

A State of Sociology of Education in Canada — A Further Look

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Cette analyse s'appuie sur des études faites au Québec dans le domaine de la sociologie de l'éducation par Bélanger, Ouellet et Trottier (1975) et sur des études faites au Canada anglais par Card (1975).

On y présente l'évolution de la sociologie de l'éducation tant chez les francophones que chez les anglophones du Canada et on y brosse l'état actuel de la recherche, de ses modèles et du personnel qui y est affecté.

On y compare aussi l'évolution de cette science chez les anglophones et chez les francophones. L'auteur conclut avec la présentation des besoins et des défis qui vont se poser dans l'avenir à la sociologie de l'éducation au Canada.

INTRODUCTION

In the last 25 years the sociology of education has grown from a "no-thing" to a "thing-in-itself" in Canadian society. The stature of this foundation field in the study of Canadian education was recognized in 1975, when the Canadian Society for the Study of Education invited two papers to assess the state of the discipline, one from Quebec sociologists of education (Bélanger, Ouellet, & Trottier, 1975), and one from a sociologist of education from Western Canada (Card, 1975). The present paper, building from these two, attempts a further look at the discipline by examining more recent information, and by conceptualizing and comparing in a limited fashion, in one article, the state of the field in both Francophone and Anglophone Canada. Where documentation for statements made is available it is cited. The writer's own observations and insights, not all of which can presently be documented, must stand as invitations to further research and improved conceptualization by those who would more rigorously trace the development of sociology of education in Canada.

The sociology of education is conceptualized here in three basic ways, all of which overlap: as an invention (Card, 1959; 1960a; 1960b), as an innovation diffused in higher education (Clark, 1968a), and as a social science adapting to and moulded by its power context (Fournier, 1974). When the discipline is conceptualized as a social invention a number of general questions of a hypothetical nature can be raised to help guide inquiry. Is the invention a completed or a continuing process? To what extent is it indigenous to one or several parts of Canada? To what extent has it been borrowed or diffused from other countries? To what extent does

Canada (or its parts) possess a socio-cultural base containing elements that can be synthesized into a new application of knowledge identifiable as sociology of education? To what extent has Canada provided situations where the need for sociology of education has arisen, or persists? To what extent has Canada permitted limited groups of individuals to work at the problem of inventing a sociology of education? To what extent has Canada provided their "tools" and controlled the direction of their interests? To what extent has the inventing of sociology of education involved trial and error? To what degree have the form and function of the discipline manifested some constant, observable relations to Canadian society?

From these questions it may be inferred that the sociology of education is a complex social invention that requires some way of categorizing all its elements. The following three headings are used on the assumption they include most of the conceivable elements: (1) *personnel* – with their specific origins, attitudes, interests, habits, training, statuses, and roles; (2) *knowledge* – the knowledge persons concerned with the discipline consider useful and valid, also the aggregate of concepts, beliefs, ideas, and modes of thinking associated with the discipline; (3) *patterns of interaction* – the institutionalized patterns of classroom teaching, research, consulting, participating in policy-making, production of journals and text books, developing and participating in professional associations, plus non-institutionalized, collective behavior that may in diverse ways affect the invention and diffusion processes. Looking at sociology of education with these headings in mind will help in describing and comparing Francophone and Anglophone sociology of education, especially in its present state.

To come to grips with the diffusion process in a way that augments the three classical diffusion stages of presentation, acceptance, and integration so well developed by Linton (1936, pp. 324–366), and the "S" curve of adoption described by Rogers (1962, pp. 152–153), Clark's (1968a) generalized model of diffusion of an innovation in higher education is called upon. This model seems initially appropriate since it was developed by Clark from a study of the diffusion of Durkheim's sociology in French academic circles, though in the case of Canadian sociology of education, the usefulness of the model needs to be empirically tested. (See Clark's other relevant work, 1968b, 1972). Did the discipline in the various parts of Canada, or Canada as a whole, go through the postulated five early stages: (1) cumulative development of sociological knowledge; (2) undirected discontent from lack of such knowledge, or its underuse; (3) deviations from established norms as some persons attempted to develop a sociology of education; (4) deliberate and overt resistance by those antagonistic to sociological approaches to education; (5) social conflict as the adequacy of established social norms and other disciplines are questioned by innovators in sociology of education? Were these early stages followed by: (6) formulation of sociology of education as a potential innovation; (7) evaluation of

the potential innovation; (8) restricted trial; (9) adoption? As the first five stages proposed by Clark appear to include invention as well as diffusion processes, no effort will be made to clearly distinguish between “inventing,” “innovating,” and “diffusing” in the necessarily short accounts of the early development of the discipline in Francophone and Anglophone Canada. (The following sections of the present state of the discipline, under the headings of “personnel,” “knowledge,” and “patterns of interaction,” are in effect descriptions of major elements in the social invention of Canadian sociology of education.)

Fournier’s (1974) conceptualization of social science as an institution constantly being transformed through its on-going relationships with other institutions (economic, political, educational, religious, etc.), which are in turn constantly being transformed themselves by interacting social groups and social classes with different interests and amounts of power, is one that is needed to help visualize the state of the discipline both in and beyond academia. As a social invention, sociology of education, even when integrated into the structure of core institutions such as universities, is still being transformed by internal and external forces. Fournier’s writing thus adds another intellectual tool for considering Canadian sociology of education, even though his conceptualization cannot be adequately employed without more intensive research than has yet been done with respect to this discipline. Still, it can scarcely be ignored, even if used only as a sensitizing device, since Fournier developed his theory from the study of social science, particularly sociology, in Quebec society.

With these three ways of conceptualizing the field in mind, sociology of education is first examined in Quebec, then in Anglophone Canada, to establish “what has been” and “what is.” The comparative aspects of the report inhere primarily in the common conceptual framework used, as space and lack of firm data do not permit cross-study of each element of the discipline here. What is sought is a general overview which shows where the discipline is “at” and provides notions of its major problems and challenges.

SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION IN FRANCOPHONE CANADA

As shown in Table 1, it is not entirely correct to identify Francophone sociology of education in Canada only with Quebec. Three universities outside of this province, the Universities of Ottawa, Laurentian, and Moncton, offer sociology of education courses in French. Moreover, Francophone sociologists outside Quebec have engaged in research relevant to the field. One may cite, for example, Silla’s (1974) study of bilingual education in Francophone Alberta. However, the state of sociology of education in Francophone Canada remains essentially what happens in Quebec.

The stature of sociology of education in Quebec, especially since the

Table 1 / Courses in Sociology of Education in Canadian Universities, 1974-76, by Region, Sponsorship, Course Level, and Language of Instruction

Region	Universities offering courses ^a		Undergraduate courses ^b				Graduate courses ^b				Total		
	Anglo- phone	Franco- phone	Education		Arts ^c		Education		Arts ^c		E	F	Both
			E	F	E	F	E	F	E	F			
Atlantic Provinces	9	1	8	0	6	0	13	1	1	0	28	1	29
Quebec	3	3	5	8	2	5	1	1	1	3	9	17	26
Ontario	13	2	13	1	16	2	40	1	4	1	73	5	78
Prairie Provinces	8	0	22	0	3	0	26	0	3	0	54	0	54
British Columbia	3	0	4	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	9	0	9
TOTAL	36	6	52	9	29	7	83	3	9	4	173	23	196

Source: University calendars for 1974/75, 1975/76, surveyed by research assistants Robert Runté and Nella Ver Slood.

a. Degree-granting institutions only are listed. Note, however, that federated or affiliated components may set their own curriculum in sociology of education and act as separate institutions for instructional purposes. In Anglophone universities this includes OISE as an affiliate of the University of Toronto, and Sir George Williams and Loyola as federated campuses of Concordia University.

In Quebec, the University of Quebec has five branches: Montreal, Chicoutimi, Rimouski, Trois-Rivières, and Nord-ouest québécois. If these are counted as separate institutions, 38 Anglophone and 11 Francophone institutions offer instruction at the university level.

b. Language of instruction is indicated by "E" for English, "F" for French.

c. "Arts" refers to departments of sociology or equivalent in faculties of arts, letters, or social science.

mid-1960s, is a unique phenomenon in the annals of Canadian sociology and education. On the basis of observations conducted by the writer in six Western industrialized countries in 1971, where the purpose was to compare the structure of sociology in educational organizations in these countries, two places were found where sociology was closely interwoven with the educational structure, particularly at policy-making levels. These places were the Canton of Geneva and the Province of Quebec. It might be added parenthetically that this may be at least a partial explanation for the OECD external examiners' finding in their recent report (1976, paragraphs 20, 311), that Quebec was the only Canadian province with "a clearly formulated concept of education policy set in a framework of general social policies." One of the pervasive characteristics of Quebec sociology of education is its consistent attention to "la société globale," meaning Quebec as a whole society or social system.

In the case of Quebec it appears that the earliest knowledge that cumulatively provided a basis for sociology of education was demographic, much of it from the Canada census. The low educational attainment of Francophone Quebec as disclosed by the census was an important component of the sociological approach to Quebec education taken by Léon Gérin (1863–1951), whose articles in 1892 and 1897/98 were "discovered" by Rocher (1963) to constitute a master outline of a modern sociology of education which compared favorably with Durkheim's (1956, pp. 56–57) formulation of the field published several years later. In 1956, one of the four "educational sociology" courses found in Brehaut and Francoeur's (1956, part 2, p. 47) survey of Francophone university courses in education was one on demography and education. In the early 1960s there was a veritable stream of research studies by scholars working in and outside Quebec who gave attention to demographic aspects of Quebec education, for example Henripin and Martin (1964) and Drolet (Note 2).

As for undirected discontent, deviation from established norms, and attendant social conflict as resistance to the innovation was overcome, these stages of institutionalization of Quebec sociology of education can scarcely be separated out from the stages on institutionalization of sociology in Quebec. The discontent that led to sociological developments in Quebec tended to be concentrated in the reform efforts of the clergy, especially those in charge of higher education. Deviation from the established norms was marked in the career of Father Georges-Henri Levesque, OP (1974), selected in 1930 by the Dominican Order to study social science in France and then to apply it in Quebec. Father Levesque was instrumental in founding a "truly scientific" School of Social Science in the Faculty of Philosophy at Laval in 1938, and then leading it to full status as a Faculty of Social Science in 1943. Two other early "deviants" deserve mention. One was Father Gonzalve Poulin (1974), the first Canadian sociologist Father Levesque added to his staff. Father Poulin's graduate theses included

studies of adult education. The other was E. C. Hughes, special visiting professor from Chicago to Laval in 1942/43, who outlined a plan of research needed for Quebec society (Falardeau, 1974a, pp. 144–5). These pioneers were followed by “deviant” students, Jean Charles Falardeau (1974b), Guy Rocher (1974), Fernand Dumont (1974), Gerald Fortin (1974), Marc-Adélar Tremblay (1974), Marcel Rioux (1974), and possibly others who should be noted. Their early sociological interests and research encompassed the study of some aspects of education. Dominant resistance to their efforts appeared to reside in clerical and educational circles where the traditional trilogy of church, family, and Quebec-as-a-nation was firmly entrenched and expressed with an ideological unity that allowed for little flexibility. So far as the sociological study of education was concerned, the resolution of conflict came not so much within the emerging field of sociology by professional interaction as from the march of social change and the response of government to it. The appointment of a Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in Quebec in 1960, the Parent Commission, included Guy Rocher, Director of the Department of Sociology at the University of Montreal, as a full commissioner, and Arthur Tremblay, sociologically oriented Dean of the Faculty of Education Sciences of Laval, as a non-voting commissioner. The work of the Commission rather abruptly changed the climate from conflict to reform and provided new impetus for a sociology of education. At this juncture, Fournier’s model of institutional change as a factor in Quebec’s sociology of education development, as well as the Clark institutionalization model, must both be used to account for the development of Quebec’s sociology of education in recent years.

Within the early 1960s Clark’s four later stages of institutionalization were greatly compressed. A not-so-tentative formulation of sociology of education came from Rocher’s “discovery” of Gérin in 1963, already mentioned. Another came from Dumont’s theoretical and research efforts, aided by students Nicole Gagnon, Pierre Bélanger, and others, which sought to create a sociology of education appropriate for Quebec’s society (Dumont, 1962). These efforts were followed in 1970 with Bélanger and Rocher’s (1970) model outline of elements of a sociology of education based on Talcott Parson’s (1971) theory of social action and social systems. A succession of research studies, a large proportion commissioned by government, provided virtually an “instant” content (Tremblay, 1968). Sociology of education courses offered by Rocher, Dandurand, Bélanger, and others were introduced at the universities of Montreal and Laval apparently with full acceptance of both sociological colleagues and educationists. These courses superseded in importance the 1950 efforts of educationists to create the few ad hoc courses that could be called “educational sociology.” By the mid-sixties, Quebec sociology of education was well on its way to institutionalization on all fronts: accepted personnel, courses, official status in universities and government, publications, research, and professional

associations, but all as part of Quebec sociology, rather than education, so far as disciplinary affiliation was concerned. One explanation for this may be that the sociologist in Quebec at this time represented a new elite replacing the clerical elites who were somewhat dispossessed of their traditional educational leadership by the educational reforms. The new secular educators had yet to establish their claims to leadership in Francophone education.

Present State

As a social invention Quebec sociology of education has acquired some relatively unique traits which appear to enhance the usefulness of the discipline within Quebec society, yet perhaps make it less understandable to the sociologist of education elsewhere in Canada. These traits are highlighted, in a tentative way pending the further study they deserve, in the following paragraphs.

Personnel

The Quebec sociologist of education is likely to be a person highly dedicated to advancement of his society in the first place, as much as or more than to his or her discipline as a science or professional field or to "education" as a cause. This factor helps explain the widespread commitment of Quebec Francophone sociologists to the study of education, which is reported as a speciality by one-third of the Francophone sociologists mentioned in the CSAA Directory of 1968 (Connor, 1968) and one-seventh in the 1970 Directory (Connor & Curtis, 1970). This factor further explains the willingness of younger sociologists with bachelor and master degrees, as well as some with doctorates, to seek out education as their area of employment in the public service of Quebec. In 1971 the Ministry of Education had 30 such persons in its employ (Card, 1971). Though Carpentier et al. (1974) were hard pressed to ascertain just what sociology contributed to such public service sociologists in their actual employment, the personnel in the Ministry of Education in 1971 appeared to be making sociologically related contributions as documentalists, report writers, leaders of interdisciplinary research or task forces, planners, policy-makers, animators, leaders of adult education, collaborators in educational television, and as intermittent reporters to the sociology profession through their publications.

The actual manpower in Quebec sociology of education is difficult to assess with precision. The number in universities includes possibly not many more than a dozen persons of professional status in sociology, and an indeterminate number with sociological interests in education sciences. Also indeterminate is the number of CEGEP (Collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel) staff who as professors, counsellors, or administrators are involved in some aspects of sociology of education. School

commissions have been known to employ sociologists, not only for research, but also as counsellors, while a number of school commissions and teacher and citizen groups call upon sociologists intermittently for research assistance, animation, or other purposes. Sociological personnel appear to be widely diffused and used throughout Quebec education, though the demand for them both numerically and in terms of skills or specialized knowledge appears to vary with the stage of the various reforms in Quebec society. As the major reforms of the 1960s became institutionalized a new trend was observable. Personnel with administrative background appeared to be more in demand than the adaptable, committed, research- or animation-oriented sociologists needed in the popular and preliminary organization phases of reform movements.

Knowledge

It would be presumptuous to try to improve on the excellent report on the state of Quebec sociology of education knowledge of Bélanger, Ouellet, and Trottier (1975). They have pointed out that their field draws from the main currents of both American and French sociology of education, that research conducted by the Ministry of Education is an important component of the whole body of knowledge, and that there is diversity in the subjects chosen for study. Among the main themes in Quebec sociology of education knowledge that they mention are the relationships between education and social stratification, culture and ideologies, the organization and control of education, conflicts or contestation and student movements related to education, and the subcultures of youth. Evaluation of the major educational reforms of the 1960s, both through research and ideological challenge and debate, appears to be one of the main current sources of sociology of education knowledge in Quebec society.

The standardization of knowledge, especially in undergraduate courses, appears to have been set in motion to a remarkable degree by the widespread adoption of Bélanger and Rocher's 1970 textbook, *Ecole et Société au Québec: Eléments d'une Sociologie de l'Éducation*. Though the sociological framework introducing the book was adapted from Parsons' system of social action, the choice of readings within it represents a variety of sociological stances apart from structural-functionalism, as education is considered in relation to culture, the economy, the political sector, and social integration. It is fittingly concluded with excerpts from the Parent Report on education and the Rioux Report on the teaching of the arts in Quebec. The rivals to the Bélanger-Rocher approach appear to be, at the university undergraduate level, Baudelot and Establet's (1971) *L'École Capitaliste en France* and Bourdieu and Passeron's (1970) *La Reproduction*, which deal with the way in which the social-class structure of a society (France) is persistently renewed through education. Depending on the ideological persuasion of professors, Bourdieu appears to be one of the

most “worked” and alternatively the most “worked-over” writers in current Quebec sociology of education. (For example, see Duchastel, 1971; de Ipola, 1970; Thibault, 1973). The future development of knowledge in Quebec sociology of education is likely to represent some unique mixture of different elements: straightforward empirical reporting and theorizing in the best scientific tradition, intense ideological expression from Marxist-inspired writers and their opponents, the near-the-people expressions of those associated with animation and social work, the institutional problems and plans of established education and teaching professions, the political ambitions of the latter, an input from the group-process practitioners and researchers who are widely diffused in educational organizations and private enterprise, a strong moral influence from the Church, a large amount of political controversy associated with the present and future status of Quebec in Canada, and a lively amount of futurology or “prospective.” One thing can be assured. Quebec’s sociology of education of the future may fluctuate in terms of scientific “quality,” but its theoretical development, social relevance, and ideological intensity are likely to continue at a high level. It most probably will not be dull.

Patterns of Interaction

There are three predominant patterns of interaction in Quebec sociology of education as an institutionalized discipline. The first is teaching. As shown in Table 1 there were eight undergraduate courses offered in education faculties and departments, and five in departments of sociology. The University of Montreal has tended to concentrate its instruction in the discipline at both graduate and undergraduate levels in the Department of Sociology, which makes a special effort to adapt its courses to the needs of education students as well as its own students majoring in sociology of education. However, this pattern is changing with the addition of sociologists to sections in Sciences of Education. At Laval University, instruction is concentrated in the Faculty of Sciences of Education, which employs sociologists as professors. The University of Quebec at Montreal has two courses in the discipline, apparently designed especially for prospective teachers, in its Department of Pedagogy, while the lone course in the Department of Sociology from its description and required readings appears to be more ideologically oriented. The only francophone university that seems to have never offered a clearly identified sociology of education course is the University of Sherbrooke, which still has no department of sociology, though it does employ sociologists for special work in relation to university areas of interest, which include the training of school counsellors. Nevertheless, teaching of sociology of education at the university level appears to be a near-universal pattern in Francophone Quebec.

Sociology of education in the service of the state is the second predominant interaction pattern, mention of which has already been made. This

service is rendered by persons making a career in some branch of government or whose university work is punctuated by research and consultation for and with the provincial government most often, but also on occasion for federal and local government. One consequence of the close connection between government and some university staff in sociology of education is that those whose research and consultation are for other groups or agencies seeking some benefit or change in government, tend to regard themselves as polarized from those connected with the government, a possible form of structural divisioning within Francophone sociology of education as well as in the Francophone community.

The third pattern is research and publication. It is first noted that a large proportion of graduate theses in Quebec sociology have to do with education, at least one-fifth of all theses at the University of Montreal and one-seventh at Laval between 1945 and 1970 (Fournier, 1974, p.196). Another aspect is the relatively high rate of publication of sociological research relating to education, as a consequence of the large number of studies executed or commissioned by government, or supported by grants from other sources, as exemplified in the citation of research on Quebec education by Tremblay (1968). Another has been the readiness of the Quebec sociology journals to include articles and special issues on education, *Recherches Sociographiques* of Laval University's Department of Sociology, and *Sociologie et Sociétés* of the Department of Sociology, University of Montreal. The former tends to feature articles reporting Quebec research, the latter theoretically oriented articles drawn from Quebec and other writers, usually those of international stature. The special issue for May 1973 (*Les Systèmes d'Enseignement*) of *Sociologie et Sociétés* can be ranked as a major contribution to international sociology of education. It is also observed that Quebec sociologists of education appear to find access to publishers for their books fairly readily, whether in Quebec or in France. The research and publication factor has been important in the widespread diffusion and relatively high status in Quebec of Quebec sociology of education, especially in government and academic circles.

If other patterns were to be mentioned, they would be "co-operation" and "contestation." The universities of Montreal and Laval and the Quebec Ministry of Education have a long-standing record of co-operation in sociology of education. The two universities, with government encouragement and support, embarked in 1970 on a major evaluation of educational reform in Quebec, conducted as a longitudinal study, lasting six years, of student expectations and accomplishments both in school and in employment, as well as of parental and teacher expectations (Bélanger & Rocher, 1974). The Ministry of Education called upon Laval sociologists of education to study the education and development of persons from disadvantaged social environments (1975) and then published the researchers' own critical summary of their work and government policy (Trottier et al.,

1976). The last work, entitled “Un Travail inachevé,” represents a kind of tolerated and respected contestation among the better established scholars in sociology of education and government. However, other contestations, more political and intergenerational than professional, appear to be building up as these sociologists of education are challenged by other scholars with different ideological commitments. (For expressions of this, see statements by Falardeau, 1974b, pp. 226–227; Rocher, 1974, pp. 247–248; Thibault, 1973; St. Pierre, 1976.) While rivalries and contestations have a place in achieving social and educational change in Quebec and in keeping the field of sociology of education a lively and challenging one, the question may well be raised whether some of them may be contributing to a polarization within sociology of education and possibly within Quebec society itself between those who would continue reforms within the “system” and those who would use the discipline to close the ranks of the attackers of the “system” and provide them with ideological support.

In reviewing the development and present state of Francophone sociology of education, it could be argued that Gérin in the 1890s discovered sociology of education but was not a true inventor since he did little to apply his new knowledge. The true inventors were the sociologists of mid-twentieth century, aided by some educationists, who struggled first to establish sociology as a scientific discipline, and then, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, were called upon by government, bent on educational reform, to create a sociology of education in a very short time. There is little doubt that invention processes are continuing as researchers and critics examine educational reforms and policies of the recent past which have relied heavily on contributions of sociologists of education. As an innovation diffused in higher education, the discipline is well institutionalized in Francophone universities, though the stages through which it passed are not readily defined according to Clark’s (1968a) diffusion model apart from the institutionalization of sociology itself. The rapidity with which the innovation was adopted and used in the 1960s reflects more the play of political, economic, and other forces described by Fournier (1974) which contributed to conflict resolution and accelerated adoption by government and by universities. A risk confronting the field is that of polarization which may go beyond limits conducive to scientific endeavor and social solidarity, both within sociology of education as a professional field and the Francophone community itself. However, further study is needed to refine these insights.

THE STATE OF SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION IN ANGLOPHONE CANADA

Early Development

There appear to have been two overlapping phases in the development of Anglophone Canadian sociology of education prior to 1967, the year when

Ontario broke sharply with tradition and established a department of Sociology in Education in the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. The first phase, lasting from 1918 to the mid-1950s, may be referred to as the period of minor outbursts of sociology of education. It was characterized by the pre-dominance of five of Clark's nine stages of institutionalization. The first was the cumulative development of sociological knowledge, or its equivalent, expressed as "educational sociology" in the United States after 1910 and in Canada in popular writing, Dominion Bureau of Statistics data on education, and various educational reports. The second was one of undirected discontent expressed by a few educators about the lack of sociology (or its equivalent) in Canadian education. The third consisted of a series of deviations by some Canadians from the established norms of Canada's education and very limited sociology. For example, one deviation consisted of studying educational sociology and related subjects in the United States. The fourth was a stage of deliberate and overt resistance by individuals antagonistic to sociological approaches to education, especially if these approaches were American in origin. Canadian leadership in this resistance was provided by the Ontario College of Education, where sociology was anathema (Diltz, 1946, p. 52). The fifth was the stage of social conflict as the adequacy of established norms and disciplines were questioned by innovators in sociology of education and formal sanctions were invoked by those resisting it. The sanctions included rejection of manuscripts and of grant applications, appointment refusals, and unrelenting commitment to the "sacred" norms of exclusion: (1) the requirement for all faculty of education staff to be certificated teachers and to engage in student teaching (Scarfe, 1967) and (2) the insistence that sociology departments in faculties of arts must have only "pure" sociology and "real" sociologists. These processes are well illustrated in the careers of M. V. Marshall (1931, 1962) at Acadia University, where Marshall attempted to mobilize teachers as a social force for change; of F. M. Quance (1931, 1932, 1950; 1952, pp. 4-7), who successfully produced a Canadian speller based on sociological research; of expatriate James Collins Miller (1950), who continued after leaving Canada to write about social aspects of Canadian education; of Delmar Oviatt, chief author of the Alberta Department of Education's unusual curriculum bulletin, *Foundations of Education* (1949), who also became an expatriate.

Though the above five stages of institutionalization still reflect what is happening in some Anglophone Canadian universities, professional education associations, and government departments, Clark's remaining four stages of institutionalization began to be apparent in the mid-1940s and slowly gained momentum until the mid-1960s. This phase was a period of sustained efforts at innovation. These final states, it is recalled, are: the formulation of sociology of education as a potential innovation; evaluation of the potential innovation; a restricted trial; and finally, adoption.

These processes were condensed at the University of British Columbia

when G. M. Weir, historian of education, politician, and ex-minister of education, offered in 1945 a summer-session course, "Educational Sociology," which was incorporated as a regular course offering. In the late 1940s David Edgar Mahood (1948) wrote a doctoral dissertation for Teachers' College, Columbia University, in which he systematically developed *A Canadian Social Foundation of Education*, a collection of readings subsequently used in innovative courses in Saskatchewan Normal Schools relating sociology to education. The most deliberate attempt to formulate educational sociology as a potential innovation was made by B. Y. Card (1951, 1959, 1960a, 1960b, Note 1), who, prior to his appointment to the Faculty of Education at the University of Alberta in 1950, had undertaken doctoral studies in educational sociology and sociology at Stanford University and conducted a survey of resources and perceived needs for the discipline in the Prairie Provinces. For a brief time the pattern of diffusion of the discipline from the United States was interrupted when, in 1952, N. V. Scarfe, a follower of Karl Mannheim, was appointed Dean of Education at the University of Manitoba and introduced three short-lived courses in educational sociology. Apart from this, adoption of new courses was slow in the 1950s and early 1960s. The few that were introduced were referred to as "social foundations of education," "educational sociology," and "sociology of education." The last became the most popular term after the rejection of the label "educational sociology" by the American Sociological Association, which was attempting to improve and control the field in the United States in the 1960s. The invention and diffusion processes of the 1950s and early sixties culminated in two developments. One was the creation of the Department of Educational Foundations at the University of Alberta in 1961, a department conceived not in the American pattern of a fused disciplinary approach to the problems of education but as an administrative device for bringing together sociologists, anthropologists, historians, and philosophers for research and teaching in education as a substantive field as well as a profession. The second was the establishment in 1967 of the accommodatively named Department of Sociology in Education in the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. This department came into existence as a unique arrangement for bringing together sociologists primarily for research and secondarily for graduate instruction in sociological aspects of education. In Alberta and in Ontario it was now possible to obtain training to the doctoral level in sociology of education.

Present State

What has happened since 1967 is a mix of processes that occur at progressively higher levels of institutionalization. According to Clark (1968a, p. 3) such processes include (1) organic growth during which professional activities develop, the status of the field is defined, and its intellectual boundaries and content are delimited; (2) differentiation, in which specialization occurs within and among institutions working in sociology of

education; (3) diffusion, which includes the spread of knowledge of sociology of education within Canada, and exchanges of ideas between Canada and other societies. In the last process, information about the field is collected and evaluated, courses are tried out on a small scale, adopted, and re-evaluated. These processes have been going on at an accelerated rate in Anglophone Canada since 1967. They can be observed in the numbers and kinds of people involved in sociology of education, the knowledge they are producing, promoting, and attempting to legitimate, and in the patterns of interaction in which they are involved.

Personnel

Anglophone Canadian society has been extremely reluctant to allocate personnel to sociology of education, except on an intermittent or part-time basis. Further, opportunities for graduate preparation in the field have existed in Canada only in the last 10 years. As a consequence personnel have been recruited from among American and English sociologists, or more commonly, from Canadian or American educators with some training in sociology. Anglophone Canada's efforts at allocating personnel to this field can be viewed comparatively by considering data compiled by professional associations of sociologists in various countries about their own members. In 1968–70 Quebec's ratio of sociologists specializing in sociology of education to the total professional sociologists' component was between 1:3 and 1:7. In other countries the ratios were: England 1:8, Belgium 1:8, Switzerland 1:8, and the United States 1:17. In Anglophone Canada the ratios were 1:19 for Ontario, 1:17 in the West, and 1:71 in the Atlantic Provinces (Card, 1971). The total number of Canadian sociologists and anthropologists listing sociology of education as a specialization was 50 in 1968 and 72 in 1970 (Connor & Curtis, 1968, 1970). In a survey of the role of sociology of education in teacher-training organizations in Canada in 1967–70, Pedersen (1971) found 92 persons identified by deans and department chairmen as "competent to teach sociology of education," though only five were among the 50 Canadian sociologists and anthropologists listing sociology of education as a specialization. Pedersen queries the extent to which the remaining 87 were "sociologists." He also found that there was an unmet need for sociology of education personnel in Canada, where 65 per cent of teacher-training institutions saw this field as important in teacher education, but where only 9 per cent of the institutions offered courses in the discipline. There is currently an urgent need in Canada for more accurate information about existing personnel in sociology of education and the anticipated demand for personnel in this field.

Knowledge

Transposing Bernstein (1971, p. 47), it can be said that how Anglophone Canada produces, selects, classifies, distributes, transmits, and evaluates the

“sociology-of-education knowledge” it considers to be public reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control. One of the great challenges facing the discipline in Canada at present is to examine its own knowledge from Bernstein’s perspective. What can be attempted in this article is only a cursory glance at a complex and unresearched aspect of sociology of education, especially needed in Anglophone Canada, where the relationships between government and sociologists of education are less well developed than in Francophone Canada.

Donald Swift’s (1968, pp. 11–24) view of what ought to be the knowledge of sociology of education is used as a starting point. Reflecting a structure–function perspective, Swift included as major areas of appropriate knowledge: education as both intended and unintended learning; the institution of education; the functions of the educational system; the culture of man including value and action systems; the school as a social group; education and social class; and education and change. It may be hypothesized that much thinking and knowledge in sociology of education in Anglophone Canada approximates this outline, especially in undergraduate courses.

Published Canadian works relevant to the field provide some support for the above hypothesis. Perhaps the Canadian sociologist contributing most profoundly to the intellectual content of the discipline is John Porter, in his writing on education in relation to social class (1961), on power distribution (1965), in his highly acclaimed *The Vertical Mosaic* (1965) and more recently (1973) in *Does Money Matter? Prospects for Higher Education*. Others have contributed substantially to the theme of equality of educational opportunity through monographs of major importance, notably Pike’s (1970) survey of access to Canadian higher education, Breton et al.’s (1972) manpower study of social and academic factors affecting Canadian youth career decisions, Harvey’s (1974) work on the labor market in relation to Canadian educational systems, and Fleming’s (1974) “critical-issue” monograph on equality of educational opportunity. The theme is a popular one and well supported in the sociology of education of the United States, England, and France, from which Canadian sociologists of education usually draw.

The social aspects of learning, particularly socialization as an encompassing process, remain an underdeveloped part of Anglophone Canadian knowledge, despite the pioneering study of upper-class socialization, *Crestwood Heights* (1956), by Seeley, Sims, and Loosley, and the two editions of Elkin’s (1960, 1972) work on middle-class socialization, *The Child and Society*. In addition, Loubser (1970) contributed a significant paper on socialization for moral development. There is, however, a considerable literature on the process of socialization in relation to various ethnic groups, and to adolescents, deviants, and the poor, which is beginning to be incorporated more systematically into the corpus of knowledge of sociology of education in Anglophone Canada. (One suspects that many Anglophone

Canadian sociologists of education tend to rely on American sources when dealing with this component of their discipline.)

A greater effort has gone into producing knowledge about social factors associated with learning, achievement, and aspiration. The contributions made by Breton (1972), Rocher (1974), Pedersen and Farrell (1969), and Williams (1972), and more recently unpublished work by Jeffrey Bulcock of Memorial University, represent the research approaches of nation-wide survey research, longitudinal study, and path analysis. Other studies have concerned relationships between learning, schooling, and ethnicity, for example the studies of A. J. C. King (1968) of the school adjustment of ethnics and Hobart's (1970) work on Eskimo education. Contemporary knowledge of socialization and learning involves a symbolic-interaction perspective that requires amplification in Canadian educational research and practice by heuristic supplements from phenomenological sociology, socio-linguistics, and social anthropology. Some of this amplification is beginning at OISE, Queen's, and Alberta, and possibly other places. Martin's (1976) work on *The Negotiated Order of the School*, using a symbolic-interaction approach, connects learning and behavior to organizational and control aspects of the school environment.

The school as a social group and the sociology of educational organizations have been studied more frequently by educators than by sociologists in Anglophone Canada. The most authoritative work is probably David Munroe's (1974) Ministry of State publication, *Organization and Administration of Education in Canada*. Maxwell and Maxwell's (1971) study of an Ontario private school, Stebbins' (1974) work on classrooms in Newfoundland, and Ryan's (1974) excursion into higher education organization represent promising beginnings of a sociology of educational organization. Some of the best works on Canadian educational organization have been produced by administrators, for example Bergen (1974) on the Canadian Council of Ministers of Education, and by social anthropologists Wolcott (1967) and A. R. King (1967), graduate students at Stanford University who were invited to do participant-observation in outpost Canadian schools by a Canadian education official (King, 1976).

Educational and social change have been a recurring interest of Canadian sociologists and educators. Clark (1956) made an early contribution on the relationship between educational change and leadership turnover, while Card (1968) explored education and social change in Canada from a structural-functional perspective. More recently Fullan (1972) has written a lengthy exposition of innovation and change in education generally, while Livingstone (1971, 1973) has developed what amounts to a futurology of education.

Mention should also be made of the contribution of "protest literature," represented most flamboyantly in the journal *This Magazine Is About Schools*, which for seven years following its appearance in 1966 has

provided protestors from Ontario, British Columbia, and the United States with a Canadian publishing outlet. Its successor, *This Magazine*, covers the whole gamut of social problems, including education. Articles from the two journals have been selected and republished by Martell (1974) under the title: *The Politics of Canadian Education*. Why such protest literature appears to have had its development outside Canadian university and education circles is a matter requiring further study.

This brief survey of knowledge of Anglophone Canadian sociology of education would be incomplete without once again mentioning the great reliance on American-produced knowledge on the one hand, and on the other, the almost complete ignorance of the literature in French available from Quebec, and the relatively little use made of the hundreds of research articles, scholarly papers, government reports, commissioned research studies of private firms, and graduate theses, which, with few exceptions, remain largely unexploited resources for many Canadian sociologists of education. Anglophone sociology of education must rank as one of the most underdeveloped disciplines from a Canadian point of view. One hopeful sign is the recent increase in textbook production (described later as a pattern of interaction).

One should not ignore, however, the non-Canadian content of sociology of education — the American, British, and French contributions in particular as well as some from developing countries and other places. The fact that such sources are so much part of what is currently fashionable in Anglophone Canadian sociology of education is probably proof of their merit as well as an index of an underdeveloped Canadian content. The works of Willard Waller, Emile Durkheim, Neal Gross, Robert Havighurst, Olive Banks, M. D. Shipman, the Open University Team headed by Donald Swift, W. B. Brookover, and others represent the international heritage in sociology of education from which Anglophone Canadians regularly draw. Most have yet to discover Bourdieu and associates from France.

At the same time, some work by Canadian sociologists of education is of international interest in its own right, and has found publication outside of Canada, for example, Bacchus (1969), Rocher (1974), Williams (1972, 1975), and Card (1974). Finally, Canada's leading journal devoted to theoretical and empirical aspects of education has so far taken a decidedly international (Canadian-American) and interdisciplinary posture. This is OISE's *Interchange*, which in sociology of education has featured such prominent non-Canadian sociologists as Reismann, Bidwell, Havighurst, Litwak, Foster, Sklar, Dreeben, Inbar, Stoll, and Janowitz from the United States, Husén of Sweden, and Sugarman of Oxford. The journal has also conducted one important symposium on the role of the school sociologist, based on output from the American Educational Research Association, and another on multivariate analysis, based on papers prepared for the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association's 1970 meetings. These

international dimensions, too, must be considered part of Anglophone Canada's sociology of education. They constitute both a reflection of dependence on American resources for staff and knowledge during the recent growth of the discipline, and an invitation for Canadian scholarship to develop a comparative sociology of education. Such a sociology of education would reflect what is distinctive about sociology and education in Canada (which can only be expressed comparatively) and at the same time give a Canadian thrust to the development of comparative sociology of education on an international scale, one of the great world needs of our time.

Patterns of Interaction

The predominant interaction pattern in Anglo-Canadian sociology of education is teaching courses. Brehaut and Francoeur (1956) found only 10 courses in educational sociology offered by five universities 18 years ago. A survey of calendars of all degree-granting institutions for 1974–76 (see Table 1) shows that 36 Canadian Anglophone universities offer 173 courses. Fifty-two are education undergraduate courses, 29 arts undergraduate courses. At the graduate level, 83 are in education, 9 in arts. Faculties of education, including OISE, clearly lead over departments of sociology in offering sociology of education at all levels – with one exception, Ontario, where there are 16 undergraduate courses in the subject in arts departments and only 13 in faculties of education. In terms of present capacity for contributing to research, advanced scholarship, and preparation of leaders in sociology of education, four Canadian institutions may be designated as “growth centres” for the discipline – OISE, Memorial University's Department of Educational Foundations, and the departments of Educational Foundations at the University of Calgary and the University of Alberta. Queen's University, the University of New Brunswick, Dalhousie, and McGill appear to have potential for development in this area. Each Canadian region, with the possible exception of British Columbia, appears to have undergraduate and graduate course strength in sociology of education.

The production of textbooks, an enterprise still in its infancy in Anglophone Canadian sociology of education, is now beginning to reflect the market provided by course expansion. Here leadership appears to be coming primarily from smaller universities. In 1969 Malik, of the University of Saskatchewan, brought out his *Social Foundations of Canadian Education*, which dealt specifically with Anglo-Canadian sociology of education, but contained only two contributions from recognized Canadian sociologists or anthropologists; educationists and one American sociologist provided the majority of articles. The next nationally distributed textbook was by Pat Duffy Hutcheon of the University of Regina, entitled *A Sociology of Canadian Education*, published in 1975. It was written primarily

for prospective teachers, who, if the style of the book is an indication, would be taught in phyletically oriented classrooms that seek to build group morale as well as impart knowledge. Basic sociological concepts are explained, using American and European sociologists as sources; demonstrated in Canadian case situations; applied through reference to Canadian research amplified through reference to further reading suggestions, mainly in American sociology; and reviewed through multiple-choice questions. This innovative textbook has brought forth positive and negative reactions (Bulcock, 1976; Mitchell, 1975). Three sociologists from the University of Guelph — Carlton, Colley, and MacKinnon — have compiled an anthology of current Canadian research and theory in the sociology of education, *Education, Change and Society: A Sociology of Canadian Education*, each section of which is insightfully introduced through their own writing. This volume, which features education in relation to Canadian culture, cultural pluralism, social selection, socialization, and innovation and renewal, has been drawn from the works of authors from each part of Canada, including Quebec. The fourth book, written by Martin and Macdonnell of the University of New Brunswick and due to be released by Prentice-Hall of Canada in January 1977, is tentatively called: *The Sociology of Education: The Canadian Context*. While the authors attempt to use structural-functional, conflict-theory, and symbolic-interaction perspectives in a macro overview and analysis of Canadian education, one of their unique contributions consists in their having systematically examined government documents and over three hundred Canadian theses in their efforts to have a genuine Canadian content. As such works are used, the content and outlook of Anglophone Canadian sociology of education is bound to change.

Publishing in periodicals is a dispersed and opportunistic activity so far as Anglophone Canadian sociology of education is concerned. OISE's *Interchange* has already been described. *The Alberta Journal of Educational Research* has been used to report some sociology of education research for over two decades. More recently the *McGill Journal of Education* and the University of Calgary's *Journal of Educational Thought* have attracted some sociological papers. The new *Canadian Journal of Education* promises to give much needed access to writers and readers of serious work in Canadian sociology of education, though its public is expected to be primarily from education. The *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* and the much younger *Canadian Journal of Sociology* provide an outlet for sociology of education reporting directed primarily to a sociological/anthropological public. The *Review*, in February 1970, devoted a special issue to sociology of education. A possible future development might well be the creating of some periodical to deal specifically with sociology of education, hopefully in both Anglophone and Francophone Canada. Such a periodical would reflect the unique features

both of the discipline and of Canadian society and its education, and would be a vehicle for overcoming professional isolation and improving the quality and quantity of public knowledge of sociology of education.

In research the dominant change in recent years has been the entry of federal government departments into large-scale survey research, such as Breton's surveys of occupational and educational aspirations for the Department of Labour (Manpower), and Young and Pannu's recently completed survey for the Ministry of State of private ethnic schools in Canada. The availability of data banks and the services of survey research institutes makes possible a scale of research not hitherto available to sociologists of education and requiring a higher level of expertise, greater funding, and more co-operation among scholars than has been the norm in the past. In some provinces, notably Alberta, private research agencies are being called upon for policy-oriented and institutional research closely related to the sociology of education.

The development of professional associations for sociologists of education is currently at the crossroads. The Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association, through dissolution of its Liaison Committee on Education in August 1974, has virtually abdicated its leadership role in sociology of education, and as yet the Canadian Association of Foundations of Education has not emerged with a strong, consistent sociology of education component.

Finally, mention is made of regional differences in patterns of interaction, a phenomenon not adequately studied but very much a part of Anglophone sociology of education. In the Atlantic Provinces there is great diversity in approaches to the discipline, reflecting the uneven development, generally small size, and traditions of the Atlantic Provinces and their universities. Memorial University, with the largest team of sociologists of education and a set of two undergraduate and nine graduate courses from which to work has become a highly productive centre of teaching and research. It has established close relations with the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, based in Sweden, where two of its staff have association as fellows engaged in research on sociology of achievement. Dalhousie University in 1975 proposed and has received approval for a PhD in Educational Foundations, a fused interdisciplinary degree with sociological, philosophical, psychological, and historical components for teacher educators and educational policy-makers. In 1976 the University of New Brunswick proposed a PhD in sociology, with a regional emphasis, which would include sociology of education as a possible line of study. Elsewhere in the Atlantic Provinces sociology of education is a relatively low-key activity expressed in most universities in one or two undergraduate or professional courses for prospective teachers. The potential strengths in sociology of education that could come to the region from greater co-operation have yet to be realized.

Regional economic and education planning bodies provide a structure for such co-operation, as does the recently formed Atlantic Anthropological and Sociological Association.

In Ontario research and graduate leadership in both sociology and education tends to be concentrated in or controlled from the Toronto area, especially through OISE, though Ottawa and Carleton Universities, Queen's, and Waterloo are showing evidence they are alternative sites for high-level work in sociology of education. OISE's theoretically oriented Department of Sociology in Education, with a 1976 full-time professorial staff of 11 and an array of 38 courses, stands out as a distinctive creation, in the annals of sociology of education internationally, which itself merits a sociological inquiry. Sociological expertise dispersed in other parts of the OISE structure also needs to be recognized in order to assess the whole sociological thrust of this unique institute. (See Fleming, 1971, pp. 208–290, especially p. 239.) Initially, OISE's Department of Sociology in Education began with strong American connections, especially at Harvard, Chicago, and later Washington, D.C. These connections have expanded in recent years to include Swedish, British, and other links.

Partly as a consequence of OISE and strong competition for research and program funds in Ontario higher education generally, there has developed a virtual Ontario (Toronto)–Ottawa network of grant and research contacts which appears to be a factor in the nature and scale of much research attempted in Ontario sociology of education. This factor also contributes, along with the centralization in Ontario of Anglophone publishing, to a kind of ecological and structural advantage for Ontario sociology of education in relation to other Anglophone Canadian regions. To this must be added a further factor, already mentioned: the large proportion of sociology of education courses offered in arts departments of sociology, which tend to carry with them the reputation for high-level scholarship traditionally associated with Ontario arts faculties and reflected in Ontario patterns of secondary school teacher certification. As an overall enterprise, Ontario sociology of education appears to have been created in its inception and moulded in its development more by the play of economic and political forces, noted by Fournier's model, than by an evolutionary institutionalization in academia following Clark's model. Further, because of connections, size, ties with government, and integration into arts faculties, there appears to be present in Ontario sociology of education a latent elitism. With respect to both its creation and development, and its latent elitism, Ontario sociology of education resembles much more the sociology of education of Quebec than it does the sociology of education in other Anglophone regions.

In Western Canada there are three dominant interaction patterns, and an emerging one, which tend to characterize the region's sociology of education. The first is institutionalization of the sociology of education

in faculties of education where the main activity is instructing teachers-in-training, followed by service to the teaching profession and school communities, and then by research — the most usual pattern of priorities. There are four main reasons for this regional pattern. First, diffusion of sociology of education (educational sociology) began prior to the 1960s, during a period when liberal-democratic and progressive faith was strong in social change achieved through good teaching with good knowledge. Western Canadian educators and sociologists of education reinforced this faith through frequent contacts with Western American universities, particularly Stanford, California, Oregon, and Colorado. Second, there was very little sociology in Western Canada, and what little there was could scarcely meet the needs of Western Canadian teacher education. (See Card, 1973.) A third is the strong control over knowledge exerted by highly professionalized, well-organized educators in Western Canada both inside and outside of universities. As gatekeepers of knowledge (see Foster, Note 3) it has been their pattern to encourage sociology of education for teachers, but to reserve largely for themselves many of the research, consulting, planning, policy-making, and reform roles where sociological expertise could be used. As a teaching enterprise, patterns vary from one university to the other, with the University of British Columbia having seven instructors teaching one major course on the one hand, and the University of Calgary, with a similarly sized staff, offering six undergraduate and fourteen graduate courses in the field, in addition to having a full-time sociologist assigned to educational administration. Despite the limitations involved, the Western Canadian development of sociology of education in faculties of education has given the field durability and a base from which to innovate.

A second pattern in Western Canada is associated with the first: the persistent marginality of sociology of education, though this marginality shows signs of diminishing. Within faculties of education sociology of education has been marginal to the other disciplines of education, especially educational psychology and curriculum and instruction areas, a marginality that is not necessarily limited to Western Canada. Another source of marginality was the low reputation of American sociology of education brought to Western Canada by American or American-trained sociologists who were recruited to staff rapidly growing sociology departments in faculties of arts in the late 1950s and 1960s. This reputation was often uncritically assigned to Western Canadian faculties of education and their sociology of education, a factor which tended to increase the already present social distance between arts and education. More importantly perhaps, the preoccupation of Western Canadian sociologists of education with teaching and service has left the more overtly prestigious activities of consulting, research, and publication to sociologists and educationists, particularly administrators, who could, or would, take time for these activities.

A third pattern is the concentration of sociology of education personnel, courses, research, and professional development that has taken place in Alberta universities. This development began before 1960 on both the Calgary and Edmonton campuses of the University of Alberta, where approaches to sociology of education and patterns of collegial co-operation were set in motion which have continued after the formation of the University of Calgary in 1966. Thirty-four of the 63 courses in sociology of education in Western Canada are offered in the two larger Alberta universities. Here it has been possible to maintain a steady emphasis on graduate work, extend contacts to England, Europe, and developing countries, and continue the process of innovation. Course differentiation, joint appointments and cross-listing of courses with arts sociology, and inauguration of professional organizations have been some of the innovations. The Western Association of Sociology and Anthropology and the Western Association of Foundations of Education (now CAFE) were outgrowths of these innovative efforts.

The emergent pattern is not unique to Western Canada but has its most extreme manifestation in Alberta. This pattern is the use of the private consultant or research agency to do contract research on community education or governmentally defined problems related to the sociology of education. Among those exemplifying this trend is L. W. Downey. Downey was director of the Alberta Human Resource Research Centre, 1968–73, research co-ordinator of the Alberta Educational Planning Commission, and then in 1973, head of his own research firm, L. W. Downey Research Associates, until his appointment in 1976 as professor of Educational Administration at the University of British Columbia. He has been responsible for a large number of public and non-public research reports that have direct relevance for the Western Canadian sociology of education. (See Downey, 1974, 1975.) This pattern has yet to be examined to ascertain the scope, quality, and heuristic usefulness of knowledge produced, but is nevertheless serving to provide political and educational decision-makers with the immediate information they feel is needed.

From this brief review of interaction patterns by regions, one observation is inescapable. While all of Anglophone Canada is served by the discipline, primarily as a teaching enterprise, its development and interests are by no means uniform. If Anglophone Canadian sociology of education is an index of Canadian society, Canadian society is not only dual along language-cultural lines, but quadruple also along regional lines, for it has virtually three Anglophone sociologies of education as well as a Franco-phonie sociology of education.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

A Portrait

Canadian sociology of education in 1976 appeared to be a continuing, incomplete, social invention, not purely indigenous anywhere in the

country, but more indigenous in Quebec than in other regions. Borrowed elements incorporated into the Canadian discipline have come principally from the United States, though in recent years there has been a growing tendency to borrow from England and France, as well as from some other countries. The Canadian socio-cultural base from which the discipline emerged appears to have been adequate in Quebec, where that province's personnel, knowledge, and interaction patterns were readily adapted to the field in the late 1950s and early 1960s. In Anglophone Canada the socio-cultural base was partially adequate in Western Canada, less so in Ontario, where heaviest reliance was placed on borrowing American personnel and knowledge for sociology of education. The adequacy of the Atlantic Provinces' socio-cultural base has not yet been seriously tested by sociology of education inventors, except in Newfoundland. The Canadian situation giving rise to the invention, as in Durkheim's France and the United States of the Progressive Era, appears to be the relatively persistent need in teacher education for sociological knowledge of society and educational organization and practice. However, when major politically based educational reforms were undertaken, as in Ontario and Quebec in the 1960s, the invention and diffusion processes were greatly accelerated in order to help meet the needs of policy-makers and reformers for sociological knowledge. Until the 1960s relatively few Canadians were permitted to work at inventing a sociology of education, and those who were permitted to do so worked in isolation from one another, in British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Quebec, and Nova Scotia primarily. Apart from demographic data, readily available in Canada, most of the tools used by inventors, especially the paradigms, came from the United States. Basic sociology as a tool was not well established in Canada until the mid-sixties. In Quebec the interests of inventors of the discipline were closely shaped and moulded by Quebec society. In Anglophone Canada inventor interests tended to reflect American as well as strictly Canadian concerns, while provincial problems and pressures appeared also to have had a strong influence on inventor interests. Considerable trial and error has characterized the inventing process, two examples being the short-lived Department of Educational Foundations at OISE, which was changed to become a Department of History and Philosophy of Education and a Department of Sociology in Education, and the abruptly terminated 7-year-old Liaison Committee on Education of the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association. In form and function the discipline has shown a relationship not so much to Canadian society as a global entity as to provincial and regional components of Canadian society. The major exception is the discipline's widespread diffusion as a university subject which closely reflects the nation-wide distribution of universities. The form and function of sociology of education in Quebec and in Ontario

show closer relationships to the political power structure and the status of universities and their professors in those two provincial societies than are found in the West or in the Atlantic Provinces, where the discipline has had slower growth controlled more by education forces. This, in brief, is a portrait of Canadian sociology of education as a social invention.

As an innovation adopted in Canadian higher education through diffusion, the discipline appears to be reaching the top of the “S” curve, or a plateau, in terms of the completeness of its adoption as a university course. However, it appears to be still marginal and unevenly integrated in educational, sociological, and government settings outside the university. The stages through which sociology of education has been diffused in Canada are most readily traceable in Anglophone Canada, particularly the West, where its relatively slow adoption and development in faculties of education appear to have corresponded closely with the diffusion model developed by Clark (1968a). However, in Quebec and Ontario, where a coalition of government and educational reformers were in control, institutionalization of the discipline took place so rapidly in the 1960s that some of the stages of adoption formulated by Clark appear to have been either greatly compressed or by-passed through political decision. In the case of Quebec and Ontario, Fournier’s (1974) emphasis on the impact of outside power on social science development is needed to understand the abruptness of the development of sociology of education in the two provinces. Further study of the diffusion of sociology of education in Canada is needed to explain the different rates and patterns of adoption in university and other settings.

Challenges

Does Canada and sociology of education as a social science and scholarly field simply need more of what it already has — in other words, just organic growth? If only this pattern of development were to be followed, the country would likely be more completely covered by more courses for teachers and undergraduate arts students, with some hope, no doubt, for improved staff qualifications, more research, and better professional contacts through existing learned associations. The survey just completed suggests, however, that growth through more differentiation (innovation) and diffusion is a much more urgent and long-range need. As a subject of study, do the universities offering their one or two low-level sociology of education courses need to differentiate the contents and staffing of such courses in order to give their clients a better exposure to the knowledge and expertise actually available now in Canadian sociology of education, but more available in some parts of Canada than others? Is there too much of a lid on the status quo in many of Canada’s universities with respect to sociology of education? Further, is not differentiation needed in concep-

tualizing and using sociology of education? Could not sociologists of education conceive of a more distinctively Canadian discipline, composed not only of unco-ordinated sets of provincial problems and their sociological resolutions on the one hand and universalistic social science theories on the other, but also of ways of conceiving Canada as communities, regions, and a global society, all with educational problems and needs which augment provincial concerns and grand universalism? Further, could Canadian sociologists of education, given the diversity of their country and their discipline, develop from this base and from their international connections and knowledge a comparative approach to their field which would enhance its usefulness both at home and abroad? Could not this differentiation also occur paradigmatically, so that Canadian sociology of education might be more than structural-functionalism, or its main rival, conflict sociology, or the more gentle partners of symbolic interaction, phenomenology, or ethnomethodology? Since the education process and Canada as a society are concerned with becoming and change as well as with pattern-maintenance and control, can Canadian sociology of education be differentiated to deal with becoming as well as describing and analysing and predicting? If so, can Canadian sociology of education handle "becoming" without being excessively burdened with unproductive dialectics, such as "le pouvoir" vs. "le peuple," Anglophones vs. Francophones, the "pure" vs. the "applied," education vs. arts, sociology of particular learning groups vs. big sociology of education? Can Canadian sociology of education increase its usefulness and quality by adding to a high valuation of excellent, rigorous theory and methodology as befits a social science, also a working regard for, and participative role in, criticism, reform, policy-making, social action, administration, professional application, and reflexive evaluation of sociology of education itself? Finally, can sociology of education really advance in Canada much beyond its present development without better diffusion of personnel, knowledge, and interaction patterns from one part of the country to another? Can the work being done in Quebec, Ontario, and other parts of Canada be more effectively shared? The answers to these challenges will determine the future of sociology of education, and be a factor in shaping the Canada of today and tomorrow.

NOTE

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