

Understanding Curriculum: The History of Initial Teacher Education in Manitoba

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The purpose of this chapter is to share a deeper understand of the *current* form of initial teacher education (ITE) in Manitoba that we have gained by engaging with the curriculum history of ITE in Manitoba.¹ As such, our chapter contributes to the development of what Ken Osborne has called “historical mindedness,” namely “a way of looking, not so much at history, but at the world at large, that derives from a familiarity with the past and with trying to understand and interpret it.”² Historical mindedness can help us gain a deeper understanding of the socio-cultural, economic, and political forces – some working more hidden than others – that have shaped the present state of ITE and that continue shaping ITE in the near future. Our work in this chapter tries to make some of those developments, forces, and possibilities more explicit than they might currently appear.

Framing Our Approach to Curriculum History of ITE

At the core of our approach to curriculum history of ITE are (a) a broad understanding of “curriculum (history)”, and (b) an institutional definition of ITE. Our understanding of curriculum draws on Kieran Egan’s analysis of the shifting meaning of the term.³ Egan identifies three stages in the etymological development of the word “curriculum.” “Its first Latin meaning was ‘a running,’ ‘a race,’ ‘a course,’ with secondary meanings of a ‘race-course,’ ‘a career,’”⁴ which then changed “to the temporal space in which we live; to the confines within which things may happen; to the container, as opposed to the contents,” and then to also include the things one is studying, the content.⁵ Through the Middle Ages “curriculum” was concerned with: ‘What *content* is to be taught?’ and ‘How is this content to be organized?’⁶ Later the meaning expanded further to include method and instruction, which became more and more a mainstream concern for curriculum developers.⁷ Considering the two thousand-year etymological expansion of the term, Egan concludes: “What is curriculum? Curriculum is the study of any and all educational phenomena.”⁸ This all-encompassing focus of curriculum studies is also reflected in *Understanding Curriculum* written by Bill Pinar and his collaborators.⁹ They have drawn into their discussion of historical and contemporary curriculum discourses almost all well-known educational scholars in North America and have discussed their respective work as contributions to one or more aspects of what makes up curriculum studies.

For the purpose of this chapter, the most promising approach to curriculum history is if we defined ITE in an institutional sense: *ITE means the governmentally controlled and institutionalized preparation of teachers designed to meet certification requirements.* Using this institutional understanding of ITE, we now turn to an outline of the curriculum history of ITE.

Outlining Curriculum History of Present-Day ITE

We have structured this outline by identifying three phases: 1870-1916; 1916-1965; and, 1965 to the Present. While we find these phases helpful to convey core features of ITE and their development during the specified time, we do not suggest that there is some form of “closure” at the end of each phase. Further, in choosing to consider post-1965 developments as a single period we are aware of the fundamental political and economic shifts associated with the rise of neoliberalism in the 1980s and continuing up to the present.¹⁰ As such, a case could well be made to separate our final phase into two distinct periods with a break either with the election of a minority Progressive Conservative government in 1988 or their introduction of a major school reform initiative in 1994, one pillar of which was to be a review of teacher education in the province. In choosing not to do this our argument is that current patterns of ITE in Manitoba remain more reflective of developments that took place during the first part of this period than of any subsequent changes.

The Institutionalization of State-Controlled ITE and of Certification (1870-1916)

Manitoba entered confederation in 1870 through the Manitoba Act which created a bilingual (English and French) province as well as recognizing Aboriginal rights through the provision of a land script for Metis children. Section 22 of the Manitoba Act assigned to the province authority over education in a similar – but not identical – way as Section 93 of the British North America Act including its protections of Denominational Schools.¹¹ “Indian” matters including education were recognized as a federal responsibility and between 1871 and 1875 Numbered Treaties #1-5 were negotiated between The Crown and Manitoba First Nations. In 1876 the federal Government passed *The Indian Act*.

In 1871 the provincial legislature passed the *Act to Establish a System of Public Education in Manitoba*, creating a bilingual (English-French) and dual confessional (Protestant-Roman Catholic) provincial school system. Control of education was placed in the hands of a government appointed Board of Education, half of whom were to be Protestant and half Catholic. One member of each of these two sections of the Board was to be appointed Superintendent of Protestant and Superintendent of Catholic Schools respectively. Responsibility for teacher certification was assigned to each section, but the Act made no mention of teacher training. However, the Board of Education soon expressed the need for some form of state-controlled teacher preparation within the province leading in 1882 to the passing of the *Act to Establish Normal School Departments in Connection with Public Schools* and the establishment of two “Normal School Departments” – one in Winnipeg linked to the Protestant, English-speaking schools in the city and one linked to the Roman Catholic, French-speaking school system of St. Boniface.¹² Outside of Winnipeg, the 1880s also saw the development of short “teacher institutes” usually under the supervision of school inspectors.

In the denominational school system created in the 1870s, moral and religious education was of central importance and clearly reflected in the expectations of teachers. Laying out this priority in his Annual Report for 1877-78, the Superintendent of Catholic schools wrote:

The cultivation of morals – it is necessary to repeat it – is of preponderating importance. Compared with physical education, it has the superiority which the soul has over the body; with intellectual culture the advantage which virtue has over talent. Physical education and

the culture of the intellect may supply the state with sound and robust bodies, with enlightened and upright minds; but moral instruction forms the Christian, the devoted citizen, the steady soul, the grateful child, the good father; - almost the whole man. It is in this direction that the teacher should bend the weight of his efforts.¹³

This initial confessional, bilingual system of schools and teacher training was dismantled in 1890 by the passage of two pieces of legislation - the *An Act Respecting Public Schools* and *An Act Respecting the Department of Education*. Describing 1890 as a watershed year in the educational history of Manitoba, Gregor and Wilson note that these pieces of legislation:

abolished the fundamentally important principle upon which that system had rested: denominational state-supported schools controlled by a bifurcated Board of Education representing the dominant and antagonistic founding cultures. In its place was instituted a fundamentally different structure: An Advisory Board, a Department of Education, and a system of non-sectarian schools.¹⁴

The passage of this legislation with its notion of a “neutral school” was vigorously contested by the province’s French Catholic minority as an abrogation of their constitutional rights and signaled the beginning of a political crisis known as *The Manitoba Schools Question*. Much has been written about this defining part of Manitoba’s history, but for this chapter attention is restricted to two developments: (a) the Laurier-Greenway Compromise of 1896-97; and (b) legislation in 1916 that repealed the section of the *Public Schools Act* that under the Compromise had permitted bilingual instruction in public schools.¹⁵

The Laurier-Greenway compromise - an agreement between Prime Minister Laurier’s Liberal government in Ottawa and Greenway’s Liberal administration in Winnipeg - made provision for amendments to the *Public Schools Act* to allow religious instruction in public schools and for the use of French as a language of instruction. Significantly, the agreement did not restrict the use of languages other than English to only French. This legislation produced significant changes to initial teacher education in light of the challenge of finding sufficient numbers of teachers capable of making a multilingual system work.¹⁶ Osborne reports that in 1899 the St. Boniface (Francophone) Normal School was created, Mennonite teacher education expanded in Gretna, Altona and Morden, a Ruthenian bilingual teacher education program was established in 1905, and a program for Polish-speaking students established in 1909.¹⁷ In addition, English-speaking Normal Schools were established in Winnipeg (1882-1965), Brandon (1912-1942) and Manitou (1903-34).

The Secularization, Anglicization and Centralization of ITE and the Move Toward the More Formally Educated Teacher (1916-1965)

The time of ITE as “a flourishing, multi-institutional (and multilingual) enterprise” came to an abrupt end in March 1916, when against the backdrop of World War I the provincial legislature repealed the section of the *Public Schools Act*, which had permitted bilingual instruction, and created instead a single, secular and monolingual (English only) publically funded school system.¹⁸

This legislative move led to a *centralization* of ITE. In 1916, “the bilingual training schools and normal schools were closed, and teacher training was confined to the normal schools at

Winnipeg and Brandon, with short sessions being offered at Manitou for third class certification.”¹⁹ In 1934, the Manitou Normal School was closed. The 1959 report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Education, finally, states that “in Manitoba the professional training of teachers is entrusted to three separate institutions: The Manitoba Teachers’ College at Tuxedo [Winnipeg], The Faculty of Education of the University of Manitoba, and Brandon College.”²⁰

Two features characterized the vision of what it meant to be a teacher in the first half of the twentieth century. The first one was the view of the provincial teacher as the socializer of students into the British heritage of the power-holding majority of those living in the province at that time.²¹ The legislation of 1916 cemented legally this vision by abolishing the previously existing multilingual and multicultural system of ITE. The second characteristic provided the rationale for the on-going demand for increasing levels of formal education for teachers: the view of a schoolteacher as a well-educated person. This was to be done through two routes, the raising of ITE admission requirements and the increasing of the length and quality of the ITE program itself.²²

In its 1924 report, the Educational Commission recommended in addition to the abolishment of the third class certification “that as soon as conditions permit the term of training leading to a teachers certificate of the second class be lengthened to two years [from 40 weeks], and that the course include academic as well as professional training.”²³ In 1959, the Manitoba Royal Commission on Education was recommending the Winnipeg Normal School “offer concurrently during two years a programme consisting of the Second Year of Arts or Science and a year of professional training,” a recommendation that implied first year university courses as admission requirement to ITE in Winnipeg.²⁴ While this recommendation of the Commission was not acted upon, “in 1963. . . for the first time in the province’s history, no student was allowed to attend the Manitoba Teachers’ College without a complete grade twelve.”²⁵

At around the same time, university-based initial teacher education for secondary school teachers began. “Prior to 1922,” Gregor and Wilson noted, “all prospective secondary teachers took the first class normal course.”²⁶ In 1922, a special class was formed at the Normal School that in 1933 evolved into the School of Education, which in turn was reconstituted as the Faculty of Education of the University of Manitoba in 1934.²⁷ The notion of the well-educated teacher is also reflected in the concerns expressed by the first president of the Manitoba Teachers’ Federation – founded in 1919 and renamed to the Manitoba Teachers’ Society in 1942 – who emphasized the importance of “adequate training” for building a respected and attractive profession.²⁸

Noteworthy is that in the 1924 report of the Education Commission there was still a concern for the “character” of the future teachers, who should:

possess the personal qualities that are essential in the school room. During the course of training there should be careful observation of the capacity, character, disposition and ideals of the men and women seeking to enter on the work of teaching and rigorous elimination of the unfit.²⁹

Such concern with the character and personal qualities of teacher candidates cannot be found anymore in the 1959 report by the Manitoba Royal Commission on Education.

University-Based ITE (1965 to the Present): Expansion and Modernization, Professionalization and Pluralism, and Neoliberalism and Internationalization

The Manitoba public school system that was in place by 1920 proved to be remarkably durable, but it was not so impregnable that it could withstand the effects of modernization when it finally arrived in the province in the 1960s.³⁰ This was a decade when increasingly secondary education was seen as essential to success in life and an investment in the economic and social wellbeing of the province. Between 1960 and 1970 the student population in Manitoba rose some 30% from 189,573 to 246,946 and the number of teachers increased from 7,460 to 11,534, an increase of some 54% (see Tables 1 and 2).

Table 1³¹

Select Manitoba Public Educational Statistics for 1960 & 1970

	1960	1970	% Change
Enrollments	189,573	246,946	30.3%
Teachers	7,460	11,534	54.6%
Average Teacher Salary *	\$4,440	\$8,344	87.9%
Total Expenditures	54,740	161,665	195.3%

Table 2³²

Manitoba Teachers by Highest Degree Held (1960 & 1970)

	Masters + (%)			Bachelor (%)			No Degree (%)			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1960	5.3	1.5	2.7	32.5	12.5	19.2	62.2	86.0	78.1	2,489	4,971	7,460
1970	6.3	1.9	3.6	58.5	24.8	37.7	35.2	73.3	58.7	4,428	7,106	11,534

Substantial changes in the school system during this period included: the amalgamation of small, one-school, school districts and the unification of elementary and secondary systems to create large centralized school divisions; the expansion of secondary education and the construction of regional high schools; the raising of the school leaving age to 16; revised and expanded provincial funding; and a decentralizing of provincial authority with the discontinuance of provincial “department examinations” and of provincial school inspectors.³³

The 1960s and 1970s also saw the beginnings of a re-definition of English-Canadian identity where old notions of Anglo-conformity were increasingly challenged as an inappropriate social identity for the country. *The Official Languages Act* (1969), the Trudeau Statement on

Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework (1971), and the federal government's acceptance in principle of the National Indian Brotherhood's 1972 declaration, *Indian Control of Indian Education*, all contributed to a re-definition of Canada as a pluralist society³⁴ and with this a rethinking to schooling and teacher education.³⁵ Within Manitoba the publication of Manitoba Indian Brotherhood's paper *Wahbung: Our Tomorrows* (1971) and the amendment of the *Public Schools Act* in 1970 re-establishing French as an approved language of instruction in provincial public schools mirrored these national developments.

Reflecting these societal shifts, two developments in the mid-1960s heralded a decade of restructuring of ITE. In 1965, the Manitoba Teachers' College (the former Manitoba Normal School) was closed and moved to the Faculty of Education at the University of Manitoba. Two years later the province moved away from its long-standing "one university policy" and established Brandon University and The University of Winnipeg. As part of these developments, the Francophone St. Boniface College remained affiliated with the University of Manitoba but now became funded independently by the provincial government.³⁶ The University of Winnipeg quickly instituted its own Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) program in 1968 and in 1969 Brandon University opened its B.Ed. program. In 1971, The University of Manitoba began a four-year B.Ed. program that in 1974 included a program for industrial arts teachers delivered collaboratively with Red River Community College. In 1972 Saint Boniface College established l'Institut Pédagogique.

The early 1970s saw Brandon University and the provincial New Democratic Party government implement a number of new ITE initiatives designed to provide access to the profession to marginalized populations, primarily but not exclusively First Nations.³⁷ These programs, which had their own funding arrangements, incorporated significantly modified recruitment and admission processes, alternative delivery modes including community-based programming, and more culturally appropriate programming. Over the subsequent 40 years their contribution to First Nations/Indigenous teacher education in the province has been of central importance.

While the early 1980s saw further entrenchment of Canada and Manitoba as a pluralist society through the *Canadian Constitution* and the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, the late 1980s and early 1990s also witnessed in Canada, as in much of the world, the beginning of a shift towards neoliberal political and economic policies that often stood in sharp contrast to the "embedded" social democratic forms of liberalism that had characterized the preceding, post 1945, decades.³⁸ In 1988 this shift was reflected in the provincial elections where the Progressive Conservative Party formed a minority government, replacing the previous New Democratic Party, beginning an eleven-year period in government.

The summer of 1994 saw the government release a major policy document: *Renewing Education: New Directions - The Blueprint*.³⁹ This document signaled the beginning of a period of sustained government attention to public schooling with the reform of teacher education constituting one of six "new directions" identified as priorities. Following up on *The Blueprint*, in October 1994 the government released a Framework Document on Teacher Education that proposed a broad set of actions for the improvement of teacher education. It recommended, for example, that the practicum be extended, and that the province introduce a two-year internship prior to permanent certification. It also proposed establishing consistency among pre-service programs across the province on such matters as program length and the scheduling of practica. The Framework suggested that the government's advisory Board of Teacher Education and Certification (BOTECE) should determine appropriate levels of enrollment in Faculties of Education and consider the appropriateness of differentiated certification (meaning specialized

certifications focused on distinct areas of teaching or grade level), to assess the merits of periodic mandatory re-certification, and to review the existing salary classification process.⁴⁰

These proposals generated considerable discussion but little consensus about priorities for change. In 1996, the Minister of Education invited the then President of McGill University, Dr. Bernard Shapiro, to serve as a one-person Commission to review teacher education programs in Manitoba. His report had 21 recommendations, and the government's responses to these recommendations in large part accounts for the current shape of initial teacher education in the province.⁴¹

In 1998, in alignment with Shapiro's recommendations, the government announced new certification requirements consisting of: (i) a minimum of 150 credit hours of post-secondary coursework, of which 60 credit hours must be in education studies; (ii) two degrees including a B.Ed., arrived at either sequentially or concurrently; (iii) a minimum of 30 credit hours of 24 weeks of supervised in-school experience; and (iv) at least 30 credit hours of successful study in a major teachable area and 18 credit hours in a minor teachable area.⁴² In reviewing the number of pre-service programs in the province the Shapiro Report considered, but in the end rejected, the option of returning to a single provincial program housed at the University of Manitoba.⁴³ Having rejected this possibility the Report suggested moving a number of existing programs with the main effect of reducing the number of programs offered at the University of Manitoba and expanding the role of the University of Winnipeg. Those moves that could be mandated by government through envelope funding or that met with support from each of the Faculties involved took place.⁴⁴

Equally important in terms of the current design of ITE in Manitoba are the Shapiro recommendations that were *not* acted on. Addressing the issue of teacher supply and demand and commenting that, "it is hard to argue that Manitoba, or any province, should be a large net importer or exporter of teachers," Shapiro recommended that the Ministry work with teacher education programs to limit enrollments to no more than 150% of expected need within the province.⁴⁵ Without any simple funding levers to mandate this cooperation, little has happened in this regard. Instead, enrollments remain determined by individual institutions. Shapiro also took issue with Manitoba's certification provision that certifies a teacher to teach any subject at any grade level - a policy that he described as "unconscionable and an affront to the professionalism of teachers"⁴⁶ and recommended that teaching certificates be endorsed by level and subject areas. There has been to date no action on this issue.

The first recommendation of the Shapiro Report was that the government "either act - with respect to teacher education - in light of their best judgment(s) or move teacher education policy off the agenda."⁴⁷ It is possible to argue that this advice was taken and following the initial actions to implement some elements of the Shapiro Report teacher education has been largely absent from successive governments' policy agenda.

Historical Mindedness: Understanding Present and Future Initial Teacher Education in Manitoba

Having outlined some core elements of this history we now would like to draw on the outlined curriculum history to help us understand better the current state of affairs of ITE and where that state might move toward and why. To this end we will in this section focus on - due to space reasons - three selected aspects of what characterizes current ITE: the current governance of

ITE; the addressing of diversity in ITE; and the influence of a neoliberal economic perspective on ITE.

Governance

The governance and character of ITE across Canada has for much of its recent history been shaped in large part by the interactions of three institutional actors: provincial governments, universities, and the teaching profession. Since education in Canada is constitutionally a provincial jurisdiction it is clearly provincial governments that sit at the apex of this institutional triangle, but how governments choose to exercise that authority can lead to quite different models of initial teacher education. An examination of the history of ITE, we argue, can suggest a number of insights into the current structures and practices.

First, locating the provincial government at the apex of this governance structure when Indian/Indigenous education is constitutionally designated a federal responsibility has contributed to – with only few exceptions – a substantial neglect in ITE of the unique features of Indigenous teacher education in the province and governance structures that can accommodate Indigenous authority in ITE.

Second, the history of ITE documents an expanding role of the university in the second half of the twentieth century that at one level reflects a common development in all Canadian provinces. However, the fact that virtually all students enrolling in B.Ed. programs expect, on graduation, to receive provincial teacher certification means that in reality the institutional autonomy of the Faculty of Education may be substantially constrained through the governmental levers of certification and funding, particularly in the neoliberal context of the last three decades. Our argument is that for Manitoba the institutional form of governance – where primary authority resides with the ITE institutions – that was created by moving ITE to the university has been sustained to the present day. We argue that the provincial government has for the most part shown limited interest in either assuming an activist role in influencing the format and content of B.Ed. programs or in delegating that authority to the teaching profession through such mechanisms as a College of Teachers.⁴⁸

Third, notwithstanding the fact that there have always been teachers trained outside of the province working in Manitoba schools, from the earliest days there has been the expectation that the preparation of teachers for Manitoba schools would be a provincial responsibility. Associated with this has been the belief that the preparation of teachers for the province's schools was the central mandate of faculties of education with the staffing needs of the province's schools exerting considerable influence over enrollments. While it is possible to argue that this general proposition remains valid, current debates across Manitoba universities about the relative status of graduate work and research as distinct from undergraduate/professional preparation, the impact of the province's participation in the Labour Mobility Chapter of the *Agreement on Internal Trade*, and internationalization initiatives at each of the province's universities have the potential to create radically different future for ITE.⁴⁹

Addressing Diversity in De-Contextualized ITE

At present, ITE programs have been giving greater consideration to an increasingly diverse school population through program admission.⁵⁰ How can these developments be understood in light of the outlined curriculum history of ITE?

As discussed above, at the beginning of government-controlled ITE, cultural diversity of the province's population (language or religion) was given consideration through the way teachers were prepared for their respective school context, namely by *directly imbedding* ITE in the respective cultural and local context. This approach of "contextualized" ITE was abolished in 1916 and replaced with "de-contextualized" ITE, where teachers were prepared in centralized, primarily urban, institutions for secularized and Anglicized schooling anywhere in Manitoba.⁵¹ As outlined above, this monocultural approach to ITE was slowly eroded by political developments initiated primarily at the *federal* level (e.g., *The Official Languages Act*, the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, and new political orientation toward multiculturalism). ITE started to consider the need and expectations of a more pluralistic and multi-cultural society and official bilingualism.

The curriculum history of ITE has shown us one possible way of addressing cultural diversity: localizing ITE to address localized teaching needs. This historical understanding allows us now to *contrast* this approach to ITE with the current approach, which has teacher candidates "learn about" diversity in centralized and de-contextualized programs, assuming that such educated teachers can be employed in any culturally diverse teaching context.⁵² The more recent trend toward internationalization of ITE will most likely further solidify this centralized and de-contextualized approach to preparing teacher candidates for diverse teaching contexts.

This approach to addressing diverse educational needs in different communities assumes that one can be prepared for a specific cultural context while being removed from that context. This assumption is in conflict with principles of place-based education,⁵³ which is particularly proposed by Indigenous epistemologies.⁵⁴ Thus, a centralized and de-contextualized approach to ITE might be particularly problematic for addressing the educational needs in Indigenous communities or of Indigenous students, a development particularly concerning in light of the "history of neglect" of Indigenous school education we talked about above.

The Impact of Neoliberalism on ITE through the Backdoor

The curriculum history of ITE in Manitoba saw all ITE programs become university-based in 1965 and the government making a B.Ed. a requirement for teacher certification in 1987. Historically, we can observe a move over a period of almost 100 years from completely government controlled ITE programming to an almost complete integration of ITE into the universities' jurisdiction. The institutional integration of ITE programs into the university bring with it an integration of Faculties of Education and their ITE programs into university *culture* more generally and, thus, the forces that have been and are shaping that very culture. We suggest that understanding the historical move towards an integration of ITE into university culture within a context of an institutional governance model for ITE can help us better understand the current state of affairs of ITE, the forces that are shaping ITE in the near future, and some possible scenarios of where ITE in Manitoba might move toward. We suggest that it is very likely that the historical integration of ITE into the organization and culture of the university, the forces shaping that culture will also shape the future of ITE.

Furlong characterizes the culture of "the modern university" as follows:

It has massively increased in size, lost its privileged and secure funding, been forced into developing an entrepreneurial approach to securing students, to securing research and to developing new third-stream forms of funding. It has had to diversify itself, moving into more and increasingly different markets and it has had to develop new and very different forms for managing itself internally; and all of this when, intellectually, it has lost its confidence about the value of objective knowledge.⁵⁵

Furlong and others suggest that this culture of an “entrepreneurial university” is a result of a neoliberal economic agenda for not just the economic sphere but also the public sphere more general, including education.⁵⁶ Here are some possible scenarios how such entrepreneurial university culture might or might (already) impact ITE.

First, a more entrepreneurial budgeting model will force faculties of education to find more external funding to support their programs overall, including ITE. Considering that teacher education and public school education is more a project of the public good rather than commercial interests, faculties of education will most likely have a more challenging time to make up any shortfall of public funding of its programs by attracting external third-party financial supports than faculties whose research discipline by its very nature will attract more commercial interests. Funding shortfalls might imply the need to consider shifting from seminar-like classes in ITE to larger courses with more lecture-style teaching.

Second, the already widespread and ever increasing understanding and promotion of universities as players in a competitive market by university administrators is already leading to a neoliberal model of accountability and managerialism as the governance model of universities. This self-understanding is likely to put greater pressure on faculties of education to move professorial faculty members away from undergraduate teaching to research and expanded graduate programs. Such a shift suggests a greater involvement of sessional instructors in the teaching of ITE courses, which, as a rule, would suggest less program cohesiveness and less impact of research and theorizing on ITE.

Third, and linked to this second point, if the discourse already underway in Canada of the need to enact a distinction between teaching faculty and research faculty at universities or even between teaching-focused universities and research-focused universities will lead to changes of this nature, undergraduate ITE might then involve teaching faculty or move to a teaching university, which would move ITE even further away from any attempt to “integrate theory and practice” in ITE.

Conclusion

Holding our arm into a bucket of water will allow us to “get a feeling” for the temperature of the water. However, if we want to understand the temperature more accurately, we would need to take into account the temperature our arm was exposed to before we immersed it into the water – and a few other contextual and historical factors. Starting out with a broad understanding of “curriculum” and an institutional definition of ITE, in this chapter we drew on the curriculum history of ITE to help us deepen our initial “feeling” about ITE in Manitoba as it appears to us. In other words, our chapter is to help build a stronger historical mindedness among those interested in understanding the current state of affairs of ITE as well as where the forces shaping that state might lead ITE in Manitoba in the near future – not in a sense of a fatalistic observation of things

unfolding, but rather to contribute to a “conscientization” of the forces that shape a state of affairs to invite intervention.⁵⁷ This is what “historical mindedness” is ultimately about: understanding the past to better understand the present in order to shape the future.

¹ For an overview of core features of current ITE in Manitoba, see Jodi Nickel, Kevin O'Connor, and Thomas Falkenberg (with Michael Link), "Initial Teacher Education in Western Canada," in *Handbook of Canadian Research in Initial Teacher Education*, edited by Thomas Falkenberg (Ottawa: Canadian Association for Teacher Education, 2015), pp. 39-59.

² Ken Osborne, "Book Reviews—*Knowing, teaching and learning history*, ed. Peter Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Weinburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), and 'L'histoire à l' école: Matière à penser,' Robert Martineau (Paris and Montreal: L'Harmattan, 1999)," *The Canadian Historical Review* 82, no. 3 (2001): 553.

³ Kieran Egan, "What is Curriculum?" *Curriculum Inquiry* 8, no. 1: 65-72.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 67-70.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁹ William F. Pinar, William M. Reynolds, Patrick Slattery, and Peter M. Taubman. *Understanding Curriculum: An Introduction to the Study of Historical and Contemporary Curriculum Discourses* (New York: Peter Lang, 1995).

¹⁰ David Harvey, *A Short History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). Richard Henley and Jon Young, "An Argument for the Progressive Possibilities of Public Education: School Reform in Manitoba," in *The Erosion of Democracy in Education: From Critique to Possibilities*, edited by John Portelli and Patrick Solomon (Calgary: Detselig, 2001), pp. 297-328.

¹¹ Section 22.1 of the *Manitoba Act (1870)* differs from Section 93.1 of the *British North America Act (1867)* in its addition of the two words "or practice" in the requirement that: "Nothing in any such Laws shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any class of persons have by Law *or practice* [italics added] in the Province at the Union."

¹² Furlong, *Education*, 15. As Furlong points out in John Furlong, *Education - An Anatomy of the Discipline: Rescuing the University Project?* (New York: Routledge, 2013), the term "Normal School" has as its root in the French term "école normale", meaning "setting a moral standard or pattern." Embedded in this was the idea that initial teacher preparation was to be fundamentally about guiding students in "the right way to act - right for them and right as a member of a moral community."

¹³ *Report of the Superintendent of Catholic Schools (1877-78)*, 6-7, quoted in Keith Wilson, *The Development of Education in Manitoba* (Lansing, MI: Wilson, 1967), pp. 125-6.

¹⁴ Alexander Gregor and Keith Wilson, *The Development of Education in Manitoba* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing, 1984), p. 49.

¹⁵ Clark, Lovell, ed. *The Manitoba Schools Question: Majority Rule or Minority Rights?* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1968). Richard Henley, "The School Question Continued: The Issue of Compulsory Schooling in Manitoba," in *Issues in the History of Education in Manitoba: From Construction of the Common School to the Politics of Voice*, edited by Rosa del Carmen Bruno-Jofré (Lewiston: Edwin Mellin Press, 1993), pp 47-72.

¹⁶ Gregor and Wilson, *Development*, 69-70. The authors report that by 1916 there were: 126 French bilingual schools in operation, employing 234 teachers and an enrollment of 7,393 students; 61 districts with German bilingual schools, with 73 teachers and 2,814 students; and 111 Polish and Ruthenian bilingual schools with 114 teachers and 6,513 students. For the province as a whole, they report a total of 1,805 school districts with 2,976 teachers and 100,963 students.

¹⁷ Ken Osborne, *A Teacher Education Display at the Faculty of Education, University of Manitoba: A Position Paper and Conceptual Framework* (November 2001): 9.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 114.

²⁰ R. O. MacFarlane et al., *Report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Education* (1959), p. 75.

²¹ W. L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 352.

²² Gregor and Wilson, *Development*, 114.

²³ Walter C. Murray et al., *Report of the Educational Commission* (Winnipeg MB: The Province of Manitoba, 1924), p. 72.

²⁴ MacFarlane, *Report*, 79.

²⁵ Alexander D. Gregor, "Teacher Education in Manitoba: 1945-1983," in *Issues in the History of Education in Manitoba: From the Construction of the Common school to the Politics of Voices*, edited by Rosa del Carmen Bruno-Jofré (Lewiston: Edwin Mellin Press, 1993), p. 53.

²⁶ Gregor and Wilson, *Development*, 114.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 114.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 116.

²⁹ Murray et al., *Report*, 68-69.

³⁰ Henley and Young, *Argument*

³¹ Source: *Statistics Canada. Historical Statistics of Canada: Section W - Education*. Retrieved from www.statscan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/sectionw/4147445-eng.htm. Salary data taken from P. Gluck, *An overview of education finance from 1957-1995*. Unpublished paper (University of Manitoba, 1975).

³² Source: *Statistics Canada. Historical Statistics of Canada: Section W: Education*.

³³ Gregor and Wilson, *Development*, 141-42.

³⁴ Will Kymlicka, *Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural Relations in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998).

³⁵ John Mallea and Jonathan Young, Eds. *Cultural Diversity and Canadian Education: Issues and Innovations* (Ottawa: Carlton University Press, 1984). Manitoba Education and Training. *Multicultural Education: A Policy for the 1990s* (Winnipeg: The Department of Education, 1990).

³⁶ Gregor and Wilson, *Development*.

³⁷ Lionel Orlikow and Jon Young, "The Struggle for Change: Teacher Education in Canada," in *Inequality and Teacher Education: An International Perspective*, ed. Gajendra K. Verma (London: Falmer, 1993). Pete Sorensen, Jon Young, and David Mandzuk, "Alternative Routes into the Teaching Profession," *Interchange* 36, no. 4 (2005): 371-403.

³⁸ Harvey, *Brief History*. Henley and Young, *Argument*.

³⁹ Manitoba Education and Training. *Renewing Education: New Directions. The Blueprint* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Education and Training, 1994).

⁴⁰ Carlyle, John. *A Framework for Teacher Education. A report presented to the Manitoba Education and Training Board of Teacher Education and Certification* (October 1994).

⁴¹ Bernard J. Shapiro, *Manitoba Teacher Education Programmes: An Option for the Future. A Report to the Manitoba Department of Education and Training*, 1996).

⁴² This 30/18 requirement has been subsequently modified to 18/12 for teacher candidates preparing in either Early Years or Middle Years streams as the result of pressure from Faculties of Education staff who argued for the benefits of breadth of preparation.

⁴³ Shapiro, *Report*, 5-7.

⁴⁴ Recommended changes that did occur were: (i) the University of Winnipeg program changed from having its final year delivered at the University of Manitoba to being delivered fully at the University of Winnipeg; (ii) the Business, Technical and Vocational teacher education program moved from being a joint initiative of the University of Manitoba and Red River College to become a partnership between the University of Winnipeg and Red River College; (iii) the Winnipeg Education Centre teacher education program was moved from the University of Manitoba to the University of Winnipeg; and (iv) French language teacher education in Manitoba was designated to belong solely at College Universitaire de St. Boniface (and not the University of Manitoba). A recommendation of the Shapiro Report that Weekend College - an access program at the University of Manitoba - be moved to the University of Winnipeg did not take place.

⁴⁵ Shapiro, *Report*, 12.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁴⁸ During the 1990s the possibility of establishing a provincial College of Teachers was under discussion, and in 1977 The Manitoba Teachers Society (MTS) submitted a proposal to government entitled "Professional Self-Governance that outlines a model of self-governance located within the Society, but no action was taken on this matter and it has not been pursued by MTS. The Shapiro Report advocated a stronger advisory role for the profession, but the specific recommendation on this from the report has not been acted upon.

⁴⁹ Dick Henley and Jon Young, "Trading in Education: The 'Agreement on Internal Trade', Labour Mobility, and Teacher Certification in Canada," *Canadian Journal of Educational Administration and Policy*, no. 91 (February 2009): 1-27.

⁵⁰ Nickel, O'Connor and Falkenberg, *Western Canada*, 56. Clea Schmidt and Antoinette Gagné, "Internationally Educated Teacher Candidates in Canadian Faculties of Education: When Diversity ≠ Equity," in *Handbook of Canadian Research in Initial Teacher Education*, edited by Thomas Falkenberg, 295-311 (Ottawa: Canadian Association for Teacher Education, 2015).

⁵¹ In 2008, the then Manitoba Premier Gary Doer said: "We believe a teacher is a teacher, a nurse is a nurse, and a welder is a welder." See *Winnipeg Free Press*, July 18th, 2008, quoted in Henley and Young, "Trading," 1.

⁵² We are making here the case for mainstream ITE. There have been, however, some community-based ITE programs in Manitoba, like the former Brandon University Native Teacher Education Program.

⁵³ David A. Grunewald, "The Best of Both Worlds: A Critical Pedagogy of Place," *Educational Researcher* 32, no. 4 (May 2003): 3-12.

⁵⁴ Dwayne T. Donald, "Forts, Curriculum, and Indigenous Métissage: Imagining Decolonization of Aboriginal-Canadian Relations in Educational Contexts. *First Nations Perspectives, First Nations Perspectives*, 2, vol. 1 (2009): 1-24. Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

⁵⁵ Furlong, *Education*, 118.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, chapter 7.

⁵⁷ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Myra Bergman Ramos, Trans. (New York: Continuum, 1970).