



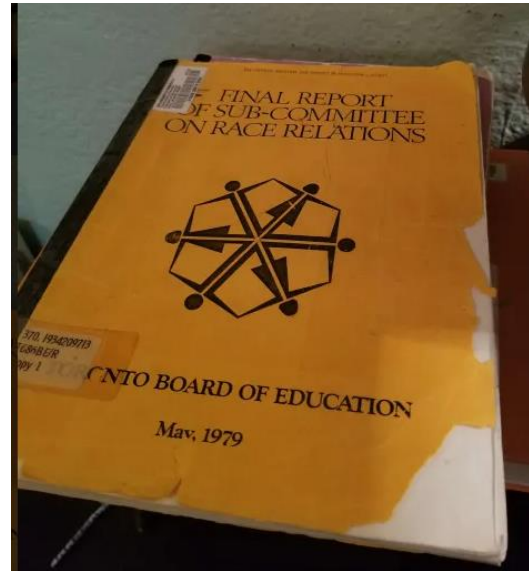
The Rise of “Reform” Politics in Toronto, as Epitomized in the Person of Toronto Mayor John Sewell (second from the right, and in office 1978–1980), a “Reform” Politician.

Fulcrum and Pivot: The New Left Remaking of Toronto School Policy

— An Essay by Dr. M —



—*The Bias of Culture*, a document produced in 1974 by **The Work Group on Multicultural Programs**, a TDSB affiliated work group.



—The 1979 issued *Final Report of the Sub-Committee on Race Relations*, a TDSB affiliated committee.

What does this essay attempt to explain? In 1979, the *Final Report of the Committee on Race Relations* was submitted to the Toronto Board of Education, the TBE (later, the TDSB as it will be referred to in this essay). The 119 recommendations of the committee were accepted *in toto* by the Board and would become the basis of race relations in Toronto schools, setting the trend for the rest of Canadian schools in the process. For insiders, the report and its policy impact was “an important stage in the struggle for equity” and “something tangible, something education activists could ‘wave around....’”¹

Why does this essay matter? In the following rather lengthy series of discussions, I have undertaken to produce a perspective on the development of radical education and practice that is something of an anomaly. I will present material with an insider’s access to education libraries, digitized newspapers of the era, and the memoirs of 70s radical education actors, now elderly and now saying some of the quiet parts out loud — just about every talking point in what follows

¹ McCaskell 2005, 22.

is made possible by the data and descriptions provided by insiders. However, the anomaly comes in the fact that I will give you nothing of the obligatory affirmation of the once radical (now normalized) modes of reform and revolution that ubiquitously occur in the work of education theorists today. In fact, I am deeply sceptical. This essay matters because I provide the reader with an extensively documented commentary on the politics of the individuals and the groups that initiated the era of identity-based policy-making in Toronto schools. I will make the case that a knowledge of the politics—the system of ideas—that guide actors in policy-making is indispensable in assessing the merits (or lack thereof) of those policies and the claims that they make about society. In the policy programs submitted to the Board in the 70s and 80s that are of interest here, nothing is explicitly explained about the politics or the presuppositions of the people producing said policies; this information must be extracted from a variety of other sources.

PHASES OF RACE POLICY-MAKING AT TDSB

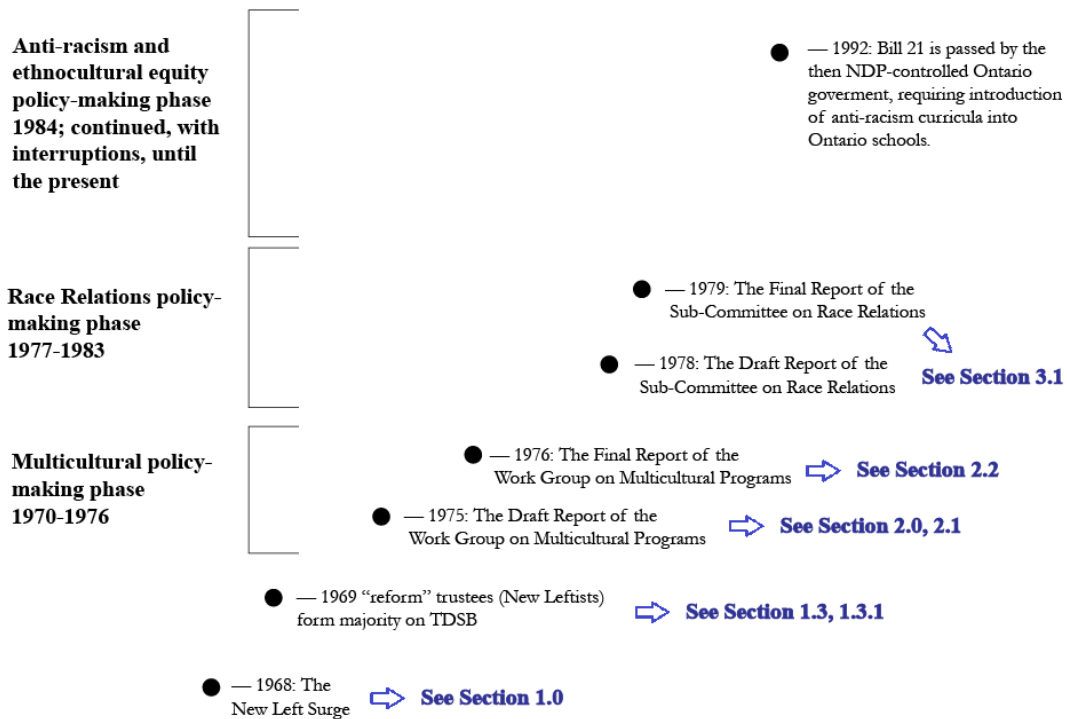


Figure 1: A Timeline of Race Policy-Making Phases at the TDSB, based on information found in the dissertation of Tateishi 2019.² Intimations of the political leanings of the policy-makers are justified in the sections specified.

² The phases of race policy making are discussed in Tateishi 2019, 18; see page 48 of the same work for the transition to anti-racist theory and policy beginning already in 1984. On page 66, Tateishi gives a chart showing the same phases in the government of Ontario race policy making — roughly equivalent though with some variation from the timeline of development at TDSB.

The radicals who initiated the policy reform phases sketched in figure 1 are, as we shall see, more profitably discussed as New Leftists. Their fundamental axiom, as with their counterparts today, was that liberalism was “not enough.”³ The reader committed enough to reach the end of this document will have gained insight into the following problems: What is the New Left, both on a global stage and on the level of local Toronto “reform” politics of the 70s? What idea systems and presuppositions, what sorts of radicalism, prefigured the anti-liberal (group interests rather than individual rights) policy-making in Toronto schools? How do initiatives such as community control of schools and the TDSB shift to ethnic community liaisons fit into the picture? How does all this set the stage for the anti-racism and equity policy incursion of the 80s, 90s and the present day?

In order to assess current 2024 TDSB policy rhetoric to the effect that “schooling in North America is inherently designed for the benefit of the dominant culture,”⁴ an examination of the history of policy ideas and the people who promulgate them brings with it the prospect of informed dissent. If one should choose to do so, contending with the root of a movement is to contend with the entire structure.

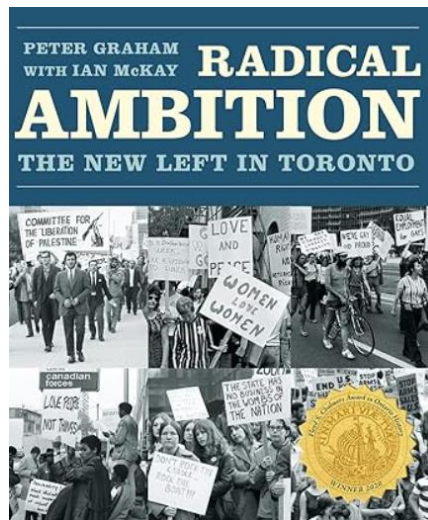


Figure 2: For readers who do not want to believe that left-of-liberal actors have been pushing buttons in Toronto policy-making for over 50 years, it is hoped that the cover of this book, written by Peter Graham in 2019, will intimate something: the claim that the New Left movement existed, it manifested in Toronto among other places, and that it carried out policy transformations according to the axiom “Liberalism is not enough,” is not as hard to document as it may seem.

Note: I had originally intended to preface my discussion with two examples of how radical activism can and has transformed education theory and practice: the first example addressed Critical Education Theory, the second had to do with the ongoing attainment gap between girls

³ Following Edmonds study of the free schools movement in America: “the recognition that American liberalism was not enough” was a theme of New Left activism (Edmonds 1971, 26).

⁴ This statement is part of TDSB’s 2024 *Facilitating Critical Conversations...* teaching resource. The resource was retracted, but a back copy and a refutation of its positions is available at: <https://aristotlefoundation.org/reality-check/read-the-toronto-district-school-boards-challenging-oppression-guide-for-yourself-and-our-critique/>

and boys (or how boys fell behind). These small discussions have now moved to appendix one and two, respectively.

1.0 The New Left put Abstractly: The phrase “New Left” should not call the moderate liberal party member to mind. Instead, it should evoke an approach to socio-politics that is fundamentally an adaptation of Marxist (Old Left) tactics, language and organization principles. This approach emerged on the global stage in the activist movements of 1968 and has never entirely gone away. From the entry “1968” in the *Oxford Handbook of the History of Communism*, one learns that such movements sprang up across the world in the 1960s in the context of combatting colonialism in the developing world, in free-market Western countries, and even in a few instances, in communist-controlled countries. These movements were not orchestrated by Moscow (which saw them as producing dangerous rival Marxisms) but seem to have developed organically as, across the globe, one disaffected group or another set itself against the establishment (colonial, capitalist or communist) and saw modified Marxian tactics as the way to conduct their program.⁵

New Left activism became academically fashionable to left-wing American college students of the 1960s when leftist professors began pushing the following massively influential thinkers. Old Left thinkers were still part of the theoretical picture: Karl Marx (contributes “conflict theory” to sociology, one of the three primary focuses of that field); Antonio Gramsci (Italian Marxist who theorizes revolution as a process of subverting the institutions). New Left thinkers became even more influential: Michel Foucault (for decades, and still today, the most cited man in academia and the intellectual father of postmodernism); Stuart Hall (Marxist founder of “Culture Studies” which became the theoretical component pushed in journalist schools); Edward Said (Palestinian radical theorist and the intellectual father of postcolonial studies and the push to “decolonize” (everything)). There were many others of this sort.⁶ New Left college students of the 60s, upon

⁵ This entry “1968”, was penned by Maud Anne Bracke. She nuances the breadth and scope of New Left activism as follows: “The utopian politics of 1968 included student and youth uprisings in Japan, France, Mexico, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), and Italy; massive workers’ protests and revived class conflict in France, Italy, and other European countries; reform and opposition movements in communist regimes such as Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Yugoslavia; the civil rights movement and Black Power in the USA; the guerrilla war fought in South Vietnam and anti-colonial struggles in South East Asia and Africa more broadly; and feminist movements in various parts of the world” (Bracke 2014).

⁶ This list of thinkers that molded the minds of college students beginning in the 60s is taken from Albo (1990, 164), who writes from the perspective of having been one such student (Albo, a York U professor, gives every appearance of being a lifelong Marxist: <https://profiles.laps.yorku.ca/profiles/albo/>). Descriptions of each thinker are those of the current author. For the significance of Stuart Hall and Culture Studies, see (leftist defector) Rectenwald (2018, 50): “Cultural Studies wasn’t exactly what it reminded me of – cultural anthropology. As its founders Stuart Hall, Raymond Williams and E.P. Thompson suggested, Cultural Studies was invented to be a politically radical engagement with culture, especially “low” forms, including mass media and other popular culture. Hall, Williams, and Thompson were Marxists. They saw culture as a form of power and a carrier of capitalist ideology. Combined with Antonio Gramsci’s ideas about “cultural hegemony” Cultural Studies, and not the Frankfurt School, is the real source of anything like “Cultural Marxism,” the menace decried by many on the right. Cultural Studies accounts for a good share of your “radicals in the academy.” For a sceptical analysis of the intellectual integrity of the thinkers of the New Left, one can consult Roger Scruton’s scathing *Fools, Frauds and Firebrands: Thinkers of the New Left*.

graduation, would have a definite impact on educational theory and practice as many of them became the school teachers of the 70s.⁷

The central tenants of the New Left system of ideas can be sketched as follows: like the classical Marxists (the Old Left), they aimed to carry out a utopian transformation of society “to be begun in the urgency of the here and now, and requiring collective rather than individual action.”⁸ Importantly, with the Old Left, they remained the staunch and intractable opponents of capitalism.⁹ Further, like all opponents of the Western program from Vladimir Lenin on, they are liable to declare themselves as “anti-imperialists.”¹⁰

There were, however, major deviations between Old Left and New Left: the central axiom of the Old Left had always been the class struggle between the proletariat (the working class) and the bourgeoisie (the owners of production). While the New Left maintains solidarity with the working class, their central axiom pivots to the identity struggle — the women’s revolution, the ethnic revolution, gay activism and so on. It is still the case that both doctrines depend on dividing society into categories of oppressed and oppressors. Important for the discussion to follow, the New Left became critical of the centralizing and hierarchical tendencies of the Old Left, and they distinguished themselves by setting decentralization at the forefront of their policy-making.¹¹ Decentralization became an effective tactic for opposing and undermining hierarchal establishments of all sorts, anything deemed the enemy of the revolution. This mode of operation became, as Breines describes it, a sort of “prefigurative politics,” that is, a political objective of developing “the seeds of liberation and the new society (prior to and in the process of revolution) through notions of participatory democracy grounded in counter-institutions; this meant building community”; this political objective was paired with a community organizing

⁷ Referring to the New Left SDS student movement (discussed below) Edmunds 1971, 26 observes: The SDS members of those days have since divided themselves into various degrees of radicalism and various types of movement work, as have members of other radical groups. Many have moved into education.” As I also point out in appendix 2, Marxist sympathizer and historian of the development of Critical Education Studies Isaac Gottesman notes that waves of 1960s radicals found their calling not in religious cults or yuppiedom, but “in the classroom” (Gottesman 2009, 1). Additionally, one can refer to the anecdotal comment of Gordon Cressy, the “reform” (i.e. New Left) chair of the TDSB in 1975. Cressy recounted at that time: “I am not a historian, but I am a student and youth worker of the 1960s, and a politician and teacher of the 1970s, so I believe I know the time frame well – I have lived it intimately”; he goes on to say about the 60s, “the existing institutions were accused of being irrelevant and their value system bankrupt. Free schools were leap-frogging into existence. The just society was just around the Corner...” (quoted in Gaskell and Levin 2012, 105).

⁸ Bracke 2014.

⁹ <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/new-left>

¹⁰ See Churchill 2001, 230: “The conceptualization of the United States as a modern empire was a core component of the New Left’s political critique, one which questioned the rationale of international anti-communism while at the same time rehabilitating older Marxist critiques of imperialism.” See also McCaskell, a Marxist activist, who writes “American imperialism, as my friends and I unapologetically called it...” (McCaskell 2005, 3).

¹¹ <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/new-left> see the statement “critical of the Old Left (Social Democracy and Marxism-Leninism) and its alienating hierarchical, centralized and bureaucratic structures, the New Left proposed local control of the political process, accessibility to political and social institutions and participatory democracy.”

strategy committed to “building organization in order to achieve power so that structural changes in the political, economic and social orders might be achieved.”¹²

1.1 The New Left in Praxis (applied in practice in the real world) — American Context: Since developments set in motion by the Students for a Democratic Society (hereafter, SDS) will foreshadow activist directions in Canada, the group must be briefly examined here. The touchstone for the application of New Left activism in the American context was the formation of the radical student group SDS in 1960. The socialist politics of the group are evident in the anti-capitalism of the Port Huron Statement (the founding manifesto of the group), which advocates for “revolutionary leadership” and states “we would replace power and personal uniqueness rooted in possession, privilege, or circumstance by power and uniqueness rooted in love, reflectiveness, reason, and creativity.” Prefiguring the community-based identity activism that is still a familiar aspect of the left today, SDS emphasized New Left style participatory democracy and claimed in its manifesto that politics are “the art of collectively creating an acceptable pattern of social relations,” that politics have the function of “bringing people out of isolation and into community,” and that politics “should provide outlets for the expression of personal grievance and aspiration.”¹³

As a radical student movement, it isn’t surprising to see the SDS manifesto set its sights on the university. But there is more to this decision than is immediately obvious. They saw the university as a “potential base and agency in a movement of social change”; indeed, the university is “located in a permanent position of social influence”; it is “functionally tied to society in new ways, revealing new potentialities, new levers for change”; as an added bonus (for illiberal socialists), it is “the only mainstream institution that is open to participation by individuals of nearly any viewpoint”. The manifesto further adds that the New Left needs to start controversy in order to win and “the ideal university is a community of controversy, within itself and in its effects on communities beyond.”¹⁴ Further, the New Left should expect to obtain a “political synthesis” with the academic liberals of the left: “A new left must include liberals and socialists, the former for their relevance, the latter for their sense of thoroughgoing reforms in the system.”¹⁵

SDS played a role in the advent of the “grievance studies” departments in the universities, most directly, Black Studies. In 1968, at San Francisco State University, the Black Student Union built on the momentum of the then raging black power movement and “demanded” that a department

¹² Breines 1980, 420–421.

¹³ This document was written by key SDS founding member Tom Hayden, and, although he died in 2016, the document is still available on his website:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20090206020203/https://www.tomhayden.com/porthuron.htm#Introduction>

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be created that would be controlled exclusively by people of color and that would accept all non-white student applicants regardless of academic qualifications. When this demand was rejected, the Black Student Union, in cooperation with SDS, coordinated a student and faculty strike at the university that would last for six months and would turn violent, requiring the occupation of campus by hundreds of San Francisco police officers for months on end. Striking students injured thirty-two officers during the strike, set hundreds of small fires and set off eight bombs and two firebombs.¹⁶ After this, black studies departments spread across the country in their hundreds, transmitting such identity-centric analyses as critical race theory and intersectional theory, and institutionalizing the radical claim that America is systemically racist.¹⁷

According to the document *America and the New Era* produced by SDS in 1963, it is only through the curtailment of funding for the arms race that an egalitarian America society could be attained (surely, Soviet Russia would have seconded that motion); they say black Americans should come to the realization that the “demand for freedom” is a demand for a “new society” (safe to say, they mean a socialist society).¹⁸ The document calls for a “new insurgency,” that is, for organizers to go out into poor communities and be active generators of a variety of “political activities,” for example, to initiate organized protest and create “reform” political clubs for the poor. SDS initiatives such as ERAP (the economic research and action plan), which focused on issues of unemployment among the poor, have the veneer of charitable works, but to my eye, they are nakedly political. As insiders have documented, the political purpose of ERAP was to help put SDS in a position “to demand” (one supposes, through newly established community activist networks) “that resources be transferred from the cold war arms race to the creation of a decentralized, democratic, interracial welfare state at home.”¹⁹

Because Canadian radical educators also followed the model of radical organizer Saul Alinsky, some description of his doctrines is necessary. Alinsky was a University of Chicago-trained sociologist whose ideology, I believe, could reasonably be called “New Left.” He wrote *Reveille For Radicals* (1946) and *Rules for Radicals* (1971), the latter became a sort of playbook for New Left activist strategy.²⁰ Alinsky’s novel and massively influential approach to fighting “the

¹⁶ This information is summarized from Rooks’ 2006 book “White Money Black Power: The Surprising History of African American Studies and the Crises of Race in Higher Education” p. 33–36.

¹⁷ For the ideology of the Black Studies Departments, see conservative commentator D’Souza 1991, 203–206. For an insider’s view of black studies, see “Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition” by Black Studies professor Cedric Robinson. See also my article on this subject here: <https://wokewatchcanada.substack.com/p/a-moral-chimera> and a related article on the subject written by James Pew: <https://wokewatchcanada.substack.com/p/black-radicals-who-lie-about-racism>

¹⁸ The SDS document “America and the New Era” can be accessed here, see page 14: <https://michiganintheworld.history.lsa.umich.edu/antivietnamwar/items/show/36>

¹⁹ See the 1968 issue of “Radical America” 2/2 p. 1: <https://files.libcom.org/files/Rad%20America%20V2%20I2.pdf>

²⁰ Alinsky tended to demur when asked about his personal ideology, describing himself as a “political relativist” (Alinsky 1971, 11), or, elsewhere, saying only that he was a “radical and small ‘d’ democrat” who stood for democracy (Miller 2003, 104). Simply extolling the virtues of democracy does not a believer in liberty make — the official name of the North Korean state is the DPRK (The Democratic People’s Republic of Korea). Alinsky’s move into organizing was motivated by his staunch anti-fascist ideology (Rodham 1969 — yes, the citation is Hillary Clinton’s dissertation, and, yes, Clinton is a huge Alinsky admirer); those familiar with anti-fascism today will know the political implications of this position. Although, in typical New Left fashion, Alinsky makes a show of distancing

system” entailed community networking in order to inflame local resentment and turn that into an action plan to divert power from above to below.

In *Rules for Radicals*, Alinsky sets about guiding the next generation of “radicals” on how to go about “revolution” and conduct “pragmatic attacks on the system” (p. xxiv). Alinsky entreats radicals to “work within the system” i.e. to not appear to be radicals to the common people because, in order to foment revolution in the community among the lower classes, they must be brought to accept “a passive, affirmative, non-challenging attitude toward change” (this phase is called “reform” p. xix-xx, compare SDS use of the same term above). In order to induce such a state, an organizer (of community-level activism) must induce disenchantment and discontent with the current system (p. xxii). Pushing ethics entirely to the side, Alinsky counsels radicals to consider only one thing about the means with which they pursue their objectives: will it work? (p. 24).²¹ Worth special highlight is the following dictum which Alinsky gives to his organizers-in-training:

“When those prominent in the status quo turn and label you an “agitator” they are completely correct, for that is, in one word, your function—to agitate to the point of conflict” (Alinsky 1971, 117).

Important to note here is that Alinsky doesn’t just mean that the agitator-organizer should antagonize his political opponents, although that is certainly a part of this playbook also; rather, Alinsky counsels his activists to get out into the community and to “rub raw the resentments of the people of the community, fan the latent hostilities of many of the people to the point of overt expression... an organizer must stir up dissatisfaction and discontent, provide a channel into which the people can angrily pour their frustrations” (Alinsky 1971, 114). And should an activist organizer select a minority group for this sort of motivating (manipulating, really), the fact that the target is a minority in number is no detriment: Alinsky held that it takes “the active support of no more than 5 percent of the population to mount an effective base from which to wield community power.”²²

himself from the Old Left (from the USSR and its apologists) by decrying the dogmas and authoritarianism of these systems (Alinsky 1971, xxi), there is something familiar about his framing of society as a power struggle (ibid p. 17) between the “haves” and the “have-nots” (read: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat). There is something familiar about his proposed solution: bringing power to the people through reform then through revolution. Alinsky’s activism is that of the far-left revolutionary radical denuded of its characteristic doctrines but unshaken in its general mode of operation and its sanctimony. The essence of such a position is not lost on analysts from the right wing: “His goal was to empower the “Have-nots” in such a way that they could overpower the “Haves”, and create a new, fairer society. If this sounds a lot like Marxism to you, well, you’re not alone” (Jeff Hegpeth 2012, 1 — writing in his book *Rules for Radicals* Defeated...). Alinsky’s followers are described as those who “gave up the call for total revolution and decided to march slowly through the institutions, trimming and compromising whenever they must but never giving up on their old radical dreams” (Holmes 2017, 96).

²¹ Here, Alinsky takes a moment to scoff at the moralist “non-doers” who would so trouble themselves as to fret about the ethical implications of their means / actions; he puts a ribbon on top of his rather ugly amoral package with the following pun: “the means-and-end moralists or non-doers always wind up on their ends without any means” (Alinsky 1971, 24).

²² Shuttleworth 2010, 54.

1.2 The New Left in Praxis — Torontonians Context: New Left activism in Toronto emerges with the development of the Canadian equivalent of the American Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) student movement. As Churchill tells it, the stimulus for this development was an influx of disaffected migrant draft dodgers from the US, the founding of the Canadian Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA), which would become self-consciously New Left, and the establishment of organizational networks dedicated to anti-war effort, counter-culture and social justice; in turn, these preconditions led to “the formation, vibrancy and durability of movements for urban reform, alternate schooling and lesbian/gay liberation.”²³

The Toronto of the 1960s became a hub of New Left counter-culture activity.²⁴ As Peter Graham, a historian of radical Torontonians politics, puts it, the New Left was in no way circumscribed to student movements: “New Leftism is frequently associated with student movements, but it actually set the pace for left-wing activism across the city. In sharp contrast to the centralized bureaucracy-laden governments of communists and social-democrats, New Leftists envisioned a decentralized society, operated largely by self-managed communities. Residents would design and control their neighbourhoods, tenants would manage their apartment buildings, parents, students and teachers would operate schools, and so on. Pedestrians and small-scale developments were favoured over automobiles, expressways, and other megaprojects formerly hailed as ideologically neutral symbols of a modern city. The socialist future would be postmodern.”²⁵

Much of this cannot be substantiated further here short of a mention in passing and documentation by way of footnotes. The New Left succeeded in radicalizing a significant group of students through the student group SUPA which formed itself on the American SDS model and there were other activist groups modeled on Alinsky’s community organization model;²⁶ it succeeded in placing adherents on the Toronto city council (for instance, the so-called “reform caucus” city council group of 70s Toronto). On that note, it was not Justin Trudeau who first made a slogans to the effect of “diversity is our strength”, rather, this was the message of New Left mayoral candidates already in the 80s;²⁷ The New Left succeeded in launching large scale

²³ Churchill 2001, 45.

²⁴ Churchill 2001, 42.

²⁵ Graham 2019, 83.

²⁶ Churchill describes the forming of SUPA over the New Years holiday of 1964-1965: the organizers consisted of student activists across Canada and young members of the NDP party and aimed to create “a new organization that could more effectively work toward the goal of participatory democracy”; SUPA sought to integrate the earlier peace movement with “the community-based strategies” of the SDS student group’s ERAP community outreach project, and SUPA sought to wed the peace movement with “the cause for social justice...” (Churchill 2001, 60). Toronto-based organizations “created by disciples of Alinsky included PRAXIS, Just Society, Stop Spadina, and the Greater Riverdale Organization, all dealing with issues of poverty and urban renewal” (Shuttleworth 2010, 54).

²⁷ As for the “reform caucus,” in the lexicon of radical New Left agitators, “reform” is a precondition to revolution — this is especially clear from the writings of Saul Alinsky (see footnote 32 below). This is no idle speculation: Alderman John Sewell, who was pivotal in the establishment of the city council reform caucus in 1972, was a “community organizer who had trained in the methods of Saul Alinsky in the United States” (Shuttleworth 2010, 54). One may be forgiven for supposing that the agenda of the reform caucus was much ado about nothing — it took the form of rabble rousing around the theme of urban reform and anti-development agitation, for example, opposition to major city restructuring projects such as the building of the Spadina expressway. Yet, as Alinsky

municipal “reform” organization projects such as the ReforMetro group based on the participatory democracy / community outreach activism model;²⁸ more relevant to our interests here, New Leftists launched the “alternative schools” movement and produced an identity politics revolution within the TDSB (discussed in section 1.3.1 below).

For the New Left political activist in the Toronto of the 70s, decentralization was the ticket to generating the means to revolution and it meant creating “a network of organizers, neighbourhood associations, community newspapers, and other activist bodies” to promote New Left thinking politicians like NDP member Jack Layton — whose message while running for Toronto’s city council is the encapsulation of the New Left movement: “Imagine a city which provides a home for all its citizens, which sees itself as an agent of social change; that is trying to end patriarchy and racism... imagine a city of activist neighbourhoods, tenant and resident councils, with many decisions being made locally through local health and neighbourhood councils...”²⁹ As we will see below, for the New Left School Board member, decentralization means calls for the community control of schools, and the creation of an apparatus facilitating community control of schools.

1.2.1 The New Left, the Toronto District School Board, and Community Outreach Tactics:

In 1969, the wave of New Left Board members and trustees that crashed on to the Toronto District School Board / the TDSB (then known as the Toronto Board of Education / the TBE) were frequently described as “progressives,” a term which serves no purpose other than to obfuscate the politics in play here.³⁰ The press at the time described them as “blue denim

himself recognized, “once you organize people around something as commonly agreed upon as pollution, then an organized people is on the move. From there, it’s a short and natural step to political pollution” (Alinsky 1971, xxiii). Reformers of Sewell’s sort were reformers “who saw reform as a means to achieve basic change ... (and) of redistributing wealth and power” (Caulfield 1988, 108). Although Sewell’s autobiography is not available to the present author, from a review of that work, it is apparent that Sewell has been advocating for “recognizing our diversities for the strength that they can bring” in his Toronto mayoral bid in the late 70s, see <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/670712>; Sewell was mayor of Toronto from 78 to 80, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Sewell. Additional “reform” actors operating on city council at this time include: Ward 7 Janet Howard, Ward 6 Allan Sparrow, Ward 6 Danel Heap, Ward 3 Michael Goldrick and Ward 3 Mrs. Dorothy Thomas (Source: Jeff Simpson, “Reform Defector in Limbo”, *Globe and Mail*, Feb. 11, 1976).

²⁸ ReforMetro was also known as the “Movement for Municipal Reform.” It is described by Langford (2020, 280) as “a New Left organization that emphasized decentralization, localized democracy, and community-controlled services...” Graham wrote about ReforMetro that “all of Toronto’s New Left-tinged alderpersons eventually became members. Scott, the only NDPer on council not to join, later scolded his colleagues for their ‘extreme position on the Left’ and made a point of endorsing Metro Chairman Paul Godfrey, the bête noire of the city’s left-wing reformers” (Graham 2019, 89).

²⁹ The analysis, quotations and assessment of Layton’s New Left credentials are adapted from Graham 2019 – his sympathetic writing style is unmistakably that of an ideological insider.

³⁰ For example, in her dissertation on the inclusion of women’s history in curriculums, Fine-Meyer comments: “the progressive reputation of the school board began in the late 1960s when a new batch of progressive trustees, actively engaged within communities, were elected in order to implement change” (Fine-Meyer 2012, 88). On the next page, she indicates here belief that “the Board’s “progressivism” relates to its liberal mindedness, support for social movement activism and willingness to respond to public concerns.” However, as the reader will see below, these “progressives” were definitively not “liberal minded” unless “liberal” should really mean agitating in the

radicals" and "firebrands" as being "distrustful of the system."³¹ All of these descriptors are vacuous and unsatisfactory. To get a better sense of what the New Left on the TDSB were really about, one might consider the word they use for themselves: "reformers." While many may mistake this as a rather banal term, radicals believe that the real revolution must be preceded by a reform phase.³² What is more, Graham's examination of the history of the New Left in Toronto places the "reformers"—both on Toronto city council and within the School Board—firmly within this system of ideas, so we are on solid ground in connecting the local "reform" politics of this period within the context of the greater New Left movement.³³ Graham quotes one important "reform" trustee at TDSB, namely, George Martell (discussed further below), who wrote the following in the radical educationalist periodical "This Magazine is About Schools": "As educational radicals if we are not practicing socialists, we shall be failures..."; the New Left need to "go into the cities and towns where most of us come from and organize block by block"; unlike over socialist movements, the New Left "must develop a very high level of control."³⁴ This is the essence of the New Left playbook in a few sentences.

One can also borrow an insight from an insider about what New Left "reform" TDSB members were reading at the time:³⁵ they read "the political and economic ideas of Karl Marx"; they read "Ivan Illich, who proposed 'deschooling'" — Illich, a Marx adjacent thinker who substitutes the "capitalist" for the word "industrialist";³⁶ they read "Saul Alinsky, the American organizer of low-income communities" — Alinsky, whose amoral strategies for community agitation were discussed above. With a reading list like that, small wonder that "many of the trustees elected in the political ferment of the late 1960s and early 1970s were activists who regarded the school system as an oppressive institution that needed to change."³⁷

mode of Karl Marx and Saul Alinsky. A vote for the liberal party is not necessarily a vote for philosophical liberalism.

³¹ Gaskell and Levin 2012, 74.

³² According to Saul Alinsky's *Rules for Radicals* (1971, xix) any revolution must be preceded by a stage in which a population is conditioned to passively accept radical changes - this is stage is what the radicals mean by "reform." For Alinsky's relevance to the current discussion, see below.

³³ Graham 2019, 123–126.

³⁴ Graham 2019, 125.

³⁵ Gaskell and Levin 2012, 74. As for why I describe these authors as insiders, TDSB "reform" trustee Frank Nagle discusses Levin as a political "radical" (read: Marxist or socialist of some stripe) who was associated with the board at a time just before the 1969 wave of far-left activists arrived, and whose policy initiatives were, thus, stymied (Nagle 1975). Levin knows what a "reform" TDSB is about, as he observes "some reformers saw school change as the way to create an entirely new kind of society reflected in some of the communitarian political and social movements of the time. This stance was often based on a class analysis rooted in Marxism and influenced by writers such as Herbert Marcuse or Paulo Freire, and was rooted in the idea that the entire social system needed radical reconstruction" (Gaskell and Levin 2012, 101).

³⁶ Illich was not a bonafide Marxist intellectual, but his mode of analysis and staunch opposition to capitalism are instantly appreciable to thinkers of this sort (see: <https://la.utexas.edu/users/hcleaver/hmconillich.html>). For the inclusion of "de-family" in Illich's design, see Gintis 1972, 72: "In the final analysis "de-schooling" is irrelevant because we cannot "de-factory," "de-office," or "de-family:" save perhaps at the still unenvisioned end of a long process of social reconstruction."

³⁷ Gaskell and Levin 2012, 135. Levin's radical credentials were mentioned in note 35, above.

The election of numerous “reform” trustees onto the TDSB in 1969 seems to have been pre-empted by what appears to the present author to have been a probable subterfuge or hustle.³⁸ As a result of the Fiona Nelson affair, a “reform” trustee, the Board was accused of wrongdoing and, following a blitz in the press, many “reform” trustees were elected to the Board in 1969 — they won control of the Board.³⁹ After the elections were done in 1969, in all, thirteen of twenty-four trustees at TDSB were “reform” trustees, thus, they had a majority. The thirteen “reform” trustees of the “reform caucus” at this time (read: New Leftists or trustees agreeing to operate under the aegis of New Left policy-makers) included new trustees Fiona Nelson, Gordon Cressy, and Graham Scott (and 10 others); included in this number were long-term trustees joining the caucus such as Maurice Lister and Barry Lowes.⁴⁰

Other TDSB “reform” caucus members would arrive in the 70s: George Martell, Frank Nagle, Dan Leckie, Shiela Meagher, Doug Barr and others.⁴¹ Graham’s chronicle of the New Left in Toronto states here: “the 1974 School Board elections probably accelerated the degree and pace

³⁸ Sympathetic chronicler of the New Left in Toronto, Peter Graham, recounts that the TDSB would fire Nelson in 1968, then a school teacher, but that her firing would prove to be “a cause célèbre” for the “reform” trustees. TDSB’s policy was to not disclose the reason for the firing. Nelson, however, made a show of representing to the press that her firing had been a petty and authoritarian affair: she claimed that it was because she had campaigned to become a Board trustee in 1966 and that, during that campaign, she had made an election issue from her complaint that the Board did not supply her kindergarten class with crayons and puzzles (Barabara Frum writing in the Toronto Daily Star, Sept. 14, 1968, p. 18). However, elsewhere, Nelson told the press that she had probably been fired for her “political activities” (“No Apology by Board; Fiona Nelson Resigns”, The Globe and Mail, June 5, 1969); it emerges that Nelson had been one of the leading figures in the reform/New Left “Stop Spadina” movement, an effort to build community control of city politics — I suspect there was more going on with her firing than contentions about crayons. (For the radicalism of the Stop Spadina movement, see notes 26 and 27 above.) As Memon (2006, 87) notes, there was a deep connection between the New Leftists opposing City of Toronto authority and the New Leftists who would soon confront the TDSB establishment: “Roger Simon had expressed his belief of the connection, but it wasn’t until I then found articles written by Fiona Nelson advocating for alternative schools that I truly believed that those who were involved with Stop Spadina were encouraged to become involved in the school system as well. Of course, Fiona Nelson confirmed all this in a later interview as well.”

³⁹ It is notable that the “reformers” narrowly missed seeing “reform” guru John Bremer appointed as director of education in Toronto that year; he won the position but was disqualified on technical grounds since he lacked the prerequisite education certificates (Shuttleworth 2010, 56). Bremer was the chief architect behind Philadelphia’s Parkway Schools project, a New Left style free school much admired by Toronto “reform” trustees (see below for a discussion of alternative schools).

⁴⁰ To list all thirteen reform trustees in 69, they were: Fiona Nelson, Gordon Cressy, Graham Scott, Richard Frost, Mrs. Fraser, David Shanoff, William Charlton, Ben Rose, Doc Yip, Mr. Matthews, Judith Jordan, Maurice Lister and Barry Lowes. (Source: William Johnson, “Series of Secret Meetings: New Trustees Select Candidates for Key Posts,” the Globe and Mail, Dec. 11, 1969).

⁴¹ Other reform members to arrive in the 70s include: George Martell, Frank Nagle, Dan Leckie, Shiela Meagher, William Fisher, Tony Silipo, Robert Spencer, Joan Doiron, Michael Craig, Susan Hunter-Harvey (Source: Howard Fluxgold, “Fiona Nelson voted Toronto Board Chairman”, The Globe and Mail, Oct. 25, 1978; Levin 2017, xvii; Rothstein 2017, 82). The New Left credentials of some of these reformers are plain (Dan Leckie, Bob Spencer, Frank Nagle and perhaps Doug Barr and Jim Lemon) as they were also members of the New Left movement ReforMetro (Dick Beddoes, “Reformers Optimistic,” The Globe and Mail, April 3, 1978 — see note 28 above for characterization of ReforMetro as New Left.) Barr has been described as having an “abstract new leftism” as he subscribed to bringing about a classless society with communal living and a number of hippy/new age sort of ideas (see Graham 2019, 124).

of change in Toronto education. This was when alumni from [the publications] *Community Schools* and *This Magazine* began to increasingly shape the Board. ‘We were very much a part of an international new left,’ one mid-decade trustee recalled. After the 1974 election and throughout the 1970s, the Board of Education was sometimes an audaciously left body.”⁴² Although I will continue to take pains to argue that “reform” policy-making is not something that dropped out of the ether but is New Left ideology applied to a real practice (praxis), it has to be observed at the same time that there was and remains no New Left political party in Canada. When it comes to political party affiliation, according to Gaskell and Levin, “most of the reformers” were associated with the NDP and a handful saw themselves as Liberal party members.⁴³ Although the “reform” movement would fade in time (a change of trustees who vote NDP at the height of the New Left movement to trustees who vote NDP in the era of the legacy of the New Left movement), “reform” trustees were still active on the Board into the 80s: it was at this time that (current Toronto mayor) Olivia Chow, Fran Endicott and Pam McConnell and others carried on the “reform” tradition.⁴⁴

Having the majority (at least for a time), the “reform” trustees were able to impose their choice for high ranking Board members from amongst themselves: in 69, they selected Maurice Lister for chair, and Graham Scott for vice-chair; Fiona Nelson became chair of the Board in 1974, Gordon Cressy became chair in 1975, and Dan Leckie became chair in 1977.⁴⁵ The succession of Nelson, Cressy and Leckie as chairs of the board meant that the New Leftists had a “formidable” lock on board practices in the 70s, and they had “close links with city hall, with Sewell.”⁴⁶

The rise of New Left TDSB caucus in 1969 was also pre-empted by the Trefann Court Mothers’ protest against the TDSB in 1968. Trefann Court is a slum in Toronto, and this is a good illustration of how the community organizers liked to work (these organizers worked in tandem with, or in some cases become, TDSB “reform” trustees). According to Shuttleworth, an insider, community organizers followed “the teachings of American activist Saul Alinsky” in order to use Ward 7 (which contains Trefann Court) as a “launching pad” for the “politics of polarization”; among these organizers was Gordon Cressy, future TDSB chair, who had actually travelled to the US to train in Alinsky’s community activism method.⁴⁷ First, the organizers find common cause

⁴² Graham 2019, 275.

⁴³ Gaskell and Levin 2012, 75.

⁴⁴ As noted by Gaskell and Levin (2012, 85): “Some of the early reform trustees, like Cressey, Martell, and Leckie moved on, but others, like Nelson, Moss, and Case, stayed and new reforming trustees were elected. In 1980, Doug Little, Tony Silipo, Pat Case, Peter Davis, David Clandfield, Penny Moss, Fran Endicott, and Fiona Nelson were elected to the Board. Penny Moss and Fiona Nelson had no opposition in ward 5, and [this] meant that Toronto maintained its left leaning policies.” See the same authors, page 75, for Chow.

⁴⁵ Following Levin 2017, xvii; Rotherstein 2017, 82. The story of how the “reform” caucus met in secret to position Lister and Graham in 69 (that is, using their thirteen-member majority and not consulting the eleven non-reform caucus trustees) was covered in William Johnson, “Series of Secret Meetings: New Trustees Select Candidates for Key Posts,” the Globe and Mail, Dec. 11, 1969.

⁴⁶ Gaskell and Levin 2012, 80.

⁴⁷ I follow Dale Shuttleworth (2010, 56), who actually worked alongside Cressy on the TDSB (Shuttleworth makes this clear on pages 59, 62 and 69; Shuttleworth himself worked closely with the administration at TDSB but was, simultaneously, a “change agent,” in his own words, and deeply involved in facilitating New Left alternative school platforms — see Shuttleworth 2017). On page 54, Shuttleworth notes that Cressy had “trained in the methods of

with the community, in this case, opposition to city-planned urban renewal in the area; the organizers (the agitators according to the Alinsky strategy) then convinced a group of five Trefann Court mothers that the system (the TDSB) was oppressing their under-achieving offspring;⁴⁸ secondly, the five mothers themselves began to take “participatory democracy” seriously by protesting, speaking to the press, and, among other things, composing a petition to the TDSB entitled “Downtown Kids Aren’t Dumb.” However, although the document was presented as having been produced by the protesting mothers of Trefann Park, none of whom had an education higher than grade 10, consideration of the “erudite literary style” and the “presentation of data” made it readily apparent that the document had actually been composed by the organizers themselves.⁴⁹ Unable to come to an arrangement from the TDSB that they were willing to accept, the Trefann Court mothers instead opt to have their children participate in the newly created Laneway alternative school, among the earliest of the alternative schools rolled out by the reformers, a New Leftist utopian social experiment. This community agitation paid dividends for the movement: not only did the New Left “reform trustees” take a domineering position in the decade to come, but, using the Trefann Court affair as a blueprint “the new board in Toronto in the early 1970s quickly set about involving more parents and community activists in committees, advisory groups, and community schools as part of their strategy to transform the system.”⁵⁰

The New Left movement (sometimes termed “the movement” among insiders) aimed for “community control” of education.⁵¹ In Toronto, this entailed organizers bringing “together parents and teachers to form the political action organization known as Citizens’ Committee for Change in Schools, as well as the Community School Workshop and the publication *This Magazine Is About Schools*. Their stated objective was “a shift of responsibility and authority from the hands of principals and senior Board administrators to the school community of teachers, parents, and students... Organizers from very advantaged backgrounds began to move into the slums of the Cabbagetown neighbourhood to begin to build their power base. It was not enough for school personnel to just be more involved with the community; they were required to cede control to parents and their organizers.”⁵²

Saul Alinsky in the United States.” Shuttleworth states that Wolf Erlichman was the community organizer who led the Trefann Court Mothers’s group on page 56.

⁴⁸ The five women in question, Noreen Gaudette, Phyllis Tomlinson, Barbara Dawson, and Eleanor Guerin, are named in the article “Trefann Court Revisited: The Activist Afterlives of John Sewell and Edna Dixon” by Vickers: <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/772872>

⁴⁹ As Shuttleworth (2010, 56) documents. He notes that it soon became apparent that the document was the work of “George Martell, an organizer from a well-to-do Halifax family who was associate editor of ‘This Magazine Is About Schools.’” In addition, Martell was a “close confidant of Gordon Cressy” who was about to become TDSB trustee for Ward 7.

⁵⁰ Gaskell and Levin 2012, 132.

⁵¹ For the New Left self-reference as “the movement,” see Edmunds 1971, 25. For the term “community control” see the next footnote.

⁵² Shuttleworth 2010, 54. The author identifies what he has just described as the “community control” doctrine. About “community control,” as Gaskell and Leven note: “The movement towards ‘community control’ went far beyond schooling and was deeply rooted in larger political movements of the 1960s and 1970s, which called for power redistribution and local control of public institutions. These intentions were everywhere in public policy.”

When applied to education in Toronto, these strategies entailed two things:

i) **Alternative schools (also known as “free schools”)**: The alternative school movement in North America, whether implicitly or explicitly, has taken its charter from the New Left position that “American liberalism was not enough, that the good society was one in which people shaped their own institutions to meet their own needs.”⁵³ Ostensibly to provide an alternative to students having trouble in traditional public schools—but simultaneously, in my view, serving a clandestine political purpose—alternative schools were set up across Toronto in the 1970s; as insiders note, “alternative schooling was a key part of the new trustees’ reform agenda, and it was reinforced by a commitment to parent voice, local community building, and non-hierarchical power relations.”⁵⁴ Alternative schools are not the focus of the current study, but the “reformers” pursued the creation of such schools to the utmost of their ability and produced Toronto’s SEED, ALPHA, and CONTACT alternative school initiatives, they established schools such as Laneway, Everdale, Superschool, and Point Blank; these schools were produced in consultation with, or by, the contributors to the radical New Left periodical *This Magazine is About Schools*.⁵⁵

ii) **Community Outreach Workgroups**: Writing in 1975, “reform” trustee Frank Nagle recounts that the reformers took to the creation of community outreach workgroups “composed of trustees and, at times, parents, teachers, community members, and staff” and that these workgroups helped to “short-circuited some of the normal response to professional staff opinion.”⁵⁶ He further clarified that such tactics simultaneously reinvented the school board trustee: “previously, trustees were powerless to grapple with important curriculum and social service policies, which were left to administrative expertise. It is unquestionable that by fleshing out issues with

More locally, “reform” trustee Frank Nagle uses the term in 1975 when describing the TDSB “reform” cause: “Philosophically, the caucus leans heavily in the directions of community consultation (and eventually control)” (Nagle 1975).

⁵³ Edmunds 1971, 25.

⁵⁴ Gaskell and Levin 2012, 82.

⁵⁵ Gaskell and Levin 2012, 82-83. “This Magazine is about Schools” was founded in April 1966 “by a gang of school activists” at the University of Toronto. These activists are sometimes described as a group of “progressives” (an obfuscation) — insiders describe them as “New Left” (<https://www.iltjournal.ca/index.php/ilt/article/view/5997/6895>); the periodical is elsewhere described by insiders as “strongly socialist in orientation” with the goal of “education to the wider movement for community-control over socio-political issues” see <https://www.connexions.org/CxLibrary/Docs/CxP-ThisMagazineIsAboutSchools.htm>. George Martell, the “reform,” trustee who forged the Trefann Court Mothers’ document, together with his wife, Satu Repo, founded “This Magazine is About Schools” and they both helped to establish the Everdale alternative school (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Satu_Repo). Shuttleworth notes: “The Trefann Court Mothers, led by Wolfe Erlichman and George Martell, became the instrument to confront the school system on the issues of literacy and Opportunity Class placement. They promoted their ‘community control agenda’ through publications of the Community School Workshop, This Magazine Is About Schools, and Globe and Mail articles by education reporter Loren Lind” (Shuttleworth 2010, 68). In the 70s, the periodical was renamed simply “This Magazine” and is still running: <https://this.org/>. A list of currently operating alternative schools in Toronto is available at: <https://www.tdsb.on.ca/alternativeschools/ElementarySchools>.

⁵⁶ Nagle 1975.

community input trustees become power brokers in their own right... by listening, aiding, and responding to the community, some trustees disrupted the traditional reliance on the professional as expert.”⁵⁷ By 1975, in Nagle’s estimation, some 2/3’s of TDSB had signed on to the “community” model (one supposes many would have had to have been unwitting or indifferent to the political dimension which was part and parcel of the entire community strategy), thus, fulfilling Nagle’s observation that “a group of trustees with radical tendencies not only serves to reinforce the positions and behavior of its individual members, but also can move an entire system.”⁵⁸

2.0 Work Groups, Committees and Reports: 1974~1976 — The Work Group on Multicultural Programs: Multiculturalism played a major role in the activist transformation of the conception of education in Canada. For those who aren’t particularly familiar with how multiculturalism developed in Canada, in sum, Canada had pivoted to a policy of “biculturalism” in the 60s in order to try and counter the Quebec nationalist movement (along with the Quebec separatists);⁵⁹ numerous minority groups, most vocally and antagonistically the Ukrainian-Canadians, insisted that since bilingualism was being waved on, it would only be fair if Canada was remade as a place where every culture was celebrated (in practice: except that of the majority); and so, multiculturalism was demanded.⁶⁰ When, subsequently, the government of Pierre Trudeau signalled its advocacy for “multiculturalism,” this did not a philosophy of social policy make; rather, the early days were the days of “song and dance” multiculturalism (when minorities, e.g. the Ukrainians, were bankrolled by the Canadian government to put together parade floats with cultural themes and so forth).⁶¹ The concept of multiculturalism soon travelled far and wide inside and outside of Canada, and New Leftists took it upon themselves to parse out

⁵⁷ Nagle 1975.

⁵⁸ Nagle 1975. As Carr observes, the influence of the new “reform” trustees could be seen in the early 70s. He writes that by the end of 72, “one can detect a more serious, critical and community-centered focus to the overall agenda of the Board. Evidence of this is found in the increasing number of entries in the Board Minutes related to equity initiatives, including community programs, inner city schools, and an Advisory Committee RE Selection of Qualified Women for Positions of Responsibility” (Carr 1996, 90).

⁵⁹ in the 1960s, the emergence of the Quebec nationalist movement led some politicians in Ottawa to consider appeasing French separatists with a new “bicultural” (English + French) vision of Canada. With separatist activism proving increasingly difficult to ignore, perhaps especially when it took the form of the terrorism and violence committed by the Marxist FLQ (one of the French separatist movements), the government in Ottawa under Pearson was spurred into forming the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963. See Lalande 2006, 49; Roberts 2018, 45. Notably, Pearson, a liberal party prime minister, disastrously fed Quebec nationalist sentiment by publicly referring to that province as a “nation within a nation,” different from other provinces (Roberts 2018, 46). Biculturalism is the natural outcome of taking cues from the dissident French (as is separatism). The Marxist character of the FLQ is public knowledge: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Front_de_libération_du_Québec

⁶⁰ For the development of the idea of bilingualism to multiculturalism and the influence of Ukrainian-Canadian activism on this process, see Lalande 2006, 49–52. For the story of Pierre Trudeau’s slide from his core values of basing policy on individualist principles to a reluctant acceptance of collectivist policy-making (which is what you do when you base policy around the interests of a collective of a culture i.e. multiculturalism), see Roberts 2018, 156–158.

⁶¹ For the term “song and dance” multiculturalism, see Breton 1986, 56.

what “multiculturalism” should mean for education theory;⁶² as we are about to see, the “reformer” trustees at the TDSB would ensure that Toronto was no exception and set about producing both a “philosophy” and a policy of multicultural education.

Although the board had launched several precursors,⁶³ of particular interest here is the **Workgroup on Multicultural Programs** which was inaugurated in May 1974 when “reformer” Gordon Cressy was the chair of the TDSB. The workgroup had begun under the moniker “the Advisory Committee on Philosophy and Programs of the New Canadian Population,” but this was soon changed to the name we are using here, the **Work Group on Multicultural Programs**.⁶⁴ The work group produced three documents. The notion (evident in the work group’s original title) that a “philosophy” of multicultural policy could be produced led to the work group’s first document entitled *The Bias of Culture* (1974); on the basis of the arguments produced in this document, the work group then produced *the Draft Report of the Work Group on Multicultural Programs* (1975) and the *Final Report of the Work Group on Multicultural Programs* (1976) which made 99 recommendations to the TDSB — recommendations intending to reform TDSB’s allegedly deficient racial and cultural sensitivity practices.

What was the “philosophy” produced by the work group, and which trustees were associated with the group at the time “the Bias of Culture” was produced? There were six.⁶⁵

Dan Leckie	Reformer (policy New Left - votes NDP)
Irene Aktkinson	Conservative
Gorden Cressy	Reformer (policy New Left - votes NDP)
William Ross	Liberal
Sheila Meagher	Reformer (policy New Left - votes NDP)
Maurice Lister	Reformer (policy New Left)

⁶² As Canen and Peters 2005 relate, multiculturalism “originated in the late 1960s, emerging with the encouragement of the New Left” In the American academy of the 1980s, the term “multiculturalism” was one of the catchwords being tossed about by institutionalized activist academics in order to bludgeon the practice of teaching European focused courses in core University curriculum (see conservative analyst D’Souza 1991 chap. 3 for an excellent account of this development). Of course, the opponents of European traditions need not have invoked Canadian ideology to push their program, they could (and did) rely on arguments from the cultural relativists, the post-colonialists and the black nationalists in the Black Studies departments, among others. Calling for “structural” change of curriculums to combat eurocentrism, one professor from the Stanford Classics department (this is not a joke) argued: “to say that the Zulus created no great works is deplorably racist” (quoted in D’Souza 1991, 65). If one does a google search today for “Zulu great works,” one is treated to an array of beaded crafts, carved wooden head rests and oral stories.

⁶³ According to Carr (1996, 87) the first precursor was the “Special Committee Re Educating New Canadians,” established in 1970 established to address “number of New Canadian pupils in the-public schools who require special attention”. In 1973, “the Work Group on Vocational Schools” was formed to respond to “community concerns” — the report produced by the group was a “watershed” by finding ethnicity to be an area of concern for the for streaming (i.e. schools were blameworthy for their treatment of ethnic students) in addition to the usual concerns of gender and class (Carr 1996, 87).

⁶⁴ Carr 1996, 90.

⁶⁵ There is no identification of who composed *The Bias of Culture* in the document itself. However, in the final draft report of the work group, p.65, these members are listed as having made up the group in 1974.

The ideological predispositions of the work group in 74 are consistent with what one may expect a group producing a radicalized education document to maintain: Leckie and Cressy were true New Left “reformers”;⁶⁶ Lister was probably a different sort of animal, but he joined the “reform” caucus in 69 and was elected by the “reformers” to the position of chair;⁶⁷ Meagher was a “reformer” and voted NDP, so a socialist of one or another stripe;⁶⁸ it may seem startling that Atkinson was a conservative — what is there to say about the principles and integrity of a “conservative” who, part way through her life, discovers that she might as well have been a socialist all along? A memorial essay on her life published in *The Star* noted: “Atkinson, a Conservative, who later found her views aligned better with the NDP, campaigned for the Liberal Wynne many times because of their strong bond from those days.”⁶⁹ The only wildcard is Ross, who the papers describe as an unpredictable “maverick” but who seems to have been a Liberal party member.

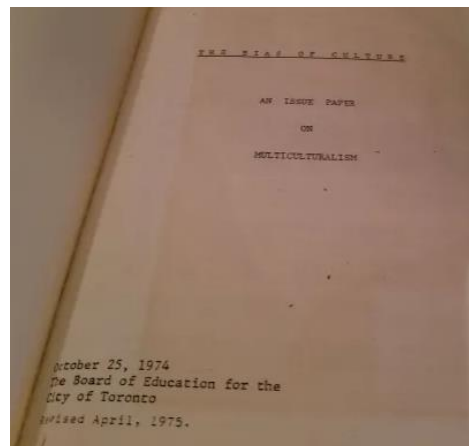
The central ideology of the workgroup is demonstrated only implicitly in the reports about to be examined; at no point do they declare “by the way, we make these recommendations because, in addition to X, Y and Z, they suit our New Left model of revolution.” It is hoped that the attention paid to politics in the preceding sections will help to render the implicit explicit.

⁶⁶ See notes 41 and 47 above. In his article “Reformers Optimistic” published April 3, 1978 in the *Globe and Mail*, Dick Beddoes places Leckie in the New Left ReforMetro group. See note 28 above for the association of ReforMetro with the New Left. For Leckie’s association with the NDP, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dan_Leckie

⁶⁷ See note 45 above.

⁶⁸ That Meagher was a reformer was established above. That she voted NDP was documented in Tess Kalinowski and Louise Brown, “Board’s left-wing caucus holds the sway” the *Toronto Star*, Aug. 23, 2002.

⁶⁹ https://www.thestar.com/politics/provincial/veteran-toronto-school-board-trustee-irene-atkinson-85-remembered-as-a-force-of-nature/article_4a43971d-b16e-585b-ad84-2f9e792de3c2.html . Gaskell and Levin (1986, 129) inadvertently make a comment on the weakness of Atkinson’s “conservative” opposition when they discuss a period in the 80s in which politics at TDSB had swung back to the right wing: “Irene Atkinson, the first chair under the ‘positive alternative’ group that had a majority after 1985, said: ‘By and large, and I think that the NDP trustees would say the same thing, it didn’t work too badly for a number of years.’ Left-leaning trustees agreed that the right wing had adopted many of their practices for running the board.” And, while Atkinson had opposed identity politics in the 80s, especially the creation of gay community outreach groups in the TDSB, in the 90s she “now proudly rode on the Board’s school-bus float in Toronto’s Gay Pride parade” (McCaskell 2005, 273).



—*The Bias of Culture*, a document produced in 1974 by **The Work Group on Multicultural Programs**, a TDSB affiliated work group.

2.1 Document 1 — The “philosophy” of the “Bias of Culture”: This document, which I will attempt to extract some essentials from in summary form, appears to have proceeded (one supposes) from discussions and deliberations of the six trustees who comprised the workgroup of 74 — there are no citations of authoritative positions, footnotes, often little in the way of justifications, a few statistics but “this paper intends to avoid overloading itself with statistical reporting.” The 48-page document begins by stating that there is a “problem” of educational opportunity development for immigrant people and that there is certainly a fundamental “cause” of this problem, and this cause has to do with ethnic communities and the cultural linguistic heritage which founded the schools in the first place. Although the nature of this “cause” is never clearly articulated in this document, they proceed to list what they see as the problematic effects for the current education of immigrant children in Canada.

Cultural Allegiance: for the radicals, the problem with “allegiance,” of course, is not that immigrants have cultural allegiance to their original country rather than their home country (Canada), it’s that Toronto schools are pumping out Canadian culture — and this isn’t conducive to immigrant’s ingrained cultural allegiance. P. 2-4: Immigrant students who come here, they say, will lose their “identity” when they run up against a culture in schools that is not their original culture — this will become a constant source of discouragement: “trapped between a life in which participation appears overwhelmingly impossible” and one in which is no longer valid (their original culture), the immigrant student’s life will be “amorphous and marginal.” Should the student choose to renounce their original culture, it is “not possible to overestimate the effects,” and if they go through with it, “in a very real sense, the young individual actually loses their parents,” they say. P. 8: Meanwhile, they say, because the child is learning Canadian culture at school, and English, the child becomes a “pedagogue” to their own parents—of course, this could only have horrible consequences—“[this] means that parents experience the ultimate humiliation of becoming their children’s children...” The Work Group’s flare for the dramatic would make even former drama school teacher Justin Trudeau blush!

And, in a moment of total cognitive dissonance, the Work Group on p. 21-22 complains that schools are disorientating immigrant communities: such communities, are “focused on the authority of the dominant male,” and “patriarchy is strong in the family configuration.” However, they say that because family structure has broken down in the West (thanks in no small part to the far left, actually) and the child is supposed to be more of his own decision maker now, immigrant families encountering modern Western models of family in the classroom find these new norms offputting or confusing. There you have it: the radical left’s endorsement of patriarchal proclivities here in Canada! (as long as it suits their current rhetorical purposes, and as long as they aren’t Canadian white male patriarchs). So much for “philosophy.”

The Ascription Question: the central problem addressed in the work is (what the Work Group presents as) the high number of immigrant students being streamed into undesirable vocational schools. The only set of statistics produced in the entire document presents data on this topic (p. 12). However, the problem is nuanced as the authors point out: if one goes by placement status (whether a student gets streamed in the low achieving vocational school), then i) the income of the parents is actually the bigger factor than whether it is an immigrant family or not — in fact, Canadian born native English speakers from low-income families were slightly more likely to be streamed than foreign-born students from low income families according to the chart provided on p. 12; ii) the trend of immigrant children born in Canada is to overcome the achievement gap whether their parents are low-income or not; iii) p. 12-13 the achievement problem is an issue mainly for immigrant students who had begun their education in a foreign country (but see point i again). Even the immigrant student population which is most affected by streaming is streamed to less desirable schools at a rate of (I would use the word “only”) 20.9%. Some might say “where is the problem here?” For the Work Group, it is presupposed that there is an unacceptable issue in these numbers and the only question is that of ascription, that is, what are Canadian schools doing wrong?

The West Indians, who are black, made up a significant portion of all Canadian immigrants by the mid-70s and they are of particular concern to the workgroup (p. 18). Even in the 70s, observers of West Indian immigrants in the US knew that they have “higher incomes, more education, higher occupational status, and proportionately far more business ownership” than African Americans born in the US; they are also roughly four times more likely to attend Harvard than are African Americans borne in the US.⁷⁰ From this, one could actually draw two inferences: i) that the entire affirmative action policy machine is woefully misguided — the West Indian success shows that it was the work ethic and attitude toward education that was the bigger determinant in the 70s than were factors of skin color;⁷¹ and ii) taking the probability that what was true for America was probably extend to Canadian contexts as well, one can also infer from this information that the measures which the Work Group is going to propose are entirely unnecessary: immigrant West Indies blacks were (already in the 70s) outperforming locally born African Americans. Arguably, this was a result of the different culture that West Indies black immigrants brought to bear on life in America than did locally borne African Americans, and the

⁷⁰ Model 2008, 6, 11. Model’s comments largely follow the findings of Dr. Thomas Sowell writing in the 70s.

⁷¹ Model 2008 6–12; Sowell 1978, 41.

West Indies immigrants, in point of fact, didn't need special school programs to coddle that culture into paying dividends!

However, the Work Group will push forward with a New Left agenda to create community oversight of schools. It is of vital importance, they say, that the system learns about how the ethnic community "perceives its school." P. 30 - To resolve what they represent as "issues" (the case of streaming being the only one substantially examined in this document) it is imperative to generate "healthy communication between the school and the ethnic communities they serve. This contention hardly needs testing." They present the following identitarian counter-liberal stipulations about how the nature of such a communication should develop:

i) p. 32–33, **whites need not apply**: contact in the form of liaison work between schools of the Toronto system and ethnic communities depend heavily on the "ethnic social work," i.e. if it is the black community, the middleman whom "the board employs precisely because s/he is of a specific ethnic origin, naturally function at the leading edge of school-community contact." The workgroup is of the opinion that a white liaison would not have empathy from, or extent empathy to, the black community.

ii) p.33–34, **whites need not apply**: the workgroup finds that it "only makes complete sense" that ethnic teachers should be sought out for ethnic students, i.e. black hiring privileges, or, as they put it: "the education of the community rests in orienting employment practices toward ensuring that the school staffs reflect the ethnic make-up of the community itself."

2.2 Document 3 — The Final Report of the Workgroup for Multicultural Relations (1976):

Immigration policies had been adjusted in the 60s with the effect that more and more non-European immigrants made up Canada's immigrant population (e.g., there was now significant immigration from the West Indies); concomitantly, the "multiculturalism" of the 70s became more about defining ethnicity on the basis of color differences and charting alleged manifestations of racism.⁷² In 1975, the **Draft Report of the Work Group for Multicultural Relations** was produced by the Work Group and it was sent around to the "communities" for their review and feedback; there is good reason to infer that when the Work Group states that it has consulted with "community groups," black and native community groups carry the most salience here.⁷³ This feedback, in turn, is represented as guiding many of the final recommendations appearing in the Final Report, recommendations that aim to reshape TDSB policy and modify curriculums (99 recommendations in total). In establishing this community feedback mechanism, the Work Group has put into practice (into praxis) key components of the New Left playbook: identity politics and community control of schools. Decentralization and the simultaneous emphasis on non-white community feedback enact the new formula of reform and

⁷² Breton 1986, 86.

⁷³ In the final report, the Work Group often refers to its communication with "community groups," e.g. on p. 10, but consistently omit mention of just which communities they intend here; however, one can infer from the nature of the demands that were turned into "recommendations" in the report that non-white community groups are intended. This is also apparent from an appendix attached to the report, p. 80, in which liaison groups are specified as being "Blacks, natives, etc."

revolution: the acquisition of power so that structural changes in the political, economic and social order might be achieved. The following summary highlights select recommendations.

- **Multiculturalism to be built in curriculums:** The final report acknowledges that there was a fundamental disagreement about whether it should really be the job of schools to contribute to the preservation of cultures which immigrants bring with them from around the world: p. 26 relates that when the Work Group asked the schools, the professional educators, about the matter, the general consensus was that it was “the community's responsibility rather than the schools.” On the other hand, when the Work Group asked “the community” (by which they doubtlessly refer to the ethnic community), the answer was reportedly that the schools have a “responsibility” to contribute to the maintenance of their culture. “The community” further produced “demands for programs” that would play to their sense of “cultural and racial integrity” (p. 29). Here, one might recall the observation of Frank Nagle, reform trustee and sometime member of this Work Group, who observed: “Trustees themselves have short-circuited some of the normal response to professional staff opinion by developing a concept of consultation called the workgroup.”⁷⁴ And so, inevitably, the Work Group is going to state that it “cannot agree” with the position of the professionals, ergo they issue the following sequence of recommendations which I paraphrase in plain English:

#31: Curricula should recognise the contributions made by various cultures and races; #32: school programs should be sensitive to the ethnic composition of each school community; #33: Canadian studies programs should generate understanding and respect for the cultural diversity of Canada; #34: A component of Canadian studies should consist of the local school community and cultural groups in that community; #35: the School Community Relations Department should assist teachers in the development of that material. #36: A curriculum review project be assembled to review all current curriculum material and establish what material is culturally or racially biased; #39: Curriculum and program planners seek the participation of “the community” (my quotes) in the development of cultural studies.

- **Alleged Racism and Moral Purity Tests:** After establishing that for the majority of people, “particularly white Canadians,” racism is buried deep in the unconscious, the Work Group states that one “community group” gave feedback to the Work Group that the eradication of racism should be the “primary goal of education.” As always, the Work Group plays cloak and dagger here, but the question of which “community group” that was won’t be a mystery to most readers. Page 37 states that there was another conflict of opinion between the ethnic communities and the professional educators, the teachers: the “ethnic organizers” recommended increasing the number of ethnic teachers to correct what they allege to be the wrongs of the system, while the professionals were “unanimously opposed to the use of any type of quota system.” Faced with this disagreement, the Work Group represents that the reasonable thing to do (if one reasons like a radical New Left Work Group) would be to “encourage applications” from individuals who

⁷⁴ Nagle 1975, 36.

demonstrate sensitivity to “the community” (read: the ethnic community). The Work Group further intends a sort of moral purity test, as will be seen in the following recommendations:

#44: Hiring practices for all teachers to explore the applicants’ sensitivity to “culturally diverse school populations,” and “willingness to communicate with parents in the local school communities” and “receptive personality”; #47: teachers who have demonstrated “a particular ability and interest in working with New Canadian [immigrant] families” should be encouraged to seek promotion to all levels of leadership in the Toronto system; 48: Applications for leadership positions should be “encouraged” from candidates who are able “to understand and respond to the community”; #51: a program should be developed to provide all staff with racial sensitivity training; #55: racial incidents at schools should become a focus for discussion and subsequent learning; #56: a program should be developed to integrate the issue of racism into the regular school program.

• **The Work Group moves to perpetuate itself — The Creation of the School Community Relations Department (SCR) / The Creation of the Committee for Multiculturalism:** The next set of recommendations (#58-#70) put forward by the Work Group have to do with the creation of a department at TDSB, the charter of which will be to function as a community liaison between the board and “the community” — essentially, it will drive the community control doctrine of the “reform” trustees but with a much bigger staff than the **Work Group for Multicultural Programs** and on a permanent basis. Regarding this set of policy recommendations, the Work Group relates on p. 43 of its final report that, upon consultation, dissent came neither from school professionals nor from the communities; an increase in communication between school and community seemed uncontroversial. Such a proposition will seem innocuous to most, certainly to most who do not perceive that community control of schools can be—and in this case, is—part of a clandestine political strategy. As Graham’s history of the New Left in Toronto succinctly observes, community councils were “crucial to the new left’s educational program.”⁷⁵

In a second strategy for self-perpetuation, the **Work Group for Multicultural Relations** calls, on page 40 of its final report, for the creation of a **Committee for Multiculturalism** to monitor and implement the 99 recommendations put forward in the final report. This newly formed committee would find that much of its mandate actually involves bridging the policy domain of race relations through the scope of multiculturalism and, for increased efficiency, the committee therefore called for the creation of the **Sub-committee on Race Relations (SCRR)** in 1977.⁷⁶

In the final section of the current essay, a brief consideration of these two legacies of the workgroup is presented.

⁷⁵ Graham 2019, 128.

⁷⁶ Connelly and Clandinin 1984, 45.

3.0 Immediate Legacies of the Workgroup on Multicultural Programs — 1. The School Community Relations Department:

In the interests of brevity, I will attempt to approximate the character of the **School Community Relations Department** at TDSB by sketching a few of the important functionaries there: i) Marlene Green, from the black community, was among those hired by TDSB to work in the new department and she co-authored the department's first report on race-relations.⁷⁷ Her background in education was her founding and organizing of the community group called the "Black Education Project," which saw itself as forming after "the rise of pan-Africanist black power"; with strong ties to the black liberation movement, this organization tutored black school children with a focus on "teaching African history" and "racial pride" — its school programs were run out of the UNIA hall in Toronto (the UNIA being a long running black nationalist association founded in the US).⁷⁸ If it may help to bring these politics further into focus, the reader might note that the founder of the UNIA, Marcus Garvey, is thought to be ultimate source of the term "woke" — he popularized the exclamation "Wake up Africa!" among his 1930s era black nationalist followers, which eventually developed into "stay woke," and finally "woke."⁷⁹ A historian of Torontonion left politics relates that the Black Education Project was set in motion by the group Black Youth Organization (BYO) which shared a common quandary with its sister organizations: should we attempt to transform society with a Marxist style revolution, or by imposing black identity as the paramount consideration in all things? (I paraphrase, but that's really it in a nutshell).⁸⁰

It would be safe to conclude that Green was, ideologically, a black nationalist.⁸¹ One can get a sense of where this sort of "education" goes by considering the person of Lloyd McKell, a black community member who became the president of the **School Community Relations Department** in 1979; upon losing his job in 86, he would be rehired in various equity advising capacities and McKell would prove pivotal in bringing about Toronto's first "Africentric" (black only) school.

Let's not accuse the **School Community Relations Department** of not being diverse, however: it also hired people like Tim McCaskell, who is white. McCaskell is a gay man who, later in life, would be referred to as the "granddaddy of gay activism in Canada,;" prior to coming to the department in 83, he participated in "The Marxist Institute" (a far-left Toronto gay activist think

⁷⁷ Johnson 2016, 95.; see also Brand's memorial essay on Green's life: <https://nowtoronto.com/news/marlene-green-1940-2002/>

⁷⁸ Aladejebi 2016, 253-255.

⁷⁹ See the essay on the topic written by the present author: <https://wokewatchcanada.substack.com/p/woke-is-not-right>. I cited an article by Vox, <https://www.vox.com/culture/21437879/stay-woke-wokeness-history-origin-evolution-controversy> but I also stated in a footnote: "Vox wouldn't normally count as an authoritative source and, although Romano cites no sources, the information provided cannot be dismissed out of hand — the same information from the same article was recently referenced in Bork's Ph.D dissertation about campus politics (Bork 2022, 106)." See: Bork, Nathaniel. 2022. "Failure to Communicate..." Ph.D Diss., Colorado State University.

⁸⁰ Graham 2019, 154.

⁸¹ Further characterizations of Green's activism can be obtained from McCaskell 2005, 9–10.

tank founded in the 70s).⁸² He has remained a self-described Marxist.⁸³ As for how a radical Marxist goes about trying to improve race relations, if you guessed “pompous struggle sessions,” you’d be correct! According to a fellow radical insider, McCaskell’s technique involved “shaming teachers and administrators,” and she noted “embarrassment, force and humiliation will not win friends.”⁸⁴

And just how sound is it exactly for education policy-makers to seek the knowledge of activist ethnic community members and to draw on their perceptions of how some ethnic children don’t take home the best results? According to one of the TDSB’s first black trustees, who had no problem acknowledging this for a rhetorical purpose other than mine, for “communities” outside the school “it’s hard to put your finger on what the problem is, other than to say it’s racism, because you’re not in there and you can’t figure out the blockages.”⁸⁵ Parenthetically, in 1986, eleven years after its creation, the **School Community Relations Department** would be completely cleaned out, and all of its staff fired when conservative trustees got the upper hand at TDSB and decided the department was too “political.”⁸⁶

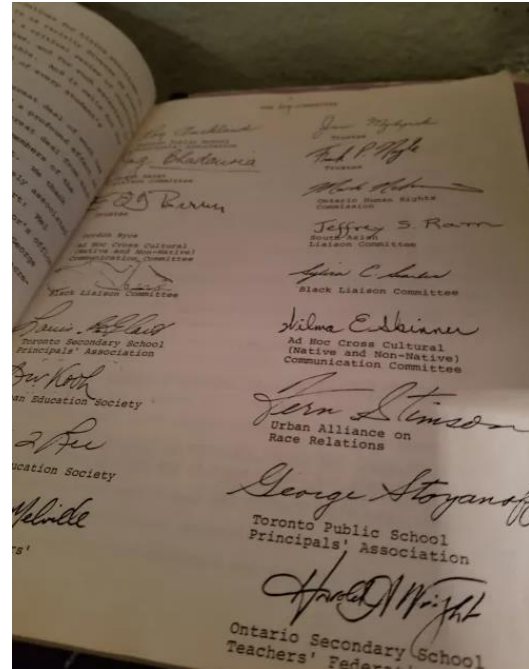
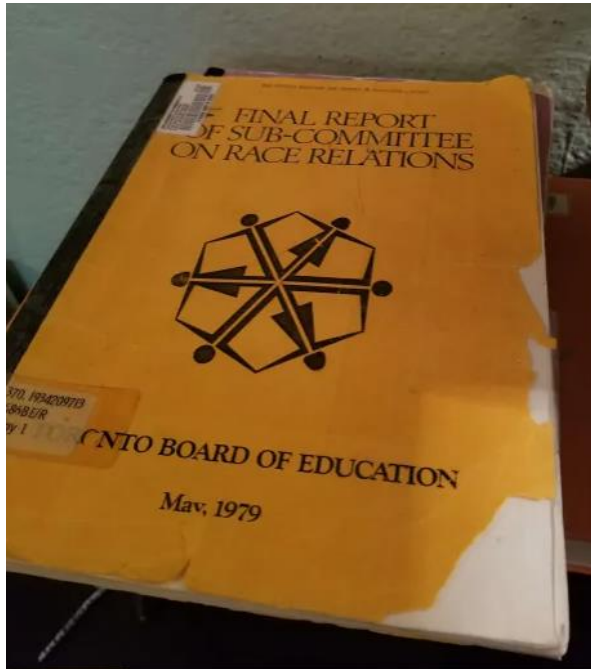
⁸² The description “granddaddy of gay activism in Canada” is a self-description: <https://quillandquire.com/review/queer-progress-from-homophobia-to-homonationalism/>; see also <https://www.dayofpink.org/tim>. For McCaskell’s connection to the Marxist Institute, see Janovicek 2019. Some idea of the literature produced by the Marxist Institute is provided here: <https://www.yorku.ca/lefthist/online/bkbibliography.html>. McCaskell (2005, 1) relates that, in the 70s, his “comrades” at the Marxist institute helped convince him that racism was a problem in Canada: “Still, when my new comrades in Toronto’s Marxist Institute proposed a lecture series on racism in Canada, I was puzzled. Racism wasn’t really a problem here in Canada, was it?” It would take a Marxist professor to convince him otherwise: “Professor John Saul, whose lecture on racism at the Marxist Institute almost a decade before had opened my eyes to racism’s concrete history” (McCaskell 2005, 115).

⁸³ see Novogrodsky 2006, 153–154; See also McCaskell’s own self-descriptions of his Marxist beliefs, McCaskell 2006, 1, 2, 14, 26, 86, 181, 201.

⁸⁴ This from radical left educationist Myra Novogrodsky (Novogrodsky 2006, 156).

⁸⁵ Quoted in McCaskell 2005, 111 — the trustee in question would be Pat Case, member of the Communist Party of Canada (this is documented elsewhere in the present essay).

⁸⁶ The demise of the School Community Relations Department is described by McCaskell himself as resistance to political activism in schools. He states, “a clear example of resistance here was the dismantling of the School Relations Department in 1986 – a backlash based on the notion that the department was “too political.” Community activism came into conflict with an institutional culture that understood the education system as neutral, professional, and above politics” (McCaskell 2006, 182). The papers at the time noted that school principals in Toronto perceived the members of the School Community Relations Department as “political activists first, and then board liaison workers”; further, “even supporters of the department privately admit it is ‘riddled with lefties’ - not a surprise, they say, in any collection of ‘community development’ workers” John Ferri, “Ethnic parent’s groups brace for schools battle,” Toronto Star, April 26, 1986.



—The 1979 issued *Final Report of the Sub-Committee on Race Relations*, a TDSB affiliated committee.

3.1 Immediate legacies of the Work Group on Multicultural Programs — 2. The Sub-Committee on Race Relations:

Race policies in education went through three distinct phases in Ontario, beginning with the multiculturalist mode, moving to the realm of race relations and ending up with anti-racism and ethnocultural equity.⁸⁷ What agitators prompted the onset of the race relations phase? It was certainly “reformers” following through with their strategies, for one. It was on the recommendation of the **Committee for Multiculturalism** that TDSB created **the Sub-committee for Race Relations** on March 16, 1977 with the mandate that the SCRR should make recommendations to the Board about how to “combat the spread of racism in Toronto.”⁸⁸ More specifically, it was “with the encouragement of reform trustees Bob Spencer and Dan Leckie” [both consummate New Leftists] that the SCRR begin compiling a report about [alleged] Toronto school racism in 1977.⁸⁹ Doug Barr, a New Left “reform” trustee since the early 70s acts as the early chairman of the SCRR.⁹⁰ Spencer and Leckie were also “long time allies” of the Marlene Green’s Black Education Project,⁹¹ which I describe as black nationalist in character (section 3.0); it is stated in several sources that Marlene Green, who was active with the **School**

⁸⁷ Tateishi 2019, 18.

⁸⁸ Connelly and Clandinin 1984, 45. In addition, on page 2 of the SCRR’s final report, they state that they had attempted to justify their draft report to sceptical teachers by pointing to the small section on racism found in the earlier Report on Multicultural Programs.

⁸⁹ McCaskell 2005, 18. Spencer and Leckie as discussed in Graham’s history of the New Left in Toronto, where it is related that both campaigned in Ward 6 for the position of TDSB trustee on a platform of community control of schools and on “challenging” white middle class culture (Graham 2019, 273).

⁹⁰ Connelly and Clandinin 1984, 48. For Barr’s New Left association, see note 41 above.

⁹¹ McCaskell 2005, 18.

Community Relations Department, “coauthored” the Final Report on Race Relations (although it isn’t clear to me in what capacity or to what extent this claim is astute).⁹² Additionally, the **School Community Relations Department** (section 3.0) itself impacted the recommendations produced by the SCRR since it “mobilized parents groups”—one presumes, only those belonging to certain demographics—“to bring forward their concerns.”⁹³

There was another major factor in the formation of the SCRR, that being pressure from a community group. Predictably, that would be the newly created TDSB Black Liaison Committee (an assembly of “parent and community activists” which the TDSB assembled to provide consultation in 77).⁹⁴ The definition of “liaison committee” is given by insiders as follows: liaison committees were “informal committees promoted by reform trustees and made up of community members, usually from a specific ethnic community.”⁹⁵ The probability that the Black Liaison Committee was essentially black nationalist is rather high since it also included black educators such Lloyd McKell (in section 3.0, it was noted that McKell became the force behind Toronto’s first Africentric school).⁹⁶ Another member of the Black Liaison Committee was Dr. Fred Case who played a part in defining racism and issues of race for the committee and would later write the book “Racism and National Consciousness.” Predictably, a review of the book notes the “essentially Marxist” analysis of Case’s book, takes issue with its framing (“minorities are (always) the good guys/innocent victims; the majorities are (always) the bad guys/evil oppressors), and describes Case’s take on Canadian teachers as follows: teachers are “alleged to exploit the disadvantaged and disinherited “races” they are paid to serve, in order to promote their own economic interests.”⁹⁷

Although TDSB committees had previously always been composed of Board trustees, The SCRR consisted of only four TDSB trustees—mainly, or possibly entirely, consisting of

⁹² McCaskell 2005, 95; see also <https://www.cavalluzzo.com/resources/blog/post/item/reflections-labour-human-and-civil-rights-marlene-green> . The Canadian Encyclopedia goes so far as to claim that she “wrote” the report: <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/racial-segregation-of-black-people-in-canada> . As far as I can discern, it would only be reasonable to assume that she was among the committee that researched and presented the report, perhaps serving as a Black Liaison Committee member.

⁹³ McCaskell 2005, 18.

⁹⁴ Johnson (2016, 95) describes how “the Black Liaison Committee was established after a meeting between the Education Advisory Committee of the Brotherhood Community Centre Project and Toronto School Board officials to discuss community concerns about the quality of education Black students were receiving.” Johnson makes it clear that the black community had taken to this tactic after an earlier “Black Education Project” direction had lost momentum; the latter project, as future initiatives from this community, tended to favor black identitarianism, for example, in the form of the creation of black only “Africentric” schools (see section 3.0).

⁹⁵ McCaskell 2005, 18 note 1.

⁹⁶ Johnson (2016, 95) makes this observation: The Black Liaison Committee included black educators “including Lloyd McKell from the newly formed School Community Relations Department.”

⁹⁷ That Fred Case was a member of the Black Liaison Committee and had input on the analysis of race and racism developed by the committee is apparent from Connelly and Clandinin 1984, 29, 32. For the review of Case’s book, see Kallen 1980, 154. Incidentally, but perhaps not inconsequentially, Fred Case was the brother of Pat Case, one of the first black TDSB trustees and a member of the Communist Party of Canada. Pat Case is mentioned several times in the current essay. Their relation is documented here: <https://www.tdsb.on.ca/Leadership/Boardroom/Agenda-Minutes/Type/M/Year/2008?Filename=080521.pdf>

“reformers”⁹⁸—together with ten consultants: i) five from non-community groups (one from the Toronto Teachers Federation, the Secondary School Teacher’s Federation, the Elementary School Principal’s Association, the Ontario Human Rights Commission, the Toronto Board of Education’s Secondary School Students); ii) five from community groups (one from the Korean Education Society, the South Asian Origins Liaison Committee, the Black Liaison Committee, the Ad Hoc Cross-Cultural Communication Committee, the Urban Alliance on Race Relations).⁹⁹ However, as an insider relates, some input counted for more: it was particularly the input of “the Black and South Asian committees” that was at the forefront of consultations.¹⁰⁰

Understanding the actors and the composition of the SCRR is important because it tells one something about how the math was done — and that math was important because “the Board soon approved the final report *in toto* - all 119 recommendations - and it now became the Board’s race relations policy.”¹⁰¹

Reaction and Fall Out from the Draft and Final Report on Race Relations Issued by SCRR: In the present author’s assessment, the dominant idea systems which SCRR brings to bear on the alleged problem of racism in Toronto schools are New Left and black nationalist. It is not surprising that the political bias intrinsic in movements which are revolutionary or race identitarian will produce an analysis which is substantially unpalatable to non-radical or apolitical professionals. When the draft-report was sent around to staff and principals, the general tenor of the document and the recommendations were met with outright opposition: teachers in the consultation insisted that they were not racist and that “they treat everyone the same” and school administrators asserted that the schools did not have a significant issue with race.¹⁰² Marlene Green, who participated in writing the report, later recalled that “even her own superintendent thought that the document was ‘off base and extreme’” and that a number of black educators came forward in response to the draft report and represented that there isn’t a significant race issue in Toronto schools (Green claimed they were “in denial”).¹⁰³

As Marxist **School Community Relations Department** member Tim McCaskell related, in 1980, after the report was finalized and it came time to hold workshops in the board’s 132 schools on the new policies, board functionaries had a difficult time selling SCRR’s findings: they “couldn’t get beyond the first part of the report before teachers ‘started saying it was all lies.’ Most of the few teachers of colour didn’t feel strong enough to contradict their colleagues. And then there were always those people of colour who did get up and say, to much applause, ‘I’ve never experienced racism, it doesn’t exist.’ So then what were we supposed to do?”

⁹⁸ The names of the members of the committee are given in the final report only on page v, where they appear in the form of hand-written signatures. Frustratingly, two of the trustee signatures are illegible to the present author; the other two trustee signatures are those of “reformers” Frank Nagle and Doug Barr.

⁹⁹ Connelly and Clandinin 1984, 49.

¹⁰⁰ McCaskell 2005, 18.

¹⁰¹ McCaskell 2005, 22.

¹⁰² McCaskell, 2005, 20.

¹⁰³ McCaskell 2005, 21.

Pat Case, an actual member of the Communist party of Canada, and one of the first black TDSB trustees, reacted to the teacher pushback on the draft report by deciding to re-evaluate “the role of teachers and their unions in the workings of the system”¹⁰⁴ — once upon a time for Communist Case, surely the workers, i.e., the teachers, were always right. Not so when they denied being racists in the face of the New Left policy manufacturing machine.

Claims of Racism from the SCRR Report — Supposed Evidentiary Basis: Due to an excess of negative feedback from teachers and administrators about the claims and argumentation of the draft report, the TDSB directed the SCRR to rewrite its introduction and “soften” its claims; as a result, claims that alleged racism in Toronto schools had to do with institutional structures, or could be demonstrated by pointing to racial incidents in the city, were removed.¹⁰⁵

There is still plenty in the introduction of the final report that the sceptical reader could object to. Even a committee that is committed to imposing 119 new school policies on the pretense that racism needs to be combatted has a hard time representing why this is a particular problem Toronto: on p. i they state, “we learned that racism is not ‘rampant’ in Toronto” nor is it more prevalent in TDSB than any other board in Canada. But it does exist, they say: for example, there have been racial incidents involving violence. How frequent? “We have no intention of creating the impression that violent incidents are common or widespread in our school system” but the potential exists “for such incidents to become more common.”

Despite that teachers overwhelmingly criticized the SCRR draft report for being “too narrow” and “sanctioning bias based on ethnicity” (meaning, they saw it as a document that one-sidedly skews policy toward the feelings and interests of minorities) the final report is decidedly “narrow” in the same way.¹⁰⁶ The committee next states, in effect, that racist banter in schools could only victimize non-white students and it represents that schools must help these minorities “reject the role of victim”; it goes on to state that minorities “have a right to expect that the achievements of their races will be recognized”¹⁰⁷ — what “right to expect” would that be exactly?

So, what evidence of racism does the SCRR present in its final report to the TDSB in 1979 (what is the evidentiary basis for the X recommendations it is about to make)? With a student population of 90,000 under the TDSB, the committee makes no attempt at statistical analysis. Instead, on pages 27–30, five anecdotal stories are given in order to document racial incidents at school. No names, dates or documentation is provided for any of these stories just “the teacher” did X, or “the student” did X at “a school.” The first story retells an incident where a teacher came back to the classroom only to hear “a black student shout an ethnic insult across the room at a white student”; whereupon, the teacher immediately sent the black student out of the room (p. 27). One might suppose that this would prompt the committee to re-access their framing of racism in Canadian schools as something that is a concern for minorities exclusively, but that

¹⁰⁴ McCaskell 2005, 21. Technically, McCaskell records that Case had joined the Young Communist League, which, however, is an offshoot of the Communist Party of Canada.

¹⁰⁵ McCaskell 2005, 21.

¹⁰⁶ The teacher feedback about the narrowness of the draft report is discussed in the first pages of the final report.

¹⁰⁷ To paraphrase Barr’s preface.

would be missing the moral of the story as perceived by the committee: for the committee, the moral of the story is that the teacher should have asked more questions — it was probably the case that the white student had thrown racist insults first, they suggest.

Recommendations in the Final Report from the SCRR — the material reproduced below is put forward selectively by the current author and, again, appears in paraphrased plain English:

- **Curriculum Overhaul and Purification:** *The committee recommends that teams of classroom teachers and “representatives of ethnic and visible minority groups” undertake a review of current curricula to identify materials that may be deemed racially or ethnically biased; flagged material is to be removed immediately and committees with community [ethnic] liaisons to oversee integration of new material (recommendation #1-#6). New material should a) emphasize achievements of visible minorities and their values as positive examples, and b) foreground facets of Canadian history that reveal poor treatment of visible minorities (#11); The study of race relations be built into the social studies of elementary schools and a unit on race relations and human rights be included in appropriate high school courses (#15).*

- **Racist Remarks are Now Officially Against Board Policy:** The cognitive dissonance of the committee is sometimes rather amusing. The final report (p. 47) quotes a comment in the Toronto Star from 1973 in which the writer observes that “one the great moral prohibitions of our time is directed against frank talk about race,” that is “in the 1970’s... race is a forbidden subject.” The committee quotes this, evidently, to reinforce the importance of sensitivity about race. Despite presenting the Toronto Star’s clear assessment that Canadian society of the early 70s—well before the SCRR—was rather sensitive on racial matters, the board nonetheless put forward an elaborate set of recommendations (#31-#39) to establish that racist comments aren’t acceptable in Canadian schools and there will be consequences.

- **Racial Quotas in Hiring - so close, but not yet the right time in 79:** Surely, all “reformers” and race identitarians of the 70s used to dream of a time when it would be legal to discriminate against white people, especially white men, in hiring practice. They wouldn’t have to wait long: the Employment Equity Act of 1987 would normalize targeted hiring of “equity seeking” groups in federally regulated industries, and, even earlier in 1982, “affirmative action” hiring was built into section 15(2) of our philosophically weak charter of rights and freedoms.¹⁰⁸

At the time the draft report of the SCRR was being circulated in 1978, Canadian teachers hadn’t come around to the idea that Canadians should be favored for employment on the basis of the non-membership in the group white Canadian, and they firmly rebuffed anything in the draft report that struck them as courting the onset of a “quota system” — consequently, the TDSB had

¹⁰⁸ The National Post has recently re-examined the history of this legislation in an article titled “Can job postings in Canada exclude White People: short answer? Yes” <https://nationalpost.com/news/canada/can-job-postings-in-canada-exclude-white-people-short-answer-yes> . Although the article repeatedly puts the blame for the Employment Equity Act on Brian Mulroney’s conservative government of 87, this is an erroneous ascription in my opinion — it was the brain-child of the radical feminist judge Rosalie Abella, and her “Abella commission” of 1984: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Employment_equity_\(Canada\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Employment_equity_(Canada))

the SCRR remove any recommendations that had to do with term appointments “that sought to make more space for visible minority staff,” as well as a recommendation that the Board seek approval from the Ontario Human Rights Commission for “adopting recruitment and hiring measures that would address the underemployment of visible minority teachers.”¹⁰⁹ I suspect that recommendation #71, calling for incentives for staff to retire early, may not have been entirely novel — it may be a moderated form of a radical policy aimed at limiting the terms of principals to 5 years which had been scrapped following blowback to the draft report (both policies likely having the intention of freeing up room for the promotion of minorities).¹¹⁰

- **Race Conscious Hiring Policies - Institutional Cancel Culture in 79:** *The committee recommends that principals be given new guidelines on how to hire candidates as teachers — candidates must have i) a “reasonable” knowledge of visible and ethnic minority groups; ii) positive and bias-free attitudes toward these groups. Principals to be trained in racial bias detection training (#77-#78). The same set of “positive attitude” requirements be in place for the hiring of non-teaching staff as well (#85-#86). A procedure be established for detecting racial bias in candidates for promotion on academic teaching and non-teaching staff, and guideline for promotion of the same depend on racial sensitivity and knowledge (#87-#88).*

4.0 Aftermath and Legacy: The radicals consider the mainstreaming of identity politics in Canadian schools as “a testament to the victories that new leftists scored in Toronto schools in the 1970s.”¹¹¹ One-time “reform” trustee Myra Novogrodsky recalls that it was no coincidence that radical change came in a 20 year period in which the Board was mainly controlled by trustees who voted NDP (I would add, and whose activism was New Left); it was during this period, she says, that trustees “created a School Community Relations Department, opened 20 alternative schools, hired designated staff to oversee curricular changes on gender issues, race relations and multiculturalism and aboriginal issues, and began the Triangle Program, the first Canadian school for lesbian and gay youth.”¹¹² Novogrodsky’s observation that “it was mainly politicized parents that first advocated for a multicultural agenda and later for a more anti-racist perspective” is perhaps partially correct: yes, parents had been “politicized” by the New Left, but advocating for an “agenda” is the function of the New Left community organizer/agitator first, and the function of the community second.¹¹³

John Barber, writing in the *Globe and Mail*, stated that the NDP first introduced “open party politics” to the Board in 1980, forming cliques with other NDPers, holding caucus meetings with

¹⁰⁹ McCaskell 2005, 21.

¹¹⁰ The existence of the early draft policy that was scrapped, calling for “term appointments” of principals is mentioned in McCaskell 2005, 49; on the same page, he specifies that communist TDSB trustee Pat Case thought that the resulting turnover from this policy would “open up positions of responsibility to women and visible minorities.”

¹¹¹ Graham 2019, 277.

¹¹² Novogrodsky 2005, 154–155.

¹¹³ Novogrodsky 2005, 155. Interestingly, the author notes here: “Simultaneously, it was female employees, rather than parents, who were concerned with gender equity.”

each other before each board meeting and dominating Board policy of the time.¹¹⁴ One might add that, long before this, NDP voting New Leftists masquerading as “reformers” had long set about politicizing the board, transforming it according to a clandestine vision of reform and revolution.

The era of the New Left transformation (with its community outreach doctrine that allowed the voices of ethnic minority activists who also felt that “liberalism is not enough” to be heard) came, and, in some senses, never left. However, more recently, George Martell, as essential to launching the “reform” movement at TDSB as anyone, bemoaned the fact that provincial legislation has turned “what we used to call ‘School-Community Councils’” into “toothless shells,” school-councils run by local principals.¹¹⁵ Parenthetically, the bones of the New Left movement, its intellectual remains in the form of books, articles, documents, periodicals, are maintained by the radical connexions organization in a moth-balled room on the University of Toronto campus.¹¹⁶

The Evolution to Anti-Racist Policy: The transformation of TDSB race policy to anti-racism would begin in the early 80s when TDSB race relations advisors Tony Souza and Alok Mukherjee began collaborating with anti-racism educator Barb Thomas to create equity training programs and “recommendations for systemic strategies to deal with racism in school boards.” It would be the anti-racism policy movement with its built-in emphasis on equity in all things (discrimination in favor of minority interests) that would emerge as official TDSB board policy in 1999 with the passing of the “Commitment to Equity Policy Implementation: Anti-Racism and Ethnocultural Equity...” policy programs.¹¹⁷ And we are certainly justified in tying this together with the policy developments examined earlier in this essay, as insiders do: “The Toronto District School Board's adoption of a broad equity policy was the climax of almost thirty years of struggle that had begun in the Toronto Board in the 1970s” (the word “struggle” here is not incidental as the sentence was written by a Marxist).¹¹⁸ The reader may be interested to note that anti-racism theory is now widespread in Canadian institutional and governmental policy and has been described—approvingly!—by Ontario education theorists as a mixture of Marxist and postmodernist theory.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴ John Barber, “School Board Jungle...” *The Globe and Mail*, Jan. 29, 1988.

¹¹⁵ Martell, writing in 2020, is quoted here: <https://educationactiontoronto.com/articles/there-is-no-de-streaming-without-democracy-and-meaning/>. For Martell’s role in the movement, see particular note 55 above.

¹¹⁶ See <https://www.connexions.org> ; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Connexions_%28website%29 ; <https://www.diemer.ca/About.htm>

¹¹⁷ Tateishi 2019, 4; McCaskell 2005, 272.

¹¹⁸ Quoting McCaskell 2005, 272. Similarly, radical “reformer” Novogrodsky (2005, 158) observed “the Harris assault was successful in turning people’s attention from the strenuous task of disrupting educational inequality” — note, “disrupting” is a Marxian theorist’s byword referring to an aim of radical activism.

¹¹⁹ This was discussed elsewhere by the present author: <https://wokewatchcanada.substack.com/p/charting-the-great-illiberal-subversion>. An idea of the spread of anti-racism policy in Canada can be given by listing just a sample of these policy initiatives: On the federal level, Canada has an anti-racism secretariat ; Ontario has an anti-racism directorate ; and a strategic anti-racism plan ; The Ontario College of Teachers has an anti-racism project which lists numerous Ontario School Boards currently fielding anti-racism initiatives in elementary schools; Ontario nearly passed Bill 67, which would have mandated anti-racism and critical race theory in elementary schools; Bill 16 (which is practically identical to Bill 67) has recently been brought forward; Ontario Health declares its commitment to anti-racism. For the analysis of anti-racism theory and its dependence on Marxist and/or postmodernist framing,

Very occasionally, dissenting educators ineffectually object to anti-racist doctrine — multicultural educationalists Mansfield and Kehoe criticize it for being, among other things, far too political (quite rich coming from them!).¹²⁰ In the memoirs of the radical actors, only one man effectually stood in the way of this avalanche of “progress”: Mike Harris. They ruefully recount that the election of the Harris government in 1995 “proved to be a catastrophe in the evolution of equity,”¹²¹ and another concludes that it is “evident the Harris government had delayed the development and implementation of antiracist education in Toronto and stopped it completely in most other boards across the province.” Not so for TDSB, as we have seen, which passed its equity marching orders in 1999.

see Abigail Bakan’s 2014 work “Theorizing Anti-Racism.” Until 2018, Bakan headed the Department of Social Justice Education at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE).

¹²⁰ Mansfield and Kehoe 1994.

¹²¹ McCaskell 2005, 285; Tateishi 2019, 49.

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Appendix 1

For those who may be wondering whether sustained radical activism could be a fulcrum on which to pivot the values traditionally espoused by the educationalist, the field of Critical Education Studies (aka critical pedagogy) is another 14,000-pound elephant in the room.



Fig. 1: A staircase inside the library at OISE (The Ontario Institute for the Study of Education). Pride of place goes to the poster advertising Paulo Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

Contrary to the common usage of the term, to be “critical” in the sense of “critical education studies” means something more like awareness of, and resistance to, (systemic) power and the attempt to disrupt established systems and ways of thinking.¹²² This theory of educational

¹²² For this understanding, see the entry “critical” in the *New Discourses Encyclopedia of Social Justice Terminology*: <https://newdiscour.ses.com/tftw-critical/>, an organization which opposes critical social justice approaches. It is perhaps a bit sad and a bit hilarious (tragicomic) that “critical” studies do a poor job of defining what they themselves mean by “critical,” as Gottesman (a scholar of these studies) notes: “Even in the best examples of critical scholarship, though, it is frequently unclear what specifically the term ‘critical’ is meant to denote...”; the author elaborates further, stating that when it comes to articulating just what are the assumptions about social order that underpin the radical academic use of the term critical, “far too often the reader must simply infer or sift

practice became influential when the Brazilian Marxist educator Paulo Freire published his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* in 1968, according to which, education should be re-envisioned as a “site of resistance” a “site of struggle” — meaning, education should be repurposed as a means bringing about social transformation (read: of Marxian social transformation).¹²³

As Marxist sympathizer and historian of the development of Critical Education Studies Isaac Gottesman notes, waves of 1960s radicals found their calling not in religious cults or yuppie-dom, but “in the classroom,” and “while those in the Academic Left embraced a great variety of radical ideas, no intellectual tradition had quite the same impact within the academy as Marxism.”¹²⁴ In Gottesman’s own (sympathetic) assessment, the success of the Marxian influence can be seen in what he calls the “critical turn” in education between the 60s and the 80s; it can be seen in the new ubiquity of Marxian terminology in education literature, terminology such as “hegemony, transformative, ideology, consciousness, praxis, and perhaps most importantly the word 'critical' itself”; it can be seen in how often education writers pass on the Marxian framing of social issues — “the term 'critical pedagogy,' for instance, which is perhaps the most popular term in the education lexicon, appears in 311 peer-reviewed article entries in Education Full Text from 2000 to the present [2009], an average of nearly 40 articles per year”; further, if the reader still isn’t convinced, Gottesman points to the virulent (my word) afterlife of critical Marxian studies which occurred when class was dropped as the key focus of analysis, thus, critical race theory and critical gender studies emerge.¹²⁵

In the English-speaking world, pedagogical thinking has crystalized into a kind of *pensée unique* (or “single thought”): teachers across the board push positions that are natural only to left of liberal thinkers; they are unnatural on the lips of moderates who, wittingly or otherwise, dutifully ape these positions. The outcome of the *pensée unique*, as conservative educator Nicholas Tate recognizes, is a repurposed school vision in which “the promotion of a particular kind of society is more central to school education than the acquisition of knowledge”; there is no objectivity nor are there definite values, therefore, everyone’s values must be celebrated. Concurrently, no culture is better or more worthy of emulation than another; and schools should promote “loyalty to the world community, not primarily to the national one.”¹²⁶

through APA citations that often refer to other equally non-specific texts. Meaning is assumed and rarely explained” (Gottesman 2009, 6–7). In the page which follows, Gottesman, in the typical manner of critical theorists that he himself has just sketched, kicks the can down the road and declines to attempt a definition of “critical.” Obscurantism at its finest.

¹²³ Gottesman 2016, ix, 44, 84.

¹²⁴ Gottesman 2009, 1.

¹²⁵ Gottesman 2009, 4–7.

¹²⁶ Tate 2017, 2–4. For an essay on Franz Boas, Marxist and founder of the field of cultural anthropology in the US, the popularizer of the social science cultural relativity position (yes, it is far-left thinking), see: <https://wokewatchcanada.substack.com/p/race-radicalism-in-america>

Appendix 2

Boys and Education: On the theme of education tool for social reordering, one may consider Dr. Joanna Williams’ account of how women went from being underrepresented in schools and higher education before the 1980s to completely outperforming men in these areas in little more than one decade. This new attainment gap means that women have outnumbered men in universities in every year since 1992; twice as many undergraduate students in the UK are female as are male, while 60% of undergraduate degrees in the US go to women; women have taken home graduate degrees at a rate of 135 to 100 by men since 2015; women have earned more Ph.D. degrees in the US since 2008.¹²⁷

One could take this, as many feminists doubtlessly would, as a sign that one sex is simply smarter, and that sex has finally taken its place in education. On the other hand, with Williams, one might note that there were artificial factors which helped to bring this situation about: i) a shift occurred in schools to the “therapeutic sensibility” (competition is eschewed in favor of nurturing, caring, cooperating and other modes which conform to female behavior patterns), which alienates boys and reduces their engagement; ii) in some places, a shift in testing and marking helped to usher in the new female ascendancy. Williams points to the example of the UK, where an emphasis on marking coursework throughout the year (which girls scored higher in) replaced traditional exams (which boys had an edge in); iii) several recessions in the 1980s precipitated a drop in the number of male dominated manufacturing jobs and a surge in the service-economy which favored women’s skills — this may have helped to incentivize female performance in schools.¹²⁸

Arguably, if education had set about a principled transformation rather than an identity agenda, this transformation would have been coaxed in terms of advancing children (full stop), not in the ascendancy of one group over another, and, in a summary statement, Williams writes, “at every stage of their education, girls are now outperforming boys and yet the influence of feminism on education shows no signs of diminishing.”¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Williams 2017, 5–6.

¹²⁸ Williams 2017, 13–15. For the shift of manufacturing jobs to service-economy following the recessions of the 1980s, one can refer to Plunkert 1990, 3–4.

¹²⁹ Williams 2017, 4.

About the Author: Dr. M has academic training in the study of history, and he holds that the history of ideas and idea systems has a special relevance to the culture war: through this endeavor, we come to know how and why an opponent comes to a radical position. By studying how the pieces fit together, we learn how to take them apart. Anyone able to access academic literature and to spend time working out radical jargon can figure this sort of thing out — the radical’s penchant for extolling and affirming their own methods is perhaps even more pronounced now that they have produced the dominant ideology. His research and writings for Woke Watch Canada and for the Lighthouse Think Tank have focused on this dominant ideology in Western society and on that aspect of it which is both indispensable and inconvenient for its defenders: its anti-liberal and utopian underpinnings.



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