

CHANGING CONCEPTIONS OF PRACTICE
IN HOME ECONOMICS EDUCATION

By

SUSAN WORTH WILSON

B.H.E., The University of British Columbia, 1963

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

June 1985

© Susan Worth Wilson, 1985

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the head of my department or by his or her representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction.

The University of British Columbia
1956 Main Mall
Vancouver, Canada
V6T 1Y3

Date July 18, 1985.

Abstract

This thesis investigates changes in the underlying pattern of beliefs and actions central to the development of home economics education. Examination of the historical context in which training in domestic matters became of public concern discloses the circumstances which fostered the genesis of domestic science, the forerunner of contemporary home economics in Canada. Subsequently, analysing the curriculum of British Columbia schools using the notion of practice illustrates the ways in which programs changed as home economics became accepted as a school subject.

At the end of the nineteenth century social reformers perceived the introduction of domestic science as a means of ameliorating many social maladies. Therefore support for training in domestic matters primarily arose from organizations lying outside the school system. Though social and educational reformers viewed the purposes of domestic science differently, together they were successful in promoting domestic science as a responsibility of public schools.

Four interpretations of practice identified as customary, instrumental, interactive and reflective conceptions, help us to understand the documents and reports significant to the growth of home economics in

British Columbia. These conceptions are rooted in the writings of critical theorists in education and are used in this study to clarify the ways in which the home economics program changed over a period of seventy-five years.

As a new subject for British Columbia schools home economics was most closely associated with customary practice, which reinforces the traditional expertise of women. The strong framework of social purpose characteristic of early programs both insulated families from perceived urban-industrial disorder and helped them to adjust to the changes of the era. Analysis of the curriculum since 1926 reveals that home economics has become increasingly associated with an instrumental conception of practice. While the 1979 curriculum begins to acknowledge interactive practice in the family studies area, overall the contemporary course of studies is firmly entrenched in understanding human experience only in instrumental ways.

The study makes clear that throughout the evolution of home economics the beliefs and actions underlying school programs are characterized by customary and instrumental concerns at the expense of interactive and reflective practice. If educators are to contribute to the mission of the profession, that of strengthening families by helping them to help themselves, then there is need for a broader interpretation of practice in the school curriculum.

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|-----|
| Abstract | ii |
| List of Diagrams | v |
| Acknowledgements | vi |
| 1 THE STUDY EXPLAINED | 1 |
| 2 TOUCHING THE LIVES OF WOMEN: THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF DOMESTIC SCIENCE | 11 |
| 3 'IMPROVING THE PRESENT CONDITION': THE GROWTH OF DOMESTIC SCIENCE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA | 38 |
| 4 AN INTERPRETIVE FRAMEWORK FOR THE EXAMINATION OF PRACTICE | 53 |
| 5 THE CURRICULUM OF HOME ECONOMICS: A DESCRIPTION OF CHANGE | 74 |
| 6 CHANGING CONCEPTIONS OF PRACTICE IN HOME ECONOMICS..... | 100 |
| 7 CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS | 111 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 119 |
| APPENDIX A: QUESTIONS USED FOR THE DESCRIPTIVE EXAMINATION OF THE INITIAL SCHOOL CURRICULUM | 128 |

List of Diagrams

| | |
|---|--------|
| Diagram 1. A Theoretic Framework for the Examination of Practice. | p. 59. |
|---|--------|

Acknowledgements

This thesis would never have been written without the help of a number of people, each important in different ways.

Dr. George Tomkins, the late Chairman of my thesis committee, has been a strong influence throughout my graduate program. An outstanding scholar and a thorough teacher, George generously shared his knowledge and time in spite of ill health. Initially, his guidance encouraged me to examine the roots of home economics as a field of study.

Dr. Neil Sutherland continually sharpened my thinking by asking challenging questions throughout the writing and final details of the thesis. I am now keenly aware of how much there is yet to uncover in terms of historical research related to the development of home economics.

Dr. Eleanore Vaines Chamberlain willingly shared her fine resources related to home economics, and has been a great source of encouragement. I am indebted to her for the many hours of stimulating discussion as the thesis developed.

Finally, I doubt my program would have been completed without the understanding and patience of my husband, Don. I am particularly grateful for his strong support during the last few months of work.

Chapter One

THE STUDY EXPLAINED.

Introduction

Two related concerns provided the stimulus for examining the nature of home economics within the context of schooling. The first was a personal belief that home economics as taught in today's schools has a potential that is frequently unfulfilled. Recent public debate regarding what should be taught in schools has strengthened this conviction. The second concern stems from the lack of research pertaining to the development of the field of home economics. Although there is extensive documentation of research related to procedures for practical training in various specialties within the field, there is limited discussion of the reasons underlying the practices advocated by the profession.

Home economics education in Canada emerged in response to the changing circumstances of family life near the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Investigation of the relationship between historical documents and curricular materials provides insights into beliefs about the role of women in society, the

assumptions which led to new services for improving the lives of families, and the ways in which concern for families became a matter of public interest. In the case of home economics, an examination of historical developments reveals the influences brought to bear on schools to assume the responsibility of training young women in domestic affairs.

Home economics is one of a number of fields of study which have focussed on the improvement of the human condition. Collectively such fields as social service, public health and education have become known as the 'helping professions'. Kieren, Vaines and Badir (1984) explain that the helping professions share the ideal of human service, though the kinds of services they offer differ considerably. Combs, Avila and Purkey (1972) suggest that, historically, the services provided by these professions were concerned with practical problems, which frequently involved wide and complex areas of social and moral significance. The thesis of this study is that the purposes for teaching domestic science changed as home economics education evolved as a form of schooling. Revisions in the curriculum reflect the transformation of beliefs and actions which formed the foundation of school programs. These changes fundamentally altered the nature of home economics education and the purposes for which it was intended.

Traditionally, the most widely recognized avenue of influence of home economics has been the medium of education. While initially education

in domestic affairs sometimes took place through the auspices of various service organizations, it has primarily occurred through the training of young women in the public schools. An examination of subject content and the methods of teaching used in classrooms reveals the way knowledge influenced students and illuminates the purposes school programs served. Exploring the early school curriculum therefore tells a great deal about the beliefs which stimulated the introduction of home economics as well as the underlying structure of the programs offered in schools today.

Purpose of the Study.

A brief historical examination at both the national and provincial levels sets the context from which home economics education evolved. While focussing on British Columbia, the study examines the beliefs and ideas which formed the initial conception of practice associated with home economics education. Subsequently, changes in the original conception of practice are examined through the growth of home economics education during later time periods within the province.

The study will answer these questions:

1. From what assumptions did the initial conception of practice in home economics education arise?
2. How have the conceptions of practice been portrayed in the school curriculum?
3. In what ways have the conceptions of practice changed over time as shown in the school curriculum?

A framework illustrating four conceptions of practice is used to convey the ways in which home economics programs changed over time. The term 'conception of practice' refers to such explicit characteristics of a school program as subject matter, learning activities ,teaching methods and the beliefs which underly a particular way of constructing a curriculum.

Using conceptions of practice to portray changes in home economics education is appropriate for three reasons. First, home economics provides service to society primarily through using knowledge in practical ways. Second, the practical application of knowledge is a dominant theme throughout the evolution of home economics as a profession. Therefore, changes in the way problems are interpreted and resolved can be determined from the examination of relevant materials.

Finally, professionals in the field explicitly acknowledge the need for a greater understanding of the basis on which the profession has developed (Quilling, 1970; Brown and Paolucci, 1979; Vincenti, 1981).

Method of the Study.

1. A Historical Perspective.

The importance of illuminating the past to enrich the present was expressed in 1902 by Alice Chown, Field Secretary of the Household Economic Association in Kingston, Ontario.

There is ebb and flow of the great tide of human life, action and reaction that emphasizes first one phase and another, but there is unity of spirit which binds past, present and future into one. Every crisis in history has come from the effort of a people to embody some higher conception, every great movement of thought has had for its initiative new recognition of the possibilities of humanity. (1902, p. 31)

Chown's statement acknowledges the significance of the foundations of a field of study in determining its future directions. It is of interest that such comments were made before domestic science had been introduced to most Canadian schools.

However, Chown's concern for understanding historical roots has been neglected by succeeding professionals, for historical work related to home economics in Canada has been confined to the chronological

examination of events significant to the development of the field. For instance, the growth of institutions of higher education for training in domestic science has been investigated by Rowles (1956,1964).

There is also research related to the introduction of domestic science as a school subject within the various provinces, such as a thesis by Chestnutt (1975) related to British Columbia, and unpublished papers by Campbell (1976, 1977) associated with the development of home economics education in Ontario. While these studies provide a useful account of the development of the profession, they provide little insight as to the assumptions underlying its growth.

This study uses historical accounts of the development of home economics to provide the background for the subsequent examination of early school curricula. Thus the examination builds on prior work to provide a context within which the curriculum of domestic science can be understood.

2. The Selection of Curricular Documents.

Curricular materials relevant to the study are primarily those from British Columbia. They represent three periods of significance to the growth of home economics education within the province.

The period from 1900 to 1925 covers the introduction of home economics to classrooms throughout the province, from the first classes held in

Victoria until the publication of the Putman-Weir Survey of the School System in 1925. Few curricular documents survive from the earliest years, but those that do suggest the nature of early school programs. The text, Public School Domestic Science (1898) is also included as a part of the initial phase of curricular analysis. Its inclusion recognizes the impact of the ideas of Adelaide Hoodless in the establishment of domestic science in Canada, and her participation in the training of early teachers of domestic science, some of whom were employed in British Columbia during its introduction.

The recommendations of the Putman-Weir Survey changed both the organization and direction of home economics. Thus, the curriculum and related documents following 1925 are included in the second period of analysis. As little curricular revision occurred during World War II, 1946 is considered to be the end of the second phase.

The final document used in the study is the 1979 curriculum. This comprehensive curriculum for secondary schools outlines in detailed fashion the objectives and activities considered to be important in today's home economics classrooms. Thus, the nature of contemporary practice forms the last phase of the curricular analysis.

3. A Framework of Practice for Curricular Analysis.

The study employs a framework of practice interpreted by Wilson and Vaines (1985) to analyse the curriculum of home economics. Comparing the curriculum to the conceptions of practice outlined in the framework portrays the changes which occurred as home economics gained a place in the education system.

As the beliefs which initiated home economics education are of particular interest, curricular documents from the initial phase are examined in terms of questions related to three aspects of classroom work: the rationale upon which the curriculum is based; the assumptions made about learning and activity; and the way in which the curriculum reflects the overall mission of home economics.

The curriculum from each period is subsequently analysed in terms of the conceptions of practice outlined in the framework. The similarities and differences between the curriculum and the four conceptions of practice provide the basis for the interpretation of changes in the nature of home economics education over time. Comparison of the descriptive analysis of the curriculum is reported in terms of tendencies toward particular conceptions of practice rather than in terms of absolute similarities.

4. Limitations of the Study.

The following five factors limit this study:

- i. The materials are examined in terms of three time periods representing significant stages in the growth of British Columbia home economics education. The initial stage represents the introduction of domestic science to the school system; the second period reflects home economics education as an integral part of the education system of the province; and the final stage exemplifies home economics as it is currently taught within the public school system.
- ii. Early curricular documents have not been systematically collected as historical records. However, the consistency shown by the documents located for this study suggests that they accurately represent the focus of the time periods being studied.
- iii. The study assumes a historical perspective in order to provide a context for understanding the selected curricular documents. Its purpose is to illustrate that differing conceptions of practice have formed a part of home economics education, and that they reflect changing beliefs and assumptions.

iv. School reports and curricular materials rather than classroom observation form the basis of the analysis of practice. It is assumed that the selected documents accurately portray the beliefs and understandings of those involved in the construction of programs in home economics education.

v. Historical examination suggests that the major thrust of education in domestic matters was through manual training programs established in public schools. The investigation of practice is therefore confined to this aspect. It does not consider the generation of technical training or industrial training which were related, but were established for different educational purposes.

Chapter Two

TOUCHING THE LIVES OF WOMEN: THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF DOMESTIC SCIENCE.

This chapter explores the Canadian historical context in which domestic education for women developed. Initially, the chapter emphasizes societal changes during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Particular attention is directed toward the impact of such changes on women and families. The latter part of the chapter compares two social perspectives that promoted the genesis of domestic science. The first came from women who visualized the home both as a protective haven to insulate families from unwelcome change, and as a centre of opportunity from which their influence could spread. The second viewpoint was expressed by advocates of the manual training movement designed to change the process of schooling. These reformers saw new forms of education as fitting school children to the new ways of life.

Training in domestic affairs was initially called 'domestic science' - a label which stressed the relationship between scientific understanding and domestic matters. As the field of study broadened, domestic science became known under a variety of titles such as 'domestic economy' and 'household economy' which reflected the concerns of industrial management. Eventually it was labelled as home economics

though, even today there is controversy as to the relevance of this label. The term 'domestic training' primarily relates to the training of household help in the performance of domestic chores. For the purposes of this study, the term domestic science refers to those programs which were originally established for Canadian women; the term home economics designates later programs of an expanded nature.

Although there is reference to some forms of domestic training in Canada as early as the French regime, these represent isolated instances of practical education introduced by the Jesuit schools (Journal of Home Economics, 1910). For most girls of mid-19th century families, training in domestic matters took place within the home through an informal network of shared crafts and skills essential for family survival and comfort. The essence of this period in Canadian history is captured by Stamp's comment that "...home, church and village were the centers of life for most people." (1970a. p. 291).

The development of Canada's system of schooling during this period is attributed in large part to the work of Egerton Ryerson, Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada from 1846 to 1876. Ryerson's implementation of a universal system of schooling opened the schoolroom door not only to farmer's sons, but also to 'females generally'. His belief that the inclusion of practical subjects enhanced moral growth

as well as mental discipline, led to the expansion of the curriculum from one which traditionally emphasized the three R's to one which included agriculture, linear drawing and music. This foreshadowed a closer relationship between schooling and daily life. Ryerson also stressed a non-sectarian system of truth and morals in an effort to bridge the strong denominational differences found in many of the communities of Upper Canada. At the same time the strong moral framework tried to ensure that all school children were exposed to the right kinds of moral influences. The implementation of these policies led to some centralization of a formerly diverse system of schools. The educational principles also provided a definite structure from which the educational system could expand and develop (McNeill, 1974).

The small compendium of information titled First Lessons in Agriculture of Canadian Farmers and Their Families, written by Ryerson (1870) is the earliest Canadian reference that has been located for this study. Lesson XXXVIII on Household Economy, written for farmers' wives and daughters, indicates that education for women was important for its enhancement of the quality of family life.

By far the greatest amount of happiness in civilized life is found in domestic relations; and most of this depends upon the domestic culture and the habits of the wife and mother. Let her be intellectually educated as highly as possible; let her moral and social nature receive the highest graces of vigor and refinement; but along with these, let the domestic virtues find ample place. (Ryerson, 1870, p. 173).

The remainder of Lesson XXXVIII stresses the necessity of correctly managing a home; the relationship between good health and virtuous living; and the importance of domestic piety in uplifting the spirit of the family, not only for present circumstances but also to ensure salvation.

Parvin (1965) indicates that Ryerson's book was an authorized text for Ontario from 1870-1877. In classes where a female teacher was available, it was recommended that it be substituted for Euclid, for girls in the fifth and sixth classes (Campbell, 1977). However, nowhere is the suggestion made that the practical exercises should be carried out in the classroom. Though Ryerson's educational principles may have prepared the ground for consideration of domestic science as a school subject, it took the circumstances of the industrial age to bring such ideas to fruition.

An Era of Change

By the 1870's profound economic, technological and demographic changes were occurring in Canadian life. These touched and shaped the lives of Canadian women just as surely as they transformed the Canadian landscape. While the events and circumstances are examined in isolation in this study, it should be remembered that in reality the resulting pressures were overlapping - each compounding or counteracting the influence of the other.

'High Built Factories and Titanic Mills'.

The latter part of the 19th century was the beginning of a period of strong industrial growth and economic prosperity. Canada's agricultural resource base expanded from fur trading and the growing of grain, to one which included the cultivation of fruit and vegetables, raising stock and feed, and dairying. In addition, mineral and forest resources became recognized as important and abundant assets.

Settlement of the West increased the demand for goods and services, while the extension of the railway gave Western settlers access to goods manufactured in Eastern markets. The influx of immigrants throughout Canada fostered economic growth by supplying cheap labour for farms and factories. Reciprocally, a larger population pressured the economy to produce more goods, and manufacturing surged as a strong component of Canadian life.

Even though industrial growth meant increased prosperity for many families it brought about some changes in the traditional family unit which caused considerable concern among women. Families of the late 19th century saw the 'world of work' become separated from the work within the family unit. Paid work meant that families became consumers rather than producers. It also meant that home responsibilities were increasingly assumed by women. However, tasks related to the family did not have cash value and therefore were frequently considered to be

a lesser form of labor. Vincenti (1983) suggests that the transformation in role both idealized and denigrated women's work, for at the same time that the domestic ideal was being portrayed as a worthy pursuit, work within the home was considered to be a lesser form of labor.

Bunkle (1974) indicates that as the home and workplace became defined as separate entities, the pattern of preparation for adulthood formerly assumed by the family was altered. Therefore, the family could no longer function as the sole agent of education. Many educators, among them Richard Harcourt, Minister of Education for the Province of Ontario, expressed dismay at the separation brought about by industrialism.

In many homes the familiar chores of a former generation are not to be found. City homes are no longer able to furnish the opportunity for manual training, and therefore in this respect, the country boy has advantages not possessed by the city youth. (Harcourt, 1904, p. xxx).

The school was clearly to assume some of aspects of schooling which formerly occurred in the family.

The lack of opportunity for practical training at home, coupled with the rising standard of living meant that more families could afford to

maintain their children in schools for longer periods. Educators were pressured to provide a broader curriculum to suit the needs of a greater variety of children. School enrollments swelled, no doubt partly in response to the increasing social importance accorded education but also, for some families, simply because attendance was legislated. The numbers in elementary and secondary schools across Canada 'more than doubled' from 942,000 to 1,939,700 between 1891 and 1923. While the increase in the number of school students reflected an increase in the overall population, it also indicated that larger numbers of students were staying in school for longer periods. Moreover, as those within the system worked to upgrade the standards of education and the qualifications of teachers, the process of schooling itself became more attractive to students.

By the end of the 19th century factories assumed many manufacturing functions previously carried out in the home. Among poorer urban families, women and children were often pressed into the paid labor force to secure funds to purchase needed goods. To be sure, a larger proportion of women still remained at home. For these wives and mothers the shift from the family as the centre of production to the family as the consumer of factory-made items underscored the need for a more structured approach to household duties. While this transformation in family function relieved women of many household chores, their managerial function became of increasing importance as marketing,

budgeting, efficiency and for the more affluent, the direction of household help assumed more of their time.

The process of industrialization was dependent upon workers who were "as skilled in their respective callings as those with whom they have to compete" (Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor in Canada, Report. 1889, 1, pp. 119). Tradesmen, as well as women in the labor market, were concerned with the practical needs of society. Consequently, many argued for system of education which stressed basic literacy, but also one which was relevant to the everyday world. The concept of a 'practically useful' education, in contrast to one directed toward fostering 'mental discipline' became an issue which was hotly debated at several levels. The fundamental question regarding the wisdom of incorporating 'practical' elements caused much of the controversy surrounding the introduction of manual training in all its forms, into the system of public schooling.

'Home Life is the Heart of the Nation'

Industrialization had a strong impact on Canadian families, but the number of immigrants attracted to a new and growing country was also a potent influence. Succeeding waves of immigrants arrived in such profusion that in the twenty years prior to World War I, over one million people from Continental Europe chose to settle in Canada. While the building blocks of the nation were believed to be its people,

strong opinions were expressed by those already established in Canada that it should be the right kind of people. Suspicion and fear of 'alien cultures' coupled with a falling birthrate among those of British descent contributed to fears that the dominance of the British race might diminish. Concern for cultural and social degeneration fuelled enthusiasm for social reform.

One solution to the 'immigrant problem' was provided by the schools, for the Canadian education system espoused a single cultural identity (strongly flavored with British sentiments) and standards of moral behavior established by Egerton Ryerson. Sutherland (1976) indicates that the cultural mosaic was not a part of the future visualized by many Canadians. From the perspective of English Canadians school was the ideal vehicle through which diversities could be eliminated, as minority groups were expected to behave according to the norms of the majority (Tomkins, 1977). Thus, while schooling introduced immigrant children, and indirectly their families, into the ways of their new communities, it was also a means of remaking foreigners to suit an acceptable Canadian image. The fact that sometimes immigrant families were reluctant to abandon their traditional ways, caused considerable controversy over the school's effectiveness in forging a new Canadian identity.

The presence of large numbers of immigrant families affected society in a number of ways. According to Lady Aberdeen, president of the

National Council of Women, women had an influence in 'binding strangers together' so as to mold the destiny of the nation (NCWC, 1894, p.12). Women's contributions to nation building therefore lay not only within the family circle but also beyond the home gate. Smaller families, greater freedom from domestic tasks and increased affluence created the opportunity for upper class women to cultivate interests outside the home. For those who were motivated, reform arising from worthy convictions was a socially acceptable means of participating in the public sphere. Such work emphasized the ideal of the family as the centre of strength for the nation. Many women such as Lillian Massey, a staunch advocate of domestic reform, believed that "when homes were ideal, social and economic evils would disappear" (cited in Roberts, 1979, p.22.).

The influx of immigrants also provided a ready supply of domestic labour. For women of the middle and upper class, household help meant freedom from domestic chores and consequently, the time to pursue social causes. Yet, the presence of domestic help highlighted both the myriad of social problems confronting immigrants as well as the disparities among Canadian families. Kealey points out that "Once the argument for social justice raised, philanthropists became reformers" (1979, p.2). Among the solutions offered were household training classes, supported by organizations such as the YWCA and the Women's Institute, conducted for the apparent purpose of upgrading the quality of life for needy families.

Rowles tells us that the daughters of immigrant families welcomed the opportunity to "work for Canadian families in order to learn about the Canadian way of life" (1956, p. 188). Her contention that homemaking classes were well-received has some historical support. For example, in 1911 a rural Ontario demonstration-lecture course in Household Subjects, financed by the Women's Institute, had a total attendance of 3,154 women (Royal Commission of Industrial Training and Technical Education, 1913, sessional paper 191d, p.368). The attendance figure was achieved in spite of bad roads and bad weather during the winter months.

There is however, a second side to the issue of homemaking classes. Support for the idea of household training from this viewpoint shows that some of its advocates were motivated by self-interest rather than social reform. Clearly the teaching of homemaking skills was also a means of ensuring a trained body of domestic help for established households. Such women wanted assistance with cleaning, cooking, and child care - reliable domestic servants were hard to find. Explicit training in household chores meant that those involved in domestic work could carry out their tasks properly. A revealing debate on "The Problem of Domestic Service" shows that the promotion of domestic training did not have altruistic motives on the part of some Canadian reformers (NCWC 1894, pp. 152-172; see also, Barber, 1980).

The Influence of Crowded Cities.

The combination of large numbers of immigrants and the internal movement of Canadians from rural areas to urban centers caused a dramatic increase in the size of Canadian cities. Thus, Canada's urban population rose from 1.1 million to 4.3 million between 1880 and 1920. Though important for the country's economic growth, crowded cities compounded social problems and inadequate living conditions, particularly those of the urban poor.

Given an environment in which the importance of sanitation was unrecognized, where the spread of disease was inadequately controlled, and one in which facilities such as indoor plumbing, ice-boxes and covered wells were generally lacking, it is not surprising that organizations were formed to meet the challenges which threatened social order. In discussing the various women's reform groups which developed during the late 19th century, Morrison (1976) points out that the differences among such organizations lay predominantly in the kinds of causes they emphasized. For example, the Women's Christian Temperance Union viewed the consumption of alcohol as the most distressful of social maladies; city health were concerned with the poor health of children, and social workers focussed upon family instability.

The solutions advocated for the various perceptions of social disorder were as varied as the causes. Some remedies involved direct

intervention, such as the campaign for Prohibition zealously pursued by the temperance workers (Sheehan, 1980). Solutions related to children's health ranged from direct assistance for 'really needy' families by Relief Agencies, to the construction of the Sick Children's Hospital in Toronto where children could be treated away from the family environment (Morrison, 1976). Some reformers believed that the ignorance of society could be overcome by education. Therefore, lessons in sanitary hygiene, scientific temperance and household cookery were visualized as another means of alleviating pressing social problems. From this viewpoint, schooling was perceived as yet another agent of remedies and reforms.

The teaching of domestic science in public schools was strongly defended by its advocates on the grounds that it not only improved the lives of children, but through them, upgraded the standard of living for their families. Crusaders such as Adelaide Hoodless, promoted the idea that domestic science united the concerns of many reform groups. She believed that explicit training in family matters was the answer to the problems of urban society (Stamp, 1977; 1974: Howes, 1967). Thus, the teaching of domestic affairs forged important links between the reformers, the home and the school as its introduction addressed the perceived need to assist families. However, in spite of the strong convictions of its promoters, it is not at all certain that the underlying problems could be solved by the programs being advocated.

One of the repercussions of the perceived social disorder attributed to urbanization, was a movement to regenerate the importance of rural living. This was motivated in part by political concern related to the number of families deserting Canada's agricultural base. It also arose in reaction to the "...crowded, narrow unwholesome quarters in cities...breathing the stifled air of close rooms and factories" (Harcourt, 1903, xxxv). Rural living was believed to be the true repository of the best moral values. To provide incentives for families to return to the healthy, independent life of the country, the Agricultural Instruction Act was legislated in 1913. Jones (1978) explains that the premise underlying the passage of this Act was that training in agriculture would help the farmer make a more productive living, and would diminish the exodus of families from the land.

Training in agriculture was subsequently introduced to bolster the economy of the rural areas. Other forms of practical training were also deemed to inculcate the right kinds of knowledge in the interests of rural regeneration. James Robertson, appointed Commissioner of Dairying for the Dominion of Canada in 1890, was a strong supporter of all forms of manual training. In an address given March 4, 1903 Robertson declared:

Nature Study should be central, with Manual Training and Domestic Economy on either side of it These are not fads in any sense. They are fundamental to the maintenance of civilization and the upward progress of the individual and the race. (J.W. Robertson, 1903)

As Robertson believed that successful practical work in city schools would create a demand for similar classes in rural areas, the regeneration of the countryside through education in manual training subjects often started in urban centers (Stamp, 1982).

Robertson's association with Sir William Macdonald resulted in the formation of the Macdonald Movement for the advancement of agriculture and education (Robertson, 1907). This powerful alliance ultimately affected the introduction of manual training in every Canadian province (White, 1951). While, the Macdonald movement funded the establishment of manual training centers for boys at the public school level, it did not contribute any direct money for the establishment of domestic science centers in any public schools (Stamp, 1982). However, there was considerable support for the development of domestic science in other meaningful ways.

Four object-lesson consolidated schools were established by Macdonald in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario and Prince Edward Island. Their purpose was to portray the benefits of practical training for students. Each included classes in cooking and sewing. These demonstrated that rural children could also be included in aspects of the new education (Sutherland, 1976). Model schools encouraged teachers to establish forms of manual training in their own school districts.

Macdonald also financed the establishment of two institutions for the training of domestic science teachers: The Macdonald Institute, Ontario in 1904; and Macdonald College, Quebec in 1906. Public schools wanting to offer this form of education no longer had to depend on teachers from England or the United States. Appropriate training facilities helped justify to the public the introduction of a new subject area specifically for girls. The presence of specialist teachers in school classrooms also increased the credibility of domestic science in the minds of some parents. With the establishment of training facilities, domestic science was in a position to influence the education of young women in the public schools throughout the nation.

'Edging Beyond Domesticity'

Indisputably, the industrial era created a diversity of social problems in which women and children were frequently the victims. As a means of social reform, upgrading the conditions of needy families through explicit training of their children in schools was one alternative undertaken. Yet, the idea of reform also brought with it many opportunities for women. Fields such as nursing, social work and domestic science provided the means by which women could extend their influence for the benefit of society. The reform movement was therefore a response to both the social distress and to new forms of womanhood brought about by social change.

Industrialization held a place for women, albeit restricted, in the burgeoning world of work. At the upper end of employment spectrum was the creation of professional female majority fields which struggled against the conventions of acceptable womanhood, even though these occupations dealt with social problems of particular concern to women. The arguments of professional women in fields such as nursing, public health and law helped promote the need for reform in areas concerned with the needs of women and children both at home and at work.

However, at the lower end of the employment spectrum girls were employed in many jobs in which the female virtues of patience, obedience and physical grace were considered beneficial, such as clerks, office workers and employees in service industries (Light and Parr, 1983). In addition, many women found jobs as poorly paid laborers in the 'needle trades' or in domestic service. Kealey (1979) reports that by the late 19th century women and children comprised one-third of the labor force in urban centers such as Toronto.

Participation of women in the working world fostered concern for their protection against exploitation and at the same time fuelled fears regarding the consequences of their neglect of family duties. The interplay between 'duty' and 'rights' forms a strong undercurrent of tension continually evident as women edged beyond the family circle.

Morrison theorizes that when women left the home to become involved in social reform "they did so with the intention of making it a better and

more secure place to return to." (1976, p. 47) Growth of the 'Woman's Movement' symbolized a dual focus. On the one hand, its purpose was to accord women and children with a variety of social rights, while on the other, it focussed on the special talents of women to reform society in conformity with the moral values essential to family life.

Some women called for "The right of understanding more about our duty and how we best may do it"- a statement which succinctly expresses the duality of women's situation (N.C.W.C., 1894, p. 177). Control of the home was both a 'blessing' and a 'trap'. Thus, while changes of the industrial era encouraged some women of the upper and middle classes to move beyond the dependent existence of the Victorian stereotype, the question "How can a woman teach what she does not know herself?" was a reminder that many women were ill-prepared to deal with the new ways of life, even the aspects dealing with the home. (Hoodless, 1894, p.116).

For affluent women, changing times provided opportunities to extend their 'mothering role' beyond the family sphere. This form of public concern became known as social or maternal feminism. It can be distinguished from the 'Woman's Rights Movement' as maternal feminists placed social reform ahead of the achievement of equal rights for women. Roberts casts their actions as a "muted way of enhancing the autonomy of women" (1979, p. 18). Through the worthiness of their benevolent work maternal feminists hoped they would be accorded the privilege of

voting. Moreover, the issue of women's rights was predominantly discussed in the context of the family from the maternal perspective. Given the circumstances in which the need for training in domestic matters developed, it is not surprising that this strand of the Woman's Movement supported the growth of domestic science.

Training in domestic science was consistent with the maternal feminist philosophy for it held the promise of new tools which some women believed could transform the conditions of society. Introducing hygiene, cookery, and control of disease as household topics concerned with science, imbued the related tasks with added credibility. Learning that the criteria of efficiency and economy also had household application suggested homes and businesses could be carried out on a similar basis. A greater understanding of domestic duties upgraded the standards of child care and family affairs. It meant that women could be 'better' mothers and wives. Gaining control of family conditions also firmly established one sphere of society as rightfully belonging to women.

Adelaide Hoodless, from Ontario, the acknowledged initiator of domestic science in Canadian public schools, challenged women to perfect their own sphere of responsibility before spreading their wings to encompass the larger realm of society (N.C.W.C. 1898). To this end she worked diligently to establish the Women's Institute for the wives of farmers, and she participated in the founding of the National Council of Women

of Canada, an umbrella organization designed to be the national voice for a number of affiliated women's groups. The campaign to institute the teaching of domestic matters in the public schools frequently occurred because of pressure applied by women's organizations.

The importance of domestic science for Hoodless, rested on two assumptions. First, that the traditional instincts and haphazard knowledge, formerly the basis of running the home, were no longer sufficient in the complexities of the industrial age (Dominion Educational Association, 1908). Second, that training in domestic affairs was a means of maintaining the ethical and moral standards necessary for family stability (Stamp, 1977). In advancing these premises as the platform of domestic training there was no suggestion that transforming women's conditions in the home was essentially a means of 'adapting' to the new ways of life. The distinction between adapting to new conditions, and changing the conditions themselves does not seem to have concerned Hoodless or many of her followers.

While Hoodless was a compelling crusader for the preservation of the domestic ideal, there were also others in Canada who should be acknowledged for their thoughtful and reflective advocacy of domestic science. Among these were Alice Chown, field secretary for the Canadian Household Economics Association of Kingston, Ontario; Mary Urie Watson, principal of the Home Economics Department at Macdonald Institute; and Annie Laird, principal of the Faculty of Household

Science at the University of Toronto. Chown in particular, visualized a broad and comprehensive perspective of home economics that incorporated the ideals of an education for 'life' rather than a program directed only toward homemaking (Vaines, 1984). Watson contributed considerable leadership in the establishment of home economics programs for teacher education, while Laird's influence set the direction of Canadian educational policy in home economics at the level of higher education.

Each of the foregoing women was a participant at the Lake Placid Conferences held from 1899-1908 in New York State. These meetings coordinated the diverse efforts of many home economics advocates across North America in the establishment of home economics as a field of study. The Proceedings indicate that the majority of delegates were affiliated with education in some way, and therefore believed that schooling was a means of implementing home economics ideals (Vaines, 1981, 1984). The perspectives of Canadian participants provided a thought provoking basis for many of the discussions. Ultimately, the sharing of diverse ideas led to the creation of the American Home Economics Association, a venture larger in concept than that envisioned by any single view. However, Budewig (1957) suggests the educational dimension was considered so important that the conceptual ideas of the field were ignored in order to mold domestic science to fit the framework of manual training.

'Bodies Being Exercised; Minds at Work; and Souls Satisfied'

While women defended the development of domestic science in terms of women's duties to both their families and society, other aspects of this new branch of instruction were stressed by those concerned with its worth as a form of education. As the inadequacies of the conventional education system were highlighted by the changing times, new forms of schooling, more humane and more relevant, were called for. The introduction of domestic science from this perspective, rested on its merits as a form of practical training, and therefore a part of the manual training movement. The rationale advanced in support of the manual training movement had to be both powerful and convincing for some members of the public, and many educators were sceptical of the proclaimed benefits.

Manual training was defended primarily in moral terms, which justified its practical nature as a means of building character. Phrased simply, this argument rested on the maxim that "Habits of right working lead to habits of right thinking" (Harcourt, 1903, p. lvii). Manual training initiated students into some of the basic processes involved in the origination, maintenance and advancement of mankind. It, therefore, cultivated the quality of 'true human sympathy' which was considered to be the ethical foundation of life.

According to the report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education the chief aim of manual training was "the development of the powers of the pupil for cultural purposes" (Sessional Paper 191d, 1913, p. 139). Hoodless also declared that the ethical considerations of domestic science far outweighed its practical component.

Character is formed in the home, and largely under the influence of the mother, and unless women are educated so as to realize and faithfully perform the duties and responsibilities of homemakers, we cannot expect a high type of citizen.... There is no branch of education so conducive to ethical instruction as that of Domestic Science, dealing as it does directly with the home and the operations carried on there. (Hoodless, 1905, p. 38.)

A counterpart to the building of character was the development of the 'will' or the refinement of thoughts which controlled conscious movement. The roots of this argument rest in the faculty psychology movement. Development of cognitive skills was thought to result from the proper exercising of the 'muscles of the mind'. Manual training offered a means of needed exercise because it incorporated both knowledge and activity. Accordingly, it would contribute to the formation of character. Conversely, 'flabby muscles' and a 'weak will' were thought to be signs of insufficient motor activity of the brain. The habits of industry and efficiency developed through manual work provided the opportunity to develop a high type of character

These justifications represent an interesting contrast to the earlier claims that the development of character in children was accomplished

through submission to the demands of the Church and the family. The new philosophy suggests that the child's participation in the learning process through hard work and painstaking accomplishment, developed the characteristics deemed necessary for adulthood. It also reflects the movement of society from one which stressed religious obedience to one which reflected a gospel of social reform.

The worthwhile relationship between 'knowing' and 'doing' was also advanced in defence of manual training. Accurate handwork was believed to lead to accurate mental images. Intelligence developed through the sequential interaction of knowledge and its application. These arguments emphasized the intellectual component of practical work. The value of the practical lay in its contribution to the intellectual and ethical growth of the child, rather than in the enjoyment of accomplishing the work itself.

Manual training was also promoted as a means of stimulating both student interest and progress. Its advocates maintained that the new and meaningful methods would attract students to the school. As minds were stimulated and perceptive faculties awakened through manual training, students would be able to perform at higher levels in the traditional subjects. From this point of view the benefits of practical training were thought to permeate all aspects of the school system.

Robertson, as Commissioner of Agriculture, emphasized the distinctions between manual training and technical education in a speech to the Dominion Educational Association.

Manual Training is that part of general education which seeks its result in the boy himself or the girl herself, ... without regard to the particular occupation to be followed afterwards. The things made by the child in Manual Training may as well go into the stove or into the waste-paper basket; but the things made by a boy in an industrial school, under a system of Industrial Education, are made for the sake of things, and made for the sake of the ability to make the same of similar things that will sell. I do not say that is a poor part or an unnecessary part of education, but it is not Manual Training.... Technical Education has some manual training in it, but the manual training in technical education has a price in it and on it for the worth of its products. It is looking to the effect of the training on the craft and on the product, and not only person. (Robertson, 1901, pp. 85-86).

Manual training in school and trades training clearly had different goals. Consequently, vocational opportunities accruing from manual training programs in public schools were downplayed. Such a perspective deflected opposition raised by the Trades Unions in Toronto regarding the provisions of practical training at public expense and their concern that students trained in trades at school would undercut the apprenticeship systems of the unions. Moreover, even the critics had to agree that the fostering of traits such as 'doing things without waste, 'refining good judgement' and developing the 'powers of close

observation' provided a strong foundation for later technical instruction. Therefore, manual training in schools was of benefit to all students pursuing a variety of occupations later in life.

Finally, manual training allowed children to grasp an idea or image through activity and experience rather than vicariously through book learning. The incorporation of 'handwork' with 'brainwork' appealed to the needs and interests of the child. It added zest to the process of schooling. In practical terms, it also helped to hold youngsters in school, isolated from the unhealthy and immoral influences in the factories and on the streets.

Manual training in all its forms, tried to shift the focus of the classroom from that of the subject to that of the child. Its benefits enriched the mind, the body and the spirit. The appropriateness of manual training to the amelioration of a diversity of concerns slowly generated a broad and supportive audience. Its focus was compatible with the interests of those concerned with the needs of the child; it garnered support from those who sought a meaningful relationship between classroom experience and daily life; it appeared to provide solutions to some of the problems arising from the tedious process of conventional schooling; and its content was of interest to the greater range of students enrolled in schools. Thus, from the perspective of those seeking educational reform manual training was a worthy endeavour for all children.

Overall, the changes which occurred in Canadian life during the latter part of the 19th century fostered the growth of domestic science. For daughters, wives and mothers across Canada its introduction to public schools served a variety of purposes. First, it represented the domestic ideal as an eminently suitable vocation for women and one worthy of vigorous pursuit. Second, exposure to new knowledge and skills was linked to improvement in the quality of life for many families. Third, it embodied all the virtues believed to be associated with manual training in terms of practical learning as well as character building. Finally, training in domestic affairs was a socially acceptable means of extending women's influence. As Lady Aberdeen, president of the National Council of Women, explained during a visit to Montreal, women's work "...best begins at home, but need not end there. It is like a stone cast into a pond whose ripples go in ever widening circles that never end." (1893). In essence the initiation of domestic science, helped a variety of women, including the reformers themselves, accept the conditions of a new age.

Chapter Three

'IMPROVING THE PRESENT CONDITION' -

THE GROWTH OF DOMESTIC SCIENCE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

The institutionalization of educational innovations is an evolutionary process that frequently arises from the efforts of individuals and organizations both inside and outside the education system. In the case of domestic science in British Columbia the introduction of school programs primarily resulted from pressures exerted outside the education system as various community organizations cajoled, provoked and persuaded influential school officials to institute the desired programs. While community input stimulated the introduction of the subject, it also influenced the way domestic science was taught in schools. Chapter three sets the stage for the examination of the curriculum by briefly outlining influential events and individuals which shaped domestic science instruction within the province.

British Columbians took a long time to establish domestic science as an integral part of their school system. A mix of religious and other forms of fee-paying schools provided a wide range of educational opportunities in both the colony of Vancouver Island and that of

British Columbia. It was not, however, until the two united and joined the new Confederation of Canada that the province established a system of education. After joining Confederation in 1871, one of the first transactions of the British Columbia Provincial Legislature was the passing of the Public Schools Act (1872) which established the basic structure of provincial education. The system that evolved from this legislation - supposedly free and non-sectarian - was modelled on the non-separate part of the Ontario system (Johnson, 1971).

An Idea Takes Hold

Needlework was apparently the first form of home economics taught in the province (Chestnutt, 1975). In Craigflower School on Vancouver Island, girls were taught sewing by the wife of the schoolmaster, and at Yale a sewing class was held for girls during the winter months of 1870. D. Wilson, the first Inspector of Schools appointed in the province in 1887, supported the teaching of needlework as valuable training for the 'mind' and the 'fingers', the cultivation of taste and judgment and the inculcation of good habits. However, in his yearly reports Wilson made repeated pleas for need for improvement in the teaching of all practical subjects (see Public School Annual Reports, 1889-1896). By 1891 needle work was one of the regular options in the course of study, but its inclusion does not imply that it was taught generally (Department of Education, 1914). White (1951) explains that

often practical subjects were not well received due to the lack of suitable teachers rather than insufficient interest on the part of the students. In an initial effort to improve the teaching of handwork, the Victoria school board appointed a Miss Bourman, (also spelled Boorman) in 1896 to provide a 'sound and thorough' training to elementary girls, as well as interested teachers.

The first center for the teaching of cooking was opened in 1903 in Victoria. It was organized by the Local Council of Women, and financed by the Local Council as well as the Women's Christian Temperance Union and small personal donations. Plans for a center, designed to accommodate twenty students, were obtained from the East. Miss Winifred McKeand, an experienced domestic science teacher from Nova Scotia, was appointed instructor. Ten classes, each with twenty girls, were chosen from the senior elementary grades and from the high school. Once a week each class received a lesson in cookery. The report of F.H. Eaton, Superintendent of City Schools for Victoria, shows that within a one-year period four domestic science centers were opened on Vancouver Island. Eaton suggests that the subject was popular with both the parents and the pupils (1904).

In 1905, the Local Council of Women in Vancouver was influential in establishing a domestic science center at Central School in Vancouver. Their efforts were supported by Mr. W.P. Argue, Superintendent of

Vancouver Schools (Public School Annual Report, 1905, p. A 57).

Elizabeth Berry, a graduate of the first teacher training class in domestic science at The Macdonald Institute, was hired as teacher.

Sewing, at first by hand, was taught by regular classroom teachers under the supervision of Berry. Two-hour foods classes were also held for grade eight girls, though limited facilities restricted enrollment. Students, drawn from ten elementary schools, travelled to the center by street car. By 1909, four domestic science centers had been opened because of complaints regarding the distance some girls had to travel. Thus, from the small nucleus of needlework classes in the last quarter of the nineteenth century a broader training in matters related to the home gained a foothold in both Vancouver and Victoria schools.

The Advocacy and Growth of Domestic Science

Much of the growth of domestic science can be attributed to the efforts of local women's organizations. They provided both the political machinery to convince the public of the value of domestic science, and secured the necessary funds to ensure its implementation in selected schools. In British Columbia, the Local Councils of Women, and the Women's Institute were particularly effective in promoting this new form of schooling.

As discussed in chapter two, the National Council of Women of Canada formed in 1893, pursued both nationalist and feminist goals. By 1900 the NCWC represented seven nationally organized societies and twenty-one local councils (Strong-Boag, 1975). Enthusiastic national support was given to the efforts of provincial organizations. The address of Mrs. Archibald of Halifax, to the Third Annual National Council of Women's Meeting illustrates the cooperative action undertaken at the national level on behalf of affiliated groups regarding domestic science:

We do not want to be provincial in this National Council of ours, and when we find a want in Ontario which will apply to British Columbia with equal force, or to New Brunswick, we will carry it home and din it into the ears of the educationists until they will be glad to grant our requests. (1896, p. 391).

The Women's Institute of British Columbia also endorsed the efforts of the Local Councils of Women to establish domestic science. This organization was founded by Hoodless, in Ontario in 1897. Women's Institutes in British Columbia expanded quickly under the guidance of Laura Rose originally from Ontario, so that by 1909 fifteen provincial chapters were organized.

The motto "For Home and Country" symbolized the rural focus inherent in the Women's Institute. Its members were homemakers who believed that the home and family deserved the same kind of study, care and service

as the Farmer's Institute directed to the stock and crops of their farms (Scott, 1925). Domestic science was seen as a way of solving household problems, and raising the standards of household care and mothering. According to the observations of one member the issues discussed moved from topics such as 'making better butter' and 'new carpet sweepers' to the recognition that "in order to protect their homes" women must extend their influence beyond the family circle (B.C. Women's Institutes, 1960, p. 15). Such comment suggests that women's organizations also served as consciousness-raising endeavours for some members.

Alice Ravenhill, who arrived in Canada from England in 1910, was an influential member of both the Women's Institute and The Council of Women. Her background as a lecturer on hygiene, public health and household science at King's College for Women, University of London, and her experience in teaching health in the rural homes of England made her contributions particularly relevant to Canadian women living in outlying communities (Ravenhill, 1951). Many of her ideas on topics related to the hygiene of the family were conveyed through the Women's Institute Quarterly.

Ravenhill believed strongly in the power of the home. Her scientific perspective emphasized controlling the conditions of the home so that they would become subservient to human needs. Thus, household tasks

such as cooking, cleaning, sewing and washing were but a limited application of the duties of women in upholding the "right conduct of human life in the home" (cited in Rowles, 1956, p. 68). Though Ravenhill did not participate directly in public school domestic science programs, her presence in British Columbia and her international reputation increased the credibility of domestic science programs being promoted by women's groups.

During the 1900-1901 school year, generous support from the Macdonald Movement established four manual training centers for boys in British Columbia - two programs in Vancouver, and two in Victoria. These centers called attention to the lack of similar facilities for girls, and no doubt fuelled the efforts of the women's organizations on behalf of domestic science. In many cases the opening of domestic science centers followed shortly after the establishment of manual training programs for boys. However, Lightfoot and Maynard (1941) indicate that in some small towns a manual training program was in place for up to twenty years before the introduction of domestic science. The discrepancy in practical training facilities available to boys and girls suggests that in rural communities the skills of homemaking were still considered to be the duty of the mother. Moreover, the lack of an organizer or inspector specifically for domestic science implies that it was always publicized under the auspices of manual training, and did not receive recognition on its own merits.

While outside individuals and organizations exerted strong pressure on the provincial authorities to institute programs in domestic science, those inside the education system also worked to publicize the new subject area in various ways. Berry issued an open invitation to the public to visit the classes at any time. She commented that among the visitors during its first year of operation were Dr. Alexander Robinson, Superintendent of Education for the province, members of the School Board, Inspectors of Schools, members of the Council of Women, as well as many others interested in education. Berry estimated that 400 outside visitors came during 1905-6, the first year of operation. (Lightfoot and Maynard, 1941, p. 5.)

The aim of domestic science, Berry claimed, was "arousing an interest in the art of true homemaking..." (1906, p. 22). Thomas (1984) explains that Berry's perceptions of the subject and her commitment had considerable influence on its expansion within the education system, for she later became Superintendent of Domestic Science in Vancouver and remained in the school system for twenty years.

Domestic science was also publicized by holding 'class teas' for mothers. In addition, by 1910 displays of domestic science projects were a part of annual local exhibitions held in Vancouver, and later in surrounding communities. These activities provided opportunities for visitors to view practical instruction in progress and to examine the

work of the students. The later initiation of 'home projects' for students emphasized an increased home and school relationship.

The provincial government offered financial assistance for the establishment of manual training centers during the 1910-1911 school year. The government agreed to pay not less than three-quarters of the basic equipment cost, and cover the salary and travelling expenses of trained teachers for a period of one year. If School Boards decided to continue the work, they were asked to repay half the cost of the equipment and furnish the full salary of the teacher in subsequent years (White, 1951). Under the administration of George Dean, Assistant Superintendent and Director of Industrial and Technical Education, both manual training for boys and domestic science for girls expanded rapidly. In the case of domestic science, the number of centers grew from six to thirteen between 1911 and 1912.

Some of the increase in the popularity of domestic science may also be attributed to the election of Mrs. Peter McNaughton to the Vancouver School Board in 1912. Sponsored by the Local Council of Women, McNaughton received the highest vote ever cast for a candidate in a previous election (NCWC Report, 1912, p. xviii). Mrs. McNaughton visited various domestic science centers throughout both the United States and Canada, and throughout her term of office worked diligently to further interest in the subject.

A resolution made by domestic science teachers through the Teachers' Institute in 1911, changed the name of domestic science to 'Home Economics' as it was felt to more adequately cover the various phases of the subject. From this date discussion appears under both labels. Even in 1920 John Kyle, then Organizer of Technical Education for the Province refers to domestic science "...or as most of the instructors prefer to term it, home economics" (Annual Report, p. C 83). Thus, use of the term home economics grew slowly among those in the school system.

On Vancouver Island, Annie Juniper, whom Rowles' describes as a "capable Englishwoman", a graduate of the Norfolk and Norwich School of Household Science, was appointed supervisor of domestic training in Victoria in 1911. Prior to her appointment, Juniper was Dean of the School of Household Science, Macdonald College, and then Dean of the Household Science Department of the Manitoba Agricultural College (J.F. Snell, 1963). She also had teaching experience in England, Wales and Canada. Juniper wrote the first curriculum for girls in Victoria, Domestic Science, Course 1 (1911) and also the first textbook Girls' Home Manual (1913). The manual was dedicated to Mrs. Margaret Jenkins, a member of the Local Council of Women, and a School Board official, for her efforts in furthering the home economics movement within the province. It was prepared in "the hope that girls, not only at school, but in after life also, may find it helpful in making them more efficient in the noble art of homemaking" (Juniper, 1913, preface).

During World War I the number of domestic science centers increased only slightly, but its image was enhanced through active participation in the war time effort. Girls in domestic science classes made clothes, prepared bandages, gave dinners and initiated fund-raising projects to support the work of the Red Cross (Vancouver School Board Report, 1915, p. 73.) The relationship between daily life and practical learning in schools became more sharply focussed during the war time period with an emphasis on conservation, economy and the preservation of food.

"Not at First All Plain Sailing"

Berry (Lightfoot and Maynard, 1941) indicates that some parents strongly objected to having their daughters "waste time" in school over something they were supposed to be learning from their mothers. Also, some rate-payers, anxious to keep down local taxes were opposed to the teaching of "frill" subjects which raised the costs of education. In the minds of such objectors the best education system, was simply the cheapest one.

Some critics were simply against trying anything new. Others were anxious to see the school system preserve its academic focus. Typical of these objectors was Agnes Deans Cameron, principal of South Park School in Victoria - an educator who resisted the changes being sought.

Last year the British Columbia Council of Women was all agog for domestic science. When I, opening my eastern windows which look toward the sun, saw the procession of cooking stoves and stew pans, carpenters' benches and jack planes heading for the school room door, I lifted up a feeble wail for mercy. In this whole Council of Women I found no friend. I was anathema and ultra-conservative. I was unprogressive and lazy. Did I not know that cooking was a good thing, a most necessary thing? And shouldn't the school course be enriched?
(Agnes Deans Cameron, 1904, p. 241)

Objections toward manual training were not confined solely to British Columbia, however. Stamp (1982) discusses the opposition of Ontario trade unions on the grounds that manual training in schools would interfere with their apprenticeship system, take work away from competent tradesmen, and produce inadequately qualified workers. In addition, it was felt by labor spokesmen that manual training would trap working-class children into strictly physical occupations, and therefore would deny them the opportunity of upward social mobility. Yet, apparently some members of the British Columbia Labour Unions apparently looked favorably at domestic science as such training raised the public perception of the status of manual skills (Lightfoot and Maynard, 1941). Other opponents felt that that manual subjects as taught at school had no practical value (Putman, Weir, 1925, p.96). Thus, the controversy which accompanied the introduction of manual programs covered a wide area of criticisms.

However, Kyle suggested that the 'interferences' experienced by manual training during its formative years may have indirectly promoted its cause. In his 1920 report to the Department of Education he found it "gratifying to know that the result of having the limelight thus thrown directly on the subjects has been to establish them more securely than ever in the school system." (1920, p. A83)

'A Rightful Place in a National and International Scheme of Education'

The findings of the the 1924 Survey of the School System, conducted by Dr. J.H. Putman, Senior Inspector of Schools, Ottawa and Dr. G.M. Weir, Professor of Education at the University of British Columbia, secured a sound footing for the continued presence of training in home economics in the province. Briefs on behalf of domestic science were presented by the Parent-Teacher Association, the British Columbia Teachers' Federation, and the Council of Women.

Putman and Weir suggested that "Much criticism has come from those who got none of this instruction and very little from those who received it." (1925, p. 96). However, they were critical of those advocates, who considered proving the worth of these subject areas their "special mission" for in spite of their good intentions they had "made some sad blunders" which had triggered much of the criticism from which these subjects had suffered. Consequently, several specific recommendations

were made regarding not only classroom organization but also the importance of teacher training, the need to weld classes in manual subjects with the school as a whole; and the importance of having student projects 'real things' rather than models.

The commissioners recommended that home economics be a compulsory subject throughout middle school and an optional course through the three years of high school. It was also to be considered as a second science for matriculation credit. Finally, Putman and Weir suggested the appointment of a director "who will insist on a wise expenditure of money, allow no waste of either pupils' time or material, and co-ordinate lessons in home economics with other school activities on the one hand and with the home life of the pupils on the other" (1925, p. 339). Just as the pronouncements of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education published in 1919, had helped to justify the presence of new forms of education at a national level, the recommendations of the Putman and Weir survey legitimized at a the provincial level the ideas being promoted by subjects such as domestic science.

By 1927 fifty-seven centers throughout the province in towns such as Armstrong, Chilliwack, Courtenay, Cumberland, Kelowna, Nanaimo, New Westminster, Port Moody and Vernon offered programs in home economics. There were 9,298 public school pupils taking courses, and fifty-nine

teachers employed (McLenaghan, 1927, p. M. 63).

Overall, the development of domestic science within the province was perceived by its advocates as upgrading the moral fabric and physical standards of the home, applying industrial advances to domestic work, destroying myths associated with the 'degrading labor' of the household, and seemingly promoting both the dependence and independence of women. Whatever motive spurred individual supporters was subsumed by the united belief that explicit training in domestic affairs was of benefit to women. However, to determine if the kinds of purposes visualized by reformers were those actually served by school programs, the practice of domestic science must be examined through the investigation of curricular materials and documents.

Chapter Four

AN INTERPRETIVE FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSING PRACTICE

The school curriculum is a fruitful medium for tracing the process of change because exposure to planned learning experiences acquaints young people with new knowledge and changing beliefs. Each curriculum revision within a subject area therefore reflects not only changes in knowledge within a field of study but also, changes in the ordering of ideals about 'what should be taught' and the ways in which it should be learned by pupils. The idea of teaching about the family in a school context was new, and so was the idea of offering practical experience. Thus, beliefs about the home and family, and how these were transformed into skills and techniques appropriate for a new sort of society reveals much about domestic science education as a form of educational change. In the case of home economics old ideas balanced new needs, the vested interests of various organizations demanded recognition, and "... of course, you always have the conservative pedantry of the schoolmaster opposed to the raw haste of the social reformer." (Lang, 1905, p.50)

An Explanation of Practice.

The framework used to examine the development of domestic science at the public school level, employs the concept of 'practice' as a means of revealing changes in the curriculum of home economics. The concept of practice reflects both the belief structure and the practical nature of home economics as a subject of study. An understanding of the term 'practice' comes from the work of Diorio (1982) who explains that although the term is used frequently at an informal level, insufficient thought is given to its relationship to both knowledge and activity when practice is discussed within professional fields.

Diorio defines practice used by professions as being "the more or less continuous involvement in certain publicly identifiable ranges of activities" (1982, p.258).

For example, one can practice medicine, plumbing, or Judaism, not in the sense of learning how to do anything or of improving one's performance, but rather of being habitually engaged in doing those things and/or expressing those outlooks readily associated with medicine, plumbing or the Jewish faith. When a person has been labelled as a practitioner in this second sense of one of these things, he normally is said to "be" a doctor, plumber, or Jew, indicating the his engagement in the particular form of practice is regular enough to constitute part of his everyday identity as a person. (Diorio, 1982, p.258.)

Thus, Diorio's explanation provides insights into the way particular kinds of activities are used by society to distinguish one professional

field from another. To be considered a 'teacher' one must engage regularly in a core of activities and knowledge regarding subject content, and pedagogy related to being an educator. These can be differentiated from, for instance, those activities and ideas associated with nursing.

Diorio's definition also implies that over time persisting activities reflect the central concerns of each profession. Thus, his conception of practice applies to Morrison's suggestion that reform organizations of the 19th century chose to focus upon differing causes of social disorder as "...sanitarians stressed insanitary living conditions; social workers pointed to family instability;...educators emphasized the divorce of the school from society" (1976, p. 55). Though the kinds of practice which each has evolved is unique, they share similar historical roots.

While Diorio's notions related to the persistent patterns of action are of assistance in separating professions, his definition does not clarify the way in which knowledge traditionally associated with each profession becomes transformed into particular patterns of action. For historical examination shows that persistent patterns of action must also speak for the intellectual traditions of each profession. This is illustrated by Morrison's discussion of the generation of fields of study such as domestic science, public health and social work.

Practice, therefore, reflects the accumulated philosophy of a field, while at the same time, it represents the common core of activity and ideas associated with particular professions.

The term practice also implies interaction between possessing knowledge and using it. To clarify what takes place in the acquisition and application of knowledge requires an understanding of the ways in which knowledge is purveyed to others, the ways in which it is used by those within the profession and the kinds of knowledge made available to others. For instance in home economics education this means seeking to learn how teachers transformed the knowledge of homemaking and families into appropriate learning experiences for students. While Diorio argues that "all practical fields cannot be spoken of in identical terms" (1982, p.257) it is also important to recognize that practice within any given field may also vary substantially. Consequently, to seek to understand more about home economics education requires some knowledge of the forms of practice it embodies.

Holzner and Marx also add insight into an understanding of practice in their contention that all forms of practice stem from "... common sense as a cultural system that is the point of departure for all specialized modes of knowing. These specialized modes of knowing may, however, depart greatly from it. Yet, the cultural system of common sense remains an embedding context that patterns specialized knowledge use." (1979, p. 259)

While practice may be analyzed as separate concepts, three characteristics remain inherent features of all forms of practice.

First, all concepts of practice arise from the cultural context in which they are derived. Thus, all forms of practice are grounded in the daily reality of one's culture. Meaningful interaction between people can not take place without the cultural symbols such as language structure, codes of behaviour, and social values and norms for these are the cultural recipes which determine the reality of daily life for each individual.

Second, common sense structures form a part of even specialized knowledge, so that all scholarly communities are grounded in cultural realities that lie beneath even highly sophisticated methodology, and specialist terminology. Thus, common sense structures are significant as a foundation for understanding the complexities of practice.

Third, common sense structures are sometimes so embedded that they are taken for granted by practitioners within a field. Consequently, some aspects of practice may not be recognized by those involved, a circumstance which has led to concern regarding the impact of the 'hidden' dimensions of the actions of professionals. This has been investigated with reference to schooling and the 'hidden curriculum' to which students are unwittingly exposed. (see, for instance, Wilson, 1980: Vallance, 1973/74)

The interpretive framework, page 59, by Wilson and Vaines (1985) portrays four different dimensions of practice. These are identified as customary, instrumental, interactive, and reflective conceptions of practice. A brief explanation of each of the conceptions of practice will clarify their inherent differences. While on one hand, their portrayal as separate entities tends to obscure the complexity of practice, on the other it does distinguish between the kinds of knowledge bases which underlie particular patterns of action, and the way these are used in the conduct of life. Each conception of practice relates to the formulated questions which guide the examination of practice inherent in selected curricula.

Customary Practice

The conception of practice termed 'Customary' highlights the patterns of activities which directly relate to the conduct of the everyday world. The work of the anthropologist Bourdieu (1977) supports the contentions of customary practice through suggesting that the precepts of culture allow social groups to generate a multitude of practices which can be endlessly adapted to different situations, yet those involved do not have explicit knowledge of the principles underlying their actions. Customary practice therefore, encompasses much of the 'cultural baggage' that each individual carries throughout life. Its patterns of action are embodied in the cultural routines, and common sense

DIAGRAM 1: A THEORETIC FRAMEWORK FOR THE EXAMINATION OF PRACTICE

Dimensions of Practice

| Considerations of Practice | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|--|---|---|--|--|---|
| | Supporting Structures of Knowledge | Mode of Inquiry | Purpose of Practice | Patterns of action | Inducement to action | Relationship between Knowledge & Action |
| Customary Practice | Basically Atheoretical | Historical precedent; Personal experience; conventional wisdom | To solve particular and immediate problems. To become aware of professional social traditions | Commonplace solutions to practical problems; Professional routines and social conduct | Preserving traditions, Professional folklore, and cultural heritage | Action is guided by personal expertise based on historical cultural tradition |
| Instrumental Practice | Empirical theories of causal explanation | Empirical examination of predefined problems | To control the social and natural environment in predefined ways. To produce technically useful knowledge | Predetermined systems of action; Techniques directed toward intervention/prevention | Applying the laws and methods of science. Prediction and control of results | Action is controlled by empirical/analytical data. Knowledge and action are viewed separately |
| Interactive Practice | Interpretive theory Historical analysis | Analysis of experience; practical deliberation; Discourse and dialectic | To build a consensus of understanding directed toward the enhancement of human life | Negotiation with others of acceptable solutions to given problems; orienting action in desired direction | Understanding 'what is'; Acknowledging other perspectives, sharing networks of meaning | Knowledge is tied to action through interpretation and orientation |
| Reflective Practice | Critical and normative theory | Dialectic; Critical reflection; Reflexive examination | To change the individual or social order. To build a just society for all | Social action directed toward long term change | Disclosing constraints which inhibit change; Perceiving what 'ought to be'. | Constant interplay between professional knowledge and the way it is translated to action |

From: Sue Wilson and Eleanore Vaines. (1985) A theoretical framework for the examination of practice in home economics. Home Economics Research Journal, 13 (4) (in process).

behaviours that make up the social traditions and habits which form a part of both the informal and formal conduct of daily living.

Customary practice adds richness, depth and stability to professional as well as everyday concerns. For instance, customary practice may incorporate ceremonies, and symbolic routines which imbue group members with status or accord recognized both within the group itself, as well as by outsiders. Members may be loathe to discard such traditions even though they might be outmoded in contemporary society, for these embody the heritage and meaning inherent in the group ideals. At the same time, customary practice represents routines that are a part of the structure of the profession itself.

Action associated with practise of a customary form is most frequently an immediate response to a specific circumstance. Stress is placed upon the conventional wisdom and personal expertise that has become established as being culturally acceptable, and that may have been learned from prior generations. For example, habit and custom have established many folk medicines to be successful remedies for some diseases and other forms of physical distress, though a scientific basis for age-old wisdom may not have justified their use until many years later. In customary practice it is what 'works' that counts, as determined by the accumulated wisdom of those more experienced.

In terms of daily life, actions of a customary form are readily associated with routines and ideas regarding the conduct of the home. Thus, the beliefs of grandmothers, mothers, and other meaningful persons often play a large part in household practice related to child-rearing, parenting, and family communication. Sometimes scientific evidence supports customary practice, such as the studies which suggest that breast-feeding provides benefits to the new-born that cannot be replicated by bottle-feeding. In this instance, a young mother can feel increasingly comfortable knowing her decision to breast-feed her baby has scientific validity.

Yet, sometimes customary practice is at odds with the practices advocated by science. For example, efficiency studies may suggest that having a household garden is not generally an economical way to obtain fruit and vegetables. Shopping at a supermarket may save both money and energy but ignores the pleasures of gardening which are not accountable in scientific terms. In the case of the gardener this is a simple problem involving determining which aspect of obtaining fruit and vegetables is most important. In the case of the young mother, a decision to bottle-feed, as advocated by many mothers in the previous generation, may result in a more complicated situation in which the customary beliefs of her particular family are at odds with the practices suggested by science. Thus, the delineation of customary practice from other conceptions of practice, provides a means of understanding the conflict which sometimes occurs when practices of one

form become juxtaposed on another. When used in examining domestic science it provides insight into the development and overlap of patterns of action associated with the home.

In the professional sphere, the customary dimension supplies 'blueprints' for appropriate action in particular situations. Implicit forms of customary practice determine professional conduct, such as the language used by professionals in communicating with clients, wearing accepted symbols of status, e.g. clinical uniforms versus street clothes, or using professional titles. These can influence the nature of practice, whether or not they are articulated. It is only recently that the effect of these particular symbols and routines has been called into question, i.e. some customary practises have become the subject of explicit scrutiny. Thus, some professionals are now questioning aspects of the services they perform. Given names are now more frequently used; uniforms have become less common; and professional jargon which confuses clients is the subject of discussion. These changes illustrate that customary practice need not be static, once the dimension is recognized by those involved.

Wilson's (1981) discussion of the professional training of teachers indicates that the 'apprenticeship method' may be one of the means by which customary practice is taught. Under the guidance of qualified experts, prospective teachers undergo a lengthy apprenticeship in their

student-teaching practica. Medical students, dietitians, and nurses all have periods of rigorous practical training as a part of their professional development. In a similar way, students in public schools are 'apprentices' as they become acquainted with concepts of acceptable 'practice' associated with schooling. Knowledge in these instances is not negotiated, but is implicitly accepted by the uninitiated, and its mastery frequently rewarded by instructors. Customary practice can therefore, exert its influence not only on the patterns of action of each individual, but also consciously or not, on the process of formal training to which members are exposed.

Instrumental Practice

A second dimension of practice portrayed in the interpretive framework is instrumental practice, rooted in both the natural and social sciences. The scientific disciplines provide knowledge that enables people to control their surroundings. Research traditions are grounded in the empirical mode of inquiry, and the principles and laws established by the scientific framework of thinking. Consequently, the methods of investigation employed in instrumental practice and the knowledge it produces are considerably different from those of customary practice. Because the instrumental conception of practice is based on the scientific rationale which claims to be value free, it can only legitimately concern itself with those aspects of knowledge which

can be empirically measured and subjected to scientific analysis.

Scientific investigation requires that problems must be predefined, in precise and measureable terms suitable to empirical analysis.

Therefore, procedures must be conducted without the distortion of dimensions which cannot be controlled and the results must be viable in scientific terms. Van Manen (1977) explains that the criteria of effectiveness and efficiency used in empirical investigation colors both the means by which the action takes place, and the ends to which it is directed.

Within contemporary home economics, instrumental practice is represented by the management of applied techniques in experimental design, systems analysis and behaviour modification, as well as the technology related to the production and consumption of consumer goods.

Apple (1975) declares that the scientific rationale has become so accepted that it is the predominate perspective of the 20th century.

With increasing frequency success is determined only in dimensions which are measureable, so that results which can be proven in scientific terms are more accountable and therefore, more worthwhile. Apple (1975) calls this a form of scientism, or the worship of technical action.

Yet, the value of the scientific framework must not be underestimated, for through the dimension of instrumental practice the horizons of knowledge have been expanded to a level not even imagined by prior

generations. While the scientific rationale is a powerful phenomenon in the control and production of technical knowledge, some aspects of life are not encompassed by its parameters. Many of the things which make us 'human' cannot be neatly packaged and measured. Thus, fields of study dealing with the needs and values of people must be aware of the boundaries imposed by the scientific rationale.

For instance, Reid (1979) suggests that frequently in professions concerned with people, practical problems become reduced to procedural ones in order to fit the imagery of engineering and design fostered by science. The translation of social issues into technical forms leads to the manipulation of situations which may distort both the root of the problem, and effect the dismissal of alternative solutions because they cannot be quantified. Thus, instrumental practice, powerful though it may be, is not a suitable means for solving all problems, and despite its dominance, cannot accommodate many of the dimensions of human behaviour important in daily life.

Historically, the inclusion of the name 'science' into the original title of the program in domestic training in public schools, underscores the belief that knowledge offered by the scientific rationale was necessary for the improvement of family conditions at the turn of the century. Scientific discoveries indeed benefitted the physical condition of families in terms of health practices, cleanliness, and diet. Moreover, in its struggle for acceptance in the

educational setting, placing the needs of the home and family on a scientific basis portrayed domestic science as a field of serious study and thereby helped legitimize its inclusion in schools. Not only did science provide new tools for solving problems, but it held the promise of making the home both more effective and efficient.

Interactive Practice

Interactive practice can be distinguished from both customary and instrumental forms by its concern for the interpretation of knowledge. In this dimension the observer seeks an understanding of the meanings underlying particular kinds of actions. Knowledge appropriate to the interactive domain incorporates aspects of value and quality and involves an understanding of prior situations of a similar nature, i.e. it includes a historical perspective. Practice of this form requires the explicit effort of the observer to recognize particular meanings inherent in patterns of action, for even though the actions involved in two situations may appear similar, the meanings and intentions lying behind them may result in very different explanations.

Thus, for example, saying 'I do' in front of a priest and one's fiancée, may be an act of marriage and it may not, depending upon the circumstances, for the participants may be pretending or acting in a movie or rehearsing the ceremony, and so on. What specific action is being undertaken depends upon the meanings that the bodily movement being performed have. (Fay, 1975, p. 73)

Descriptions and redescriptions are necessary in determining the sense of particular patterns of actions for such reinterpretations seek common networks of meaning rather than measured observations of patterns of action. According to explanations offered by interpretive social science, by identifying with other persons involved in a situation, or by reliving an event, the actions observed can be more authentically understood, and the 'sense' of particular situations brought to light. Fay (1975) points out that attempting to understand or explain particular actions is accomplished by setting the act within a larger context than that simply observed. The meaning given to actions therefore, includes the aims and cognitions of the person involved in the situation, and the circumstances surrounding the action.

In other words, the public evidence to support particular explanations is gathered from more than the observed actions of the event itself. For instance, in the debates related to the 'domestic problem' documented by the proceedings of the National Council of Women of Canada (referred to in chapter two) can be interpreted at a surface level as the desire to help immigrant women in performing household chores. Yet, a more careful reading -a reinterpretation of the evidence - shows that concern for improving the skills of immigrant women also arose because they provided a reservoir of household help for Canadians. Furthermore, classes in domestic training could impart

the 'Canadian way' to women of foreign backgrounds. Thus, evidence and reason suggest that there was more to the domestic problem than was first apparent, and that the search for a deeper explanation of the actions involved reveal a much more complex situation.

In interactive practice active participation characterizes the transfer of knowledge from the one who holds the knowledge to the 'seekers' of the knowledge. Two relationships become evident, each unique from the other dimensions of practice - the first between the professional and the knowledge inherent in his field of study; the second between the professional and those with whom the knowledge is shared. If these relationships are construed in terms of education, it is evident that each teacher must interpret the knowledge of their subject fields not only in terms of prescribed courses of study, but also in terms of their own experiences as a person, and the priorities each places on the presentation of certain kinds of knowledge for particular classrooms. For example we are told repeatedly how the death of Adelaide Hoodless's son by drinking contaminated milk, stimulated her crusade for intelligent training for women in household matters. While this is a dramatic example of the biography of the 'holder of knowledge' affecting its selection and interpretation, similar situations occur constantly in the way knowledge is transformed to to suit particular audiences. The following explanation of a mathematics lesson in a 1907 classroom clearly shows how knowledge was selected and

oriented for particular purposes, in this case, so as to 'make the school and life real to the child'.

Miss Snow gave a most interesting illustration of how mathematics may be taught in a cooking class. In a class with six year old children, we began with fractions, using the measuring cup. We were making something that required them to know how many halves there are in a whole, how many fourths in a whole, how many fourths in a half. They learned quickly. In making fig sandwiches the recipe called for one-half as much sugar as figs and twice as much water. Each child measured the figs after cutting them in small pieces, then had to find out how much sugar and water to use. The amount of figs varied so that some of the problems involved were one-half of one-quarter, one-half of two, one-half of one-half, one-half of one-third, one-third of two. They solved them quickly. Why? Because each one wanted to make his sandwich. (Hoodless, 1908, p. 194).

In the above example the contouring of knowledge by the teacher to fit a particular group of students, is an example of the interaction between the possession and application of knowledge.

The second relationship unique to interactive practice is between the professional (in this case, the teacher) and those to whom the knowledge is being transferred (the students). In interactive practice participants work together to forge a common network of meaning. Working together rests on the assumption that, if the situation is viewed from the perspective of the persons involved, enriched forms of understanding emerge. In interactive practice the role of the 'expert'

or 'holder of knowledge' is not fixed, because of participation with others in reaching a consensus of understanding. Thus, defense lawyers present the position of the accused, or counsellors seek to understand the actions of clients in difficult situations. In each case, the client, student, or involved 'other' becomes an active member of the team where descriptions, meanings and understandings related to a particular situation are determined. Once a satisfactory interpretation is reached, alternative solutions can be presented, and their merits discussed. Schwab refers to this form of decision making as choosing "not the right alternative, for there is no such thing, but the best one". (1969, p.36). This does not preclude that the most appropriate solution may indeed lie in the dimension of instrumental practice. However, in contrast to instrumentalism, interactive practice views the methods of science as one of the alternatives, rather than the only way of reaching a solution.

Interactive practice in education is associated with knowledge that is not imposed, but rather that which is arbitrated. It provides the opportunity to see through the surface of everyday life, and reveals the commonality of meaning in experience rather than the quantifiable relationships. A curriculum which includes knowledge which can be negotiated stimulates discussion, deliberation and the consideration of alternative viewpoints. Interactive practice therefore encourages students to become engaged with the knowledge itself and to interact with others who hold an alternative viewpoint.

Reflective Practice

Reflective practice addresses the historical, moral, social and political influences in contemporary society. It is closely associated with the process of critical reflection, based on an interest in emancipation developed by Habermas, (1974). Practice of this form is distinguished from the other dimensions by process of critique which reveals the constraining forces, vested interests and false social beliefs of situations that may not be apparent to those closely involved.

By creating an awareness of the factors that shape the frameworks of knowledge, and human perspectives - and the ways in which these might be transformed, reflective practice aims to bring about long-term change, not only in the individual, but also in the social order. As people become aware of the mechanisms that control human lives, and the consequences of such domination, they begin to see themselves differently. Hultgren speaks of this as "bringing out the inner world that stands behind the outer world" (1983, p.21).

Once such influences are exposed, avenues of action that will bring about change become apparent. Through, questioning, debating, and reflecting upon juxtaposed or contradictory perspectives of knowledge, potential patterns of action can be weighed and reconciled for the good

of all. Action, in reflective practice implies a willingness to bear the consequences of changing that which is repressive. The process of change itself therefore becomes inherently meaningful, for action - conceived as part of a wider context - is not an end unto itself, but rather a turning point which fosters continued reflection and growth.

Concern for the reflective dimension of practice was visualized by a few of the initial advocates of domestic training. For instance, Caroline Hunt voiced her ideas regarding the notion of 'freedom' in her conception of the scope of home economics.

The final test of teaching home economics is freedom. If we have unnecessarily complicated a single life by perpetuating useless conventions or by carrying the values of one age over into the next, just so far have we failed. If we have simplified one life and released in it energy for its own expression, just so far have we succeeded. (cited in Francine Hultgren, 1983, p.22)

Thus, Hunt criticizes societal norms that are perpetuated without examination of their worth. She implies that the lack of examination inhibits the freedom desired by women because societal expectations have been repressive. Hunt's comments suggest that the potential of individuals can only be fulfilled when they understand what they 'have been' what they 'are now' and what they have the potential 'to become'. The process involved is that of reflective practice. The fact that Hunt's early philosophical ideals formed a part of the Lake Placid Conferences, begs the question as to whether such ideals were expressed

in the curriculum of domestic science, and whether they form a part of the contemporary program.

The dimension of reflective practice holds expanded horizons of meaning and new directions for actions which promote social change rather than social adaptation. As the ideal of service directed toward the strengthening of the home and family is the proclaimed goal of home economics, and as education has historically been a major means of promoting its ideals, the inclusion of reflective practice in the interpretive framework is a means of determining whether students are being provided with the necessary tools to bring about the changes conducive to the improvement of human welfare. In short, do home economics programs promote frameworks of thinking congruent with the ideals they uphold ?

Chapter Five

THE CURRICULUM OF DOMESTIC SCIENCE: A DESCRIPTION OF CHANGE.

The curriculum is examined with reference to three time periods corresponding to stages in the growth of the domestic science as a school subject. The years 1905 to 1925 cover the introductory phase of programs to schools throughout the province. During its introduction, domestic science promoted the virtues of domesticity as a means of assisting families. The early curriculum is described in terms of questions relating to the kinds of knowledge considered important, the way knowledge is applied in terms of student activities, and the relationship between subject matter and learning. The initial program is examined in greater detail as it has provided the foundation for subsequent curricular revisions.

From 1926 until 1946 the curriculum changes in both its organization and its belief structure. Teaching and learning move away from lessons based on the expertise of teachers and instead reflected a stronger commitment to the assumptions of science. The last phase of examination, the 1979 curriculum, outlines the nature of the contemporary school program.

The First Phase - Intuitive Ideas, Strengthened by the World of Science.

Few records survive from the earliest era of home economics in British Columbia. However, those that do suggest there never was an 'original curriculum'. In most cases the curriculum of early domestic science programs appears to have been dependent upon the training, interests and resources of the classroom teacher. Yet, examination reveals a considerable uniformity in the kinds of teaching and learning which took place in early domestic science classrooms. Thus, curricular material related to school programs such as Public School Domestic Science (1898), Domestic Science Course I (1911), the Girls' Home Manual (1913), and the British Columbia, Department of Education, Courses of Study (1923) all outline similar kinds of learning activities.

An early attempt in creating curricular uniformity is illustrated in the publication of food preparation and housekeeping manuals for domestic science programs on Vancouver Island (Juniper, 1911). By 1923 the Department of Education issued a regulation requiring urban teachers to offer only one course of work in any one city. However, there was no official effort to coordinate programs in domestic science within the province until the appointment of McLenaghan in 1926.

Activities:

1. What kinds of activities are emphasized in the curriculum?

The activities of early programs in domestic training focus on the duties of women in caring for the family and the household. Activities are distinguished by two major characteristics. First, they emphasize the home as a production center. Therefore, lessons consist of step-by-step procedures for making things, ranging from food products, to laundry starch, to laying a fire. Secondly, the activities emphasize the refinement of skills and techniques through practice, and by modelling the actions of the teacher.

The importance of doing domestic duties well is evident in both the number of activities which are specified, and the detail with which they are outlined. For example, in the Home Management section of Domestic Science, Course I comprehensive and separate instructions are given for the cleaning of the following items: the kitchen sink, the sink trap, the kitchen range, mopping, dusting and sweeping (using a dustcap and gloves) window cleaning, painted and varnished wood, silver, knives, steel forks, pastry boards, white wooden utensils, kitchen tin and enamel ware, brushes, furniture, and copper and brass.

2. How do class members participate in the suggested activities?

Participation is an essential part of the domestic science program. However, while the practical component of schooling was itself an innovation, there are indications that the way in which students participated was rigidly controlled. The following description of an early domestic science classroom in Vancouver shows the exacting detail by which activities were carried out, and the emphasis placed on the importance of technique and correct habits.

A thoroughly competent supervisor is in charge of the cooking kitchens and while she instructs her girls in the rudiments of breadmaking, the proper methods of cooking meats and vegetables, and the preparation of dainty and appetizing side dishes, besides giving them an idea of the food values of different articles of diet and the underlying reasons for combining different ingredients to produce a well-balanced bill of fare, she also gives them a thorough training in systematic methods, the work of her classes being performed with almost military promptness and precision, each dish in each girl's cupboard being in its exact place, and even the knives, forks and spoons being ranged like a row of little soldiers. The results achieved by these little housekeepers are excellent. (Ross, cited in Sandison, 1971, p.19).

The regimentation of activities suggests an interesting gap between the progressive ideals which promoted the cause of domestic science, and the kinds of learning activities which were implemented within the classroom. Clearly student learning experiences were determined by the teacher, not by the needs or wishes of the students. Moreover, little

latitude was allowed for initiative on the part of students in carrying out domestic duties.

3. Do classroom activities highlight a particular focus upon the family?

Classroom programs are addressed to girls with respect to their future roles as wives and mothers. School programs from this era suggest that producing goods and the proper performance of household chores were the avenues through which women's influence could be felt. 'Upgrading' the home is interpreted as improving the physical qualities of family life, such as keeping the house cleaner, preparing meals, and sewing clothes.

Interestingly, the 'family' is seldom mentioned in the early curriculum. However, sections on invalid cooking and children's diets imply that these were duties to be carried out by women when required. As no reference is made to family relationships or family activities, the home seems to have been conceived as a place for the performance of tasks.

Much of the concern for improving family life relates to the promotion of sanitary habits. Hoodless' comments illustrate the way in which this was enforced during classroom activities.

Personal cleanliness must be insisted upon. Special attention should be given to the hands and nails. The hair should be carefully pinned back or

confined in some way, and covered by a cap. A large clean apron and holder should be worn while at work. Never allow the pupils to use a handkerchief or their aprons in place of a holder. (Hoodless, 1898, p.ix.)

However, domestic science was not alone in its concern for establishing good health habits. Throughout the early part of the 20th century a variety of health workers and women's organizations publicized the need for preventative health care within the province (Sutherland, 1980). While home visits, public meetings, and educational bulletins were used to persuade mothers to adopt new health ideas, within the school system, medical and dental examinations were instituted for children. The Public School Report of 1911 from Vancouver schools shows that the concern for the health of children was justified.

1,053 cases of pediculosis (vermin)
6,057 cases of bad teeth
56 cases of ring worm
43 cases of 'itch'
138 children classed as simply 'unclean'
In addition, the following communicable diseases were found: diphtheria, measles, whooping cough, chicken pox, scarlet fever, sore throat, enlarged tonsils and adenoids.
(Public School Annual Report, 1911. p. A50)

That the public health movement had an influence on the domestic science curriculum is suggested by the home economics report from the same year which mentions even in sewing, the need to instruct children in 'hygienic clothing'. (Public School Report, 1911, p. A47-A51.)

4. What rationale is advanced to justify classroom activities?

Underlying the emphasis on household duties was a belief that the

properly cared for home was a manifestation of virtuous living and spiritual well-being. For example, Hoodless declares that the purpose of domestic training is to "direct the intellectual faculties toward the idealization of the home" (1903, p.162.). The preface of her textbook, states its aim as being "...to assist the pupil in acquiring a knowledge of the fundamental principles of correct living" (Hoodless, 1898, p.v.).

The social purpose of classroom activities is echoed by Berry, who refers to training and instruction in the 'art of true homemaking' as the function of domestic science (1906, pp.22-23). Even as late as 1921 Berry speaks of the "...the aim of home economics is not simply to teach sewing and cooking alone but to teach 'right living'" (1921, p. 72). Ravenhill too, in an address given to the Vancouver Council of Women refers to the importance of teaching 'moral hygiene' as well as 'physical hygiene' (1911).

The relationship between the proper performance of duties under sanitary conditions and the importance of right living arises from the belief that a healthy environment, in which responsibilities were carried out well, was conducive to both spiritual and intellectual growth. As the moral dimension of the home was fundamental to the philosophy of the domestic science pioneers, many of the exacting details regarding domestic duties can be interpreted within this framework of social purpose.

B. Knowledge.

1. What kinds of knowledge are perceived as having the most worth?

The historical development of domestic science, and the grounds upon which it was justified, stress the importance of useful knowledge. The concept of usefulness is conceived in the curriculum as the ability to run a home well - to carry out its practical chores, to care for family members, and to recognize the importance of science in upgrading the standards of sanitation and hygiene in the home.

Mental discipline, a former keystone in the educational system, is not of explicit concern. In fact, even in the advocacy of science, Hoodless cautions educators that "To enter more fully into the chemistry of food, bacteriology etc., would tend to cause confusion in the mind of the average school girl, and possibly create a distaste for knowledge containing so much abstract matter" (1898, p.vi).

2. What assumptions about knowledge and learning are advanced?

Hoodless (1898, p.x) states that instruction in domestic science could be used to co-ordinate other school studies such as history, geography, arithmetic, physiology and temperance. As domestic science was a means of relating education to everyday life, Hoodless envisioned a

relationship between history and geography and the study of diet and customs, and the teaching of arithmetic through arranging weights and measures, and the purchase of food. Exercising the mind with useful knowledge improved several dimensions of human growth and provided the basis for some of the arguments advanced by educational reformers to support forms of manual training.

Practical work and repetition are the focus of student learning experiences. However, perfecting home-related skills assumes the existence of a standard for judging the adequacy of student performance. The only criteria then available was culturally determined - subjective, based on daily life, and one which grew out of the expertise of women who learned through experience the most successful ways of managing a household. The mirroring of traditional expertise is therefore a feature of the early curriculum.

3. Who controls the way knowledge is used in the curriculum?

Evidence suggests that access to appropriate knowledge was controlled by each classroom teacher. Certainly in the early curriculum, only knowledge related to the home is made available to students. Access to knowledge seems to have been further restricted by classroom methods of presentation, the lack of curricular resources, and the conviction that

household duties were bound by a rigid social framework.

Knowledge is also controlled by referring to students only in terms of their preparation for adulthood. Though there is some reference to present circumstances, it is only in the role of a 'mother's helper' - such as a waitress at the dinner table. The students themselves, and their concern for 'being' rather than 'becoming', does not form a part of the curricular content in the initial phase of domestic science.

C. Relationships and Patterns.

1. Do classroom activities reflect curricular purposes?

Concern for developing good habits runs throughout the curriculum, and is illustrated in the relationship portrayed between carrying out tasks in specified ways and 'right living'. The comment, "It is an accomplishment to be a good waitress, as it requires special refinement and deftness, which are scarcely compatible with an untidy nature" exemplifies the way in which practical duties were imbued with moral purpose (Hoodless, 1898, p. 172). Such admonishments are indicative of the constant undercurrent of secular moralism which runs throughout the early program.

The credibility of science is often used to reinforce subjective knowledge. For instance, the importance of accurate measuring is stressed in foods classes. Yet, recipes called for "butter the size of an egg", a "kitchen tablespoon" as a measuring utensil, and baking products "until done" (Dept. of Education, Recipes for Home Economics Classes, 1927). Even though Rowles (1956) credits the work of Miss Given from 1903 to 1909 at the Hamilton Normal School with the introduction of the concept of basic recipes for standard products, the instructions used in schools show that culturally derived experience impinged for a considerable period on the world of science.

2. Do the curricular materials emphasize leadership for the future, adaptation to the present, or preservation of the past?

On the surface, the early curriculum appears to be directed to the future as it focuses on preparing the girls to be better wives and mothers. Moreover, the rhetoric of social reformers pointed to the importance of domestic science in training future citizens, and the influence of good homes in the building of a nation. However, a cursory examination is deceiving, for most of the activities involved in early programs relate to understanding past expertise and experience so that families could more adequately cope with the changing circumstances of the industrial age.

For example, in Domestic Science Course I, a portion of the instruction deals with the cleaning and care of the kitchen range.

Clinkers may be removed by putting on a bed of hot coals a layer of clam or oyster shells or quicklime. The heat converts shells into quicklime, which loosens clinkers. Repeat treatment if necessary. (Domestic Science, Course I, 1911, Card 2.) The knowledge applied in this lesson is derived from past cultural experience. In this instance such expertise was uniquely associated with coastal living patterns. The lesson illustrates intuitive ideas of the past being supported by the relevant principles of science and suggests that adapting to the present, and concern with the past was the typical curricular focus.

3. What kinds of teacher/student relationships does the curriculum foster?

The role of the classroom teacher is not only to teach the minutia of the performance of household duties but also to convey the moral dimensions of the subject. For example, teachers of early classes in domestic science are explicitly cautioned that,

Untidy habits must not be allowed in the classroom. Set an example of perfect order and neatness, and insist upon pupils following that example.... Everything must be left in perfect order at the close of each lesson. Public School Domestic Science, 1898, p. ix).

Students are expected to model the virtues of their domestic science instructor, and instructors are expected to personify the fundamentals of correct living. Early lessons suggest that the moral faculties are exercised through the process of habit formation, just as the intellectual powers are developed through the subject matter.

4. In what ways is a home/school relationship supported by the learning activities?

All forms of manual training fostered a relationship between education and daily life. School reports suggest that once a domestic science program was initiated within a school the linkage was encouraged by arranging occasions where the public could see what was being done in classrooms. By having students practice tasks carried out in the home, habits and information learned at school were expected to influence mothers, thus upgrading the standard of living in the home.

It is of interest that foods classrooms resembled laboratories, though they were called domestic science 'centers'. Girls prepared only individual portions of food rather than family-sized amounts.

Frequently this necessitated using small equipment and a single gas burner. Thus, the classroom situation seems to have been one in which the content of the lessons echoed the daily activities of the home yet, the way in which tasks were carried out copied some of the aspects of science.

5. Is there an apparent sequencing of knowledge and activities?

Juniper's work does not reflect a sequencing of knowledge. Rather, it is a recitation of tasks which must be done. Hoodless makes some brief reference to simple tasks being done before more complicated ones, and implies that students with a stronger home training may be more accomplished in classroom activities. In contrast the Course of Study (1923) makes specific reference to a sequencing of subject matter, though the basis upon which specific topics are fitted into particular grade levels is never clarified.

Overall, key ideas related to women's role portrayed in the curriculum differ markedly from some of the rhetoric which promoted domestic science as a means of extending women's influence. Though conducted in the name of science, curricular activities suggest a reinforcing of conventional values. Domestic ideals are emphasized by learning to do daily duties well. A good housekeeper symbolizes the virtues of a good person. As a form of practical training, domestic science offered an alternative to conventional forms of schooling and provided a means of more closely associating schooling and daily life. Yet, the early curriculum acts as an insulator from change, and when change seemed inevitable, as a means of adapting to new conditions.

The Scientific Method in an Expanded Curriculum: 1926 to 1946.

Following the Putman-Weir Survey and the 1926 appointment of a Director of Home Economics, the curriculum changes in its organization, its allegiance to science, and its perceptions of the student. According to McLenaghan's 1927 report the program was altered to "broaden out the course to include more than mere technical processes", a recipe book was published to avoid waste of classroom time, library resources were expanded, and greater effort was made to increase the "...uniformity of work being offered throughout the Province..." (McLenaghan, 1927, pp. M63-65).

The curriculum throughout this period shows increasing concern for a more comprehensive coverage of material. The traditional areas of cooking and sewing include new topics and treat them in greater detail. For example, in 1927 McLenaghan maintains that use of the sewing machine in grade VI, should accompany the mastery of hand stitching in order to increase the practical value of the course, as well as "the number of problem-solving situations" which could be included in each program (p. M63). In addition to sewing, the study of textiles is introduced from the standpoint of color, durability, cost, and texture. By 1941 students in Junior High School have the option of specializing in clothing and textiles as a particular branch of home economics. Their studies include specific units on making a wool dress, remodelling a garment, the clothing budget, textiles study, pattern

alterations, and applied art (Home Economics for Junior and Senior High Schools, 1941).

In foods courses, the publication and use of a recipe book facilitates preparation and encourages efficiency. Skills are considered important in the preparation of basic categories of foods such as, cakes, meats, and vegetables. However, accurate measurement is also more heavily emphasized in order to produce standard products using recognized methods . Stress is placed on food products and their relationship to definite meals rather than manipulation in terms of cookery methods. Thus, the Grade VII course in 1927 employs recipes as components of lunches and light suppers. Moreover, recipes are written in family-size portions, in contrast to the individual portions prepared in earlier programs. The growing concern for the use of standard recipes, accurate measurement, and efficient working conditions shows a new thrust in the foods courses, one which moves away from the expertise of the instructor and toward the control of cooking procedures by the knowledge of principles and rules.

New topics are also introduced which reflect women's changing role in the family. The 1927 program goes beyond housekeeping chores, cooking and sewing, as it incorporates at the Grade VII level a unit designed to teach the value of money. The course outline refers to 'methods of

obtaining money' and 'saving and spending wisely' when discussing a girl's allowance. Not only does this acknowledge the role of women as managers and consumers, but it approaches the topic from the viewpoint of the student, a significant departure from teaching girls only in terms of their future roles. A subsequent section on Home Problems refers to marketing as one of the household duties in which girls can take part. The revised Grade VII program in 1928 further expands the topic to include a section on 'personal accounts', dealing with the amount of money a family spends on raising children and the means of reducing this expense.

By 1933 'Home Management' becomes more prominently featured as a part of the Grade IX course. In contrast to the earlier connotation of the term, 'house management' which implied only the carrying out of domestic chores, 'home management' includes shopping ethics (how to treat salespeople), comparative shopping and reducing costs by buying well and using wisely. The introduction of home projects encourages students to practice management skills within their own family situation. It is likely that home projects also advanced the home-school relationship, and acquainted some mothers with management skills.

In addition to reorganization of the content in foods and clothing courses, and the greater concern for management and applied art, a separate elective termed 'home relations' is offered by 1941 in the

senior grades. Topics dealing with the family such as health and nutrition, child care and development, home nursing, and family and social relationships gradually gain importance in curricular revisions. The subject area, covered by the label 'home economics', encompasses a much broader range of topics in the second phase of its development.

A second feature of curricular organization which changes from 1926 to 1946 is the increased use of objectives to specify the kinds of learnings which are prescribed. In contrast to the earlier program, objectives are stated in terms of the purposes for which the courses were taught rather than the subject matter to be covered. Objectives also change within this period from those directed toward teaching, to those which focus on learning. Thus, the 1927 curriculum lists as one of its objectives, "To teach the proper selection and preparation of foods essential to good health considered in relation to the preparation of breakfasts, luncheons, or suppers and afternoon teas" (Department of Education, 1927, p.52). By 1941 this is expressed as:

(a.) The development of the ability to select and prepare an adequate family diet with due regard to:-

(1.) Nutritive requirement of the members of the family.

(2.) Comparative value of foods to meet these requirements.

(3.) Comparative cost of foods in terms of time, money, and energy.

(4.) The provisions of the diet in a form that is attractive, palatable, and digestible.

(b.) The development of good food habits and good general health habits. (Dept. of Education, 1941, p. 87)

Objectives are also stated in terms of abilities, attitudes, and understandings, rather than only skills, habit formation and technique. The more careful specification of learning through the use of objectives suggests a shift in the emphasis of home economics from that of cultivating desirable attitudes and behaviour through modelling and practice of household skills, to mastering and controlling the events and tasks involved in family living.

Greater organization of the curriculum is accompanied by increased concern for the learning which occurred in classrooms. As the concept of examination in home economics is introduced, both students and teachers become more accountable for what is taught and learned. During the 1926 school year reference to a home economics course for 'repeaters' shows the concern of teachers for 'passing', 'failing' and the achievement of particular standards. (Vancouver School Board, Report, 1926, pp. 78, 80). According to Mildred Cunningham, a Supervisor of Home Economics for Vancouver in 1927, questions for the 'new type' multiple choice tests given in both foods and clothing classes, "... were selected largely from various standard tests from approved universities. The Bureau of Measurements co-operated splendidly with typing of these tests, the preparation of score sheets and the tabulating of results" (Vancouver School Board, Report, p. 120).

One of the most noticeable changes in the curriculum is the introduction of the scientific method to home economics. The experimental method is first mentioned in 1927 as a means of meeting the challenge of the Putman Weir Survey to reduce waste and inefficiency. A new way of doing dishes was developed in Aberdeen School in Vancouver resulting in a saving of time and energy and a reduction of classroom noise. (Vancouver School Board, Report, 1926, p.77) In 1928, Mabel Allen of King Edward High School is reported to have conducted an animal feeding experiment to show the effects of deficient diet on the growth of rats (Vancouver School Board, Report, 1928, p. 105). By 1943-44 a nutrition project involving twenty elementary children, selected for study because they exhibited signs of poor health, and fed weekly nutritious meal prepared by home economics students apparently strongly proved the value of a well-balanced diet. (Vancouver School Board, Report, 1944, pp.56, 105). Generally, teachers are encouraged to use experiments, and student learning activities are conceived as problems to be solved. However, sometimes the world of science is juxtaposed on traditional ideas in a curious way, such as the unit on 'Kitchen Efficiency and Charm' included in the 1937 curriculum.

While the affinity to science is increasingly evident in the curriculum, there is also a change in the attitude toward students. Reference is frequently made to student's participation as mother's

helpers in the home, doing household chores, marketing, and caring for younger siblings. The present needs of students are being considered, as illustrated by sections of the curriculum dealing with serving tea to parents and friends (1927), the care and furnishing of a girl's own room (1927) and making a silk party dress (1941). A justification for studying home economics, written from a student viewpoint cloyingly expresses the fact that home economics was not only educating students for the future, but also for present circumstances.

We are trying to be mother's helpers, now. Most mothers have pretty much to do, and girls who take Home Economics are able to help out and lighten the load. Running a home isn't so very easy, and when you study how it is done, you begin to understand that you need training besides common sense to make things go smoothly. Our teacher told us that a good housekeeper is a little bit of everything... and she said, too, that the kinds of homes and home life that we build up has something to do with the kind of nation we have, so we ought to know how to make a good job of it. (McLenaghan, n.d., p.3)

Passing reference is made by McLenaghan (n.d., p.3) that home economics training could be used in occupations and professions outside the home, though there is little mention within the school program itself suggesting the a home economics course might have applicability elsewhere.

The curriculum in the period from 1926 to 1946 portrays a much more complex understanding of the home and family. Home economics is visualized as a field of study rather than simply a subject of study. Specific concern for the student, and other family members suggests that the home was perceived as an environment in which individual members could be nurtured. On the surface, studying more topics in greater depth appears to indicate a broader perspective of home economics. However, family living was only interpreted in terms of general principles and rules related to subject matter, or by mastering practical skills. A more objective approach to subject content coupled with increasingly organized curricular purposes suggests that the desire for control of learning was becoming more important.

The Contemporary Curriculum of Home Economics.

The revision completed in 1979 is currently used in schools throughout the province. The Home Economics Curriculum Guide, (8-12) sets forth the goals of the program, learning outcomes, and suggested resources. The rationale of the curriculum states that the four major topic areas: food, clothing, shelter and human relations draw from the arts, sciences, and humanities.

experience and knowledge so that attitudes, skills and techniques can be developed which enable individuals to function effectively by themselves, and within families. Meeting the varied needs, interests and abilities of students is a major concern of the program, and therefore a vocational dimension is included for interested students. In acknowledging the changing needs of society, increased emphasis is given to family, nutrition, conservation, consumer skills and leisure activities. Co-education has been a proclaimed part of the contemporary curriculum for a number of years, recognizing the participation of all family members in domestic responsibilities. In addition, the family conceived as a 'conserver' reflects societal concern for diminishing resources, and holds different implications for school programs than the family portrayed as the 'producer' or 'consumer' of goods.

The program is directed toward enabling students to accomplish eight overall goals. Some of these relate to the acquisition of knowledge, skills and principles associated with food, clothing and shelter. Understanding human nutrition is also considered important. Efficient management and consumer skills are related to all aspects of home economics. Recognizing the needs and customs of various ages, levels of society and cultures is a stated goal in terms of achieving effective relationships. Acquiring abilities and attitudes for dealing with change is also a program aim. Skill and interest in leisure activity, and the appreciation for beauty in the environment are also

listed. Finally a broad base of knowledge as background for further education is considered of significance.

Each of the overall goals is achieved through accomplishing the learning outcomes which are integrated into five topic areas: foods and nutrition, clothing and textiles, family studies, textiles arts and crafts, and housing and interior design. In each of the topic areas, suggestions for future occupations are included. These range from those which require little additional training to those which involve professional preparation.

The ordering of content and suggestions for covering subject matter are termed the 'scope and sequence' of the courses. These are specifically outlined for each of the five 'levels' of secondary school, from grades eight to twelve. Clearly, this curriculum reflects a strong hierarchy of learning. Knowledge is generally applied in terms of making things, with suggestions offered as to the products which should be prepared at each level. It is recommended that teachers demonstrate the preparation and service of food products to all lower level students, and all new techniques to students at higher levels.

Using a technical format, learning outcomes to be achieved within each topic are shown in the form of simple graphs. Bars are used to designate the grade level at which particular outcomes are to be

introduced and completed. For example, the learning outcome "to be able to plan and carry out a time and work schedule" for clothing projects, vacations and hobbies, runs from level three to level five (i.e. grade ten to twelve), while learning outcomes dealing with food preparation and personal time run through all five levels, indicating that the student "will continue the development of the outcome at subsequent levels with increasing sophistication" (Guide, 1979, p.3) Teachers are expected to decipher these instructions with respect to their own classes.

A resource section provides suggestions for lessons in each of the topic areas. These generally relate either to the organization of the classroom or to the organization of the lesson. Thus, in foods and nutrition, an outline for lesson planning specifies the time recommended for each learning outcome, the teaching procedure to be used, and the related student activity. Learning experiences most frequently suggested are making lab plans, preparing food, knowing food groups, classifying foods according to nutrients, and listing care and storage procedures of the foods being studied. Housekeeping duties are still important as indicated by the 'Suggested Guide for Housekeeping Duties' which suggests rotating student jobs according the seating position at the unit lab table. A job rotation by number is given for each month of the year. Tasks can, therefore, be assigned and executed efficiently.

An explicit departure from the predominantly practical emphasis of the program is seen in the family studies courses taught during grades eleven and twelve. Family studies provides information rooted in both the physical and social sciences, such as the levels of physical development, life cycle stages, knowledge related to establishing a home, and parenting skills. Students examine their personal development, the family as a unit in society, and forms of communication. In essence the human elements inherent in home economics have been presented as a specialized course.

The number of specialized courses offered exemplifies the strong fragmentation of knowledge which forms a part of the contemporary curriculum. The learning outcomes determine what happens in the classroom and how the content is to be approached. The ordering of knowledge, specification of time, planning related to making products, organization of classroom duties, and the strong part played by evaluation and assessment portray current programs as objective interpretations of human experience related to the family.

Chapter Six

CHANGING CONCEPTIONS OF PRACTICE IN HOME ECONOMICS

Examining what was taught in schools reveals that the curriculum did change in significant ways throughout the first two time periods studied. Once accepted as a school subject, home economics reinforced its ideas and beliefs by treating them more comprehensively, but did not examine human experience in new ways. This chapter interprets the curricular changes in light of the four conceptions of practice outlined in chapter four.

The Early Curriculum: A Customary Framework of Practice.

The early home economics curriculum in British Columbia shows a strong affinity to customary practice in four significant ways. First, the close association between daily life and learning activities runs throughout all domestic science lessons. Clearly, the conduct of everyday life is the curricular focus. The careful specification of household chores illustrates their perceived importance in family life and implies that women who perform their duties well will be more adequate wives and mothers. Strong emphasis on the practical dimension through the mirroring of daily life activities is a fundamental characteristic of customary practice.

Second, the close liason between customary practice and the early programs is indicated by the dependence of classroom work on the expertise of each teacher. Due to the lack of qualified teachers, many classrooms were supervised by women whose skills arose from their own personal experience. Even qualified domestic science teachers learned through demonstration and repetition in their training programs. Subsequently the teaching strategies throughout the curriculum embody a pedagogy which stresses modelling and practice. The reliance on personal expertise is evident in the curriculum through the importance attributed to household routines, and the attention paid to the inculcation of good habits. The early program suggests that judgements regarding the degree of skill acquired by students depended upon subjective assessments by the teacher. In addition, the role played by teachers in the classroom reiterates the traditional values associated with women in the home. Thus, the concept of apprenticeship is highly visible, and is used not only to convey necessary knowledge and to ensure that it was applied in appropriate ways, but also to facilitate the acquisition of explicit as well as implicit habits and attitudes.

Third, the curriculum emphasizes the importance of building acceptable behavior patterns, and fulfilling societal expectations. This echoes the customary conception of practice as stress is placed on maintaining the status quo through conforming to established social conventions. The early program supports the belief that 'right thinking' leads to

'right living'. The curriculum casts 'improvement' as upgrading the quality of family care, and knowing one's place in the scheme of things. Issues of the times do not form a part of classroom work unless accompanied by strong moral overtones, as in the reference to temperance. Emphasizing routine can therefore, be interpreted as a powerful tool for imposing the comfort of order and ceremony upon the perceived conflict of the era.

The way that problems are cast for students provides the final element of affinity between practice portrayed in the early curriculum and the customary dimension. Problems demand immediate answers, action involves the appropriate application of skills and knowledge given particular circumstances, and solutions lie only in conventional pathways. In other words, questions such as 'How to make a pie?', 'How to set up a sick room?' or 'How to iron lace?' can only be answered by relying on knowledge which has already been determined. In such instances the application of knowledge has very different purposes than knowledge used to generate new solutions for given circumstances. In the early curriculum restrictions placed upon access to knowledge and its subsequent application effectively controlled the ways in which problems related to everyday living could be approached.

Early programs in domestic science emphasize family stability during a period of rapid change in Canadian society. Student activities only

involve skills which have a direct relationship to producing goods for the home. Yet, home production is stressed during a period in Canadian history when many of the traditional functions of the household were being assumed by manufacturing concerns. The focus upon 'making' and 'doing' is consistent with the arguments put forward by reformers who visualized manual training as a means of reemphasizing the traditional rural values. Girls were taught to sew and cook in order to make goods as they 'should be made' and thereby reinforce the virtues that accompanied working industriously.

There is a noticeable gap between the rhetoric of the maternal feminists and the ideals related to the role of women as portrayed in the curriculum. The curricular documents make no suggestion whatever that women might extend their role beyond the family circle. Obvious neglect of this thrust of the women's movement implies that what was taught in schools was directed toward maintaining the past and adapting to the present. In its desire to restore the traditional focus to family life the initial domestic science programs in schools appear to have encouraged girls to refine their skills only within their immediate family.

Scientific information is used in the early curriculum to support intuitive claims, justify the need to carry out activities in particular ways, and cloak domestic duties with a mantle of importance. Undoubtedly, the discoveries of science made many contributions to

aspects of family life in the first part of the twentieth century.

There is a difference, however, between using scientific knowledge (as in nutrition and health) to undergird much of the subjective nature of domestic training, and using science as a framework for the portrayal of a subject area and a mode of inquiry for its investigation.

Therefore, although the early curriculum shows frequent reference to science, it does not relate strongly to a scientific framework.

The Curriculum from 1926 to 1946: An Instrumental Framework.

Curricular documents within this time period illustrate an increasing belief in the powers of science. As the explicit framework of social purpose, the hallmark of earlier programs, diminishes, allegiance to an instrumental conception of practice increases. Thus, the transformation from customary to instrumental practice occurs gradually, but steadily, throughout the various curricular revisions between 1926 and 1946.

The following characteristics suggest the relationship between home economics education as a more established school subject, and the instrumental conception of practice. The most obvious of these is the shift in the source of curricular expertise as the validity attributed to science replaces the traditional expertise of the teacher. Programs throughout this period increasingly advocate the use of experimental

procedures to confirm basic principles. Thus, nutrition studies graphically portray the importance of a proper diet, time and motion studies on household procedures quantitatively illustrate savings in time and energy, and scientific 'tests' determine the presence of particular components in food.

Instrumental practice is also illustrated in the organized approach to learning evident in the curriculum of this period. In other words, learning becomes a controlled procedure. Hence, a variety of mechanisms are introduced to ensure that students enrolled in home economics think and behave in particular ways. For example, the presence of a provincially prescribed curriculum, the provision of a course textbook and the appointment of a provincial director collectively reduce the variation in course content among different schools throughout the province. The process of examination and regular classroom visits by the director each monitor the way classroom teachers implement the curriculum. Standardizing the appearance of home economics classrooms, particularly foods laboratories also controls the variation among programs. Implicitly, even the use of learning objectives in the curriculum assumes that human behavior can be controlled for specific purposes. While these additions accompanied the acceptance of home economics as a school subject, they also exemplify new forms of control over the learning process which had been absent in the earlier curriculum.

Course outlines and public school reports show that classroom activities became increasingly aligned with the methods of science. This is not only evident in the kinds of activities encouraged such as the use of experiments, but also in the procedures for carrying out student activities. Thus, learning experiences are conceived as problems to be solved, with time spent planning the activity involved. Recipes stress the specific steps to be followed, as in the 'cake method', the 'muffin method' etc. By 1941, even design, crafts and interior decoration shows the use of theories and principles, and their application to specific problem situations. Knowledge to be learned is predefined, the method is specified, and specific procedures are required to bring about replicable results.

The curriculum, as well as school reports, begins to speak the language of science. Foods classrooms are called 'laboratories', pupils are no longer referred to as 'girls', but rather 'students'. Recipes are prepared using 'standard measurements', and their success is judged according to a predetermined criteria of quality. Thus, the language assumes a measure of objectivity, not found in earlier programs.

As this period progresses the curriculum shows an increasing fragmentation of knowledge which is associated with the technical specialization of an instrumental conception of practice. By 1941 students are able to pursue a sequence of specialized courses in

(A) Foods, Nutrition and Home Management, or (B) Clothing, Textiles and Applied Art, or a general course 'made up of units or parts of units' selected from both (A) or (B).

While the initial program of domestic science suggests that practicing home activities developed most of the abilities requisite to a good wife and mother, the later curriculum emphasizes the need to have specific knowledge in more specialized areas. Home economics from 1926 to 1946 assumes that the family requires more than upgrading the level of household skills associated with the home. Using the objectivity of science, the family becomes a phenomenon to be studied, a direct contrast from earlier times when families were understood by others simply by living in a family environment. By the end of this period, as families themselves become an object of study, it is contended that instrumental practice had replaced the customary conception inherent in the earlier curriculum.

The Contemporary Curriculum: Reinforcing Instrumental Practice.

The contemporary curriculum is a technical presentation of 'ends to be achieved' through mastery of particular techniques and specified knowledge. The learning outcomes stated for each topic area determine both the knowledge made available and the way in which it is to be used. For example, in textile arts and crafts, the outcome which

specifies "The student should be able to use all equipment correctly" infers that directions on the use of each piece of equipment must form a part of the course content (Guide ,1979, p.51). Learning to follow directions and procedures remains an important concern. This is confirmed in other topic areas where 'planning' forms an considerable portion of many lessons. Within instrumental practice, as portrayed by home economics, students are the passive recipients of knowledge, for they do not play a part in determining either the knowledge itself or how it is used.

Generally there is little room for interpretation on the part of the student for both teaching and learning are explicitly controlled. Learning outcomes, the specification and ordering of routines, the heirarchy of activities, and time detailing all limit the way knowledge is acquired and used within the classroom. In foods classes the recommended evaluation forms filled in by both student and teacher, quantitatively measure how well the student has achieved the desired objectives.

Some opportunity for thought, debate and critique is incorporated into the family studies program. Activities such as examining past and contemporary cultures have the potential of including more than simply acquiring information and technique. Thus, there are hints that the current program is beginning to acknowledge interactive practice, even

though most of the activities listed in family studies focus on the acquisition of information and the refinement of skills.

Home economics shows an even stronger commitment to instrumental practice than that illustrated by the earlier stages of its growth. Given its reinforcement of instrumental practice, the perception of science conveyed in the curriculum deserves some comment. Apple (1971) explains that schools are frequently presenting the scientific mode of thinking as a body of 'thats' and 'hows' which distorts the true meaning of scientific thought. Apple further contends that the current focus in schools of the scientific rationale portrays a consensus theory of science that is both misleading and unrealistic.

In our schools, scientific work is tacitly always linked with accepted standards of validity and is seen (and taught) as always subject to empirical verification with no outside influences, either personal or political. 'Schools of thought' in science do not exist, or, if they do, 'objective criteria' are used to persuade scientists that one side is correct and the other wrong. (Apple, 1971, p. 30)

Distortion of the scientific rationale ignores the positive use of conflict in challenging traditional meaning structures in the constant search for new knowledge. To ignore the importance of conflict in a scientific discipline emphasizes an orderly and stable point of view, and alters the mode of scientific thought to believing and accepting rather than creating and recreating. By neglecting the usefulness of

'organized scepticism' students are denied the opportunity to experiment with these concepts in discovering and encountering their own expertise.

In light of Apple's comments, it is worth noting that the home economics curriculum does not cite one instance of conflict throughout the program. Yet, within family studies, and foods and nutrition some information could be advanced as theories, couched in a tentative framework, and open to future challenge and reappraisal. To present only a consensus model diminishes much of the interest and vitality inherent in the generation of new ideas. Furthermore, fostering 'believing and accepting' all information reemphasizes a passive attitude to knowledge, leading to the perpetuation of the status quo rather than bringing about needed change.

This chapter examines the development of the home economics curriculum in terms of the conceptions of practice. The initial curriculum is closely related to the customary conception of practice arising from the perceived need to improve home conditions. Subsequently, home economics is aligned with instrumental practice in both its subject content and the approach to learning. Interactive practice appears briefly in some parts of the family studies course. However, a reflective conception of practice, although espoused by contemporary writers in curriculum and home economics, does not form a part of the school program.

Chapter Seven

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS.

This study examines the changing conceptions of practice exemplified by home economics education in British Columbia. As the development of domestic science in Canada begins in the late nineteenth century, understanding some of the historical influences helps clarify the conceptions of practice embodied by the early curriculum and the subsequent changes in beliefs and ideals which occurred as home economics became accepted as a school subject.

The idea of social reform features prominently in the development of domestic science. Thus, improving family conditions, providing new forms of public service, upholding the ideal of virtuous womanhood, and training domestic servants were all differing forms of response to a changing Canadian scene. As an educational reform, domestic science represents change in both the subject matter and the process of schooling for the program was perceived by its advocates as fostering the relationship between schooling and homes, and introducing a practical component to the school system. Examination of the curriculum shows that domestic science used the process of education as a means of helping families, and women in particular, adapt to social change.

Women's groups such as the National Council of Women, the Women's Institute, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union were strongly influential in the generation of domestic science ideals. Each organization contributed to the promotion of the subject area as a means of realizing their individual platforms for the improvement in the quality of Canadian life. Education became the vehicle by which their particular solutions could be effected. As the subject area of domestic science professed to focus upon the lives of families, it represented a common ground through which a variety of ideals could be united. Thus, the initial conception of practice in domestic science reflected the beliefs of women who believed that change within the educational system was a means of influencing society.

Within education, domestic science found its support among those who advocated a system of schooling more closely related to daily life. Some educators and members of the public considered that a practical education would benefit children in a multitude of ways. Hence, domestic science was included under the umbrella of educational innovation that acknowledged the worth of all forms of manual training - from kitchen gardens, to woodwork, to sewing and cooking. Promoters capitalized on the belief that what was good for boys would also be of benefit for girls. Yet clearly the ideals sought by educational advocates differed from those pursued by women's organizations.

Evidence suggests that women who pioneered the cause of training in domestic science saw the subject area as both a stabilizing influence in Canadian society, and as a legitimate means of extending their womanly influence beyond the family confines. In contrast to those who fought for equal societal rights, the maternal feminists assumed a more modest approach to the achievement of rights for women. As such they retained their concern for the family and sought to establish the home as each woman's realm and the mechanism through which her influence could best be extended to other groups in society. Feminists of maternal persuasion believed that by campaigning for needed reforms in families and homes, society itself could be uplifted. Those who held such convictions perceived the introduction of domestic science as a valid means of promoting their cause.

This study has employed four conceptions of practice, termed customary, instrumental, interactive and reflective, to examine the beliefs and activities in the home economics curriculum. Investigation shows that in its eighty-year history in British Columbia public schools, home economics education has been associated with two of the conceptions of practice suggested by the framework.

Home economics initially reflects a customary form practice as it conveys a traditional notion of the crafts and skills related to the home. Students gain knowledge from the personal expertise of their classroom teacher in preparation for their future roles as wives and

mothers. Early home economics programs focus on preserving the stability of the family by equating the refinement of skills and techniques with upholding its moral framework. In British Columbia the curriculum does not indicate that student activities extended classroom learning beyond the family circle. The early curriculum does formalize the responsibilities of home care as being controlled by women. However, the vision of reformers remains simply a vision, for expansion of their ideals is not encouraged by the kinds of knowledge and activities taught in domestic science classrooms. In terms of the customary conception of practice, insulation from change, and then adjustment to it, are characteristics of the early programs.

From 1926 to 1946 home economics is more closely associated with the instrumental conception of practice. The moral dimension so strongly echoed by social reformers earlier in the century gradually diminishes as problems pertaining to the family are interpreted in light of the methods of science. Learning for the present is emphasized, in contrast to preparation for the future. Students are considered 'mother's helpers' in domestic chores, shopping, and minding children. Moreover, learning itself becomes a more organized and controlled process. Social efficiency rather than self-sacrifice characterizes the curriculum following 1925.

Investigation of the contemporary curriculum reveals an even stronger commitment to instrumental practice. Control of the home environment and the manipulation of aspects related to the family are the focus of the contemporary curriculum. Desire for control is highlighted in the organization of the curriculum itself, the way activities are conceived for students and in the kinds of knowledge used to interpret family problems. The stress on efficiency and objectivity also aligns this curriculum with an instrumental form of practice.

Thus, curricular examination shows that once the transformation from a customary to an instrumental conception of practice was completed little movement occurred in the kinds of practice being advocated. Practice remains primarily within an instrumental framework. These findings confirm Brown's recent claim that the profession of home economics has "become frozen into patterns of thought and action that prevailed at the beginning of the twentieth century" (1984, p. 51). Though Brown's comments are made with reference to the American scene, there is little to suggest that the situation in British Columbia has been different in terms of home economics education.

Throughout its tenure in schools, primarily as an instrumental form of practice, home economics education has enabled students at the public school level to refine their expertise in a number of speciality areas. Students participating in home economics programs become skilled in

food preparation, sewing and textiles, family studies and related forms of career preparation. Thus, home economics education is commended by some teachers in field for sustaining its efforts to pursue only what it knows how to do best. However, when the curriculum of schools is interpreted within the conceptions of practice possible within home economics, it can be seen that commitment to a single form of practice can become both a restriction and a liability.

Implications

Four major implications arise from this study, regarding the interpretation of practice in school programs and the helping professions, and the historical examination of women's role in the development of home economics.

1. The curriculum of home economics for public schools in British Columbia needs reexamination. It appears that sometimes there are considerable gaps between the subject content, its application and the purposes for which it is included. As the traditional core of the home economics curriculum focuses on the family, to interpret family living only through the instrumentalism of science ignores significant dimensions of human experience possible within other conceptions of practice. Moreover, as one of the conceptions of practice, science itself, must be accurately portrayed so that students understand how

theories are built and then continually refined through experimentation. Thus in broadening the forms of practice used to interpret human experience careful attention must be paid to the way knowledge is used in the curriculum and how it is applied in classroom situations so that school programs provide a well-rounded understanding of the family.

2. Home economics students must be taught to 'think' as well as to 'do.' As historical examination suggests that the problems of families have been of traditional concern to home economics, the curriculum should encourage students to approach problems through uncovering the diversity of underlying reasons which often contribute to a situation. This means disclosing issues within the topic area, writing critical reviews, reflecting and debating current issues related to family living. Activities therefore become thoughtful extensions of curricular topics rather than simply skill mastery of techniques related to the topic at hand. As home economics is particularly concerned with the application of knowledge, involving students in community affairs might be one way of using new approaches to family living in a realistic way.

3. Home economics educators should direct attention to the historical development of their field. The relationship between maternal feminism and the evolution of home economics has not been carefully examined. First, the gap between the ideals of maternal feminists who supported

the domestic science cause and the implementation of these ideals at the classroom level begs investigation. Second, the roots of Canadian home economics have been primarily interpreted in light of the work of advocates such as Adelaide Hoodless, while others such as Alice Chown, who was much more radical, have been neglected. Therefore the contribution of other individuals to the development of home economics needs to be clarified as their writing implies a broader vision of the home and the role of women. Finally, the part played by various women's organizations in the development of home economics suggests that they acted as 'interest groups' whose pressures brought about many benefits for women and children, though they were without legal or political power. The mechanisms which women employed to pursue their social goals also needs explanation.

4. Further investigation should be directed to the study of other helping professions and the conceptions of practice which have accompanied their evolution as fields of study. Understanding practice associated with related professions would contribute to making 'service' a more meaningful component for all fields dedicated toward helping others.

Bibliography

- Aberdeen, I. (1894). Presidential address. Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting and Conference of the National Council of Women of Canada. Women workers of Canada (pp.10-14). Ottawa, Ontario : Thoburn & Co.
- _____. (1893, December 1). Montreal Daily Herald ,
Vancouver Council of Women Papers, University of British Columbia, Special Collections.
- Apple, M. (1971) The hidden curriculum and the nature of conflict. Interchange 2:4, 27-40.
- _____. (1975). Scientific interests and the nature of educational institutions. In W. Pinar (Ed.), Curriculum theorizing: The reconceptualists (pp. 120-128). Berkeley: McCutcheon.
- Archibald, Mrs. (1896). Council conference on education. Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting and Conference of the National Council of Women of Canada. Women workers of Canada (pp. 383-392).
- Argue, W.P. (1905) Annual report of the public schools. Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer.
- Barber, M. (1980) The women Ontario welcomed: Immigrant domestics for Ontario homes. Ontario History, 72:3, 148-172.
- Berry, E. (1906). Report of domestic science. Annual reports of Vancouver city schools, (pp. 22-23.) Vancouver: The Board of School Trustees.
- _____. (1921). Report of domestic science. Annual reports of Vancouver city schools, (pp. 72-74) Vancouver: The Board of School Trustees.
- _____. E. Lightfoot, & Maynard, M. (1941) The Introduction and Progress of Home Economics in British Columbia. (1905-1941) (Available from Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C.)
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). The objective limits of objectivism. Outline of a theory of practice. (pp. 1-29). (R. Nice, Trans.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Original work published 1972.)

- British Columbia Women's Institutes. (1960) Modern pioneers-1909-1959. Evergreen Press Ltd.
- Brown, M.M. (1984). Home economics: Proud past - promising future. (AHEA commemorative lecture) Journal of Home Economics, 76 (4) 48-54.
- Brown, M.M., & Paolucci, B. (1979). Home economics: A definition. Washington, D.C.: American Home Economics Association.
- Budewig, F.C. (1957). Origin and development of the home economics idea. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin). Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, No. 24463.
- Bunkle, P. (1974). Sentimental womanhood and domestic education 1830-1870. History of Education Quarterly, XIV (1) 13-30.
- Cameron, A.D. (1904). Parent and teacher. Proceedings of the Fifth Convention of the Dominion Educational Association (pp. 238-251) Toronto, Ontario: Murray Printing Company.
- Campbell, M. (1976). Domestic science in the public schools of Toronto 1859-1914. Unpublished manuscript. O.I.S.E.
- _____. (1977). Some developments in public school domestic science at the provincial level in Ontario 1859-1904. Unpublished manuscript O.I.S.E.
- Chestnutt, M.S. (1975). Origin and development of home economics instruction in British Columbia from 1870-1951. Unpublished master's thesis, California Polytechnic University.
- Chown, A. (1902). The fourth Lake Placid Conference on home economics. Proceedings of the Lake Placid Conferences 1-10, 1899-1908. Washington, D.C.: American Home Economics Association.
- Combs, A. W., Avila, D.L., Purkey, W.W. (1972) Helping relationships: Basic concepts for the helping profession. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Cunningham, M.R. (1926) Home economics. Twenty-fourth annual report of Vancouver city schools for the year ending December 31, 1926. (pp. 73-88) Vancouver: The Board of School Trustees.

Cunningham, M.R. (1929). Home Economics. Twenty-sixth annual report of Vancouver city schools for the year ending December 31, 1928. (pp. 97-108) Vancouver: The Board of School Trustees.

Department of Education. (1914). Educational Monograph No. 1. Curricula of public schools for general education in British Columbia. Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer.

_____. (1923). Courses of study for the elementary, high, technical and normal schools of British Columbia. Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer.

_____. (1927). Programme of studies for the junior high schools of British Columbia. Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer.

_____. (1927). Recipes for home economics classes. (Home Economics Circular No. 1) Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer.

_____. (1928). Programme of studies for the elementary schools of British Columbia. Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer.

_____. (1937) Home economics for the junior and senior high schools of British Columbia. (Bulletin III) Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer.

_____. (1941). Home economics for the junior and senior high schools of British Columbia. (Bulletin III, revised, 1941) Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer.

_____. (1941). Applied art: Home economics. Vancouver, B.C.: Wrigley Printing Company Ltd.

Diorio, J.A. (1982). Knowledge, autonomy and the practice of teaching. Curriculum Inquiry, 12 (3) 257-282.

Eaton, F.H. (1904). Annual report of the public schools, British Columbia. Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer.

Fay, Brian. (1975). Social theory and political practice. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

Habermas, J. (1974). Theory and practice. London: Heinemann.

Harcourt, R. (1904). Report of the Minister of Education for the year of 1903 - Part I. (pp. v-lix). Toronto, Ont.: King's Printer.

- Holzner, B., & Marx, J. (1979). Knowledge application: The knowledge system in society. Toronto: Allyn and Bacon, Inc.
- Hoodless, A. (1894). Industrial training for girls in public schools. Report of the Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of National Council of Women of Canada. Women workers of Canada. (pp. 114-120).
- _____. (1898). Public school domestic science. Toronto: Copp-Clark Ltd.
- _____. (1898). The labour question and women's work. Women workers of Canada (pp. 257-258).
- _____. (1903) Report of the committee on domestic science Women workers of Canada (pp. 162-165).
- _____. (1905). Report of the committee on domestic science and manual training. Women workers of Canada (pp. 36-39).
- _____. (1908) Home economics. Proceedings of the Sixth Convention of the Dominion Educational Association (pp. 191-196). Toronto, Ont.: Murray Printing Co. Ltd.
- Howes, R. (1966). Adelaide Hunter Hoodless. In M.Q. Innes (Ed.), The clear spirit (pp. 103-119). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Hultgren, F. (1983). The past is prologue. Journal of Home Economics, Fall, 21-23.
- Johnson, F.H. (1971). The Ryersonian influence on the public school system of British Columbia. B.C. Studies. 10, 26-34.
- Jones, D.C. (1978). 'We cannot allow it to be run by those who do not understand education'- Agriculture schooling in the twenties. B.C. Studies 39, 30-60.
- Journal of Home Economics. (1910) (No author or title given) article refers to the origin of home economics. 2, 31.
- Juniper, A.B. (1911). Domestic science, course one. Ministry of Education, Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer.
- _____. (1913). Girls' home manual. Ministry of Education, Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer.
- Kealey, L. (1979). A not unreasonable claim: Women and reform in Canada 1880's -1920's. Toronto, Ontario: Women's Press.

- Kieren, D., Vaines, E. & Badir, D. (1984). The home economist as a helping professional. Winnipeg, Man.: Frye.
- Kyle, J. (1918) Manual training and domestic science. Annual report of the public schools 1916-1917. (pp. A80-A82). Department of Education, Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer.
- _____. (1921) Annual report of the public schools 1919-1920. (pp. C83-C87) Department of Education, Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer.
- Lang, S.E. (1905). Tendencies in education. Proceedings of the Fifth Convention of the Dominion Educational Association 1904. (pp. 49-68). Toronto, Ont.: Murray Printing Company.
- Light, B. & Parr, J. (Eds.). (1983). Canadian women on the move 1867-1920. Toronto, Ont.: New Hogtown Press and Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
- McCarthy, T. (1978). The critical theory of Jurgen Habermas. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- McLenaghan, J. (1928). Technical education- home economics. Public school annual report, 1926-1927. (pp. M63-65). Department of Education, Victoria, B.C.
- _____. (n.d.) Why study home economics? unpublished manuscript. Available from Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C.
- McNeill, J.L. (1974) Egerton Ryerson founder of Canadian (English-speaking) Education. In R.S. Patterson, J.W. Chalmers, & J.W. Friesen (Eds.). Profiles of Canadian educators. D.C. Heath, Canada Ltd.
- Ministry of Education, Science and Technology. (1979) Home economics curriculum guide (8 - 12). Victoria: Curriculum Development Branch. Province of British Columbia.
- Morrison, R.T. (1976). "Their proper sphere" feminism, the family, and child-centered social reform in Ontario, 1875-1900. Ontario history, 68,2, 45-74.
- National Council of Women of Canada. (1894) The problem of domestic service. Women workers of Canada. (pp.152-172).
- _____. (1912) Report of the local council of women of Vancouver. Women workers of Canada. (pp. xvii-xviii).

- Parvin, V.E. (1965). Authorization of textbooks for the schools of Ontario 1846-1950. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Putman, J.H. and G.M. Weir. (1925). Province of British Columbia: Survey of the school system. Victoria: King's Printer.
- Quilling, J.I. (1970) The nature of the family projected by the home economics profession as evidenced through examination of the American Home Economics Association literature. (Doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University). Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms No. 7111950.
- Ravenhill, A. (1911) Address to the Vancouver Council of Women. Vancouver Council of Women Papers, Special Collections, U.B.C. Library.
- _____. (1951). The memoirs of an educational pioneer. Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons (Canada) Limited.
- Reid, W.A. (1979). Practical reasoning and curriculum theory: In search of a new paradigm. Curriculum Inquiry 9, 3, 187-207.
- Reiff, R. (1974). The control of knowledge: The power of the helping profession. Journal of Applied Science 10, 3, 451-467.
- Report of the Commissioners. (1889). Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor in Canada. In D. Lawr and R. Gidney (Eds.). Educating Canadians. 1973, (pp. 161-162). Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold Ltd.
- Report of the Commissioners. (1913). Sessional paper 191d. Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education. Ottawa: King's Printer
- Roberts, W. (1979) 'Rocking the cradle for the world: The new woman and maternal feminism, Toronto, 1877-1914. In L. Kealey (Ed.). A not unreasonable claim: Women and reform in Canada, 1880's-1920's (pp. 15-46). Toronto: The Women's Educational Press.
- Robertson, J. W. (1901). The manual training movement. Proceedings of the Fourth Convention of the Dominion Educational Association. (pp. 84-93). Ottawa: Federal Press Company.
- _____. (March 4, 1903) Education for the Improvement of Agriculture. Address given in Halifax, N.S. Robertson Papers: Special Collections, U.B.C. Library.

- _____. (April 3, 1907). The Macdonald Movement for Rural Education. Address to the Select Standing Committee on Agriculture and Colonization. Robertson Papers: Special Collections, U.B.C.
- Rowles, E.C. (1956). A brief history of some early Canadian developments in home economics. (Doctoral dissertation, Teacher's College, Columbia University.
- _____. (1964). Home economics in Canada. The early history of six college programs: Prologue to Change. Saskatoon: Sask.: University of Saskatchewan Bookstore.
- Ryerson, E.A. (1870). First lessons in agriculture for Canadian farmers and their families. Toronto: Copp, Clark & Co.
- Sandison, J.M. (Ed.). (1971). Schools of old Vancouver. Occasional Paper, No. 2. Vancouver: Vancouver Historical Society.
- Schwab, J.J. (1979). The practical: A language for curriculum. School Review 78, 1, 1-24.
- Scott, J.W.R. (1925). The story of the Women's Institute movement. Idbury Kingham, Oxon: The Village Press.
- Sheehan, N.M. (1980). Temperance, education, and the WCTU in Alberta. Journal of Educational Thought 14, 3, 108-120.
- Snell, J.F. (1963). Macdonald College of McGill University: A history from 1904-1955. Montreal: McGill Univ. Press.
- Stamp, R. M. (1970a). Education and the economic and social milieu: The English -Canadian scene from the 1870's to 1914. In J.D. Wilson, R.M. Stamp & L.P. Audet. (Eds.). Canadian education: A history. (pp. 290-313). Scarborough: Prentice Hall of Canada.
- _____. (1970b). Evolving patterns of education: English-Canada from the 1870's to 1914. In J.D. Wilson, R.M. Stamp & L.P. Audet. (Eds.). Canadian education: A history. (pp. 314-346). Scarborough: Prentice Hall of Canada.
- _____. (1974). Adelaide Hoodless, champion of women's rights. In R.S. Patterson, J.W. Chalmers, & J.W. Freisen (Eds.). Profiles of Canadian educators. (pp. 213-232). D.C. Heath Canada Ltd.

- _____. (1977). Teaching girls their "God-given place in life". Atlantis 2,2, 18-34.
- _____. (1982). The schools of Ontario, 1876- 1976, The Ontario Historical Studies Series. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Strong-Boag V. (1975). The roots of modern Canadian feminism: The National Council of Women, 1893-1929. Canada III, 2, 22-33.
- Sutherland, N. (1976). English-Canadian society: Framing the twentieth century consensus. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- _____. (1980). Social policy, 'deviant' children, and the public health apparatus in British Columbia between the Wars. The Journal of Educational Thought. 14, 2, 80-91.
- Thomas, J. (1984). The emergence of domestic science in Vancouver schools: 1905-1925. Unpublished Paper, University of British Columbia.
- Tomkins, G.S. (1977). Tradition and change in English-Canadian education: Historical and contemporary perspectives. In J.D. Wilson & H.A. Stevenson (Eds.). Precepts, policy and process: Perspectives on contemporary Canadian education (pp. 1-20). London, Ont.: Alexander, Blake and Associates.
- Vaines, E. L. (1981). A content analysis of the ten Lake Placid conferences on home economics. Canadian Home Economics Journal 31, 29-33, 48.
- _____. (1984). Pause and reflect: Canadian participation in the Lake Placid Conferences. Canadian Home Economics Journal 34, 3, 137-140,155.
- Vallance, E. (1974). Hiding the hidden curriculum. Curriculum Theory Network 4, 1, 5-21.
- Vancouver School Board. (1915) Annual reports of Vancouver city schools. (pp. 73). Vancouver: The Board of School Trustees.
- _____. (1926) Annual reports of Vancouver city schools. (pp. 78, 80) Vancouver: The Board of School Trustees.
- _____. (1928) Annual reports of Vancouver city schools. (p. 105) Vancouver: The Board of School Trustees.

- _____. (1944) Annual reports of Vancouver city schools.
(pp. 55-56, 105-109). Vancouver: The Board of School
Trustees.
- Van Manen M. (1977). Linking ways of knowing with ways of being
practical. Curriculum Inquiry 6, 3, 205-228.
- Vincenti, V. (1981). A history of the philosophy of home
economics. (Doctoral dissertation, The Pennsylvania
State University) Ann Arbor, MI: University
Microfilms, No. 8206520.
- _____. (1983) Antecedents of reformism. Journal of Home
Economics 75, 3, 26-31.
- White, O. E. (1951). The history of the practical education
courses in Canadian secondary schools. (Unpublished
Master's thesis) McGill University, 1951.
- Wilson, D. (1898). Twenty-sixth annual report of the public
schools of British Columbia for the years 1896-1897.
Victoria, Queen's Printer.
- Wilson, D.C. (1981). A critical analysis of teacher education
from the perspective of curriculum. Canadian Journal
of Education 6, 1, 55-64.
- Wilson, S. (1980). The hidden dimension of home economics.
Unpublished paper. University of British Columbia.
- Wilson, S., & Vaines, E.L. (1985). A theoretic framework
for the examination of practice in home economics.
Home Economics Research Journal 13, 4.

Appendix A.

Questions used for the descriptive examination of the initial school curriculum.

A. Activities:

1. What kinds of activities are emphasized in the curriculum?
2. How do class members participate in the suggested activities?
3. Do classroom activities highlight a particular focus upon the family?
4. What rationale is advanced to justify classroom activities?

B. Knowledge:

1. What kinds of knowledge are perceived as having the most worth?
2. What assumptions about knowledge and learning are advanced?
3. Who controls the way knowledge is used in the curriculum?

C. Relationships and Patterns:

1. Do classroom activities reflect curricular purposes?
2. Do the curricular materials emphasize leadership for the future, adaptation to the present, or preservation of the past?
3. What kinds of teacher/student relationships does the curriculum foster?
4. In what ways is a home/school relationship supported by the learning activities?
5. Is there an apparent sequencing of knowledge and activities?