location in space and time of the characterizations at least makes for the possibility of criticism, for the rejection or acceptance of the text's veracity.

But what of the prescriptive version of postwar social and "industrial" order which readers were to learn about, adapt and aspire to? Like American texts of the period, overtly didactic sections on "citizenship" and "work" were included. In Dickie's Canada, children and adults are portrayed working in primary resourced-based occupations which constituted the very heart of the

postwar Canadian economy. Trapping in the North, farming wheat, logging, fishing, constructing houses and highways are among the portrayed kinds of labour. Elsewhere, readers catch glimpses of the transportation and communication infrastructure which was a constituent element for this resource-based colonial economy and culture (Innis, 1970). Children are introduced to several stories on the Trans-Canada airline, on life in logging camps, on bush piloting, ferries, the construction of the highway system in Northern British Columbia, and so forth.

Notably, the anonymous suburban style community of Dick and Jane is absent altogether. In Young Explorers, no adults in urban white collar occupations appear; never is a character portrayed, as Dick and Jane's father, in dark three piece business suit and matching hat. The rural scenes of Fun with Dick and Jane - set in their grandparents' hobby farm - stand in sharp contrast with the distinctively Canadian settings. Grain silos, rugged mountainous terrain, rushing and dangerous rivers, and stands of timber all present clear environmental obstacles for the characters. In the aforementioned story of rural Quebec, there is little of the pastoral allure of life on a farm: the children, even the youngest, have no time for playing with chickens or chasing pets. In all this is a textbook representation for children of archetypal themes of Canadian life and literature. The setting, characterization and story structure do indeed teach a prescriptive kind of social realism: surviving in, much less domesticating, a potentially harsh and predictably wild environment, moreover, requires particular kinds of understandings and patterns of action.

Readers of Dick and Jane learned a curious admixture of Amy Vanderbilt and John Dewey - polite manners, respect for elders, cooperative play,

participation in domestic life. These messages were coded by way of repeated, redundant semantic structures and lexis; this kind of text in turn precluded divergent or varied interpretations. By contrast, readers of the Canadian Parade texts encountered a universe in which children had to learn to contend with adversity from social and economic sources extrinsic to the family unit. This is conveyed at the semantic level as well. The story structures convey a series of clearly identified alternative possible worlds which, even if reconciled and explained by the narrator, are nonetheless presented. Though the message finally is one of cultural assimilation - that even Quebecois and Cree children share rudimentary universal concerns - a range of lifestyles and contexts, however stereotyped, are portrayed. Moreover, the ideological message of testing and adaptation to problems in the biosocial environment is coded at the level of story structure. To be Canadian is to be adaptable, tough and ready for environmental and social challenge.

And yet there remains a curious historical irony here. The likes of Massey, "A Canadian", Quance, and Dickie believed that the representation of distinctive aspects of Canadian culture would generate an authentic sense of nationhood and selfhood, one unfettered by Americanisms. These basals, moreover, came a long way towards that goal in spite of the importation of dominant scientific/technical approaches to curriculum making.

The kind of "social adjustment" espoused, however, was archetypally "Canadian" in a number of contradictory ways: children were to adjust to a vision of "social progress" which entailed perpetuation of western Canada's role as a provider of primary resources for eastern Canadian and American manufacturers. Taking into consideration the contemporaneous and current literature on Canada's cultural and economic dependency (e.g., Wilden, 1980;

Smythe, 1982) - much of which is based on a reexamination of concerns voiced by Massey, Innis and others - we might conclude that the maintenance of this sense of national, regional and individual destiny may have historically perpetuated the very dependency it set out to reverse.

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Chapter 5. TEACHING THE TEXT:  
ENFORCING THE NORMS FOR LITERATE BEHAVIOR

5.0. The text in historical classroom context

Text content and structure make for specific levels and kinds of readership, projecting, Eco (1979) reminds us, a "model reader". Nonetheless, readership always occurs within a specific historical and, in the case of the reading of the school textbook, institutional context. In what follows the institutional rules governing what children were entitled and encouraged to do with text are examined.

In schools the child's apprehension of the text is mediated by variables of institutional context. Teachers in classrooms shape and constrain what children learn to do with text, intentionally setting out to engender particular attitudes towards and behaviors with text. In this regard, the teaching of text in the classroom is governed by the intentional application of an ensemble of pedagogical practices. Through instruction, assessment and related daily classroom interaction, a hidden curriculum is established which may augment, enhance, complement and, in instances, contradict the ideological messages expressed within and through the text (Anyon, 1981). As Apple (1982, p. 144) has argued, the imposition of a prepackaged instructional regime can lead to the reduction of curricular knowledge to bodies of "appropriate" skills and behaviors, and to a correlative reduction of teaching and learning in the classroom to standardized social interaction.

This chapter examines the texts about the teaching of textbooks discussed in previous chapters, outlining the official rules for and theoretical assumptions about teaching literacy to children. The focus here is on another level of historical artifacts, teachers' guides and government-issued

pedagogical guidelines. This level of educational discourse on literacy stands as a metatext to the children's text: a text with instructions and conventions for the teaching of early reading and language arts texts. Following a general discussion of the central role of classroom codes in the mediation of the acquisition of literate competence and textual knowledge, the present analysis examines the postwar texts of rules for the organization of the teaching of literacy in the classroom, showing how they operated as a centralized administrative technology for the structuring of that teaching.

The expansion of standardized testing in British Columbia as a means for the classification and grouping of students is described with particular reference to the work of psychometrician and ranking regional administrator C. B. Conway. It is argued that Conway's guidelines, in concert with the extensive instructions for teachers and students provided in publishers' guidebooks, placed teachers in a contradictory situation. At once they were enjoined to follow the egalitarian ethical imperative of Progressivism, while at the same time they were bound to an increasingly standardized and exhaustive body of technicist practices.

Reading and criticism presuppose "interpretive norms", codes of interpretation learned and shared by and within an "interpretive community" (Fish, 1981). These codes are historically specific and themselves subject to interpretation and reinterpretation; this differentiates them from what Wilden (1981, p. 25) calls "ciphers". Ciphers, like Morse Code, are simple sets of "rules about how to make one-to-one transformations from one kind of message to another". A code, Wilden argues, is different from a cipher in that it constrains the information exchanged and the behavior permitted in a given system, but does not simply dictate or determine it. Following this

definition, the interpretive codes of readership taught in a given model of literacy training can be seen as "sets of constraints" on the relative interpretive freedom of readers.

Codes and norms of readership are taught/learned within codes and norms of "pedagogic action" (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). The code at issue here is the institutional rule system for reading and learning to read: the set of school rules which mediates curriculum qua text into school knowledge qua messages drawn and derived from the text by student readers under the direction of the teacher. That teacher in turn is guided by his/her learned and administratively enforced assumptions about teaching in general, and about teaching literacy in particular. The structures of intersubjectivity entailed in teaching/learning situations constitute "instructional events" (Spindler, 1982; Au, 1980). Those events which involve text are specialized classroom "literacy events" (Heath, 1982), instances of social interaction which require reading and/or writing. What differentiates classroom literacy events from daily uses of literacy is that the former are designed especially for teaching and learning particular literate behaviors. That is, they are intentionally didactic and deliberately structured to accommodate this didactic function.

Student readership of textbooks, then, is a uniquely rule bound and mediated form of readership. It is didactic not only in its intent to teach particular ideological content, but it also entails the equally ideological superimposition of codes of readership, of officially sanctioned and culturally acceptable behaviors with the technology of literacy. This is achieved through the intentional intervention of the teacher, who may follow to varying degrees a standard script which specifies appropriate relationships between textbook authors and student readers. In this way, the teacher acts

much as the medieval cleric did, mediating the "word" by omitting, emphasizing, and reinforcing particular readings and interpretations, and by calling for specialized kinds of speaking and writing in response to the text (Luke, de Castell, and Luke, 1983). Through this intentional form of constrained intersubjectivity the student learns what counts as writing and reading, what counts as response and interpretation, and what counts as a legitimate function and use of literate behavior.

The discourse on the teaching of text - a textual record of official rules, norms and prescriptions for student/teacher interaction with and around the text - is recoverable. While it cannot be presupposed that it or any other official code was strictly adhered to, this record states generalized pedagogical norms for the acquisition of literate norms. This record signalled to teachers of the era the official school rules for the incorporation of students into literate culture. It was thus the expression of a selective tradition of institutional practices which opted for and against specific textual knowledges and literate competences.

Such regimes of school practice are putatively descriptive, drawing from an allegedly "true discourse" of empirical observations, coded into "rules imposed and reasons given, the planned and the taken for granted" (Foucault, 1981, pp. 5-6) for the teaching of literacy and the optimal conditions for its acquisition. Moreover,

These types of practice are not just governed by institutions, prescribed by ideologies, guided by pragmatic circumstance - whatever role these elements may actually play - [they] possess up to a point their own specific regularities, logic, strategy, self-evidence and 'reason'. (p. 6)

In this way, the official discourse on the teaching of literacy, while ostensibly standing on the basis of the description of extant and prior

ontological, psychological or social conditions also potentially makes and standardizes those conditions according to its own intrinsic "logic". Perhaps more importantly, it is a discourse of institutional power, standing as a yardstick against which daily classroom practice can be measured.

#### 5.1. A grid of specification: Centralized control of literacy training

How were basal textbooks to be read? By whom? And under what pragmatic circumstances? What kind of interpretive responses were to count as signs of successful reading and writing? While centralized administration of schools had been an earlier innovation throughout North America (Callahan, 1962), "prepackaged" curricular material came to the fore in the 1950s (Apple, p. 150). Postwar British Columbia teachers encountered two principal sources of formal bureaucratic documents which prescribed rule systems for the teaching of literacy: regionally developed curriculum documents and teachers' guidebooks produced by textbook publishers. Many of the former have been alluded to in previous chapters: the Department's professional magazine, British Columbia Schools, the British Columbia Teachers' Federation's official organ, The British Columbia Teacher, and of course the Departmental Programmes for Study. In the postwar period among the most influential were those articles, memos to principals and teachers, and sections from the provincial curricula written by C. B. Conway. A sample of Conway's guidelines for the teaching of reading enables the specification of one level of the official code governing early literacy training, and of the scientific rationale upon which it was based.

Conway (1949b), postwar Director of the newly created Division of Tests, Standards and Research in the British Columbia Department of Education, was

versed in the work of Thorndike, Gray, Gates and others. A psychometrician by training, former Victoria Normal School principal, and president of the Canadian Educational Research Association, Conway saw his task as one of interpreting the findings of psychological research in education for teachers. In a Department which consisted of Conway, a secretary and graduate students hired during the summer to assist in tabulating test scores, he was personally responsible for "standards" and "testing" in the Province, and was therefore ideally placed to select and implement policies and practices based on the findings of educational research (see Table 5.1.). Throughout the 1940s and 50s Conway's articles appeared in scholarly journals, teachers journals, and, of course, in the memos and guidelines sent to principals and teachers. Additionally, he had significant influence on the writing and formulation of curriculum guides. The Division was charged with the preparation of the sections on reading, assessment and grouping.

In all, Conway generated a comprehensive statement on the teaching of reading and writing; his texts offered direct guidelines for the construction and organization of instruction and assessment. They were compatible with the academic research, articles and books on reading by reading researchers like Gray and Gates, the teachers' guides authored by reading and language arts researchers and curriculum specialists like Dickie and Quance, articles in teachers' journals, and of course the Departmental guidelines issued by the curriculum branch. For example, his Division's circulars, like "Suggestions for the Improvement of Reading" (1955), referred teachers to works by Betts, Gates, Dolch, Hildreth, and Russell. These texts together form a complex discursive field, putatively descriptive though ultimately prescriptive, selectively theoretical though primarily practical.

Table 5.1.: Testing by the British Columbia

Division of Tests, Standards, and Research, 1945-1972

Test (Form), Grade	Date
Progressive Achievement (3), X.....	1945
B. C. Reading Comprehension Test (S), XI.....	1946
B. C. Intermediate Language Arts Test, VI.....	1947
B. C. Intermediate Reading Tests, V.....	1948
B. C. English Usage Test (Pm), IX.....	1948
Metropolitan Achievement Test (T), VII.....	1948
B. C. Primary Reading Test (F), IV.....	1949
Ayres Handwriting Scale, VII.....	1949, 1952
B. C. Comprehensive Achievement Tests, XII-XIII.....	1950, 1951
Willing Composition Scale, VIII.....	1952
B. C. English Usage Test (Pm, P), IX-X.....	1953
Stanford Achievement Test (J), III.....	1955
Stanford Achievement Test (J), VI.....	1956
B. C. Test of the Ability to Read in Mathematics, XI-XII.....	1956
B. C. Test of the Ability to Read in Social Studies, IIX-IX.....	1956
B. C. Intermediate Language Arts Test (Em), VI.....	1957
B. C. Test of the Ability to Read in Mathematics (A), X-XII.....	1958
B. C. Test of the Ability to Read in Social Studies (A), IIX-IX.....	1958
Metropolitan Achievement Test (A), VII.....	1959
B. C. Reading Comprehension Test (S), IX.....	1960
Metropolitan Achievement Test (Int./T), VII.....	1962
Metropolitan Achievement Test ((Adv./B), VII.....	1963
Stanford Achievement Test (L), VII.....	1964
Iowa Basic Skills Test (B/O), VII.....	1965
Cooperative School and College Ability Test, XII.....	1968
Stanford Intermediate Language Arts Test (ii/x), VI.....	1973
Stanford Reading Test (I/W), IV.....	1973



Though Conway (1956b) went to lengths to assure teachers that his official word was non-binding, certainly his was an administrative discourse of power, intentionally constructed to standardize instruction. His official tasks included the development of local and provincial norms on U.S. and Canadian I.Q. and achievement tests. Having orchestrated the administration of standardized testing in the province since the early 1940s for King and Weir, Conway was interested in longitudinal changes in achievement. As noted on Table 5.1., he readministered reading achievement tests at 10 year intervals to establish B.C. norms.

Additionally, he administered tests in selected districts throughout the province, wary of the kind of bureaucratic and financial problems - with hand scoring and scaling - that might have resulted from overfrequent province-wide testing. Conway tried his hand, too, at test construction but with limited success. In the late 1940s and early 1950s he undertook, with Department of Justice civil servant A. Willing, to develop a standardized composition and writing test (Conway, 1952). During this period he also successfully pioneered the development of tests of reading in the content areas (Conway, 1956a, 1956d).

Adding to his administrative and political influence, Conway used achievement test and IQ data to scale yearly provincial examinations administered to secondary school students. This system in turn functioned to regulate matriculation and subsequent university entrance (Conway and Brown, 1956). These curriculum examinations, Conway (1956b, p. 49) noted, worked to "enforce minimum standards" while the use of achievement tests provided "a stimulus for good teaching". Through "cross referencing" IQ with exam results and test achievement, Conway enabled the local teacher "by using the norms ...

[to] discover how the achievement of other classes of equal ability compares with his own" (p. 51).

To convince teachers of the need to heed modern reading research, Conway noted that B. C. students had fallen below the U. S. norms on reading achievement, and discussed an array of causes of "reading failure" (1955, p. 2). Turning to popular culture, he speculated that "perhaps the comic books are having an effect." But this, like his attribution of declining handwriting standards to the advent of the ball point pen (Conway, 1949a), was as far as Conway came to a speculative attribution of falling achievement to general cultural changes extrinsic to the school. Much of the problem, he argued, could be located in the child's background, previous education, and innate ability. Among the scientifically verified sources of reading failure he included: "language difficulties" encountered by "recent immigrants" and others; "poor home environments" without sufficient "books, newspapers and magazines"; "consistently poor teaching" which may deny children of "educational opportunities" (e. g., "teachers who have not used standardized tests"); and "insufficient maturity and low mental age" (1955, p. 2).

Conway thus saw home and community background and miseducation as primary causes of literacy problems. Teaching, particularly when not guided by standardized diagnostic procedures, could create deficit. Finally, he noted that children's personal immaturity or "brightness" might create problems with the attainment of "satisfactory reading ability".

To contend with this myriad of possible "causes", teachers were to focus attention on the scientific "location of poor readers", the absence of which was itself seen as a sign of "poor teaching". Conway noted that "individual difficulties in reading" may be caused by diagnosable and remediable psycho-

physiological "causes", including:

- 1) Poor visual perception and visual defects.
- 2) Lack of auditory acuity ...
- 3) Lack of interest ...
- 4) Emotional factors ...
- 5) Lack of practice ...
- 6) Poor sight vocabulary and limited word meaning vocabulary.
- 7) Lack of general information and lack of experience or background knowledge in the fields on which reading materials are based. (p. 2)

Reprinted in the Programmes of Study (British Columbia Department of Education, 1947, p. 53), Conway's hierarchy of causes was extremely conventional, drawn as it was from the work of Gates, Gray and others.

Causes for failure to acquire competent reading "skills", then, could result from physical, motivational, or cognitive deficiencies. Each could be compensated for by adjustment of regular instruction or by the introduction of "remedial treatment". In cases where lack of interest was a problem, Conway (1955, p. 2) argued that "reading materials [should be] adapted to the basic curiosities and desires of the individual pupils". As well, children had to develop a "positive reaction [emphasis added] ... toward reading". Children should also be given a good deal of time to read, and be able to read widely.

Conway furthermore argued that "meagre backgrounds" had a "retarding effect" on "reading comprehension". While children had to be physiologically capable and to be emotionally willing and motivated, they absolutely required ample opportunities for reading at school and home. In these and like guidelines, Conway set out to alert teachers to the danger of "underemphasizing" the effects of specific cultural "experience" and background knowledge on the development of literacy.

Yet for the daily conduct of the reading program, knowledge of the "causes" of problems was not enough in itself. In the 1947 curriculum, the Department referred teachers to Gray's five "stages in the development of

reading abilities", reprinted from the Thirty Sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (1937):

1. The stage at which readiness is attained ... pre-school years, the kindergarten, and often the early part of first grade . . . .
2. The initial stage of learning to read ... usually during the first grade. . . .
3. The stage of rapid progress in fundamental reading attitudes and habits ... usually during the second and third grades. . . .
4. The stage at which experience is extended rapidly and increased power, efficiency, and excellence in reading is [sic] acquired ... normally during Grades IV, V, and VI. . . .
5. The stage at which reading interests, habits and tastes are refined ... occurs as a rule during the junior high school, senior high school, and junior college periods. (British Columbia Department of Education, 1947, pp 52-3)

Gray's hypothesis of developmental stages became part of the conventional wisdom about reading acquisition for over four decades subsequent to its formulation (Chall, 1983). This developmental hierarchy could enable teachers to diagnose and group students, offering appropriate curricular materials.

Indeed the Departmental curriculum noted that those "reading disabilities" not caused by external factors might "arise from using methods and reading material suitable for a higher stage when the pupil has not yet reached this stage" (p. 52). Teachers were to watch for particular symptoms associated with each stage and act accordingly: in stage 1, for instance, "steps should be taken to overcome physical and emotional deficiencies that might interfere with progress" (p. 52). To pass from stage 3, students "should read silently more rapidly than orally". These stages, then, set out a theoretical template which could be translated into practical criteria for achievement and placement.

The processes of diagnosis and treatment could be assisted by the use of standardized tests issued by Victoria. To confirm a standing in stage 3, for example, "a grade score of 4.0 in silent reading should be attained"; for

stage 5, "a grade score of 7.0 in silent reading is desirable by the end of this stage of development". In spite of the caveat to teachers that "the stages, while recognizable, naturally merge one into another" (p. 52), the stages were linked administratively with quantitative achievement on standardized reading achievement tests. Hence, the stages - and the attendant statistical means for evaluating literate development - acted as a grid of specification used by administrators and teachers to categorize students for differential curricular and instructional treatment.

The set of classroom procedures which Conway, other Departmental administrators and university-based curricular experts advocated proceeded from the use of a "diagnostic test" for the sorting of children into instructional groups: "The purpose of grouping is to adapt the curriculum and the learning environment to the individual abilities and needs of the pupils and to provide appropriate means for their continuous development" (British Columbia Department of Education, 1954, p. 14). Again teachers were reminded that within each grade and classroom children would differ widely in "maturity, health, social and cultural background, intelligence, interests, attitudes and habits". But in literacy training the standardized reading achievement test, used in conjunction with various IQ tests, was to be their key tool in the implementation of a thoroughly modern approach to literacy instruction. For the learner, the test was crucial: the kind of instructional treatment and text the child received was contingent on initial diagnosis. For the teacher, the test was equally crucial: the efficiency of his/her teaching and of specific curricula could be gleaned by local and regional administrators on the basis of test score results.

The "location" and "classification" of students for "reading groups" was

provided for in two basic formats sanctioned by the Department: tests of "oral reading ability" and "standardized tests of silent reading". The former, such as the Gray Standardized Oral Reading Paragraph Test, required that children read paragraphs aloud. Teachers were also encouraged to use paragraphs of their own choice. Problems in "word reading, incorrect method of attack on new and unfamiliar words, mispronunciation and reversals, or defects of vocalization" could be noted. The teacher was to "jot down" these "errors" so that "corrective work" could be laid out for the student.

The second technical apparatus for pre-instructional classification was the standardized test of silent reading. These tests could assess students' knowledge of vocabulary, paragraph meaning, recall of significant details, word recognition and knowledge, and prediction of given events. In Conway's estimation, "most ... test the pupil's ability to understand stated facts, comprehend implied facts, uncover the central idea of a paragraph, read and understand directions, and understand word meanings." Notably, Gates Basic Reading Tests, for grades 4 through 8, tested higher semantic level competences such as the "appreciation of general significance", "prediction of outcome of given events", as well as more conventional skills of "noting details", and "understanding directions".

These test scores in reading and related linguistic competences and knowledges, could be charted on a graph provided by Conway's branch in Victoria against I. Q. test results (e. g., Conway, 1956c). This would enable the teacher could determine whether the child was working below her/his innate "ability" or whether "low ability" was being compensated for through effective instruction and student effort.

Armed with this quantitative data, and taking into account aforementioned

factors of innate ability, level of development, individual character and sociocultural background (British Columbia Department of Education, 1954, p. 15), teachers were advised to group the children for separate texts and instruction in all of the "tool subjects of Reading, Arithmetic, Spelling, etc." (p. 13). Far from being arbitrary, this kind of scientific grouping was seen to reflect closely the children's sense of their own achievement:

Teachers will find that the children tend to divide themselves into three groups: first, those who are unquestionably mature; second, those who are capable of making average progress; and, third, the slow group who have much immaturity to overcome. (p. 15)

These groups apparently would enable the teacher to "plan her time [so] that she may move from group to group, giving her attention where it is most needed" (p. 15). This would encourage "faster-learning and more mature pupils" to be "challenged to work to capacity".

For "slow learning pupils" - in reading mainly those from "poor home environments" - "special adaptations" were necessary: "possibly the assignments will be simpler and shorter" (p. 15). In terms of reading, perhaps "remedial" instruction was necessary: the aforementioned "disabilities" might be remedied with specialized textbooks, decoding drills, and "certainly ... more first-hand experiences, more illustrative material, and more repetitions to fix any learning [emphasis added]" (p. 15). In other areas of the language arts such as oral and written expression, these students might need "corrective teaching" (p. 28). The following list of common grade 5 usages offers an official inventory of illustrative kinds of oral and written expression which were seen to require "corrective teaching" (viz., remedial drill).

Correct forms to be learned.

(a) Those books - not them books.

- (b) Haven't any paper or have no paper - not haven't no paper
  - (c) Haven't any or have none - not haven't none.
  - (d) I have two hands - not I have got two hands.
  - (e) I have gone - not I had went.
  - (f) Jack and I (as subject) - not Jack and me, or me and Jack.
  - (g) Correct use of may and can.
  - (h) Correct use of an and a.
  - (i) The one who (that) - not the one what.
  - (j) Correct use of two, too, to; hear, here, and similar homonyms.
- (p. 28)

Consequently, those students grouped for remediation were to receive a greater degree of direct instruction and constant diagnosis. By contrast, "fast learning" students were seen to require from the teacher "not more instruction, but inspiration [emphasis added] to enable them to make extended use of their abilities to become creative learners" (p. 15).

Through this diagnosis, grouping, and treatment process - and through the conceptualization of literate development in terms of hierarchical stages - Conway offered a scheme for the differential transmission of literate "habits" and "skills". Within this system, standardized testing thus provided the basis for pre-instructional classification of students. Moreover, it enabled the verification of the efficacy of particular curricula, pedagogies, schools and teachers. In his province-wide yearly surveys of reading achievement, Conway relied primarily on conventional measures of reading, stressing vocabulary, levels and speed of comprehension, paragraph meaning, etc. These tests were available for local teachers' use, but Conway's records reveal that they generally were administered throughout the province by his branch, which also provided materials for systematic record keeping (see Appendix B). Additionally, individual districts like Vancouver and Victoria regularly administered such tests. Norm-referenced achievement testing was augmented by the maintenance in secondary English education subjects of the hundred-year-old provincial examination system. In Division reports to teachers,



principals and the legislature, provincial examination result were cross-correlated with data from yearly standardized tests of IQ, achievement in reading, math, content-area reading, and even handwriting.

The lynchpin of the assessment and instruction system in reading and language arts was the modern silent reading test. Descended from Thorndike's first use of short paragraphs, these tests entailed textual stimuli and objective questioning to measure student response. It is not the purpose of the present discussion to enter into the longstanding debate over whether these test actual reading, comprehension, and so forth. This question has been taken up both by critics of educational measurement and measurement experts themselves, who continue to debate the very nature of comprehension in particular and literacy in general (e.g., Tuinman, 1986; cf. Smith 1981; Cook-Gumperz, 1986). There is of course the actual measurement issue of construct validity: whether such tests actually measure what they purport to measure. However, the primary concern here remains with how they provided a set of taken for granted truth claims and epistemological assumptions for the categorization of students and for the deployment of classroom practices.

It was not as if Conway (1956b) was unaware of the "disadvantages and many dangers in centralized testing". In the mid-1950s, following two decades of experience at province-wide testing, he noted that teachers "may be led to depend entirely" on one particular type of test and hence, that "desirable flexibility and high instructional validity of the teacher-made test may be lost" (p. 51).

The program may become inflexible, particularly if "package" texts are used. If separate answer sheets and machine scoring are used, the great advantage of teacher marking, and the correction of mistakes by the pupils of their own test papers may be neglected.  
(p. 51)

Conway clearly saw the principal dangers of standardized testing in terms of instructional abuse. He further highlighted for teachers the dangers of inexact, hackneyed use of a scientific instrument, pointing out the potential effects on the learner:

There also is a danger of too great a dependence in the results of standardized testing program. Promotion may be based entirely on such tests instead of the results of local tests and local evaluation.

(p. 52)

Again, Conway did not take issue with the educational legitimacy of centralized testing but with its potential abuses. But in this passage he seems more concerned with the possibility that standardized test results might be used by the teacher at the expense of local tests, again taking for granted the very efficacy of testing per se.

Conway did address the potential political ramifications in terms of both pedagogical and administrative abuse: "by resisting tendencies toward the use of too many tests and toward testing teachers rather than pupils, we hope to maintain that attitude". Yet nowhere in his memos, journal articles, teachers' articles and contributions to Departmental programs of study are there signs that he or his colleagues in the Department of Education questioned the total social and educational effects of mass testing in an extended educational jurisdiction.

One obvious effect was that children from lower socioeconomic and ethnically divergent backgrounds might have fallen into the classification of "slow learners", receiving drill-centered remediation which bore remarkable similarities to the nineteenth century rote instruction which Conway and other Progressives purported to abhor. By contrast, the treatment of "fast learners" - of innate ability and literate backgrounds - was to consist of

"high motivation" activities and "enrichment" materials. What Conway did not see was that the centralized prescription of a script for the assessment and teaching of literacy, in its provision of differential placements and treatments, may have selected for and against specific groups of children.

As for the rationale for this officially sanctioned ensemble of practices, Conway and his colleagues in the Department conceived of the teaching of literacy as a thoroughly scientific enterprise, which could be engineered systematically on the basis of empirically derived understandings and measurements of literate competence. This view of literacy afforded a theoretical grid of specification, thereby enabling the placement, treatment and certification of children and the gearing of classroom practices towards the maximum instructional efficiency. Using the systematic interpretation of standardized and non-standardized test data, teachers could group for differential treatment, and thereby cater for "individual difference".

With inspectorial and school administrative vigilance, and the compilation of exam and standardized test data throughout the postwar period, Conway had the means for enforcing this code throughout the province. Though he and his colleagues saw their role as the imparting of empirical data, pedagogical concepts, social facts, and practical guidance, their bureaucratic machinery in fact constituted a discursive technology of power reigning over the teaching and learning of literacy in provincial classrooms.

## 5.2. The teachers' guides: Standardizing the instructional event

Thus, under the aegis of Conway's directorship, there was a strong Departmental bias towards standardization - towards the norming of literacy instruction in line with the N. S. S. E. state of the art, towards the drawing in of both traditional and new practitioners into a modern and centrally

controllable model of teaching. But the Deweyian orientation towards thematic, integrated approaches continued to historically coexist with this technicist orientation. The duality of modern literacy instruction - the child-centered and humanistic with scientific and systematic - was reflected in the teachers' guidebooks issued by publishers as adjuncts to particular curricular series.

As noted in Chapters 2 and 4, all postwar reading series came with guidebooks, usually in a smaller (and less durable) format than the textbook. Although they came into common usage in the interwar period, in the 1950s these guidebooks had become a central component in sophisticated "packaged curricula" due to both aggressive marketing by publishers and the conviction common among educators that the quality of teacher training and the potential for ("Cold War") ideological deviation in the classroom necessitated stricter and more precise guidelines for teaching (Apple, 1982, pp. 150-1).

In their guidebook to the grades 1 and 2 basals, sections of which were reprinted in both the Departmental curriculum and British Columbia Schools, Gray and Arbuthnot (1947, p. 31) explain their intents:

We have not merely given a general philosophy of teaching, but we have implemented this philosophy by carefully worked out suggestions to the teachers at each step [emphasis added], whether it be preparing the child to read, guiding his reading from the book, or interpreting and applying the ideas gained. We subscribe to the idea that at each grade level guidance is needed.

Smith (1962) notes that the introduction of these guidebooks signaled the transition from "traditional" readers to more modern, complete, and scientifically designed packages. Suffice to say, by mid-century any series lacking this kind of reference guide would have encountered major problems in the search for regional adoption and implementation.

Likely the first of such guides had been offered by Ryerson/Macmillan with the aforementioned Highroads to Reading Series. The Highroads Manual (Ormond, Ormond, and Beresford, 1932) offered a short course in theory, model lessons, and a range of strategies for structuring classroom environments, assessment and related skills teaching. Ormond et al. offered to teachers the latest explanations of "the reading process", describing the relative roles of oral and silent reading instruction, "phonetics instruction", and so forth. In a section entitled "Applying Our Theories", they presented systematic approaches to testing and grouping, advocating the use of Gray's standardized reading tests. Suggestions for Deweyian "project work", "supplementary work to improve reading habits", and the building of a "classroom library" were included. The interwar model for teachers' guides, then, included explanations of the theoretical basis of the series, model lessons and activities. The stress on assessment and classification was directed to both beginning and traditional teachers with minimal training in reading, language arts or pedagogical method.

It is significant that, unlike its followers, The Highroads Manual did not offer step-by-step, lesson-by-lesson procedures, only noting "model lessons" for the teaching of prose and poetry, phonics and comprehension, silent and oral reading. Additionally, it refers the teacher to a host of other texts on reading pedagogy by Gates, Gray and others, and a bibliography of children's literature. It reads, then, more like an introductory course in the practice and theory of teaching reading and language arts, not as a denotative script for proceeding through the textbook. By the postwar period, however, this format had changed.

The Canadian Parade Readers also featured a manual: Teaching Reading in

the Intermediate Grades (1957), authored by Dickie, Ricker, Tyner and Woodhead. It differed from its historical predecessor in its minor emphasis on theory and its specificity in the direction of daily instructional practice. Although shorter in length, spanning only 87 pages, this guidebook offered much more specific instructions for the teaching of the intermediate basals in the series. Additionally, this handbook reiterated Conway's stress on scientific grouping and assessment while retaining Dickie's concern with the Progressive child-centered enterprise.

Dickie et al. provided teachers with an overview of the particular approach to reading instruction embodied in the series. Two types of reading were to be taught: "interpretive type" and "work type". The latter was akin to Gray's notion of "recreational reading": "children learn to read by reading and only by establishing that attitude that reading is a joy-giving activity will they be persuaded to give themselves the constant practice necessary" (p. 8). By contrast, children were to be taught "the mechanics of work-type reading". Reading was thus conceived as "work-type and literary skills" (p. 9) and, Dickie et al. reasoned, "to acquire facility in any skill, two types of practice are necessary: 'Whole process practice' ... and 'element drill'" (p. 9). In other words, children were seen to learn best through practicing the total reading act but they also were seen to need to practice particular subskills in isolation. These included "moving the eyes from left to right in long eye spans, rhythmically; word recognition; phrasing, or word grouping; fusion, fusing word meanings together into thoughts; getting the meaning of a word from the context; using phonics to make out the pronunciation of the word" (p. 9). These were all conventionally recognized subskills of reading, cited in Conway's Departmental circulars and memos. But it should be noted

that the unmistakable emphasis here was on a whole word approach which did not afford phonics a focal position in instruction.

Moving from the Curriculum Foundation Series to the intermediate years, students were expected to "use a reading vocabulary of from 2000 to 3000 words, including those listed in the Gates Primary Reading Vocabulary" and to "read silently at the rate of about 95 words a minute" (p. 10). What the authors of this reading series aimed for, then, was an admixture of "whole process" practice and skills training. In agreement with Conway, they argued, moreover, that "good readers" would focus on the former, while "poor readers" would require the latter.

In agreement with Conway, Dickie maintained that the instructional program should "begin with tests" (p. 10):

The modern teacher knows that it is a waste of time to try to teach pupils who are good and poor in a subject together. Both suffer. For efficiency [emphasis added], working groups must be formed on the basis of ability. It matters little how long a child has been in school. Good readers are good readers whether they are in Grade Two or Grade Six. They need one kind of treatment. Poor readers [sic] are poor readers in whatever grade they are found. They need a different treatment. (p. 10)

Teaching the Canadian Parade texts, then, was to begin from a set of pretests and groupings "according to ability". Several standardized tests, "obtained through the Book Branches of the Provincial Departments of Education" (p. 87), are recommended in a separate appendix (e. g., Gates' Basic Reading Test, Gray's Oral Reading Tests, Gray's Oral Reading Check Tests, Metropolitan Reading Tests). In lieu of these, teachers are encouraged to use short passages and questions (e. g., "find the main thought"; "locate definite pieces of information"; "recognize word meanings") and to develop their own "informal" tests of oral and silent reading. Eight sample tests on stories in the basal series are provided and guidelines on how to diagnose oral reading

problems are noted (p. 18).

Again, there is nothing particularly unique or innovative about this particular description of how to conduct diagnostic assessment prior to teaching. But this section on assessment - unlike the Highroads Series - comprises virtually a fifth of the total manual. Testing and grouping are proposed as necessary preconditions of teaching the text:

Following the tests, the teacher should divide her class into reading groups: the senior class, the good readers, those who are up to standard in the mechanics of reading [emphasis added] and ready to be trained in the special skills of reading for information; and the junior class, those who are below standard in the primary skills and need additional element drill in them as well as training in the new skills. (p. 19)

Within this systematic approach, teacher and student record keeping were crucial: model individual "progress charts" for tracking the rate of silent reading and percentage scores on comprehension quizzes were provided (p. 48; see Appendix B). The notion of "senior" and "junior" groups as well indicates the kind of stratification by test results which was advocated. While the former would "be expected to proceed rapidly through each chapter" and progress to "the available supply of supplementary material", the latter would alternate between "group discussions" of stories with the senior group and remedial "element drill" drawn from Dolch's, Thorndike's and Munroe's "Word Lists from Remedial Reading" (p. 19).

Testing and grouping thus acted as a psychometric prelude for the entire instructional program. There was to be joint "discussion with a short interpretive activity" before the breaking off into groups for "comprehensive or technical activities" (p. 20). "Reading and literary skills" (listed as "comprehension skills", "technical skills", and "techniques for the appreciation of literature") were to be taught in order, following the format



of "progressive development" through "game-type element drills" and other specific lessons.

Many of the skills, however, were covered in (disposable) "Reading Activity Books" provided for each student. Intended to "supplement, but ... not supplant, the blackboard lessons" (p. 59), these books were alleged to

give invaluable training in word perception, in read-and-do, in thinking-while-you-read. They introduce new words in context, review old words in new contexts, give word and phrase recognition practice. They train also in selecting, associating, comparing and evaluating both facts and ideas. (p. 26)

Teachers then could treat different reading groups with a range of experiences. They could give a "formal, full-dress teaching lesson" which entailed introduction to topics, motivating the children to read, vocabulary, "setting" or "word study". This would lead to "silent reading" and a post-reading "discussion" to check and "correct" "the pupil's grasp of new ideas and new words" (p. 25). Or they could alternate these typical silent reading lessons with "element lessons" or "practice lessons", i. e.,

a ten to fifteen minute lesson in which the pupils practice one or another of the different skills of reading as: eye movement, word or phrase recognition, fusing, getting the meaning of a new word from the context, the different types of phonic exercise, reading at different speeds, practice in different types of comprehension exercise. (p. 25)

These, according to Dickie, were "generally blackboard lessons ... preparing for and supplementing the Workbook Exercises" (p. 25). Additionally, the handbook cited examples of specialized drill exercises to contend with "poor readers'" habits (e. g., "faulty eye movement", "vocalization", "single word reading", "inadequate phonics", "inadequate reading vocabulary") (pp. 53-7).

These basic formats - silent reading lessons, drill lessons and workbook exercises - could be alternated with sustained supervised silent reading and

oral reading. In sum, these were the major instructional treatments specified for the Canadian Parade Series at the intermediate elementary level. With Quance's weekly spelling lists, these skill-based activities formed the core of early literacy training.

Yet Dickie's approach did not exclude totally a range of other activities and the resultant pedagogy is a curious admixture of old and new, traditional and Progressive. To teach literature, such traditional, classicist activities as choral reading, practice at "reading aloud" literary passages, poems, and plays, and "speech training" are noted (cf. de Castell and Luke, 1983). In the latter, students of the 1950s, like their nineteenth century predecessors, were to learn to "stand in correct posture" and practice "breathing, voice production and resonance, and articulation" (Dickie, et al., p. 70). "Breathy voice", "harsh voice", and "shrill" and "nasal" voices were to be overcome through the "proper reinforcement of tone" (p. 71).

In the rush to systematize instruction Dickie and colleagues had not neglected either the contemporary preoccupation with Canadian content or the Deweyian concern with the "enterprise". Throughout the guidebook teachers were encouraged to "integrate" the particular contents of stories with social studies, and follow up their lessons with "projects and activities".

The following sample lesson - on the story "Kidnapped" from the grade 5 reader, Gay Adventures (Dickie, Ricker, Tyner, and Woodhead, 1947) - exemplifies the directive quality of the teachers' guide and the particular ideological focus on Canadian content to be taught.

Explain to pupils that in those days the United States as well as Canada belonged to Britain. Then the people of the United States quarrelled with Britain over the taxes. . . . The quarrel went on until many Americans decided that the only thing to do was to separate from Britain and form a country of their own. The two countries went to war and the Americans won their freedom. Most of them were anxious

to form a separate country, but a number of people did not approve of this. They wished to ... remain as part of the British Empire. These people were called United Empire Loyalists. The Separatists treated the Loyalists very harshly, taking their property ... ill-treating many and even killing some. Many of the Loyalists moved to Canada where they could be free and yet remain British. (Dickie et al., 1957, p. 32)

This complex rendering of story content obviously is as much for the teachers' benefit as for the students'. It exemplifies the way in which modern teachers' guides provided teachers with a script to follow, not only for the prescription of activities and lessons but for the ideological explication of text content. This passage was followed in the guidebook by a specification of teaching strategies:

Before the pupils commence reading the selection, show them a map of Canada and the United States and point out the Richelieu running through the State of New York and the Province of Quebec. (p. 32)

Teachers were encouraged to use the basal reading series as a departure point for the "integrated" teaching of history, geography, sciences, etc., as well as a means for the systematic inculcation of reading "skills". This "pre-reading" motivation, and provision of background knowledge (which mediated how the child interpreted the text) was followed by "post-reading" activities: "arranging events in story order"; "dictionary work"; "listing of main points"; "making an outline", "tests of achievement in map reading", and so forth. Subsequently, teachers were instructed to "assign workbook exercises on pages 28 and 29 of Workbook for Gay Adventures" for most students, and turn to "element drills" in "word perception" and "dictionary practice" for "poor readers".

As regards the "project method", teachers were told that "this story might be useful in a unit or enterprise on Pioneer Life" which might entail the construction of "The Durham boat, the bateau, the locks, the camp of the

Indians, the bear's nest in the hay" or the painting of "a frieze ... depicting ... the trip, making a cabin, finding Ann" (p. 37). However, the comprehensiveness which this exemplary instructional script provided for structuring the teaching of text may have discouraged the development of fuller, more extended enterprises.

On the one hand, teachers of the Canadian Parade Readers were encouraged to mix instructional activities and to vary their teaching to meet the needs of specific groups of children. On the other, a rigid pedagogical agenda was laid out. On the basis of their reading of standardized reading achievement test results, they were to select from prescribed pedagogical treatments and prepared workbook exercise sheets. No doubt in many classrooms the aforementioned format, comprising pre-reading discussion/silent reading/post-reading discussion/exercise and worksheet, became the staple of literacy instruction, repeated daily for months at a time as children moved lock-step through the text in sequence.

The cumulative effect of this exhaustive set of textual directives was the establishment of a machinery of literacy instruction which entailed the teaching of standardized texts in standardized classroom literacy events. This is exemplified most graphically in the guidelines for teachers laid out in the Teacher's Manual for the Canadian Spellers (Quance, 1951).

As noted in Chapter 4, Quance provided for teachers a systematic and comprehensive approach to spelling that could be undertaken for roughly fifteen to thirty minutes on a daily basis for the full Canadian school year:

The plan followed ... is that of dividing the work of each grade into thirty-six lessons, and each lesson into five parts - one part for each of five days. ... Thirty of the lessons are used for the development of new work. (p. 20)

This Monday through Friday pre-test/post-test system was adopted by various

Departments of Education. The British Columbia elementary Programmes of Study (1947, 1954), for instance, reprinted verbatim sections from Quance's teachers' manual. To implement this scheme, Quance provided two running scripts: the textbooks provided daily instructions to the pupil ("What to Do Each Day") which were matched by the manual's instructions for the teacher ("The Weekly Program"). There was exact parallelism between the rules for students expressed in the textbook and the guidebook specifications of teacher behavior. Consider for instance, the day-by-day injunctions laid out for grade 3 teachers and students.

On Monday ("Look at Your Words"), the student turned to his/her textbook and was told to "Read the story. Your teacher will say each of Your New Words. Look at each and say it after her. Find each word in the story. Write each on the paper" (Quance, 1950, p. 2). The teacher was told to undertake a "conversation about the picture" as a "stimulating approach to the reading ... and the study of the words of the lesson". Following this, Quance (1951, p. 21) instructed the teacher:

The next step is for the teacher to pronounce each word in the list ... and to have the pupils say it after her. The teacher's pronunciation should be natural (not exaggerated), distinct, and accurate. Check the children's pronunciation for such mistakes as 'goin' and 'jist'. ... When the words are being pronounced by the teacher and the pupils, the pupils should look at them in the word list. They should then find them in the story, and write them on a piece of paper.

This Monday procedure - like the total program - was to be followed by both teacher and student with little or no deviation. Throughout the teacher's text, Quance reinforces this with enjoinders to "follow the regular steps", "follow carefully each step in the procedure", and so forth. The only variation arises in the specification of possible discussion topics (e. g.,

"Talk about going to the store and shopping for Christmas") and in the notation of particular mispronunciations to guard against. The martial ordering of classroom interaction is particularly interesting in light of Quance's observation that "on Monday the pupils [have] looked at their words and saw them in meaningful context - their [emphases added] story".

On Tuesday ("Learn about Your Words"), students were asked to "Do what it asks you to do under Learn about Your Words. Look at each word before you write it. Write each word carefully" (1950, p. 5). In individual lessons, students were told to "be sure to write the number of each part on paper" (p. 5), while undertaking exercises in the placement of apostrophes, syllabification, filling in missing letters, recognizing compound words, and other subskills of spelling. Quance (1951, p. 21) explained to the teacher that these exercises were "inductive procedures" optimally suited to teach the "essential generalizations in word meaning and in word building". He instructed the teacher "to supervise all their work closely at first, and continue to do so until they show that they have gained the power to do it independently" (p. 22).

On Wednesday ("Test on Your Words"), students were told to "write each of Your Words on a piece of paper as your teacher says it. Keep this paper. Draw a line through each word that you missed. Beside each of these, write it as it is in your book" (1950, p. 2). The teacher was instructed:

The correct procedure in giving the test is, first, to say the word distinctly; second, to read the sentence in which the word is used, stressing the word very slightly; then to say the word again, when the pupils write it. (1951, pp. 22-3)

Quance believed that the sentences served to provide the words in "contextual material" (p. 22). Consequently, he not only provided the words but also specified sentences for the test. For the words "has", "three", "coming",

"where" and "hot" in lesson 21 of the grade 2 speller, he offered the following:

1. The postman has a parcel.
2. Grandpa has three pigs.
3. Is Jim coming to the ball game?
4. Where is my coat?
5. The sun is hot.

Regardless of whatever authentic contextual meanings may have been generated either in ("their") discussion or reading of the story, the teacher was told to adhere to Quance's sentences and follow exact procedures for stress, intonation and repetition.

After this pre-test, the teacher was expected to monitor students, ensuring that "words that have been misspelled should be rewritten correctly beside the wrong form" (p. 23). The list was to be retained by the students "until after the study period on Thursday". On Thursday ("Make Sure of Your Words"), students were told to "study the words that you missed last Friday and yesterday" (1950, p. 2). If they had few errors, they was told to expect that "your teacher may ask you to learn the More Words to Study". A five point system for further study was laid out for students:

1. Look at the word. Say it softly. If it has more than one part or syllable, say the word again, part by part, as rab bit, while looking at the letters in each syllable.
2. Look at the word and say the letters to yourself two times. If the word has more than one syllable, say the letters in each syllable by themselves.
3. Without looking at the word, write it.
4. Find the word in your list. See if it is right. Write it two more times.
5. If you spelled it wrong, study the word again as in steps 1, 2, 3, and 4, looking carefully at the letters that you missed. (p. 3)

During this study period, as the student followed this script, the teacher was to play an "active and helpful role": "she should take extreme care to see that the pupils ... study their words in accordance with the method of

studying a word outlined at the beginning of the pupil's book" (1951, p. 23). As in Tuesday's preliminary study, then, the teacher was required to do little direct (much less, creative) instruction. In all, the teacher's role was to monitor and enforce the procedures laid out in the textbook.

On Friday ("Test on Your Words Again"), students were made to "Write Your New Words and Your Review Sentence as your teacher says each" (1950, p. 3). The final test was similar in format to the pre-test but pupils were also to be tested on words they had missed in previous weeks ("Words You Missed Last Friday") and on "enrichment" words ("More Words to Study"). Teachers were also provided with a marking procedure: "Pupils may mark their own test papers with benefit but only if this is done under careful supervision". Following the test, each pupil was to mark her/his score on a chart entitled "Your Spelling Record", adding errors to her/his "spelling notebook" for next weeks retesting (see Appendix B). This system of charting student results, matched by those provided by Dickie's and other basal reading series, was designed to generate student pride in achievement and incentive for improvement. A more subtle management effect was achieved insofar as such charting provided teachers with a systematic record keeping system for tracking student progress.

To complete the curricular package, Quance provided teachers with "a modified plan" designed for occasions when "the five-day week is broken by a holiday". A full "six weeks review" was similarly ordered, giving students a week to review words they previously had found difficult. Quance also experimented with the development of an adjunct "text-workbook" for the series, a disposable exercise book to be used during review weeks (p. 25).

Quance's approach, then, epitomized the kind of systematic approach to



curriculum, instruction and assessment advocated by many post war educators. Teachers and students were provided with correlating instructional scripts, which relied on redundancy of interaction, exercise and procedure for effectiveness. The technical form of the curriculum thus circumscribed instruction and assessment and this scheme for the management of daily instructional events was virtually 'teacherproof'. Teachers' were provided with step-by-step instructions, many of which, as noted, concerned keeping the students in line with the textbook instructions provided. Moreover, assessment was systematized. Variables such as teacher-generated sentences and student response to the prose passages were eliminated from the pre and post-test procedures and a grid-like recording system for monitoring student progress was included in the curricular package. Little was left to chance.

To summarize: this kind of systematic literacy pedagogy - recognizable to any Canadian or American postwar student - allotted distinct activities for each day of the week, and was repeated weekly. This routine was only broken by a review lesson every six weeks. Quance's emphasis was that each week, each day and each moment in the classroom literacy event should follow an "orderly procedure" (1951, p. 24). It is not that this is necessarily bad pedagogy; no doubt Quance and many currently teaching would make the case that the effectiveness of each procedure (e.g., the steps for "word study") is empirically verifiable. In this manner, the total standardized textbook/instructional event/assessment sequence operated tautologically. It was a closed system capable of providing its own justification and confirmation. For there can be little doubt that such test-driven instruction and test-based curricula would yield higher test scores, verifying their own validity in terms of the application of the technical criteria and apparatuses upon which

they had been developed and implemented.

Yet the sum educational effect of this kind of instruction entails far more than the simple learning of spelling. For the textbook here provided a strict and inflexible sequence of behaviors for literacy learning; the teacher's manual provided a like sequence of behaviors for literacy teaching. Accordingly, a strict code of teacher and student conduct reigned over the teaching of the interpretive code for the actual reading and writing of and speaking about text.

As noted at the onset of this study, there was defensible historical justification for this kind of explicit control over teachers. With a postwar teacher shortage, burgeoning enrolments, and the wholesale induction of war veterans into teaching ranks throughout English-Canada, many classroom teachers were grossly underqualified (Lawr and Gidney, 1973, p. 232). It is certain that many teachers would have been unable to provide, for example, the kind of detailed (or biased) information about the United Empire Loyalists offered by Dickie et al. Without Quance's handbook, others might have reverted, for better or worse, to a nineteenth century rote, drill approach to the teaching of spelling, teaching as they were taught. But these total curricular packages could hardly be expected to engender the humane, "socialized recitation" of the "enterprise" advocated by Progressives like King and Dickie (1940, 1941).

As practices they were - apart from all else - forms of control, systems whereby both teachers and students could be managed for the full thirty six weeks of the school year. As forms of ideological incorporation, they were means for the imposition of attitudes and behaviors. Students learned to function on the basis of impersonal oral and written instructions and to

accept classification and grouping on the basis of scientific survey information. As a theoretical basis for the understanding of literacy and the literate, they corroborated Conway et al.'s categories of description and justifications for particular forms of literate and oral intersubjectivity.

### 5.3. Teaching literacy by the numbers and the pedagogical double bind

While the likes of Conway advocated more standardized testing, grouping and record keeping - hallmarks, according to Bowles and Gintis (1976), of twentieth century meritocracy - many teachers' guides and curricular documents tended to advocate both this technocratic approach and more overtly Progressive methods. Some analyses maintain that industrial-style education of the Progressive era yielded an inexorable machinery of social reproduction: that schools, in the disbursement of literate competences and social understandings, were flawless imitations of factories, producing masses of acquiescent workers under quality controlled conditions, selecting against children of the poor and ethnic and in favor of those of a white collar elite (e.g., Spring, 1976; Bowles and Gintis). There is, however, a set of discursive and ideological contradictions within the postwar discourse on practice. The dual strands of Progressive pedagogy - the scientific and humanistic - continued to coexist side by side (de Castell and Luke, 1983). Accordingly, literacy was conceived of both as a set of "mechanical skills" and as a cultural process capable of enriching "individual" social experience.

In consequence, the teacher was caught in what psychologists and communications theorists have termed a "double bind" situation. In his classic contribution to the study of schizophrenia, Bateson (1976, p. 6) draws attention to the role of "context" in the generation of conflicting messages:

when "unresolvable sequences of experience" occur, the human subject is confronted with the "double bind situation".

Bateson explicates what he considers necessary conditions for the double bind. Two or more persons must be involved and the injunctions "inflicted" upon the subject must occur from "repeated experiences". Bateson does not locate the source of schizophrenia in a "single traumatic experience" but rather in "habitual expectation". The actual double bind emerges from the contradiction between "primary" and "secondary negative injunctions". First the human subject is confronted with an injunction to do something to avoid punishment. The next "necessary ingredient" entails a "secondary injunction". Bateson draws on Russell's theory of logical types to explain that this secondary injunction stands "conflicting with the first at a more abstract level" though, like the primary injunction it too is enforced with possible negative consequences. The double bound individual, then, is confronted with conflicting injunctions to action, each with potentially negative consequences. Finally, a "tertiary negative injunction" prohibits the subject "from escaping from the field"; that is, the choice between primary and secondary injunctions is enforced. Bateson concludes that this sequence "may then be sufficient to precipitate panic or rage" (p. 7).

Following Bateson, others have outlined instances and ramifications of double bind situations in everyday life. Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson (1967, p. 195) designate how one form of the double bind, the paradoxical injunction, can place people "occupying the one-down position" in "untenable positions". Their examination of paradoxical injunctions - which amount to single utterances, imperative statements, commands and orders which in themselves embody paradox - indicates how all of Bateson's conditions can be

met simultaneously. First, an institutionally bound interactional context may itself serve as a tertiary injunction. To use Watzlawick et al.'s example, a captain's order to a subordinate is binding; the subordinate has no choice but to comply by the nature of the codes and rules governing that relationship.

Furthermore, they note that

the most frequent form in which paradox enters into the pragmatics of human communication is through an injunction demanding specific behavior. ... The prototype of this message is, therefore, "Be spontaneous!" Anybody confronted with this injunction is in an untenable position, for to comply he would have to be spontaneous within a frame of compliance, of nonspontaneity. (pp. 199-200)

This example, of the person enjoined to "be free", or "be spontaneous" or of the child told "Don't be so obedient" (p. 200) accurately describes the plight of the postwar teacher. On the one hand s/he operated on the basis of the ethical injunctions of Deweyianism. S/he was encouraged by the likes of Dickie and provincial inspectors trained to implement H. B. King's "socialized recitation" to exercise spontaneity, to tailor the curriculum and instruction to local and individual needs, to be flexible in the teaching of text according to his/her reading of the situation and the human subjects under her charge. Following the enjoinder that teachers "begin with testing" and "grouping", the authors of the Canadian Parade teachers' manual left actual procedures up to the teacher. Echoing Conway, they assured teachers that "suggestions made are suggestions only. The teacher will use them only when and as she thinks best" (Dickie, et al., 1957, p. 20). Apart from the aforementioned drilling of "poor readers" in subskill areas, a variety of patently child-centered interventions were recommended: the enterprise method, a program of curricular integration, the informed modification of textbook sequences, and so forth.

Yet the converse side of this paradoxical injunction was the scientific

standardization of literacy training within the very text that demanded innovation. While invited to extrapolate and to a certain extent experiment in order to address individual and local needs, teachers were confronted with an exhaustive, comprehensive and binding set of instructional procedures and an increasingly vigilant system of centralized administrative surveillance and control.<sup>1</sup>

Teachers had to contend with yearly provincial standardized achievement testing, traditional year-end curricular examinations, and inspectors and principals armed with curriculum documents. With additional complementary guidelines issued by publishers, these conditions imply an educational scenario which encouraged pedagogical (and hence, literate) conformity. The teaching of reading and language arts was undergoing an historical reformation towards increased standardization. Teachers were encouraged to view the process of teaching as a technical enterprise, entailing the systematic and exact deployment of a curricular technology (de Castell and Luke, in press). In tandem with this recasting of the teacher as curricular manager, literate competence was normed into a series of discrete, technically imparted skills. The related universal assessment program, moreover, functioned as a tertiary injunction, making adherence to the primary injunction unlikely, if not contradictory.

A correlative pressure resulted from the premium which all of these instructional materials placed on "integration". As we have seen, teachers were encouraged in publishers' guidebooks and Departmental curriculum guides to teach language arts in an interrelated, cohesive manner: Quance's texts, for example, were supposed to complement "related language arts". Dickie's enterprise method was premised on the melding together of lessons in various

modes of oracy and literacy around particular themes and pieces of literature. Indeed both The Canadian Spellers and the Canadian Parade Readers actively challenge teachers to join reading and language arts instruction with other curricular subjects. Yet the very format of these modern curricular packages - adjunct materials, comprehensive exercises, scripts for managing instructional events, workbooks and tests - may have operated as a pedagogical straightjacket; their very comprehensiveness formed a disincentive to deviate from prescribed guidelines. At the very least, they led to a compartmentalization, a set of discursive and behavioral boundaries for the classroom.

Consider, for instance, the contradiction in Quance's spelling program. Clearly he conceived of spelling as something which occurred in the context of writing, with correlative effects in students' reading. It was optimally taught in relevant texts which expressed a clear and direct relationship to children's experiential and cultural background. If this was the spirit of his venture, its effect was converse. The strict daily spelling routine - fully spanning the thirty six weeks of the school year, linked by periodic "review tests" every sixth week and recorded on comprehensive progress charts - heralded a mechanization of spelling instruction matched in its comprehensiveness perhaps only by MacLean's "muscular movement" approach to the teaching of handwriting used in the 1930s and 1940s. Quance's system of dictionary work, skill exercises, pre- and post- tests, effectively divorced the teaching of spelling from the teaching of writing. This disjunction, Graves (1983) and colleagues argue, remains today.

The identifiably Progressive spirit and intent of many of these curricular packages stood in contradiction with their technical and

dramaturgical form: the result of ever more sophisticated curriculum development and marketing, and of the perceived need to systematize, to simplify and to standardize instructional procedures for the classroom teacher. In its totality, the code left little to chance.

In sum, the 'innovative' and creative teacher would not have been encouraged by the growing use of standardized curricula and assessments. Quite the contrary, s/he might well have felt stultified by the ever more comprehensive code of rules, injunctions, and guidelines governing how s/he should mediate children's reading and writing of text. Meet local and individual needs; teach in a way which will yield results verifiable by centralized authorities. Be creative and innovative, allow the children to explore language and literacy through experience; administer standardized tests, drills, spelling tests, and remediation. Meet the needs of every child in a non-discriminatory manner; use IQ and Reading achievement tests to assess, classify, group and treat children. Integrate language and literacy across the curriculum; teach spelling and reading for two hours each day following a repeated, set scheme.

The code of literacy instruction, made explicit in a voluminous discursive script on "how to" teach literacy, constrained his/her freedom to design classroom instructional events. It simply needed to be enacted 'by numbers'. The primary injunction for teacher behavior was to enact practices which systematized and standardized the teaching of literacy; the secondary injunction was the more abstract ethos of Progressive education, to "teach the child, not the subject".

This is not to suggest that postwar teachers were aware of this contradiction: for instance, many retrospectively appraise the situation by



noting that "we just didn't know that IQ tests were working against certain children" (e.g., H. Matheson, personal communication, 12 September 1981). But they were double bound, caught between what must have appeared to curriculum developers and departmental officials complementary prescriptions, but what seem in historical retrospect a significant theoretical and practical rupture within postwar literacy instruction.

Inasmuch as those Progressive, child-centered practices would yield measurable improvement in students' literacy - as assessed by standardized tests - there was no overt contradiction between these dual strands. For the standardized texts of literacy instruction - themselves generated according to empirical research by Thorndike, Gray and others - offered systematic pedagogy which, if adhered to, would no doubt yield systematically assessible progress. The scientific approach was predicated on the match between curriculum development (and hence control over the selection and design of the textual stimulus), systematic grouping and treatment (and hence control over access to different texts), and assessment of the acquisition of competence (and hence control over reader response). For teachers, traditionalists and Progressives alike, to assert their individual proclivities in developing truly divergent instructional settings and events, potentially threw a major hitch into this seamless system which Departments of Education, university-based researchers and curriculum developers, and publishers together were endeavoring to establish.

By the 1950s the bureaucratic and discursive machinery for a standardized approach to literacy instruction was in place. The categories of the textual code for the teaching of literacy, moreover, though putatively descriptive, functioned to select for and against certain kinds of teaching and certain

kinds of reading, in effect making a certain kind of literacy in the aspiring child.

#### 5.4. Notes

1. There is some evidence in the Public Schools Reports of the 1940s and 1950s that teachers who did not appear to be embracing the "new pedagogy" and the "socialized recitation" were subjected to criticism by administrators at both regional and local levels. However, no correlative set of institutional apparatuses for the enforcement of the humanistic strand of Progressive education was developed. This reflects the very character of "child centered" education. While the technocratic element of Progressivism was implemented through centralized administration, testing and financing by the likes of Conway, the humanistic element was forwarded in teachers' journals, teacher training curricula, and official documents as an ethical/moral responsibility. As such, it was not institutionally enforced in a strict sense. But this is not to say that ethical imperatives (e.g., "teach the child, not the subject") were any less binding when instilled through teacher training and repeated at all levels of institutional discourse.

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## Chapter 6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

### 6.0. Summary: The making of the literate

At the onset of this study the ideological role of modern schooling was explained in terms of the transmission of a selective tradition of attitudes and beliefs, competences and knowledges across generations. Following Williams, ideological production in schooling was defined in terms of the "practices and expectations, assignments of energy", ordinary "expectations of man and the world" which are introduced through a formal system of institutional "social training". Focussing on the role of literacy instruction, it was noted that the introduction of students into an officially sanctioned body of literate norms and practices and eventually into a dominant culture has historically served purposes of social control. In literacy training students learn a body of messages which represent and/or serve the interests of particular groups within society. But as well, students acquire a set of literate practices - attitudes towards and competences with the technology of text - which work for or against their interests and those of others. While the foregoing analysis of the educational (textual) discourses cannot be seen as altogether descriptive of actual classroom practices, it can "draw attention to the ideologies out of which texts are produced" and "uncover the layers of meanings, contradictions, and differences inscribed in the form and content of classroom materials" (Giroux, 1986, p. 62). It thus is possible to situate discourses about educational practice historically as part of broader processes of cultural production.

The text as an observable artifact is indeed the "interface" between



historical authors and readers (Ong, 1982). As such, it is the recoverable trace of practices and policy which remains long after historical authors and readers are deceased. The text stands as a documentary record of those authorial, pedagogic and interpretive codes which its use presupposed and projected, enabling a partial reconstruction of everyday communicative transactions between writers and readers, teachers and students. That is to say that its particular words and relationships between words express exemplary historical cases of dominant rules of writing and reading, teaching and learning - what Heath called the socially constructed and stipulated "norms" of literacy and the norms governing "methods for learning those norms".

To establish the quality of literacy, its transmission and acquisition in this particular historical period and locale, the present study has scrutinized varying levels of the textual record of pedagogical practices for the teaching of reading and language arts in the primary schools of postwar British Columbia. In accordance with models of analysis drawn from the critical sociology of the curriculum, three levels of inquiry were identified: 1) documentation on the authorship and publication of postwar textbooks; 2) selected basal textbooks used in postwar primary schools; and 3) teachers' guides, departmental memos, curriculum documents, and professional literature on how to teach these textbooks.

In all, Gray and Arbuthnot's texts marked a fundamental reconceptualization of the materials of early literacy training. With the extension of the assumptions and techniques of applied psychology to all domains of education (e.g., curriculum development, techniques of instruction and assessment), these textbooks with their adjunct materials were fabricated

educational products, successfully developed and marketed by publishers in various English-speaking nations. As products developed on the basis of pedagogical and cognitive theory which purported to be ideologically neutral, universal and equally effective across cultural and situational contexts, these texts reflected severe limitations as literature. Specifically, the limited semantic structures, narratorial intervention, and the redundant focus on artificial dialogue coalesced to make for a closed readership. Children learned reading as the mechanistic, acritical consumption of a limited, myopic world view. The represented beliefs, intersubjective roles and patterns and possible worlds together constituted an exclusionary and distorted version of culture, one which denied the possibility of cultural or individual diversity and variation beyond the strict constraints laid out in the stories.

The obvious irrelevance of such texts for Canadian children did not escape critique by postwar Canadian nationalists. And the texts of Dickie, Quance et al. were partially successful in providing school children with an identifiable Canadian world view, replete with cultural stereotypes, regional locales and a colonized version of Canadian economic and cultural destiny. Yet the dominant technical orientations towards the application of psychological theories and techniques to text development and classroom use remained in evidence throughout the postwar era. Between regional guidelines on how to teach such texts and the adjunct publishers' guides, teachers were confronted with a body of prescriptive technicist practices. The discourse on how to teach literate competence to children embodied contradictory injunctions: teachers were to engage in child-centered exploratory pedagogy; they were to address Canadian national and regional concerns; and they were to

operate according to US developed approaches to testing, classification and differential disbursement of literate competence.

The development of Gray and Arbuthnot's multinational basal reader is a paradigm case of how dominant conceptual suppositions of textbook authorship and the fiscal intentions of text publishing and marketing stamped a distinctive technicist/scientific character on the literacy text. Gray's assumptions about the reading process - dominant in the inter- and postwar period - were reflected in the content and structure of his reading series. The texts' literary content expressed what he and his coauthors considered universal, accessible childhood experiences while their linguistic structure - lexical selection and density, narrative style, and story grammars - stemmed from the belief that children should begin with simplified, highly controlled texts and should progress incrementally towards mature prose forms. The acquisition of reading literacy so conceived - as a universal process of linear skill development enhanced by teaching strategies generalizable across pedagogical contexts - made the ideological content of basal series a moot point. This technical approach to curriculum development dovetailed with Scott Foresman's ambitious plans for the marketing a comprehensive curricular package internationally. Based on allegedly universal principles of the psychologies of teaching/learning and reading, the resultant textbooks were context-neutral, mass-produced educational products, marketable and consumable in a wide range of English-speaking countries.

According to Eco's theory of open/closed texts, the study of text structure reveals how texts make for their own kinds and levels of interpretive response. Eco argues that the closed texts of popular culture prescribe and constrain interpretation through the imposition of simplified,

highly redundant semantic structures. In this way, these texts lead readers to foregone conclusions of a particularly ideological character. Gray and Arbuthnot's texts - and the host of Dick and Jane imitations - were closed texts. Through the use of simplified, linear story grammars, and highly limiting discursive options, these texts established and reinforced rudimentary patterns of human intersubjectivity. Each led readers, at the extreme, to univocal, didactic conclusions enacted in singular possible worlds. Hence, the possible worlds involved and possible interpretations invited by the texts' literary structure were limited. The closed narrative structure and literary style of these textbooks taught reading as a simplified, mechanical task - one unfettered by the kind of literary stylistics and moral content which might have required or invited interpretive criticism.

A key element of these texts was their effectiveness in disguising their actual sources and contexts. Implicitly they claimed to the young reader the ahistorical nature, the universality of a highly selective, exclusionary set of characterizations and possible worlds. Dick and Jane appeared as imaginary . Everychildren in any (English-speaking) country or colony and texts like the Dick and Jane series marked out a popular scientific and bourgeois view of postwar Western life. As pedagogical vehicles, they taught a set of secular values tied to prescriptive kinds of literacy: both "work type" and "recreational" reading, the former for efficient work, the latter for leisure and civic life. Neither could be construed as particularly dialogic or powerful though both enabled a rudimentary participation in common labour and popular culture, feeding a burgeoning postwar economy which required vigorous production and consumption, civic duty and family loyalty.

By contrast, textbooks developed in Canada for the teaching of reading, language arts and spelling in the middle and upper elementary grades were the products of different contexts of text generation and authorship. Although Canadian textbook authors like Dickie and Quance shared with Gray both "child centered" and "experiential" philosophic orientations and technical approaches to curriculum development, their textbooks responded to the demand for overtly Canadian ideological content arising in the early 1950s.

Regarding possible ideological effects yielded by specific texts, the foregoing analysis has identified key literary, stylistic, and semantic structures which render texts more criticizable and interpretable, presupposing that textbooks can situate themselves vis a vis a particular material context, ideology and culture. The implication here is that a textual sign which disguises its own origins - and following Goody (1978) and Olson (1977), text easily and perhaps necessarily entails the disappearance of its own conditions of production - becomes a subtle, covert and thereby effective form of social (and self) legitimation.

By identifying national context overtly, with references to real authors, locations and actions represented in the text, Dickie et al. rendered their text more criticizable, dogmatic nationalism notwithstanding. Through the identification of national content and context, they signalled to student readers the particular set of beliefs, values and social relations they as authors adhered to. Although the practice of rendering explicit national context and ideology characterized Canadian textbooks of the period, this does not wholly vindicate them. In response to the question "whose values" (cf. Mey, 1985), Dickie et al. in effect purported to represent a cultural consensus and manifest destiny where in fact none may have existed. This is a

kind of massification and universalization as well, if on a national rather than transnational scale. And, as has been argued, these Canadian textbooks embodied some of the historical contradictions of postwar Canadian cultural identity and economic dependency within their textual representation of legitimate social, institutional and economic order.

The third level of inquiry into the historical curriculum entailed the examination of those textual artifacts which constituted the official discourse guiding the teaching of literacy. The social context of literacy instruction formed yet another, internally contradictory ideological code which governed the daily reading of and responses to text in the classroom. This metacode of classroom rules for teaching literate codes specified who read which texts, in what manner, within what kinds of structured intersubjective events and circumstances, and to what ends. Consequently, even if attempts by contemporary textbook developers to produce rich literary texts could be deemed successful, the programmatic conditions they and others set out for the teaching of texts would have precluded the generation of what Eco called "unanticipated interpretations". Postwar teachers were caught in a paradoxical injunction. On the one hand they were enjoined by administrators to follow the Progressive ethos, to innovate, integrate and freely experiment and on the other they were provided with detailed guidelines for the scientific treatment and production of the literate. The latter, based on ability-grouping and mental measurement, led to a highly structured differential teaching of literacy which depended largely on where one fell on Conway's comprehensive psychometric grid of specification.

Eco (1979, p. 57) observes that "in every century the way artistic forms are structured reflects the way in which science or contemporary culture views

reality". Curious here is Eco's use of the conjunction "or", for the period examined in the present study marked a conjunction between the prescriptive means and ends of science and of contemporary culture. Textbooks for the teaching of literacy both embodied and were based upon dominant scientific assumptions. In their literary content and structure, marketing and consumption they were indeed generic products of postwar educational culture, standing in a complementary relationship with other mass-produced and distributed popular texts.

But it would be erroneous to assign some sort of conspiratorial intent to the makers of these texts. It is not as if the likes of Gray or Dickie set out to act against any children's interests. If anything, reading researchers and curriculum developers were suprisingly naive regarding their role as participants in an ideologically selective tradition. With their colleagues in universities and schools, they were riding a wave of postwar optimism based on the belief in "social progress" through scientific and industrial expansion. Gray - in his concern to make reading failure virtually impossible - and Dickie - in her zeal for Canadian national content - were unabashedly idealistic in their intents.

Like Conway, however, they were to varying degrees blinded by the same putatively neutral scientific discourse which constrained and guided their endeavors. They operated on the basis of the historical collusion of two rationales for text-making. First and foremost was the "competitive compulsion to increase sales" of textbook publishers, to borrow a phrase from C. Carpenter (1963, p. 276). Carpenter furthermore points out that the finite longevity, "high mortality" and obsolescence of schoolbooks is "a phenomenon that the textbook publisher accepts as part of his business". The profit

motive clearly led to the continual marketing, sales, development and replacement of such texts. But this economic force was rationalized and buttressed by an ethic of progress, for "the constant need for improvement" of educational materials. The technocratic rationale - that all modern products and modes of human labour can be ordered on a linear scale of progress and development - imbued both the positivist sciences of educational research and the business of modern textbook publishing with a perpetual tradition of the new.

Second, both Gray and Dickie saw the histories of reading and its teaching as tales of unilinear growth and development within which more technically precise, quantifiable approaches would yield higher success levels in early literacy. Hence - while they were naive and idealistic regarding ideological content - they shared a fundamental belief in the scientific design of early literacy texts. It was this belief which qualified and ultimately may have undermined their efforts to produce relevant and meaningful textbooks.

In turn, the role of scientific approaches to curriculum and instruction as the appropriate means for the further evolution of effective pedagogy was lodged within the democratic doctrines of Progressivism, for both the Canadian and American texts relied on and taught variations of Deweyian ideology. The purpose of education was at once to enable the social adaptation of individuals into an evolving and expanding social order and to enhance their capacity to contribute to that evolution: "to adapt" and "if need be" to make adaptations to that order. The version of Deweyianism favored in the Departmental curriculum and in Dickie's tracts on the enterprise did not embrace the twentieth century capitalist state as a static entity which



required simple conformism, but rather envisaged progress as requiring scientific innovation and social adaptation to the civic and industrial changes concomitant with scientific progress.

In all, then, the industrial conditions of textbook generation and the resultant structure and content of the textbooks tacitly sanctioned the training and domestication of students: work-type and recreational reading indeed. What was omitted from this comprehensive postwar educational schema was due consideration of reading as a critical, interpretive, and speculative act, and of literature as a morally edifying, aesthetic, and politically relevant entity. The resultant norms of literacy are ample evidence of Dickie and Gray's commitment to "social adaptation" but not of their avowed concern with "social transformation". Both Gray and Dickies' series - the texts themselves and the instructional regimes they embodied - taught a practical and technical consciousness, specifying through both overt ideological content and story grammars what was ontologically true within and existentially possible for human subjects. The reader subsequently was led by a teacher, who him/herself following an institutionally enforced textual script, to a highly constricted body of interpretive codes and literate behaviors.

All was not reconciled conceptually within this dominant paradigm: there remained a critical tension between the egalitarian goals of Progressive education and the technical means of modern educational research. Obviously, this tension served to increase the face validity of the existing model: it appeared to serve democratic goals of individualized treatment, and it did so in accordance with an empirically verified, technologically sound curricular treatment. And yet contradiction was also a political liability, subjecting schooling to divergent, conflicting critiques which varied from Classicists'

attacks on the secular amorality and permissiveness of child-centeredness, to reactionary claims of the need to "return to the basics", to putatively scientific critiques that existing pedagogy was not, for instance, following the researched practice of phonics instruction.

How did this reigning model of literacy-related curriculum, instruction and assessment weather historical change? A brief examination of the context of Canadian and British Columbian educational politics highlights subsequent criticism of this dominant approach to teaching language and literacy.

#### 6.1. Historical aftermath: Back to the basics again

Certainly if any historical event marked the reevaluation of the educational status quo it was the launching of Sputnik in 1957. The apparent success of countries like Canada and the United States in managing the unprecedented growth of public education in the aftermath of World War II was called abruptly into question and public opinion was galvanized into a thorough reappraisal of public education. In a Cold War atmosphere marked by fear that the Russians were capable of technologically superseding the West, public and academic assaults on what Johnson (1968, p. 148) eulogized as "the democratizing tide" of Progressivism were renewed. The Principal of Toronto's University College, for example, held that

So-called progressivism has been universally accompanied by an immediate and drastic decline in the subjects that have hitherto furnished the formal disciplines. (in Guillet, 1960, p. 398)

Many educators renewed Neatby's criticism of Progressivism as thwarting the achievement of literacy. Noting that "the movement towards universal education ... [is] ideally a movement towards universal literacy", G. Whalley (1960, p. 64), head of the literature department at Queen's University, revisited the "inadequacies" of reigning pedagogical approaches, namely "the

assumption that language can be fully explained as instrumental, as 'a medium of communication' " and "as a 'technique of communication' ". He, like many Classicists, found fault with the actual materials for the teaching of literacy, arguing that "the prescribing of inappropriate reading - of books too trivial to nourish imagination or respect" generated in students "weariness of response".

Teacher educators and educational researchers attempted to allay public anxiety over the state of education, sensing that the greatest danger lay in reform and innovation for its own sake. P. Penner (1959, p. 1) of the University of British Columbia wrote that

For as long as 'Sputniks' and 'Luniks' circle the earth and sun and seem merely to maintain the age-old balance of terror, there is no new frontier in space, nor is it in an education conceived only in the narrow terms of defense. . . . One of our tasks as teachers and educators is to disabuse ourselves and the public of false hopes.

In British Columbia - run since the early 1950s by the populist Social Credit government of W. A. C. Bennett - the response was a fresh criticism of the school system. On 11 January 1958, the Province ran an editorial which called for B. C. schools to go "Back to basic education" (p. 4), reporting on the move of Ontario Education Minister Dunlop "to reintroduce new regulations to reintroduce competition to Ontario schools and return to the fundamentals in elementary and secondary schools". Dunlop credited the "Sputnik publicity on Russia's approach to education" with the reform movement sweeping North America. Once again the target was Progressivism: it was assumed in the editorial that elementary schools did not emphasize the "3R's sufficiently, and that the current curriculum was not competitive".

This mood was exacerbated by periodic hysterical articles by a press skeptical of educational standards. On 18 March 1959 a front page Province

headline exclaimed "Illiterate entered grade seven". The case of an 18 year-old Burnaby student who completed grade 7 without being able to read and write was documented and the boy's subsequent prison record - he was charged with 53 cases of breaking and entering - was used to indict the school system.

A climate of public uncertainty and fear thus led to the Chant Royal Commission. Then Minister of Education, Leslie R. Peterson recently described his sense of the situation:

They were unsettled times. When you add to that the very large increases in numbers of students each year to cope with and the lack of funds. ... We had a great shortage of teachers in those early years. In the late fifties and early sixties I had to establish personnel whose responsibility was to recruit teachers from England and I'd raid other countries. (in Giles, 1983, p. 76)

In addition to the growing political pressure for educational change, and an acrimonious public debate fuelled by Cold War rhetoric - the British Columbia system had continued to grow in accordance with high birth rates and migration. Between 1957 and 1959 the total enrollment rose from 301,523 to 327,987 students, with a rise in elementary school enrollment of over 12% (Statistics Canada, 1971, p. 176). Nor had the province overcome the postwar shortage of qualified teachers: the number of teachers with two years or less of training continued to hover around the 55% mark throughout the 1950s (p. 100).

In January 1958, the W. A. C. Bennett government appointed a Royal Commission to enquire into "various phases of the provincial educational system with particular attention to programmes of study and pupil achievement" (Chant, Liersch and Walrod, 1960, p. 1). Between 1950 and 1958, Royal Commissions on education had been undertaken in Ontario, Nova Scotia, Manitoba and Alberta (Johnson, 1964, p. 255). By the early 1960s they had

proliferated to such an extent that one editorial writer was prompted to refer to the "Royal Commission Industry" as a means for "cooling off" any "hot political potato" (Vancouver Province 1 August 1963, p. 6). But from its inception in the 1920s (Luke, 1980; Mann, 1980) the Progressive/scientific model implemented in British Columbia by Weir, King and colleagues had escaped official governmental scrutiny. Bennett and Peterson deliberately chose Commissioners without ties to the educational research or teacher training communities in the province: S. N. F. Chant, Dean of Arts and Science at the University of British Columbia, J. E. Liersch, Vice-President of the Powell River Paper Company, and R. P. Walrod, general manager of British Columbia Tree Fruits Ltd. The business and resource-based industrial orientation of two of the Commissioners certainly reflected the post-Sputnik concern with economic competitiveness and productivity.

After hearing over three hundred and sixty formal briefs and visiting one hundred and sixteen schools, the Commission submitted their report in late 1960. The report noted that "the survival of mankind will very largely depend upon learning more intelligent ways for dealing with problems that threaten the human race" and called for a reorganization of the existing system to accommodate better a two stream academic/vocational system beginning in grade 8. Although its criticism of the standards and practices was not as negative as anticipated in many quarters, the Commission called for a reemphasis of "basic skills and knowledge" (Chant et al., p. 255) and a reorientation of the curriculum away from subjects like art, music and drama towards specialized scientific and vocational curriculum. This was hailed publicly as a "depressing, disappointing and reactionary" document by N. V. Scarfe, Dean of the University of British Columbia College of Education, who noted that "it

was aimed at destroying progressive teaching methods in British Columbia"

(Vancouver Sun, 30 December 1960, p. 1).

In terms of reading and language arts instruction in the elementary schools, the Chant Commission cited several briefs by local district teachers' associations which argued that "extensive research has established that a sound background in, and the continued use of phonics is essential to the highest reading and spelling achievement in children" (p. 297). Parents as well "expressed dissatisfaction over the lack of progress their children in the primary grades were making in reading, and the majority attributed this to insufficient emphasis on phonics" (p. 297-8). Reflecting this popular view of phonics as an instructional panacea, the Commission found fault with the existing curriculum guide's qualified endorsement of phonics as neither "sufficiently definite or informative". The Commissioners recounted their observations:

The observations and inquiries made by the members of the Commission while visiting schools indicated that the use of phonics varied from school to school and from classroom to classroom. In certain Grade I classes, by as late as the end of February, some of the pupils when questioned displayed little knowledge of how to sound out words. In other classes the commissioners observed that the pupils were being taught to sound the letters and syllables of words that were written on the blackboard. In a number of primary grades a common phonetic device was to have the pupils repeat words that rhyme, such as had, bad, dad, sad. Other groups were studying lists of words that commenced with the same letters and sounds, such as cat, cart, can, car, card, etc. However, in some classes these pupils were merely writing these in their exercise books rather than saying them aloud, and it is questionable if this method provides sufficient practice in phonics. (p. 297)

Hence the Commission recommended "that a more intensive use be made of phonics so that the pupils may be enabled thereby to extend their reading vocabularies by their own reading". They did not argue for the shelving of the "sight methods" advocated by Gray and Dickie, but rather maintained that the

combination of both methods "would give a balanced competence in reading that results neither in slow and stumbling readers nor in mere word pronouncers" (p. 298). But in a major recommendation which clearly diverged from existing Departmental curricular guidelines, the Commission argued that the formal teaching of phonics should be scheduled separately and that such instruction should be carried right through the elementary school grades (p. 237).

As for the balance of the elementary curriculum, the Commission also recommended teaching a "mastery of basic grammatical forms" and that teachers take "greater care to correct mistakes in grammar and to indicate the correct usage in all written work". Observing the teaching of spelling, the Commissioners toured the schools and "chose words to be put to pupils", discovering that "pupils are generally more proficient than they are ordinarily considered to be" (p. 301). Nonetheless, aspects of Quance's approach were criticized in several briefs, both as too rigid and as not sufficiently systematic and phonetically based. The Commission concluded that spelling lessons should "include more sentence writing along with the learning of word lists", also noting that the rigid "grade level assignment" of Quance's list was "poor" and that "material of a more challenging type is needed" (p. 302).

Another key aspect of reading and language arts curriculum was criticized: American textbooks constituted 24% of the elementary school materials (p. 342). While not singling out particular texts, the Commissioners noted that the "Canadianization" undertaken by branch plant publishers of American texts "appeared to have been carried out in a sketchy manner" and that "the point of view from which the text-book has been written nearly always betrays itself in spite of the revisions" (p. 342). Hence, the

Commission recommended "that the possibility of procuring more Canadian and British textbooks be thoroughly canvassed". The aim here, was to equalize perceived "disadvantages in facilities" shared by both Canadian and British publishers.

Regarding the actual literary content of textbooks, the Commission noted "evidence of careless preparation" by many textbook editors. Specifically, in terms of children's reading texts, the following was noted:

The basic readers for the elementary grades were judged to be satisfactory by most of the teachers except for the Grade IV and VI readers, which were more often judged to be unsatisfactory, largely because of a lack of literary quality. The spellers in use in the elementary schools were criticized for poor organization and some discrepancies in spelling between the readers and spellers were pointed out. (p. 343)

Hence, general recommendations were made "against the use of abridgements of some well-known children's books". The argument was made that "such rewritings reduce the story to a form which destroys its literary value". Similarly, the Commission maintained that textbooks should "not be so copiously illustrated with pictures that the literary or informative value of the text is impaired" (p. 343).

Two other aspects of the basic approaches to elementary instruction were criticized: the Progressive "project method" and widespread IQ testing. The Commission noted that the enterprise approach "should not be substituted for didactic instruction" (p. 356), further cautioning teachers "to avoid any project method that tends to draw the pupils' attention from the lesson as such". Finally, the Commission noted that the use of IQ testing led to "the common tendency to label pupils at an early age" and, moreover, that "the Commissioners doubted the accuracy of some of the IQ's that appeared on pupil's records" (p. 357). Hence, they criticized the "overtendency to



overemphasize IQ" in particular and psychological tests in general.

Scarfe's widely reported public judgement that the report attacked the very basis of Progressivism was valid, at least in terms of the extent to which this particular return to the "basics" found fault with the very presuppositions, materials and methods of postwar literacy instruction. Many aspects of curriculum and instruction noted in the present study - the use of American textbooks, Gray and Dickie's emphasis on "whole word" approaches, the paucity of literary quality in student reading materials, Deweyian "project methods" of instruction, and the use of standardized testing for purposes of grouping and treatment - were critiqued.

The Chant Commission's findings on literacy instruction in elementary schools, however, were based largely on casual observation and the recommendations forwarded by parents' and teachers' groups. Several historical ironies resulted. First, the criticism of the literary content of upper primary readers contradicts Dickie et al.'s attempts to incorporate unabridged passages of literature into the prescribed Canadian Parade series. Despite teachers' apparent satisfaction with readers like The Curriculum Foundation Series used in early primary grades, on the basis of the present study the general criticism of the irrelevance and literary poverty of textbooks applies most aptly to the latter series.

Second, while the comments on Quance's approach to the teaching of spelling were defensible, the Commission's claim of the efficacy of phonics highlights its acquiescence to popular wisdom and commonsense about practice. In all, these and like problems throughout the document are the products of the very formulation of the Commission: the exclusion of acknowledged educational experts was intentional and led to a populist, consensus based

assessment.

In addition to Penner and Scarfe, many educators rushed to attack the findings of the Chant Commission. Writing in the Journal of the Faculty of Education, University of British Columbia reading researcher G. Birkett (1961, p. 24) argued that

It should be emphasized that the recommendations of the Chant Commission do represent a point of view but much research still has to be done to find answers to unresolved questions in the teaching of phonics.

She and others noted furthermore that such innovations as Glen McCracken's New Castle Reading Experiment - a Pennsylvania based program which used filmstrips, slides and pictures to aid the teaching of reading - and "individualized reading programs" which allowed students to select their own reading materials were being introduced in British Columbia schools (e.g., Hardman, 1959). These innovations which led on from solid research foundations, Birkett maintained, were of perhaps more importance than the increased teaching of phonics and the "return to the basics" of grammar and spelling advocated by the Chant Commission.

As for the publishers, the Vice President of Gage Canada described his sense of the state of literacy and education in a speech delivered to faculty at the University of British Columbia in 1960. W. R. Wees (1960, p. 105) was fully cognizant of the tensions within modern education between technicist and progressive orientations:

Thorndike assumed that the child was made up of bits and pieces which he called stimulus-response bonds, and having assumed his bits and pieces, he never could get the child together again. The organismic people have exactly the same trouble with their whole-child theory. Assuming that the child is indivisible, they can describe the child but they can never analyse him because how can they take him apart if he has no parts?

Against the charge that the overemphasis on word recognition should be

replaced with a renewed concern with phonics, Nees (p. 110) staunchly defended existing methods:

In reading, we have achieved techniques in word recognition and pronunciation that we can be happy with - for a while, at least. I can illustrate the usefulness of our techniques in a rather dramatic way. Before the war, in the French areas of New Brunswick, illiteracy was common, in some pockets as high as 36%. At the time modern techniques in teaching French reading to French children were introduced, and today French literacy is almost equal to English literacy.

Yet Nees (p. 111) - publisher of both Gray and Arbuthnot's and Quance's series - concurred with the position forwarded by Chant, university academics and others regarding paucity of literary quality. He noted the post-McGuffey historical movement away from literary texts to purpose built pedagogic texts.

The present content of our reading programs is a hodge-podge, and this has been true ever since children learned to read from reading texts instead of the Bible. I would except McGuffey. Although one might question his concepts, the conceptual continuity in the McGuffey readers is more apparent than in any since. If learning proceeds, as I suspect it does, in patterns of conceptual development, how can we expect growth through reading when we teach a story about the love of God today and The Battle with the Ants tomorrow.

His praise of existing approaches, then, was qualified by a skepticism of the skills orientation of the contemporary model. Nees observed that, too often, understanding of human interaction and concepts was overridden by a narrow preoccupation with teaching the mechanics of reading:

In many classrooms we don't even teach the story because the course of study ... talks about syllabication, or beauty of language, or grammatical relationships, and hardly ever mentions the human relationships, the understanding of character, that make the story.

As a publisher, his primary concern was with the lack of identifiable Canadian content in textbook materials. Like the Chant commissioners, Nees felt that the mandates of the Massey Commission nearly a decade earlier had been largely ignored by educational officials. He argued that

No wonder then our biggest import is other people's ideas. No wonder that the genius of the Canadian people is imitation and that since we probably secretly resent our position we don't even imitate very well. If this sounds like a harsh appraisal, consider that half our manufacturing, three quarters of our mining and ninety per cent of our oil are controlled from the United States, and that our main exports are primary products. As a nation we are, literally, hewers of wood and drawers of water. And this control extends through the warp and woof of our economic life. Except for company unions, have we one labor union whose headquarters are in Canada. (p. 117)

This economic dependency in turn was tied to the cultural impoverishment evidenced in Canadian textbooks:

We have no song. We sing the folk songs of the Alabama negro, the Wyoming cowboy, and the heartaches of the Civil War. We read other nation's books. One large Canadian publisher says that he publishes one-half a book a year by a Canadian author. He may import nearly a thousand. Have we five prose writers in Canada for whom we can claim literary originality? Perhaps five. Of children's literature, we have none.

In sum, the late 1950s criticisms of existing curriculum for the teaching of literacy reflected the greater sense of crisis shared primarily by the public, some teachers, and university faculty in fields other than education. The general critique - framed by Royal Commissions and restated in the popular press and the pronouncements of academics in humanities - concerned the moral poverty of Progressive pedagogy and its inability to convey the "basics" while encouraging the educational "excellence" seen to be requisite for technological superiority. The tenor of this criticism was amply paraphrased in a brief presented to the Chant Commission by a Duncan parents' group:

During the last 15 years the trend, not only in education, but in labour, in society as a whole, has been to make things easy, soft, and to acquire things with as little effort as possible. (Chant et al., p. 351)

Chant et al. went on to surmise that the Progressive emphasis "upon the growth and development of pupils" had led to a "corresponding reduction in the stress that was formerly placed upon the sheer mastery of the subjects of the

curriculum". A clear refutation of the educational truism that the purpose of schooling was, in Chant's terms, to "teach pupils, not subjects" was at hand. With this general criticism of the educational status quo, came calls for renewed emphasis on what the public construed as "the basics" of literacy: phonics instruction, grammar and spelling. To this, academics in the humanities added the call for a reemphasis on the teaching of literary texts in elementary school textbooks. And throughout the debate on falling standards, the Massey Commission's critique of the overuse of U.S. texts was reiterated.

In the aftermath of the Chant Commission, certainly those remaining Departmental administrators who had laboured to develop the existing model and those teacher educators at University of British Columbia and Victoria College who had researched and implemented the model must have felt chastized. Scarfe's bitter comments reflected the sentiments of these groups, who had been excluded from formal participation in the Commission and whose pedagogical schemes and general philosophy had been subject to harsh criticism.

Certainly, as Johnson (1964, p. 255-74) notes, the recommendations of the Chant Report had long term effects on the administration and curriculum for secondary schools: the academic vocational streaming system proposed was introduced and grade 7 was relocated in the elementary school. The provincial examination system was remodelled for use as a tertiary entrance system and vocational institutions were expanded to accept lower stream secondary students. Nonetheless, the Progressive/technocratic approach to the teaching of reading and language arts in the elementary schools described in this study proved remarkably resilient and resistant to change.

Despite calls for a renewed emphasis on phonics, a major revision of the primary language arts curriculum was not undertaken until the late 1960s. Perhaps this was the result of the fact that major efforts at curricular revision after the Chant Commission were focussed on the secondary schools. By the time this revision was completed, the general educational climate had changed considerably.

In 1963, reading researcher D. H. Russell, of the University of California, addressed the International Reading Association conference, held that year in New Westminster, British Columbia. His keynote topic, however, omitted mention of the "basics", calling instead for a renewed interest in "reading and critical thinking" (p. 8). New theories of reading were emerging, and by the late 1960s "child centered" Progressive pedagogy was undergoing a rediscovery by "countercultural" educators in the United States. The series which replaced the Dick and Jane readers in the 1960s - later revisions of Russell's Ginn Basic Readers (1952-1968) and Holt-Rinehart and Winston's new Language Patterns (1968) series - were both American in content, replete with teachers' manuals, supplementary texts and workbooks. They did, however, reflect the continuing "great debate" between advocates of psychological skills-based approaches to the teaching of reading. The former assumed a more or less whole word approach comparable to Gray's series, while the latter reflected a phonics orientation.

At the same time the scientific research orientation of the Department increased. In accordance with the growth of educational research in the 1960s, staffing and resources for the Research and Standards Branch of the Department expanded (H. Evans, personal communication, July 1979). Like most larger North American educational jurisdictions, the British Columbia

Department carried on with large-scale standardized testing in response to a growing and increasingly diverse student population, and public demands for fiscal accountability. Spurred by the technological orientation of the post-Sputnik approach and matters of quality control, Conway continued to administer regular tests of IQ and reading achievement (see Table 5.1.) until his retirement in the early 1970s, when a new government opposed to mass standardized testing took office and effectively reorganized his Division (E. Dailly, personal communication, 14 January 1982).

The strength with which Progressive approaches to the teaching of literacy withstood periodic criticism and assault in jurisdictions like British Columbia is in many ways indicative of the tenacity of the model as a whole. Certainly, a range of institutional factors militated in favor of the status quo: the entrenchment of administrators trained in the interwar years ensured a retention of teaching practices like "the project method", mass IQ testing, and "whole word" approaches for several decades. King and Weir's attempts in the late 1940s to ensure continuity through the placement of their apprentices in high ranking civil service positions had succeeded. This meant that despite shifts in governmental policy under such Social Credit Ministers as Rolston, Bonner and Peterson, and the growing influence of the British Columbia Teachers' Federation in educational decision-making (Johnson, pp. 252-4), continuity of philosophy and practice within the Department was maintained. In light of the noted resistance of local educational researchers and teacher educators to the Chant findings, it is apparent that the province's total educational establishment, whatever its periodic disputes with the Department, maintained a staunch defense of Progressivism throughout the 1950s and 60s.

A second factor which militated against change was that the paradigm itself, as has been indicated, was embodied in the total curricular packages successfully marketed by publishers. The philosophic assumptions, and attendant pedagogical practices of Progressivism were built into series like the Curriculum Foundation Series and The Canadian Parade Readers. Hence the curricular packages themselves may have bred a familiarity with and allegiances towards particular approaches and materials, conveying and reinforcing commonsense conventions towards the teaching and learning of literacy. Certainly, any competing text or subsequent replacement text had to provide adjunct materials sufficient to compete with series like Gray's and Dickie's. The appeal of such complete packages to Departmental administrators, moreover, is understandable in light of the continuing shortage of qualified teachers in the early 1960s.

If Gray, Dickie, and Quance's texts are any indicator, the cycle of textbook obsolescence and replacement after the war was fifteen years. This may seem like an extensive period, but it was a considerably briefer period than the forty to fifty years of use of the nineteenth century British Columbia Readers, and the twenty years of the Highroads to Reading series. Nonetheless, few subsequent reading series have proved as durable in appeal to teachers and administrators. The Chant report provides evidence that, despite criticism dating back to the early 1950s of their ideological and literary content, the Dick and Jane variety of readers retained popularity among teachers into the early 1960s.

But these empirically verifiable factors alone cannot wholly account for the strength of this particular model. The legitimation potential of Progressivism lay precisely with its ostensibly non-ideological character.



For the public was assured constantly that the system had the best interests of all children in mind and that these interests were being maintained through the deployment of scientifically verified practices without the loss of educational excellence. The former coincided with the egalitarian, democratic goals of postwar societal development, while the latter ensured the efficiency and modernity of the system. Moreover, through the amassing of psychometric data on school achievement, the Department was capable of defusing criticism, and drawing teachers into line with those pedagogical methods which yielded centrally verifiable results.

The battles about practice by and large could be waged in ideologically neutral terms: the stated purposes of the system never really came into question, for certainly even the Sputnik-era critics of Progressivism in jurisdictions like British Columbia - while critical of secular amorality and rumored permissiveness - could not fault "scientific" approaches to education. Rather the debate centered on the most efficacious methods to be used. The successful resistance to a phonics emphasis waged by Departmental officials and local teacher educators underlines the entrenchment of reigning pedagogical practice based on shared paradigmatic assumptions derived from long-standing research findings. Accordingly, reading experts like Gray, Dickie, and later Russell and Birkett could simply address the populist phonics issue - whether it had been raised by a Rudolf Flesch or a Royal Commission - and proceed to co-opt it, citing research findings for the justification of an eclectic method.

The staying power of the postwar model of literacy instruction, then, lay in its embrace of science and its promise of egalitarian results. The resultant (ideological) approach to the introduction of children into literate

culture was self-legitimizing, and its purported neutrality enabled it to deflect, or apparently ignore criticism within a socio-political debate centered on technological progress and competitiveness. Nonetheless, this very neutrality precluded it from addressing recurrent critiques of its overt ideological content: the decade-long calls for Canadian nationalism and the persistent attacks on its lack of moral and literary quality. Furthermore, as noted in the Chant Report, even subsequent attempts by Dickie and others to address the problem of national content and literary value were looked upon by teachers, scholars in the humanities, and even publishers with a good deal of skepticism.

These criticisms - of overt ideological bias, of literary poverty, of U.S. influence - remain today. The fact that they persist indicates the retention in current practice of significant aspects of postwar practice in the teaching of reading and language arts: basal reading series with emphases on skills continue to coexist with a child-centered stress on thematic and integrated teaching and Monday-through-Friday spelling lists. Standardized reading achievement tests remain the benchmark of the early acquisition of literacy. Recalling Heath's comments that the history of literacy and literacy instruction has implications for current practice, it is with a speculative discussion on the possible educational effects of this particular historical ensemble of practices that the present study concludes.

## 6.2. Implications

Education may well be, as of right, the instrument whereby every individual, in a society like our own, can gain access to any kind of discourse. But we well know that ... every educational system is a political means of maintaining or of modifying the

appropriation of discourse with the knowledge and powers it carries with it. ... What is an educational system, after all, if not a ritualisation of the word; if not a qualification of some fixing of roles for speakers; if not the constitution of a (diffuse) doctrinal group; if not a distribution and appropriation of discourse, with all its learning and its powers?

Michel Foucault,  
"The Discourse on Language" (1972, p. 227)

Postwar literacy training in the elementary school entailed a systematic distribution of different kinds of discourse and competence at discursive practice to different kinds of children. This in itself constituted a mode of incorporation into a "whole body of practices and expectations", an "ordinary understanding of man and his world" (Williams, 1976, p. 205). In effect, interpretive communities were constituted by particular pedagogical practices. By tracing the discourse on and of literacy teaching, the foregoing study depicted the complex historical linkages between the contexts of text generation, the structure and content of the texts themselves, and institutional contexts of readership. Yet to claim that literacy instruction is "ideological" is to imply a value judgement on its role in the formation of the literate, and on the relationship of both that pedagogy and its subject to the larger sociocultural structures within which both exist.

The basal readers of the 1950s stood not simply to transmit ideological content but as well to convey and reinforce certain ideological schemata for human intersubjectivity: patterns of social relations, gender and race relations, hypothesis formation and problem solving, categorization of the natural and social world, and so forth. Not incidentally, a schema for "literacy" was conveyed: children learned what was to count as appropriate

"reading", "reader response", and "writing" and, for that matter, what was to count as a quality or interesting "text". Reading is a rule-governed and boundaried process, and the production of literature and its reception relies on the existence and possession of shared codes. If, as Eco insists, "conditions for the necessity of the sign are socially determined", then the conditions for its reception also are stipulated and learned: one must crack the code of literacy, and within institutional "literacy events" this learning occurs within an equally ideological code of pedagogy.

Insofar as all school texts are modes of transmitting a systematic body of ideas, attitudes, values and competences, they could be said to constitute a means of ideological incorporation, a selective tradition in action. However all encounters with pedagogically administered texts need not be 'biased' through and through. The reading of open and/or closed texts in an instructional context which encourages diversity of response does not entail this kind of imposition of meanings: texts and instructional events can generate unanticipated interpretations, the pursuit of text semantics by engaged and active readers. Then as now, some given pedagogic settings cultivated criticism and encouraged readers to use their background knowledge to interpret texts. Hence the foregoing study has not been premised on a narrow ideological, textual, or pedagogical determinism which assumes that such texts were taught to the exclusion of all others in one pedagogical mode. In every historical era, teachers have encouraged independent selection and autonomous interpretation of texts. And yet in the era examined the quality of literacy learning and of learned literacy was constrained and delimited by official norms for the acquisition of literacy documented here.

Just as the interpretive codes for writing, reading/rewriting text are

social and ideological constructions, not in any way innate or natural (McHoul, 1982), so too are the codes of pedagogical science and practice which stand to make and remake the "literate" in any historical era. In accordance with the twentieth century dominance of educational practice by the discourse of applied psychology, Gray, and other educational scientists claimed that they merely were making textual and pedagogical practices on the basis of empirical study of the acquisition of literacy, that they were proceeding from 'truths' based on observation of that which was in the world (e.g., reading text, the literate). The resultant selective tradition of texts and pedagogical practices in fact cast the aspiring literate into a finite range of roles and categories, from playful mischievous white male child in the community, to outdoorsy, tenacious Canadian youth, to "slow learner" from a "poor home environment" in the classroom. The teacher of literacy likewise was reinvented as the unbiased empirical observer, the operator of scientific machinery, the institutionally observed worker, and the humane collaborative lover of children.

Consequently, in comparison with other texts, pedagogical texts are more deliberate by degree in the kinds of cognitive and behavioral responses they mean to exact. Pedagogical texts written for the teaching of literacy are a special case of the teaching of paradigmatic knowledges and competences. For the serially disclosed meanings and relationships between meanings are indeed there to teach not only ideological content (selected values, ideas and meanings) but also teach attitudes towards, presuppositions about and procedures for contending with future texts (selected literate competences and "skills"). Regarding the latter function of the literacy textbook, recall that Gray held what one read in early literacy instruction to matter less than

how one learned to read. Defenders past and present of technical approaches to the teaching of reading have argued, and continue to argue, that the particular methodological regime one learns to read under does not ultimately influence the nature or character of one's literacy (e.g., Chall, 1967). And in passing, it is worth noting that cognitive, psycholinguistic and literary theories of intertextuality presuppose that the processing of a given text entails the cognitive invocation of prior readings of text. The constitutive effect of early literacy learning on one's mature literate tastes and competence therefore seems self-evident and undeniable.

Recognition of this special status of literacy textbooks in making the literate does not suggest that literary texts (e.g., novels, poetry) and functional texts (e.g., application forms, newspaper articles) do not also function on these dual didactic levels: indeed they too communicate messages, refer to the world and prescribe, in their textual form, the codes and conditions for their own reception and the reception of subsequent like and unlike texts. Effective writing of all types is rhetorical, setting out to achieve specific social purposes and psychological effects in the reader.

But texts geared for the teaching of competence with text serve a particular social and political function: the differential and selective allocation of a competence which in modern Western cultures has been associated, if not always directly connected, with cultural, economic and political power (Graff, 1986). And, a good deal of modern and historical educational research assures us, there is an inextricable correlation between competence with text - however construed and measured - total educational achievement, and ultimately, social status and economic attainment (e.g., Hunter and Harman, 1979). Regardless of the actual problematic relationship

between literacy and cognitive development, between literacy and individual and national economic destiny, the idee recue that institutionally defined, transmitted and verified literacy is somehow directly linked with cognitive prowess and sociocultural power makes the kinds of competence engendered in literacy training pivotal for the aspiring literate.

It goes without saying that any and all appraisals of the ideological and educational effects of literacy instruction must reflect, even if implicitly, a positive thesis regarding the sociocultural and individual power of literacy. Moreover, as noted at the onset of this study, current and historical definitions of literate competence and of the optimal conditions for its achievement are based upon concurrent presuppositions about the normative purposes of educational, social and cognitive development. Shared, however, by a range of theories of literacy are the notions that text has the potential to provide cognitive and cultural alternatives to readers and that interpretation can entail an active participation on the part of the reader. Presupposed in a range of accounts of literate development, is a belief in the potential of the text as a vehicle of individual and social development, whereby the reader is able (at least potentially and ideally) to use text actively to make meaning, and by means of which authors are able (at least potentially and ideally) to construct complex texts which invite interpretation.

It is nonetheless quite possible to assess the ideological and educational effects of postwar mass literacy training without recourse to any particular positive thesis on the "emancipatory" character of literacy. Certainly reading text and learning to read text can be an institutionally constrained experience, and textual semantic structure can preclude the

presentation and apprehension of multiple possible worlds. Certain texts - through overcoding, redundancy, and repetition - do not serve the educational end of "schema elaboration", of interpretation which entails the interactive extension of previously experienced knowledges and understandings. Closed texts constrain the critical potential of literacy through an extensive ideological denotation both at the level of the sentence and the text grammar. Readers are rendered consumers rather than learners, and habitual encounters with the closed text may create further dependency:

Each of these social types, the inmate, the spectator, the human commodity and the divided subject, has a different relation to knowledge. Each is adapted to a different text. To the veteran inmate, knowledge can only be read as a command. The habit of acquiescence to instruction generalizes all information, and the inmate's social context, the asylum (whether mental hospital, school or society), is organized in ways that accommodate that need. The bureaucratic announcement/memo is the form of the closed text to which the inmate is accustomed. The spectator awaits excitement. (Nexler, 1982, p. 293)

How might this particular "role of the reader" influence individuals' educational development? R. C. Anderson (1977) argues that change and growth in the individual's schematic repertoire are linked to enhancement of the larger culture's "interpretive schemes", its epistemological assumptions sutured together in daily perception into a "Zeitgeist". He claims that that "dialectic" instruction - exemplified in Socratic dialogue - can "cause a person to modify a world view, ideology or theory" (p. 425; cf. Freire, 1973). Students and teachers possess and express distinct and often divergent schemata, varying kinds and levels of background knowledge brought to institutional literacy events. The resultant pedagogical interaction, Anderson maintains, can maximize "schema change" when it shows that the person's "difficulty" is resolved best through the utilization of a new, or different schema, or extension (that is, negation) of a previously held



schema.

So seen, growth and cognitive development for Anderson constitute a "dialectical" process, characterized by the elaboration and expansion, construction and criticism of schemata. Anderson admits that his is a relativist position: he views social change as change in the collective schemata, with little commentary on material or economic conditions. But he maintains that educational ends are not served by pedagogical techniques which engender "schema assimilation": the uncritical acceptance of schemata, and the habitual usage of conventional schemata to account for and rationalize every new text, experience and historical phenomena (cf. Kuhn, 1963).

This positive thesis on the dialectical potential of textual schemata in education parallels Eco's notion of open and closed readership. Eco's work implies that not all texts are monological transmissions, demanding little more than pattern recognition and acknowledgement by the hungry reader. This is not to suggest that texts which are ambiguous are virtuous and "non-violent", for as McLuhan (1962) and Olson (1977) remind us, textual language is "high definition" - it is biased towards explicitness, providing its own context for interpretation. So read this not as a vindication of the vague and a condemnation of the textual explicitness. Some texts are explicit but by the very illocutionary force of that explicitness generate a range of possible interpretations.

As an ideal type, the open text provides the generative conditions for its own unexpected interpretation. While presuming compatibility between the author's and reader's interpretive codes, it expands and develops that schematic knowledge which the reader brings to the text, then expressing possibility through the provision of open schematic patterns. In this manner,

it not only expresses novelty but relies on that novelty to engage the reader. This 'openness' takes the form of creative syntactic and semantic transformation. The unique use of lexicon and syntax, of language at the level of the sentence may contribute to novelty. The innovative use of commonly known and used lexis, or the construction of new lexis characterize, for example, Roald Dahl's reinterpretations of traditional fairy tales. Readers also encounter particularly apt contextual uses of common grammatical structures and the wholesale invention/destruction of others. Even if readers limit the search for novelty to the level of the sentence, these texts challenge and dialectically threaten existing codes and taken-for-granted assumptions about text and about the world. This is, after all one of the powers of literature: the ability to generate novelty at the level of both textual micro- and macrostructure.

Contrapose against this readership engendered by the story schemata of basal series or the passages from Ian Fleming noted by Eco, where the authors appear to be providing 'new' or 'novel' information, but in fact mechanically re-instantiate an already known schema. Dick needs help; goes to Father; Sally needs help; goes to Father. Bond walks into a room, Bond spots cigarette ashes, Bond notices woman's jewelry. Though the details may be different, the script - the ideational scaffold of the typical 007, or the typical Middletown possible world and possible plot - remains the same. The reader is asked by the text to recognize and slot information into an already high definition schema.

But are we to surmise, as Anderson does, that phenomena like didactic teaching and closed textbooks are simply the result of ill-informed teachers and unenlightened textbook authors? What of the mass cultural causes,

concomitants and effects of this kind of literacy?

Regarding the effects of this pedagogical and literary structuring of reality and competence and its degree of fit with postwar society, let us consider Eco's parallel analysis of the eighteenth century "feuilleton". As consumer objects, closed texts follow the "codes of the heavy industry of dreams in a capitalist society". Offering neither subtle hypotheses, nor multifaceted characterizations, nor highly problematic story structures, the closed text simply reinforces existing beliefs:

The feuilleton, founded on the triumph of information, represented the preferred fare of a society that lived in the midst of messages loaded with redundancy; the sense of tradition, the norms of associative living, moral principles, the valid rules of proper comportment in the environment of eighteenth century bourgeois society, of the typical public which represented the consumers of the feuilleton - all this constituted a system of foreseeable communication that the social system provided for its members and allowed life to flow smoothly without unexpected jolts and without upsets in its social system. (1979, p. 121)

Even given the possibility of pragmatic or pedagogical accidents resulting from active, though uninvited mediation by reader or teacher, closed texts, taught within highly circumscribed and rule-bound social contexts beget passive consumption and a hunger for redundancy. Where this is the case, the very teaching of literacy becomes an ideological act, not a message about a particular "false consciousness" but rather the actual training in that consciousness.

Yet this is not a simple vindication of the need to teach literacy through quality "open" literature, for literature is but one element in the total social context of literacy instruction. To understand the complex interrelationships between literacy, pedagogy and ideology, researchers and teachers need to attend to the text and to officially sanctioned patterns of

and constraints upon classroom intersubjectivity as key variables in the generation of ideological effects. Previous studies of the ideological character of literacy training have perhaps concentrated too greatly on text content and not paid sufficient attention to how textual form and pedagogical context in unison can beget what Freire calls a "disempowered" competence. Literally what is said in a text is of importance. But the present study has called attention to how and under what assumptions it is made (the social construction of school knowledge), how it is said (the semantic structure of the text) and how it is taught (the institutional conditions of reception) as interlocking parts which together constitute a selective tradition.

From this, we should not hastily conclude that putatively "scientific" understandings of the processes of literacy acquisition are necessarily invalid as the basis of pedagogy. On the contrary, the present study has applied various social scientific perspectives to the reading of the aforementioned texts, rendering itself as guilty as any of the sins of hermeneutic science.<sup>1</sup> But several considerations emerge. Following Habermas (1972), it is important to recognize that the ascendancy of particular scientific truths to the status of educational common sense is based not only on empirical verification, canons of scientific validity and the like. The applications of scientific theories in technical/practical domains like education are ideological and political selections. The case has been made that psychometrics itself is one such discourse (Karier, 1976; cf. Hacking, 1981) and the present study points to the need to examine further the ideological and economic grounds for paradigm shifts in reading research and other educational sciences. These remain questions for further investigation, but the present study indicates that particular historical discourses used to

legitimate educational practices have been selected for other than purely "educational" reasons, and have led to sociocultural consequences unforeseen by their participants.

In his reading of the history of literacy, Coulmas (1983) argues that literacy necessarily entails the standardization of language, and by extension, of thought. Indeed, text itself is a standardization of the spoken language, and educators past and present have been concerned with the norming of the linguistic corpus and the accessibility of that corpus. In the 1950s, even in a colonial outpost like British Columbia, standardization of the quality of literate competence was occurring, fixing the roles of the reader and writer. Texts children learned to read with were ideologically coded in both literal content and linguistic form; conditions of readership were similarly dictated via text. Even without presupposing the efficacy of this system, it is clear that ideological forms of literacy and ideological attitudes towards the functions and values of literacy were engendered.

As for those who grew up, succeeded and failed within the machinery of the reading group, the standardized test and the weekly spelling test: most complied willingly. And those who could not or did not, readily accounted for by reference to the lower end of the institutional grid of specification, were diagnosed and treated accordingly. For a generation of Canadian students, school reading consisted of highly structured encounters with Dick and Jane, Petit Jean and Henri, Roger and Dutchy. Though Gray's Curriculum Foundation Series ceased to be used in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Dick and Jane remain in Canada - in the literate sensibilities of a particular interpretive community: the postwar "baby boom" generation.

### 6.3. Notes

1. The hermeneutic limitations of psychological/linguistic approaches such as story grammar analysis are obvious: the unit of textual analysis defines the textual object of study. Any mode of textual analysis by definition prespecifies the possibilities of that analysis. In this light, the present study underlines the need for further research on children's reading texts which uses other, more complex linguistic models which examine macropropositional structures (e.g., Van Dijk and Kintsch, 1983), and Marxist and post-structuralist literary models which stress the ideological character of textual form (cf. Christian-Smith, in press).

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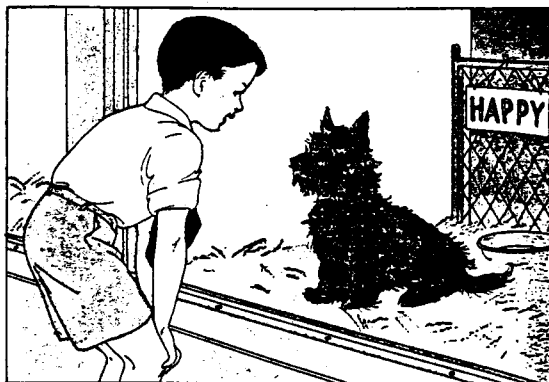
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## Appendix A. PAGE FACSIMILES FROM SELECTED TEXTBOOKS

As noted in Chapters 2 and 3, inter- and postwar publishers were developing increasingly sophisticated and appealing page formats and illustrations for basal textbooks series. The sales potential of series was dependent not only on the educational reputation of the authors and the quality of the 'literary' passages, but as well on modernity of illustrations and graphics, clarity of typeface, and durability of paper and cover materials.

Figure A-1. is an example from the interwar Elson-Gray Basic Readers (1930-1936), included in an early version of the Curriculum Foundation Series. It is set in Century Schoolbook typeface for enhanced clarity and it features illustrations in twelve bright colors. The number and quality of the colors, and the detail and complexity of the illustrations, increased production costs considerably. In the Elson-Gray series the illustrations were surrounded by black line borders in most cases.

Figures A-2. and A-3. are reproductions from the later Fun with Dick and Jane textbook, and reflect the increasing importance of illustrations in basal reading series. E. Campbell and K. Ward are responsible for these illustrations. As described in Chapter 3, the black line borders have been removed, conveying a sense of spaciousness and action. Note in Figure A-3 that the picture actually runs on to the next page, rendering a sense of continuity to the narrative action described in the text. Although not shown in these facsimiles, the colors in these post-war versions of the Dick and Jane series are not as bright as those in the Elson-Gray Readers. Grays, pastels, and watercolor wash backgrounds are used throughout.



Billy

Billy saw Happy.

"Bow-wow!" said Happy.

"I want to run.

I want to jump.

I want to play."

8

Figure A-1.: Facsimile Page 8 from the Elson-Gray Basic Reader

Source: Elson, W. H., Gray, W. S., & Runkel, L. E. (1930-1936). Elson-Gray Basic Readers Primer. New York: Scott Foresman.



Jane said, "Down, down.

Down it comes.

Run, Dick.

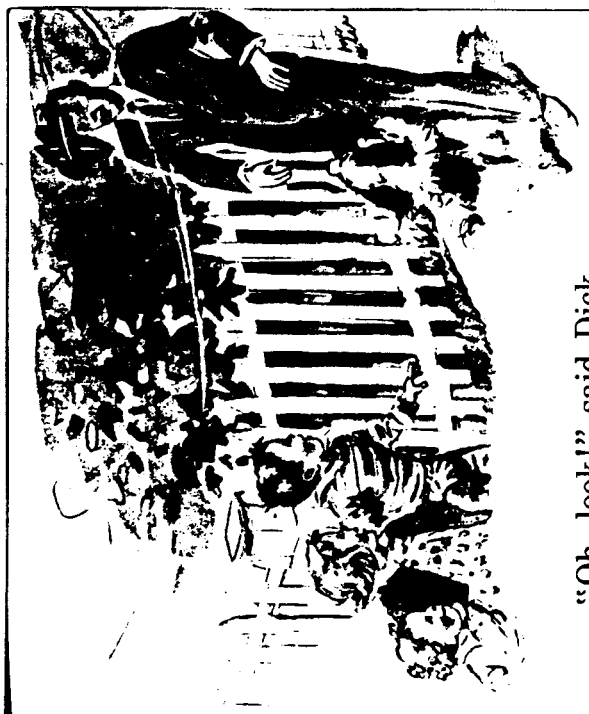
We can find it."

"See me run," said Sally.

"See Spot run.

Oh, oh!

This is fun."



"Oh, look!" said Dick.

"It is Father.

Oh, my!

Father looks funny."

Jane said, "My, my!

This is not fun.

This is not fun for Father."

Figure A-2.: Facsimile Pages 8 and 9 from the Gray-Arbuthnot Series

Source: Gray, M.S., and Arbuthnot, M.H. (1947). Fun with Dick and Jane.  
New York: Scott Foresman/Toronto: W. J. Gage.



### The White Hen

Dick went to the hen house.

Spot and Puff went, too.

"Oh!" said Dick.

"Look at the eggs.

Here are eggs for Grandmother."

56

Figure A-3.: Facsimile Page 56 from the Gray-Arbuthnot Series

Source: Gray, N. S., and Arbuthnot, M. H. (1947). Fun with Dick and Jane. New York: Scott Foresman/Toronto: H. J. Gage.

By the postwar period, Scott Foresman and Gage were able to shoulder the major costs of upgrading the Curriculum Foundation Series. The quality of the binding and heavy gauge paper are excellent. By contrast, Figure A-4. exemplifies the lower production standards achieved by smaller presses. This page from Cordts' I Can Read (1953) series was illustrated by C. McKinley. Throughout the series the illustrations resemble cartoon drawings, lacking detail and refinement.

Published by a minor press, the Chicago-based Beckley Cardy Company, the text has illustrations in only two colors (green and pink). In order to further keep production costs down, no more than one color appears on any given page. These limitations imposed by economies of scale prevented many smaller presses from entering the lucrative basal textbook market.

The stick figures in the middle of the page are used to specify diacritical marks for phonics training, and, as noted in Chapter 4, Cordts' series emphasized decoding and thereby deemphasized narrative.

Your Cues



Work out your first word.



What did Goldilocks sit on?



- She sat on the bags.
- She sat on the sand.
- She sat on the goat.
- She sat on the ball.
- She sat on the chair.

Figure A-4.: Facsimile Page 15 from the Cordts Series

Source: Cordts, A. (1953). I Can Read. Chicago: Beckley Cardy.

## Appendix B. STUDENT PROGRESS CHART FACSIMILES

Goody and Watt (1969; see Chap. 1) maintain that the technology of literacy enabled the keeping of public records, the writing down of laws, and, by extension, more extensive social control than previously possible. Systematic record keeping also enabled the surveillance and monitoring of individuals in institutions like the school. Hacking (1981, p. 25; see Chap. 6) has commented that "the bureaucracy of statistics imposes not just by creating administrative rulings but by determining classifications within which people must think of themselves and of their actions that are open to them".

As noted in Chap. 5, Conway constructed a bureaucracy for overseeing the development of literacy which relied on testing and record keeping. The Division of Tests, Standards and Research provided a "Supplementary record of achievement tests" (British Columbia Department of Education, 1955; see Chap. 5) along with the "Permanent record card" kept on each student. In this set of guidelines, Conway specified how standardized test scores were to be recorded and explicated how teachers were to use information provided by the Division on "norms", "B. C. medians", "grade-equivalent scores" and so forth. Scores on both IQ and achievement were recorded and kept in school files. The general policy in British Columbia and most other North American jurisdictions was to limit access to such records to school administrators and teachers. These were, then, covert records inasmuch as parents and students were not only denied access to them but may have been wholly unaware of their existence. Nonetheless, as shown in Chapter 5, it is quite likely that decisions which effected placement and curricular treatment were often made on



the basis of information tabulated on these cards.

At the level of classroom instruction, different kinds of monitoring and tracking occurred. Postwar teachers maintained records in their grade and roll books which were the legal possessions of the Department of Education. But less formal records were also kept by the students themselves. As noted in Chapter 5, both Dickies' and Quance's series provided students with personal charts to monitor their own progress.

Figure B-1. is a facsimile of the progress chart from the Canadian Parade Readers. This particular chart enabled, in Dickie's words, students to "compete against themselves" in speed of reading and comprehension. After the completion of lessons, students were encouraged to chart their progress in various reading skills.

Figure B-2. is from the grade 3 version of Quance's Canadian Speller. It too encouraged students to "mark their own record". This system of self-surveillance set as a goal "a straight line along the top". Quance, like Dickie, argued that this graphic portrayal of performance would provide students with incentive. Additionally, both confided in their teachers' guides that it would assist the teacher in tracking student progress. In both sample Canadian Speller texts I was able to recover, the progress charts had been defaced by student graffiti.

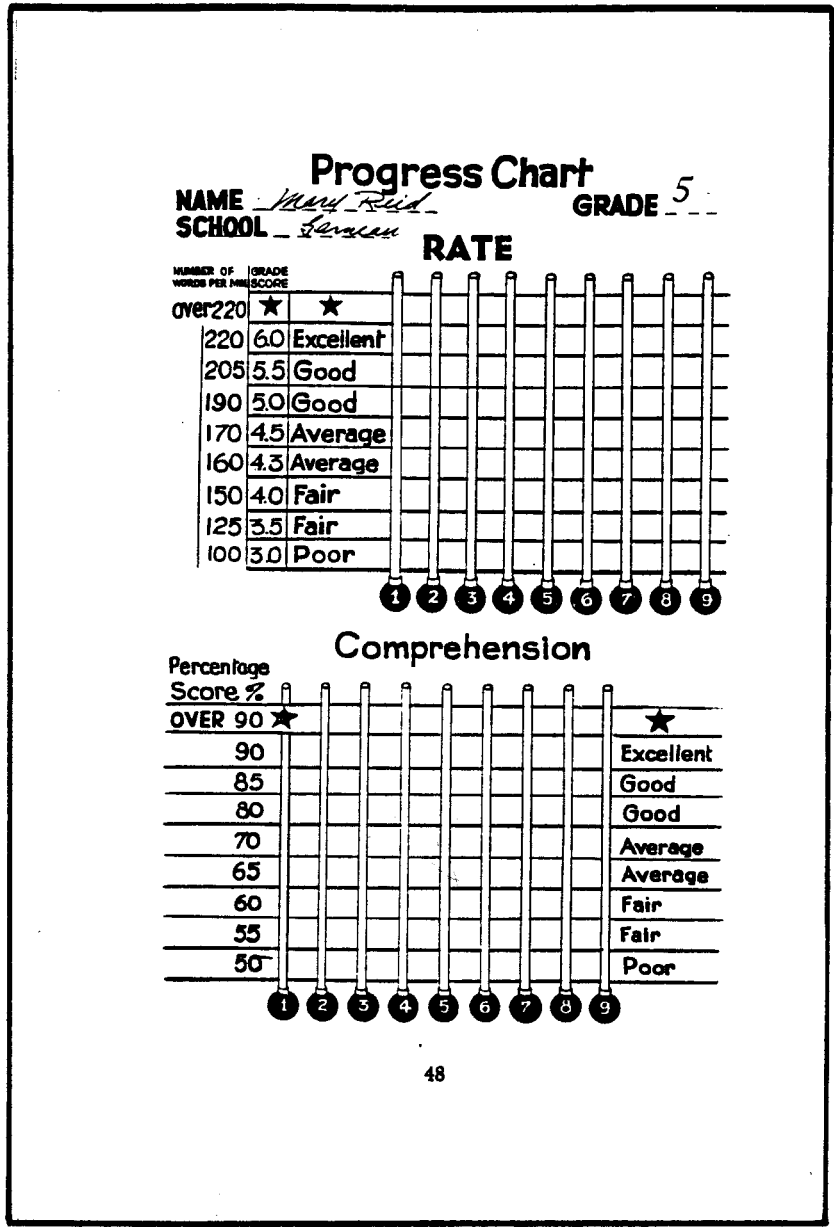


Figure B-1.: Progress Chart from the Canadian Parade Readers

Source: Dickie, D., Ricker, B., Tyner, C., & Woodhead, T. W. (1957). Teaching reading in the intermediate grades. Toronto: J. M. Dent.

## YOUR SPELLING RECORD

### WEEKLY FRIDAY TESTS

	FIRST TERM																	SECOND TERM																			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35		
0																																					
1																																					
2																																					
3																																					
4																																					
5																																					
6 or more																																					

**How to Mark Your Record.**—Draw in Your Spelling Notebook a Record like the one above. The numbers along the top tell the weeks. Those along the side tell the number of words that you miss. Mark Your Record in this way. If you miss 1 word the first week, 2 words the second, and 0 words the third, put dots in the centre of the spaces and join the dots as above. If you have no words wrong each week Your Record will show a straight line along the top. Try to keep it there.

### YOUR REVIEW TEST RECORD

	FIRST REVIEW	SECOND REVIEW	THIRD REVIEW	FOURTH REVIEW	FIFTH REVIEW	SIXTH REVIEW	1st TERM REVIEW	2nd TERM REVIEW
0								
2								
4								
6								
8								
10 or more								

**How to Mark Your Record.**—Draw in Your Spelling Notebook a Record like the one above. During the year you will have six Review Tests and two Term Review Tests. You will write these tests in two parts, one on Tuesday and one on Thursday. Mark Your Record in this way. If you miss 4 words on the Tuesday test put a dot in the space opposite 4. If you miss 3 words on the Thursday test, put the dot on the line between 2 and 4. Join the dots as above.

Figure B-2.: Your Spelling Record from the Canadian Spellers

Source: Quance, F. (1950) The Canadian speller. Toronto: Gage.