

The context of this piece: My research is into ecological numenosity and the exchange that happen when marginalized adolescents experience nature (rocks, trees, rivers ...) and natural environments (mountains, forests, valleys . . ). This chapter looks at the exchange that happens when the same group of people enter school buildings. I look first at how they arrived there, historically. Then I look at theories around the influence that structure has on strategy. Finally, through an ethnographic lens, I walk you through an alternative school and talk to some of the students whose academic strategies are being formed in this structure.

### If the walls could talk

*Buildings are primarily social objects - their forms provide answers to questions we ask about ourselves: questions of power, order, classification, and function. Everything about a building has social meaning - its form, function and spatial structure are each capable of analysis.* (Thomas A . Markus)

Schooling, as we understand its structures and strategies, is a recent invention in the history of humanity. For thousands of years hunter-gatherer youth, it is assumed, would learn survival skills from family and other members of their tribe. Adolescents would have time to explore and discover on their own. The confinement of young people began only when agrarian settlements required nomadic peoples to become sedentary to plant, tend and reap crops.

Farming was labour intensive and required long hours and many hands. For young people, this meant less free time. With settlement came a formalized power structure – more land, more power. To manage and make the land profitable obedient servitude was required. Children were then often treated like slaves. In Orme's book entitled *Medieval Children*, there is a document from the late 1400s that quotes the advice given to French nobles, "choose a boy servant as young as seven or eight" and "this boy should be beaten until he has a proper dread of failing to carry out his master's orders" (Orme, 2001). This land-based economy required disciplined, compliant, unquestioning workers.

Michael Foucault's essay *The Great Confinement* outlines the origins of instructional, specifically didactic structure and strategies. He begins in Paris in 1656 at the *Hôpital Général*. It is clear that this "was not a medical establishment" (p.40) but rather "a monarchical and bourgeois order being organised in France, complete with cells and dungeons". Individuals who found themselves relegated to these institutions would be obliged to pay for their keep through forced labour. This strategy was employed to address the belief that "mendicancy and idleness were the sources of all disorders" (p.47). Although the *Hôpital's* first mandate was the moral reform of those who were "weak of discipline and relaxed in morals" (p. 59) the economic benefits of the industrial part of reform could not be overlooked. *Hôpital Général* of Paris became a model for the workhouses of London. These places of confinement and their "cheap manpower" (p.51) turned them into places of industry.



It is not hard to make the leap from workhouses to factories where poverty-stricken people would work long hours for meager pay. In many ways, this was a punishment for being poor. Foucault attributes the pairing of work with punishment, to original sin. "Since the Fall, man had accepted labour as penance and for its power to work redemption" (p.55).

In Europe, in the 1800s, there was a migration from farms to cities due to what is commonly labeled, "the industrial revolution". (The rural-to-urban migration arrived a little later in North America.) The development of rudimentary factories, built to meet consumer needs of an exponentially expanding population, required workers. The employment and abuse of children was so great that legislation had to be passed to, in some way, protect them. Dickens portrays free-range gamins being harboured and fed by those who sought to exploit street urchins to gain wealth from their youthful vulnerabilities. In 1883 in England it was forbidden for textile

manufacturers to employ, “children under the age of 9 and limited the maximum weekly work hours to 48 for 10- to 12-year-olds and to 69 for 13- to 17-year-olds” (Mulhern, 1959). For hundreds of years, education was delivered in the form of hard labour, in grim conditions, under the harsh tutelage of cruel masters. Corporal punishment was a given.

It is then not too difficult to make the next jump from institutions, workhouses, factories, and prisons that are designed to use work, punishment and confinement to instill good morals, to the structures and strategies of the original schools. There are, of course, shifts that must be noted. Foucault observed that the trends go from exclusion to inclusion, from the group to the individual, from being harsh and inflexible to being mild and gentle, and from negative to positive. However, he draws direct parallels between carceral spaces and academic spaces (Foucault, 1965).

Bentham’s *Panopticon* is the ultimate melding of physical structure and social control. His design of prisons was such that prisoners believed that they were being watched at all times while they themselves could not observe their guards. Although the original design was created for carceral spaces, the economic value was not lost upon those who later designed schools, hospitals, and asylums. One of Canada’s

oldest prisons, The Kingston Penitentiary, was built with this philosophy in mind. Apart from the general population cells, other spaces were designed to keep prisoners isolated from each other. Incorporated into the design of the Kingston Penitentiary, by architect William Powers, was the belief that



“prison design could reform inmates” (Prison Architecture, 2013). Within the Kingston prison was a complete factory that produced both filing cabinets and mattresses. (Some metal cabinets in government buildings still have the Kingston trademark “KP” on them.)

In fact, it is not surprising that many architects who designed prisons also landed contracts to design schools. A Harvard professor of architecture reflected, “What do you think of when you're in a space with closed doors and a hallway



(Prison or school? Architecture concept, 1975)

where you can't enter without permission or a bell that tells you when you can enter and leave?" (Locker, 2018).

The strategy then follows the structure. Education scholar Joan T. Wynne explains that schools, “operate like prisons, where students of color—especially those forced to live in poverty by an economic system that demands there be “losers”—are daily maligned and rigidly controlled as

though they already wore orange jumpsuits. ... In these schools situated deep in the belly of most cities, the prime attribute desired for their marginalized students is obedience, not academic excellence. Obedience prepares them not just for prisons, but for the military and for low-paying jobs” (Wynne, 2014). Some have noted a trend that they call the “school to prison pipeline” (Wald & Losen, 2003).

Formal education emerged from groups of individuals with agendas of what young people should be learning. Child play was an activity of the rich and was frowned upon by those who sought to subjugate the youth. John Wesley (1703-1791) founder of the Wesleyan schools had rules that included, “as we have no play days, so neither do we allow any time for play on any day; for he that plays as a child will play as a man” (Mulhern, 1959a).

Over the years, schools have proven to be more than adequate when it comes to managing people, utilizing various forms of duress. Much like prisons, schools contain and reform people along the lines of a set ideology. Foucault saw corporal punishment not as inhumane nor as violence but rather it was about the type or intensity of violence that might best “mold particular individuals” (Foucault, 1986).



Vocational training remains a very attractive option for many adolescents given that the conditions have greatly improved, regulations have been mandated, and opportunities for a relatively lucrative career are now possible.

Most early American schools were built upon Christian principles and a Protestant work ethic. Because of the strict structures that had been developed and accepted on farms and in factories were still in place – discipline, punctuality, long hours of rote learning and repetitive work, employers viewed schools as great training grounds for employees and governments saw schools as useful locations that would produce dutiful soldiers. Power structures were already firmly entrenched and punishments were harsh. One German teacher kept track of his 51 years of teaching with the following record, “911,527 blows with a rod, 124,010 blows with a cane, 20,989 taps with a ruler, 136,715 blows with the hand, 10,235 blows to the mouth, 7,905 boxes on the ear, and 1,118,800 blows on the head” (Mulherm, 1959b).

Education in Canada, as determined by section 93 of the British North American Act that was enacted in 1867 when what was once a British colony became the Dominion of Canada, declared that formal education would fall under provincial jurisdiction and management. Initially, all schools (and hospitals) in Quebec were an extension of the Roman Catholic Church and classes were taught by nuns and priests. This practice continued until the early 1960s - an era often referred to as “The Quiet Revolution.” During this time, the Quebec government, led by the Liberal Premier Jean Lesage, took control of the hospitals and schools creating the Ministry of Education in 1964 and the Régie de l'assurance maladie du Québec (RAMQ) in 1969. At that time, schooling in Quebec became mandatory for young people until the age of sixteen. Presently students must have a certificate of eligibility to be permitted to attend English public schools and publically funded private English schools.

Modern, formal schooling has always required a dedicated physical space. Most include an office area for administrative tasks and a staff room for teachers to meet and leave their belongings. Beyond the gym and the hallways, the majority of school buildings are composed of identically designed and equipped classrooms.

Desks and chairs, some separate and some welded into a single unit, boards on which the teacher writes, a teacher's desk, are all standard furniture. Most classrooms in 2019 also have a Smartboard installed over a chalkboard. There are many clues to the age of the buildings – leaking roofs, discoveries of asbestos, cracking foundations, peeling paint, and poor heating and ventilation systems. Very few schools are equipped with air conditioning systems. In fact, a 2018 Ministry of Education review of their capital assets found that 75% of all primary schools in the province are in bad shape and 47% of high schools are in serious need of repair (National Post, 2018).

In a study on the relationship between the quality and upkeep of a school building that took into account variables like building age, windows, thermal factors, visual factors, space, audio factors and student performance, researchers found that “old and obsolete buildings do have a negative effect upon the learning process of students” (Earthman & Lemasters, 1996).

Structuralism is a theoretical framework that was primarily used to understand human language, thought, and culture. Building on Saussure's foundation, Levi-Strauss (1908-2009) proposed a methodology that employed binary oppositions such as, hot-cold, inside-outside, and male-female (Briggs & Meyer). In the 1960s the theory of structuralism seeped from the social sciences into other fields, such as architecture, that employed structure and design. Levi-Strauss' developed three requirements for structuralism: that structures were invariant, universal, and collective, that they be binary – distinctive pairs, and that they also be symbolic. In keeping with these theoretical strictures, architects and city planners designed buildings and collections of buildings to reflect the humans who would be living in them and circulating through them (Söderqvist, 2011). However, the Swedish National Encyclopaedia defines structuralism in architecture as, “a current arising in the 1950s which views buildings as changeable structures composed of interchangeable parts” (Architecture, 2013) and architect Arnolf Lu'chinger claimed that “changeability is a characteristic of structuralism in architecture” (Lu'chinger, 1981). This makes perfect sense when we begin to explore the Education Plus High School building. Originally designed in 1960 to

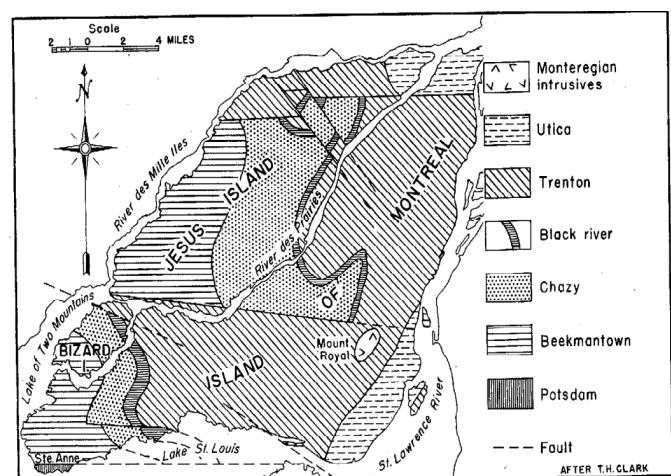
accommodate a series of lawyers on the first floor and the not-for-profit Leprosy Relief Fund on the second floor, the building was modified and it now houses a school. Although the foundation and exterior remain the same, the interior has proven to be changeable with interchangeable parts.

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The following is a walk through an alternative high school called Education Plus. It is located in the Borough of St-Laurent, ten kilometers from the downtown core of Montreal. It is a commuter school in comparison to many schools in the area that could be classified as community schools. This school's mandate is to meet the social and academic needs of marginalized students in their two final years of formal education.

After the tour of the school, there are interviews with two students who are being asked questions related to both the structure and strategy of this school as compared to their previous one. We will discuss the reciprocal relationship we have with buildings remembering Churchill's words, "We shape our buildings and afterward our buildings shape us."

On the ground leading up to the red-brick building at 1275 Hodge Street (named after a Montreal Canadiens' goalie Charlie Hodge 1933-2016) in the Montreal Borough of St-Laurent, is a patchwork of gray and black, irregularly shaped flagstones. They were laid there after the construction of the building in 1969. They are uneven, rough and many have been gradually elevated by the roots of the healthy maple tree that grows on the east side of the pathway. In early April, tiny, lime-coloured buds appear on the recently thawed branches of this classic Canadian hardwood. Throughout



(Soil samples of Montreal, 1954)

the summer, leaves will become verdant and grow as large as a human hand. As students return to classes in the autumn, the tree's chlorophyll breaks down and shades of amber and crimson appear.

The lawn on both sides of the three-meter wide and six-meter long entrance to the building is a mixture of weeds and *Poa pratensis* better known as Kentucky bluegrass. It is a wonder that anything grows due to St-Laurent's notoriously thin layer of clay-based soil that covers the bedrock below (Lajoie and Baril, 1954). For five months of the year, there are no leaves on the maple tree and the grass lies dormant under a mixture of hard-packed snow and ice. The only hint that there is any life is evident in the frozen footprints in the snow that lead to and from the entrance of the building.

The left-hand side of the front of the two-story building is made up of a series of irregularly shaped rectangles of opaque glass panes. The forest-green door is the landmark that confirms to first-time parents and students that this indeed is the



way into the high school called Education Plus. Pinned to the wall between the two floors is a vinyl poster with the school's name and its new logo. To the right of the front door is a solid wall made of staggered red bricks. The only distraction from the uniform pattern of bricks, just below the address, is a twenty-year-

old white Plexiglas sign with the school's name, printed in forest green and an original version of the school's logo.

Three granite steps lead up to the front door that on closer inspection has chipped paint – the first sign of entropy and an ominous precursor of some of the decrepitude that will be encountered beyond the door. A gold coloured door handle, the kind that you might find on an interior door of a chintzy apartment complex,

must be turned to permit entry. Above the door, the cover on the single-bulb light fixture is hanging precariously and dangling from it are the stringy remnants of an industrious spider's web.

The entrance way is a strange mixture of a white-marble floor and green-tiled walls. Straight ahead at eye level, lettered in white on a black board, a sign proudly announces the school's mission statement, "Empowering students to make strategic choices."

A solid wooden door straight ahead will lead you to the front office and to the downstairs classrooms. Originally designed to be a series of six identical notary's offices, a boardroom and a reception area, these spaces have been modified to be more school-like. Untouched by the renovators is the reception area, with an elevated counter that is covered in green melamine. The anachronistic colours, materials, and style give the impression that time has stood still in this part of the building. The rest of the front area has been freshly painted and is tastefully decorated with framed paintings and a digital clock. Behind the receptionist's desk is the ubiquitous IKEA print of the canals of Amsterdam. It is black and white but the eye is drawn to the red bicycle, at the center of the picture, which leans against the railing of one of the hundreds of bridges in the Dutch capital city. A large horizontal, rectangular window has been cut into the wall between the front lobby and the boardroom in keeping with Quebec school regulations to be able to see clearly into any space that might be used by students.

Beyond the reception area is a hallway that has three doorways on each side. These lead to classrooms and storage areas. These are generally not part of the initial school tour but serve as multi-purpose learning centers and maker-spaces.

From the school's entrance, there is a second door on the east side that is blocked open with a shiny metal bolt that is plugged into a hole that was drilled into the marble floor. Choosing door number two ushers you into a brightly lit stairwell. There are dirt-specked windows, from floor to ceiling, that allow sunlight to highlight imperfections in the walls and dirty corners on the stairs that have been ignored by the cleaner's mop. On the floor, lying askew on Rubbermaid mats that are sprinkled with sand and marked by white salt stains - grit leftover from the



winter, is a scattering of discarded footwear; some are in pairs while others are solo having been abandoned by their opposite twin. On an exposed coatrack are an eclectic collection of sweaters, coats, and a dirty pair of track pants.

The stairs are smooth terrazzo, a style that might have been in vogue in the '60's but are now scuffed, stained and ready for replacement. The wall behind the landing, halfway up the staircase, is the reverse side of the exterior brickwork. Inexplicably there is a white paint mark three-quarters of the way up the wall marring the optical symmetry. On the wall at the top of the staircase is a two-foot by three-foot whiteboard with this week's quotation designed to inspire students and teachers alike. This week it reads, "Be yourself. Everyone else is taken. Oscar Wilde." Above the open door that leads to a carpeted hallway is a large vent that blasts all who enter with either cold or hot air depending on the season and the thermostat's setting.

Directly ahead is a wall that was painted blue from the floor and up three feet and then yellow from there on up until the ceiling. This two-tone theme continues down the hallway and into the classroom. Both colours are in dire need of a fresh coat of paint as there are multiple signs of unintentional and violent human interaction with the walls, at foot and finger levels. Stapled to the first wall are samples of student's artwork. On a bulletin board on an opposing wall are school announcements, student's grades and additional posters that provide distressed students with web-based resources to get help with anxiety and depression.

Jutting at a 45-degree angle at the right-hand turn in the hallway is a door, with the requisite Plexiglas window, that leads to the principal's office. The hip-to-ceiling windows are unimpeded by curtains or blinds allowing the early morning sun to heat and light the room. An old, brown, scratched and scarred, wooden table juts out from the front wall at a ninety-degree angle. On the work surface are a series of memorabilia and brainteaser toys. One that stands out is a magnetic hourglass that drips metal shavings for five minutes before it needs to be flipped to begin once again. The magnetic flakes pile up in the base forming odd mounds that represent the passage of time. There are also piles of papers to be graded and formal-looking letters from the Ministry of Education to be read. Behind the desk is

a stenographer's chair that rolls easily on a transparent, fiberglass mat. On the interior wall is an out-of-date, floor to ceiling, wall to wall, National Geographic map of the world. The Kiribati Islands have been sacrificed for the light switch. This double switch turns on and off a series of florescent tubes that illuminate the room when the sun is not doing its job. In front of the map are three hard-wood armchairs – donated years ago from the reception area of Pfizer Pharmaceuticals.

Leaving the principal's office and continuing down the three-foot wide hallway for about fifteen-feet leads you into the main classroom on the second floor of the school. The floor in the hallway and the classroom are covered with industrial



quality, blue-gray carpeting. The walls in the hallway have more visible evidence of human collisions as there are dents and in the gyprock and scuff marks on the yellow portion of the two-toned paint job. There are also numerous staples or staple marks that outline locations that were, at one time, home to

students' work or inspirational posters. This classroom resembles more of a furniture warehouse with an eclectic and random assortment of sofas, tables, and armchairs than a traditional academic environment. On the left are a couple of four-by-eight platforms that are raised two feet. On them are vinyl-covered gym mats. This is a favourite spot for many of the students both during class time and during the lunch hour. Behind the platforms is a wall mural that was painted by two graffiti artists about fifteen years ago. The main colours – blue and yellow – had been chosen to match the colour scheme of the second floor of the school. In a collage of images that flow one into the other, the free-style artists have been able to capture the essence of this unique, alternative school.

A description of a school rings hollow without the voices of those for whom it was designed. The following are excerpts from interviews that took place in the school with two current students. The researcher begins by asking the students about their previous school



building and then leads them into reflecting on their current school structure. The goal is to twofold: primarily, asking about two spaces allows the students to compare and contrast two learning environments and secondly, to figure out if the building structure and design has an impact on the way they feel and the way that they learn.

Jerry (a pseudonym) is a sixteen-year-old student who has been attending Education Plus for the past seven months. He left his previous school after suffering from extreme bouts of depression and suicidal ideations. He performs above average academically and he has integrated seamlessly into the social life of the school. His attendance is next to perfect and he is starting to develop plans for life beyond high school. He is a self-proclaimed “couch-potato” who loves video games and social media. We chatted about his previous school, Centennial Academy, and about his impressions of his current school. Our conversation was fluid and Jerry’s answers were immediate and unequivocal. The following is a transcript of our seven-minute conversation beginning with some questions about his previous school:

Researcher: What was your favourite space in that school and why?

Jerry: The cafeteria ‘cause I wasn’t in class.

Researcher: What did that school building remind you of – the actual building.  
What did it remind you of?

Jerry: Prison. There was literal bars on the windows. Like it was so gloomy and like depressing. Yeah I was instantly reminded of prison when I was in there. So depressing.

Researcher: What was the worst part about that school building?

Jerry: The building itself?

Researcher: Yeah.

Jerry: It was a very gloomy space. It was not very colourful. It was very like, again, pronesque. The bars on the windows. Yeah.

Researcher: Now I am going to switch to your new school, this Education Plus, what was your first impression of the Education Plus building?

Jerry: This place looks pretty weird and like it's falling apart.

Researcher: What does this building remind you of?

Jerry: Kind of like one of those teen hangouts – like a YMCA and places like you can just come and do your homework, whatever.

Researcher: What is your favourite place, space in this building?

Jerry: The kitchen area.

Researcher: Why?

Jerry: It's fun. Speaker. Usually in there laughing. Um, being with friends. Goofing around.

Researcher: Good things happen in that space.

Jerry: Yeah.

Researcher: Do you think the layout in this school increases or decreases communication?

Jerry: I would say that it increases, it kinda hammers in more that this is not a conventional school, in that, you know, it is so unconventional we don't even have it in a conventional school place. It's kinda showing we are doing things differently here.

Researcher: Does it make learning easier?

Jerry: I would say so.

Researcher: How?

Jerry: It's much more comfortable. I feel much more, like I'm not, I don't like learning when I'm forced to learn, sort of thing, like if I'm forced to read a book for school I don't enjoy it as much as when I'm just reading on my free time. So it's very similar with learning. And here I don't really feel like I'm in a school when I'm here. So I feel like I'm just learning just stuff I wanna learn.

Daphne (a pseudonym) has been attending Education Plus, on and off, for the past three years. She had been diagnosed with ADHD in elementary school and has been prescribed with many different stimulant medications to counteract her impulsivity, hyperactivity, and her inability to sustain attention for extended amounts of time. In her early teens, Daphne began to self-medicate with marijuana, ecstasy, and alcohol. Some of the time that she has been absent from school has been spent at detox centers and drug rehabilitation facilities. She will be eighteen years old this summer. She plans on graduating from Education Plus High School in June and attending vocational training classes in the fall for hairdressing and make-up. Daphne is voluble and effervescent making our conversation easy. Her responses were direct and yet at times, uncertain. Sometimes she tergiversated in her answers however she did not seem notice or compensate. She often added, "if that makes any sense". The following is part of our ten-minute conversation:

Researcher: Tell me what you liked most about your previous school.

Daphne: Well, I liked that kids were like me. It was a school for kids with ADHD and like, learning disabilities, but I found that they didn't teach in the way I like needed. If that makes any sense.

Researcher: Did you have a favourite space in that building that you liked to go to?

Daphne: No. Well, maybe at lunch there was a staircase place that I kinda sit there and have my lunch with my friends and stuff but never a work place where I sat and was able to work calmly.

Researcher: What was it about the staircase that was cool?



- Daphne: Well, there were seven floors, so the top stairs had a sunroof, so you were actually able to open it to top, to the roof.
- Researcher: What did that, your building that your school was in, what did it remind you of?
- Daphne: It reminded me of a church or like kind of a place like in Florida where the windows are circular and like very modern.
- Researcher: What was the worst part of the building?
- Daphne: The fact that, I'm pretty sure it was haunted and it was like, the vibe was just not very good.
- Researcher: I'm going to switch over now to this school, this school that you are going to, Education Plus. Do you remember your first impression of the building when you walked into it?
- Daphne: Well, I thought that it was kinda cute 'cause like it's like a school but not a school. You don't expect it to be a school when you pass by it, you think it's like a, I don't know, a day camp or something. Yeah but it is actually a really good environment. Like if schools did like this around the world, kids would be more comfortable.
- Researcher: What do you think about this building?
- Daphne: I think it's very like cool, because it's like there's art stuff everywhere and it's just like open to everybody I guess, like anybody who walks into this building gets a good vibe other than a vibe that pulls you down you know. And here the windows open up. My other school the windows didn't open.
- Researcher: What's your favourite place in here?
- Daphne: I don't know. I kinda like the couch area.
- Researcher: The classroom?
- Daphne: Yeah the classroom.
- Researcher: How about the layout, the way it's laid out as far as the classrooms, the hallways and stuff like that. Do you think that it helps students communicate?

- Daphne: Yeah, because, I feel, I don't know. Just the fact that it's open around. Like that's pretty cool. Like, I don't feel closed in. Like I feel open. It's like a small building but a big building at the same time, if that makes any sense.
- Researcher: It feels bigger?
- Daphne: Yeah it feels bigger. It feels like, having that room in the back, there, I feel really helps like all the kids in the school. Because it is like, *poof*, and it's a place to hang out, you know, like that's another favourite place in the building.
- Researcher: So you think that this school is working for you?
- Daphne: Yeah. I really think that this school is working for me because I was really bad in my other school, like I completely lost myself, just the structure and I felt controlled. Kinda like a prison, but here it's kinda like I can be myself. Like, I feel more like, I don't know. I feel myself working to my potential you know.

Both students described their previous schools like prisons. For Jerry, it was due to the bars and the problem for Daphne was the locked windows. Both describe the school building as controlling, gloomy and depressing. Those environments were clearly not working for the students. The new school, Education Plus, was described as open, comfortable, and that it has good vibes. For both of these students, there is a positive correlation between their academic achievements and their new school environment. (There are, of course, a plethora of influences that might account for a change in a student's desire and ability to perform academically and connect socially. For example, one must not overlook the positive impact that maturity has on a child's learning. Both of these students are, of course, older now than they were at their previous schools.)

Sociologist Ray Oldenberg lamented that places, much like the one these students have describe, are vanishing. Oldenberg called them, "third places" with home being the first place and work being the second place. He defines the third place as, "places that host the regular, voluntary, informal, and happily anticipated

gatherings of individuals beyond the realms of home and work” (Oldenburg, [41], p. 16). Education Plus embodies many of the prescribed elements that are required in third places such as: conversation is a priority, the environment is minimalistic, and the mood is lively. The structure encourages strategies that promote community, and identity. Like the iconic television show, Cheers’ theme song says, it is a place:

Where everybody knows your name  
And they're always glad you came  
You want to be where you can see  
The troubles are all the same  
You want to be where everybody knows your name  
(Portnoy & Hart, 1982).

The way that the school is structured with open spaces, the couches, and the wall of windows, seems to affect, in a positive way, the way the students learn. It is possible to ratiocinate that having a structure that felt like a prison made them act like prisoners, potentially seeing the teachers as prison guards and having a structure like a drop-in center, or a day camp makes the students feel like they have chosen to be there and that the adults are more like coaches or camp counsellors.

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