

IN THE NAME OF DEMOCRACY: THE WORK OF WOMEN TEACHERS IN
TORONTO AND VANCOUVER, 1945-1960

by

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Abstract

In the Name of Democracy: The Work of Women Teachers in Toronto and Vancouver, 1945-1960, examines the limits of educational 'democracy' for women educators. Educational administrators across the political spectrum assumed separate spheres to be intrinsic to the social contract for 'good' citizenship: the school as a public institution was dedicated to the rational, autonomous, politically engaged subject. 'Woman' was not that subject.

This thesis demonstrates that women were quasi-citizens in the public school, yet leaders in the delivery of democratic hope for the age. On the one hand, women teachers were encouraged to participate in the increasingly 'democratized' institution of the public secondary school and were embraced as necessary participants in the labour market of the education system. In the years after the Second Great War, the reconstitution of the social order depended upon their performance. On the other hand, the maintenance of traditional gender roles, disrupted by the trauma of war, was still heralded as women's primary contribution to the nation's stability. While women teachers acted within public institutions, their role remained defined by their private sphere 'capabilities' and a gendered model of citizenship that promised security through the performance of educational 'democracy.'

This thesis employs a feminist analysis that centers on women teachers' oral histories to illuminate both the normative democratic order of the period and the ways that women negotiated its boundaries. In particular, it combines modernist concerns for social structure and common oppression with poststructuralism's concern for hierarchies of identification and difference. Both the common and discrete experiences of women teachers reveal that educational 'democracy' was far from gender-blind in post-war Canada.

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Introduction

Women Teachers, Democracy and Canada's Educational History

The work of women teachers in post-WWII secondary schools reveals the limits of Canadian democracy. On the one hand, women teachers were encouraged to participate in the increasingly 'democratized' institution of the public secondary school and embraced as necessary participants in the labour market of the education system. The reconstitution of the normal post-war social order depended upon their performance. On the other hand, traditional gender roles, disrupted by the trauma of war, were still heralded as women's primary contribution to the nation's stability. While women teachers acted within public institutions, their role remained defined by their private sphere 'capabilities' and gendered model of citizenship that promised security through the performance of educational 'democracy.'

In the 1940s and 1950s Canada's schools embraced democracy as their primary goal. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, that spirit seems to have returned. In response to perceived threats to national and global security political officials' and school administrators' once again heighten the rhetoric of egalitarian rule, and tout policies for equal educational opportunities. Democracy is far more than a constitutional, legal, and political arrangement. It is also a social contract that presumes a common citizenship that transcends differences, including those based on class, race, ethnicity, sexuality, and gender. The public school, particularly at the secondary level, has been and is responsible for producing that binding social contract among the nation's future adults. Its role extends beyond teaching a particular political system. Students are to acquire and practice the

knowledge, values, and attitudes, consistent with state laws and regulations, to live democratically.¹

As it was understood and practiced in the years after WWII, educational democracy failed often to deliver the fundamental freedoms to students, teachers, or community. The reason is the dominant liberal ideology of the day, an abstract concept of state citizenship that proffered anyone could have an equal part as participants. As historians have revealed concerning Canada's past, it has been only those with privileged identities, including dominant masculinities, who had the power to assume the place of legitimate citizen. Our schools were part of perpetuating this 'nameless, faceless entity' that attempted to mask systemic inequalities of 'the people' for the nation. Women, along with groups identified as 'Other,' were deeply affected by these abstract notions. An examination of women teachers in post-WWII illustrates how educational democracy has too often failed to deliver on the promises of freedom, autonomy, and equality.²

This thesis aims to provide an empirical application of the work of feminist theorists, from political science to sociology, who in the late twentieth-century challenged historical definitions of gendered citizenship. This study also draws upon recent studies by feminist scholars of education who examine how schooling shapes the concept of democracy and citizenship identities according to gender and in relation to diverse social locations. This project does not offer a development of political theory for women in a governing order. Instead, it draws upon the comprehensive and critical analysis of the relationship among gender, education and democracy provided by feminist theorists.³ The growing body of research in this field has informed the framework and questions I have employed in my appraisal of women teachers in Canada's post-war liberal educational 'democracy.'

Noteworthy among this field are Carole Pateman's texts, from *The Sexual Contract* to *The Disorder of Women*. They provide the most influential theoretical depictions of the centrality of the masculine citizen in the liberal democratic project.⁴ Pateman argues that the democratic social contract, constructed by European political philosophers, was founded upon a sexual contract based on the distinction between public and private spheres. In this contract, women's sexual, economic and political agency is dependent upon and excluded from men's prevailing power in the public world. Western philosophical tradition asserted that the public/private divide was the 'natural order.' Women's 'inherent' concerns for family, and thus women's agency itself, are almost like a sideshow, albeit always critical, to public debates and the determination of national citizenship.

A number of feminist scholars, including Anne Phillips, have joined Pateman to show that the production of the masculine as synonymous with citizen has not simply resulted in women's exclusion from the state, but their simultaneous 'secondary' inclusion.⁵ Women are a critical 'Other' in substantiating the basis for ideal citizenship, namely, the rational, objective, politically autonomous individual, the alpha male who can freely contribute to the production of a democratic order. The "universal, faceless historical citizen of public discourse was almost universally male" as the supposed sexual, weak, and irrational 'Woman' could not, as decreed by nature itself, support roles beyond the private sphere.⁶ Promises of autonomy, freedom and equal membership within community do not then cut across the hierarchical structure of a diverse society.⁷ Instead, women, and others who cannot prescribe to dominant conceptions of masculinity, are marginalized.

Feminist researchers, in particular socialist, post-colonial and lesbian scholars, have been particularly attuned to the need for complicating the public/private divide, illustrating that women, among themselves, live the effects of gender binaries in very different ways.

Nira Yuval-Davis argues that nationalist rhetoric of democratic order not only legitimates the dominance of male super-ordinance, but circumscribes all those who position themselves, or are positioned, by cultural renderings of gender on the margins of the state, as 'non-citizens.'⁸ She writes: "the study of citizenship should consider the issue of women's citizenship not only by contrast to that of men, but also in relation to women's affiliation to dominant or subordinate groups, their ethnicity, origin, and urban or rural residence."⁹

Pateman explains that social contract theory was most influential in shaping social institutions from the 1840s to 1970s. Thereafter, social movements mobilized to fight for diversity of political representation and voice.¹⁰ Feminist scholars of education have shown the long-lasting implications for schooling. Liberal democracy's conception of privacy, sexuality and marriage, as related to gender binaries, has significantly shaped contemporary education systems, framed as they are by public discourses of nationalist citizenship.¹¹ Studies now examine pedagogy as a tool for deconstructing phallogentric knowledge or social interactions in the classroom, the school's disciplining of the student body for particular subjectivities, specifically hetero-normativity, and the regulation of gender through selective educational reforms and accountability measures.¹² In the course of their investigations, researchers have addressed the ways students, and the school community, are exposed to definitions of 'the ideal citizen' from textbooks to technology. These then construct their view of political agency within the gendered civic sphere. Female students and their women teachers learn the limitations of their political participation.

Democracy in the Kitchen by Valerie Walkerdine and Helen Lucey, and Jo-Anne Dillabough's investigations of the construction of the modern teacher, have particular relevance for this thesis. They are each concerned with Pateman's public/private split for British schooling of 'democratic' identities and the woman teacher's role in that process.

Walkerdine and Lucey provide a post-structuralist analysis of equal opportunities rhetoric from the post-war period to the 1980s.¹³ They argue that 'democratic' education produces regulatory fictions, such as choice and autonomy, which subordinate social identities that do not produce 'the right citizen': the ideal bourgeois male. Children learn illusions of their 'free-will,' a non-coercive technique to manage a citizenry, from mothers and women teachers who, as 'naturally' non-authoritarian nurturers, are responsible for safeguarding masculine models of democracy that subordinate female political, social and professional powers. Jo-Anne Dillabough builds upon these insights with a closer examination of the political identification of women teachers.¹⁴ She examines teacher educators' memories of the lived experiences of regulatory citizenship and explores the way women lived the paradox of being socially constructed as 'non-citizens,' due to their domestic ties, yet simultaneously responsible for the socialization of a new generation of citizens in the service profession of teaching.

The importance of investigations by Walkerdine and Lucey and Dillabough lies in their analysis of the symbolic, discursive practices and social, structural constraints of masculine narratives of democracy. More significantly, they ask how these narratives intersect with those individuals, particularly women, who are charged with living out and/or reproducing that citizenship. This thesis uses their conceptual lenses to analyze the under-explored relationship between the governance of gendered identities in Canadian education and women's shifting experiences of that governance.

The pages that follow offer an educational history that deconstructs a contextually and temporally specific invocation of 'democracy.' It simultaneously builds on and challenges the often abstract dimension of the concept of democracy, which attempts to mask its hegemonic power inequalities. I examine Canadian 'egalitarianism' rhetoric from

1945 to 1960, a period especially preoccupied with the question of national identity. More specifically, I look to Vancouver and Toronto public secondary schools, which provide a regional comparison of nationalist rhetoric through the country's two largest English school boards. Although national discussions of education often include all levels of schooling, this work targets the objectives for secondary schools, the primary sites for citizenship gate-keeping. The secondary school was critical to ensuring collective security through its assumption of the superiority of Western political rule. In worried acknowledgement of this key function, Z. S. Phimister, Superintendent and Chief Inspector of Schools in Toronto, noted in 1947 that: "People turn to the school after the war...in the faint hope that the school may be able to do something which will make it possible for the next generation to avoid another calamity."¹⁵ My analysis seeks to explain this hope and asks: how was educational 'democracy' constructed as a universalizing narrative, and what were its specific meanings for the agenda of post-war schools? How did official, educational and academic discourses construct privileged identities of citizenship and insert them into secondary schools, an increasingly common experience for Canadian youth, in the name of 'democracy?' More specifically, how were 'master' narratives of 'democracy' gendered?

'Officials' narratives are understood in this thesis in relation to women teachers' oral histories.¹⁶ The latter illustrate how women teachers saw themselves positioned as marginalized, 'private' representatives for democracy, and, contradictorily, included as potential agents of change in the production of the 'egalitarian' platform for the school and the nation. In its centering of female professionals, this thesis poses the questions: how did masculine constructions of educational 'democracy' function for women teachers whose capacity for authority and political power were tenuous in the post-war context? At a practical level, how did women teachers reconcile their public duty as agents for citizenship

with a femininity relegated to the private sphere? How were the gendered contradictions these women experienced characterized by their social status of marriage, age, region, class, sexuality and ethnicity, and affected by the subject matter, credentials, and promotion of their school-bound status? In sum, *In the Name of Democracy*, addresses the shifts in educational discourse and policy that occurred after the Second World War. What in other words happened to a 'master' narrative of masculine normality, which shaped the teaching of democratic order for the next generation of Canadian citizenry? In deconstructing the multiple messages of these years, this thesis seeks to illuminate both the normative democratic order and the ways that women teachers negotiated its boundaries.

I argue that democracy was a regulatory discourse for women's lives despite the very contested and complex messages it enveloped. Regulatory discourses are, as Michel Foucault argues and feminist scholars have illuminated, historically contingent strategies, whereby processes of differentiation and homogenizing label some qualities as good and others as bad.¹⁷ If a regulatory discourse is successful then it becomes, as Antonio Gramsci argues, hegemonic. Hegemony favours a ruling group, who, though not always consciously, manufactures seemingly spontaneous consent from subordinate groups to guarantee social order.¹⁸ In order for discourses to be hegemonic, Gramsci notes they must contain conflicts by addressing counter-hegemonic ideals within the dominant consent.¹⁹ The boundaries of a legitimate social order, in this case 'democracy,' are unstable, temporary, transgressive and produce conflicting meanings. Within the context of post-war reconstruction, efforts to put forth a stable and, thus, 'superior' democratic nation necessarily embodied the consolidation of dissenting or conflicting ideals. Transgressive boundaries became an inherent part of a post-war national social order that sought stability. In other words, the deviant or the

forbidden were regularly in plain sight as their very existence was employed to justify the status quo.

Andrew Ross argues that no period better exhibits the creation of consensus described by Gramsci's concept of hegemony than the decades after the Second World War in the United States.²⁰ The same can be said of Canada. This 'freedom' era is at times memorialized as a golden period in our collective memory. Cold War atomic threats, global decolonization movements, and agitations for civil rights sometimes barely seem to disturb the intrinsic harmony. Canadian historians have begun, however, to explore the inequities of the post-war era with its heightened popularity for 'liberal' democracy. Shirley Tillotson and Mona Gleason, among others, have demonstrated that the popularization of liberal 'democratic' rhetoric emerged as a national internal defense against the uncertainties of the age.²¹ These changes were the basis for the 'Cold War mentality' of the era by which social authorities forwarded an agenda that acquiesced to reform in so far as it contained dissension and radicalism. The primary model of internal defense was to champion national 'togetherness' under the liberal pluralist banner of a fully democratic, egalitarian nation.²² 'Commonality' and 'stability' were defined according to a desired, hegemonic 'norm': English, middle class, white, Protestant, and heterosexual citizenship.

Even as state reforms moved towards equity in the name of a stable and free nation, their invocation remained firmly set within conservative ideals. Various scholars have noted that the post-war Canadian government sought to ensure public entitlements, including renewed social security initiatives, such as health insurance, unemployment insurance, and workmen's compensation.²³ These initiatives included specific promises to women, including fair remuneration and the elimination of a marriage bar for female civic employees. Such Fordism, however, was premised on the independence of the private realm

of the family, which was still very much consigned to women as the mothers of the nation.²⁴ By definition women could only be quasi-citizens and thus secondary workers in the public world of liberties. Men were, by contrast, long-term participants in the labour market with rights to authority and knowledge in the public world.²⁵

Given the citizenship function of the secondary school, objectives for education reflected the progressive-conservatism of state initiatives. As such, a gender hierarchy, marked by class, race and sexuality was an implicit part of the educational agenda for 'democracy.' The woman teacher, as quasi-citizen, was designated a limited role in the implementation of this agenda. Like their treatment of the post-WWII period generally, historians have not typically highlighted change from the traditional patterns of schooling.²⁶ Shifts toward the democratization of education are often characterized as the influence of progressivism.²⁷ There is a need to go beyond the typical progressive/traditional debate; adherents to both theories of education embraced post-war 'democratic' rhetoric as the primary lesson for secondary schools. While these theories were certainly incompatible in many ways, their commonalities were pronounced for educators as they upheld the nation's liberal social order and its conservative ideal of citizenship.

Secondary schools in Vancouver and Toronto responded to hegemonic and national calls for 'democratization.' Major trends included: increased universal access to secondary education, with streamed programming to address individual learning needs; a growth in social services for character education within the school; and increased participation by each member of the school community, through decentralized decision-making initiatives. These reforms were the school's visible commitment to equal opportunity, freedom of personal expression and individual political autonomy. The ideal citizen produced through this programming was a knowledgeable worker who, through self-governance and the needs of

the state, practiced Christian, capitalist, nuclear family values. Educational administrators across the political spectrum affirmed the separate spheres of the social contract for 'good' citizenship: the school as a public institution was dedicated to the rational, autonomous, politically engaged subject. 'Woman' was not that subject. Women were critical to the nuclear family, and thus private creatures who, obligated to children and husbands, could not be astute political representatives of the public, democratic world. Women teachers therefore were symbolically *excluded* from educational 'democracy.' Most school officials characterized them as tenuous professionals, with a fundamental lack of commitment to public life and the potential irrationality of the 'weaker' sex. At the same time, they were *included* not only as necessary workers during a labour shortage, but as the 'motherly' guardians of 'democratic' moral order. As 'angels' in a modern school house, school officials idealized the service of women teachers' work even as they left the real power to produce and manage educational democracy to rational, autonomous public men.

Women's oral histories illustrate localized forms of marginalization. Even years later, the women interviewed negotiate the prevailing acceptance of the post-war abstract idea of women's inferiority within 'democratic' education. Specifically, they comment on professional discourses that barred them from knowledge claims and promotional credentials. They also speak to intense surveillance of their 'moral' life choices, especially marriage and motherhood, and their physical appearance. Instances of commonality, quite often in the oral histories, exhibit the point at which national discourses meet the local gender subjectivities. As such, the women speak to public policies of gender discrimination as they relate to more innocuous forms of discrimination concerning the 'private' realm. They reveal, for example, how their choice of dress was part of character education and symbolic of the nation's faith in heterosexual coupling for social stability. Their oral

histories also present individual variations, shaped by their specific positions in Vancouver and Toronto secondary schools. The women who possessed graduate degrees, rather than temporary certificates, were more confident in their claims to a 'masculine,' detached and rational model of professionalism. Stories also demonstrate isolated cases of overt discrimination, which differed according to social locations; primarily the interviewees are white, urban and middle-class women, but sexuality, ethnicity, and marriage provide opportunities for tension and contradiction. Women who embodied the white, middle class, and heterosexual ideal of citizenship, as opposed to those who were Chinese, lesbian or working-class, appeared more comfortable taking on the role of moral guardian for the school and the nation.

Discrimination was not the only message. These women also revealed their agency in negotiating educational 'democracy.' They were, therefore, neither the dupes of 'democracy' nor radical dissenters to prevailing codes. This agency came through 'everyday' means, rather than formal feminist actions. They nonetheless sometimes broke the bounds of their private sphere 'capabilities' to insert themselves as stakeholders in public discourses of citizenship, albeit with limited powers.²⁸ They depicted their teaching selves as change-makers both structurally, in term of their post-war work lives, and symbolically, in terms of their representation during the interview process. For example, some women declared themselves to be the effective head of department within an all-woman subject area, like girls' physical education, even when they were denied official promotion. Other women described themselves as taking over the prescribed curriculum through their own pace, methods and lessons. In declaring these forms of resistance, their oral histories, like the debates among education officials, demonstrate the contestable character of hegemonic 'democratic' discourse.

Agency was shaped by each woman's social and work context. Some women spoke of supportive colleagues, while others admitted to working in an atmosphere steeped in harassment and intimidation. Talk of resistance also depended upon the availability of discourses for each woman to frame herself as a respectable and 'good' teacher. A Chinese-Canadian interviewee argued that she not only struggled to prove herself as a professional, but that she needed to 'appear' Caucasian. Without the oral histories of these women's experiences the process of citizenship inclusion and exclusion or the relationship education can solidify between national discourses and local identities cannot be fully understood.

The women's oral histories are also dependent upon my sampling, interviewing, and analysis.²⁹ This study was based on twenty interviews with women who had taught in secondary schools, ten each from Vancouver and Toronto. The Toronto interviews were completed as part of an earlier project on the history of women teachers in 2002, which focused more generally on the relationship between post-war policy and teachers' practice. These transcripts were revisited in detail. Participants for the Vancouver interviews, completed in 2005, were located and interviewed through much the same process as the Toronto group. Nonetheless, I conducted the Vancouver interviews with a more explicit agenda of democracy and education. While both groups resisted what they often deemed to be irrelevant discussion of governance for their teaching lives, the Vancouver women at times spoke more readily to themes of citizenship in their philosophies of teaching and interactions with students.

To participate in the study, interviewees had to have taught in a secondary school in the Toronto or Vancouver School Board for at least two years between 1945 and 1960. The only other criterion for selection was their obvious willingness to discuss their work, and at times private lives during that period. Some women contacted declined participation

because detailed discussion created discomfort. They may have feared disrupting their reputation as teachers. Even an initial newsletter call in their community clubs or retired teachers' associations did not entirely guarantee participation. The women said that they did not believe in the historical significance of their lives for educational research until persuaded by a fellow teacher, friend or colleague. The women who agreed to be interviewed were thus secured by a snowball, word-of-mouth chain of recruitment.

For the most part, respondents were in their eighties and the post-war period marked the beginning of their teaching careers. A little less than half of the women had their teaching interrupted by marriage and/or children in the 1940s and 1950s. Regardless of marital status, the majority identified as middle-class, white, Anglo-Saxon. A number spoke of working-class upbringings, especially during the Depression years but marriage brought a rise in social economic-status. Only two identified with a further marginalized social group, one as a lesbian, although not 'out' in her teaching days, and another as one of the first Chinese-Canadian women to teach in a secondary school in British Columbia. As a group, these profiles obviously do not represent the diversity of women's experiences. They do, however, represent the typical woman teacher hired to work in post-war secondary schools.³⁰ Many of the women fit the characteristics of ideal post-war citizenship: white, Christian, heterosexual, and middle class.

The interview process itself was a semi-structured, open-ended question format of approximately two to three hours in length conducted in their homes. The interviewees answered biographical questions about issues from birth to retirement, including their current reflections on education. Their answers provided a context for their memories of such matters as teacher education, workload and daily responsibilities, interactions with students, colleagues and administrators, pedagogical philosophies, curriculum development

and instructional methods. While oral historians hope for a close fit in terms of interpretation of events between participants and researcher, the women were aware that I would be interpreting their stories according to my own research agenda. In accordance with ethical procedures, the interviewees knew the objectives of the project and their rights. They were not provided with a copy of their transcript for editing. I have made, however, every attempt to avoid co-option or distortion of their opinions. Furthermore, I have tried to protect their anonymity by providing pseudonyms and eliminating clearly identifying information. I use the first name of each woman teacher's pseudonym when repeatedly identifying her oral history.

Archival records have been used to assist in understanding the formation of women's oral histories as an ideological struggle for agency within patriarchal institutions and discourses. Beneficial collections were found at the Toronto District School Board Sesquicentennial Museum and Archives, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto's Ontario Historical Education Collection, City of Vancouver Archives, and the British Columbia Teachers' Federation Archives. These provided access to newspaper clippings on education, school board minutes, annual reports, curriculum guidelines, government legislation to regulate administration, teacher education and school board organization, provincial commission reports, and federation newsletters, committee papers and policy documents. While these sources are used to understand 'senior' official objectives for Toronto and Vancouver secondary schools, they also provide basic statistical data such as pay scales and teacher demographics.

Despite the relative accessibility of primary sources, the work of women teachers in twentieth-century Canada is greatly under-researched within what is otherwise a vibrant field of educational history. Like Canadian history more generally, the history of education was

initially written as a story of nationhood missing many of the people who worked for its creation.³¹ Teachers, pupils and even parents started to garner the attention of social, sometimes educational, historians in the 1970s.³² Feminist historians quickly became a part of this historiographical turn. By the mid-1980s, Patrick Harrigan in an article on the comparative perspective of trends in educational history argued that Canadian scholarship had taken the international lead in its attention to women's schooling.³³ In particular, he noted pioneers, such as Alison Prentice and Marta Danylewycz.³⁴

In the first comprehensive collection on women teachers, covering Australia, Britain, Canada and the United States, editors Alison Prentice and Marjorie Theobald acknowledged that such projects supplied a corrective to the history of male educators establishing state school bureaucracies.³⁵ They argued that feminist historians were revisionists, challenging the presentation of women teachers as either victims or unwitting perpetrators of gendered school structures (i.e. young, naive, rural teachers who were being used for cheap labour). This collection set out a goal, which scholars have since attempted to fulfill, namely, to know the various perspectives of women who taught and their contradictory positioning within patriarchal schooling.

Their work on biographies of schoolmistresses and the bureaucracy of school systems; the experiences of governesses in dame schools or Catholic convents; and the feminization of public school teaching, based on women's low status and pay laid the foundation for a thriving field of study. Despite this promising start, only a few scholarly articles and unpublished manuscripts have been produced on the history of women teachers in Canada - scholars in other countries have now taken the lead. The gap can be partially attributed to the status of women secondary school teachers. Labour historians have generally neglected teaching because it stands between the working and professional classes,

and many feminist scholars have neglected teaching to examine more groundbreaking occupations like law and medicine.³⁶ Work in the field has replaced the male educator in nineteenth-century bureaucratic structures of state schools with women teachers. Some studies have focused on the 20th century organization of women teachers. Of particular note are Sandra Gaskell's much-cited dissertation on Ontario elementary teachers and issues of professionalism, and two extensive documentary histories of the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations in Ontario (FWTAO) by Doris French, and Patricia Staton and Beth Light.³⁷ These works, as with most recent research, are concerned with the elementary school teacher. This reflected the prevailing segregation of the workforce and the primary materials available for a unique organization like the FWTAO. The gap also owes something to the less accessible story of the gendering of education for secondary school women who did not fit the 'maternal image' as readily as their elementary counterparts. Despite comprising over one-third of most urban school staffs in the mid-twentieth-century male-dominated secondary school, women have historically been treated as anomalies.

There are a few exceptions that are particularly relevant for this thesis. Cecilia Reynolds and Sheila L. Cavanagh stand out for their numerous articles on women teachers and issues of hierarchies in administration, and sexuality and school policy after the 1920s.³⁸ In addition, Rebecca Priegert Coulter and Helen Harper have taken up the challenge of a collection on women teachers in the twentieth-century.³⁹ This compilation, *History is Hers*, published in 2005, is particularly welcome for its extensive use of oral histories, which also form the basis for much of Reynolds' work. Interdisciplinary contributors to *History is Hers* have taken seriously post-modern theory, challenging a consensus model and seeking the particularities of women teachers' lives.⁴⁰ They cover a range of issues, from rural and northern Ontario teaching to both Francophone and immigrant women educators. Their

attention, however, conforms to the longstanding preference for primarily examining elementary teaching with the sole regional focus of Ontario.⁴¹ As a result their ability to illuminate national agendas is limited. Jean Barman in *Sojourning Sisters* is one of the few historians to acknowledge that women's work as local teachers had a national effect on our ideals, culture and social structures, but her study is of a much earlier period.⁴²

I begin in the next chapter by providing an overview of my feminist theoretical reading of women teachers' oral histories as a context for my own work. I argue, through a selective historiography, that a fuller understanding of narratives comes from the insights of feminist post-structuralism and materialism that treats oral histories neither as anecdotal nor pure sources. Rather, I argue that these theoretical approaches to women's stories enable historians to understand linguistic and structural parameters of stories, and recognize the political agency of women's experiences, while not identifying an essentialist 'Woman.' This point is illustrated through an integrative reading of some of the most concentrated studies on women teachers' oral histories.

Before applying this analysis to my own collection of interviews, in the second chapter I interrogate school officials' conceptualization of 'democratic' discourses and policies, which the women had to negotiate. I demonstrate that educators, across the political spectrum and in different regions of the country rallied behind a nationalist post-war platform of 'democracy.' I examine three of the most expansive areas of 'democratic' reform: curriculum, character education, and administration. I illustrate, with specific attention to class, race, religion and region, that reforms in these areas were based on the re-affirmation of a conservative ideal of citizenship. Subsequent chapters then provide a primarily gendered examination of how each major 'democratic' trend in education shaped a limiting role for women teachers within the secondary school.

I argue in chapter three that, like the mass sorting of students in the 'accessible' school, women teachers were sorted by school administrators and even their federation representatives as less professional than their male counterparts. Marked by sociability and irrationality, their 'womanliness' meant that women could neither embody nor teach the necessary rigorous and objective knowledge that was meant to characterize the post-war 'democratic' curriculum. Unable to be men, women were accused of a lack of commitment to teaching, and thus hindering professionalism.

While marginalized, women were simultaneously praised for their potential to *reproduce* 'democratic' morality. Chapter four examines the women teachers' role as performers of traditional citizenship values – a primary objective for the school's increased social services and 'character' education. As the cultivators of the norm, they found themselves under continuous surveillance. Those interviewed spoke of struggling to appear the 'respectable' woman and teacher, while, at times, acting out alternative messages of proper femininity.

The final chapter explores women's integration as 'equal participants' in the decentralized educational administration of post-war schooling. They were given greater responsibilities in the 'democratic' re-organization of schooling but without the commensurate level of authority or remuneration. As mothers of the school, women were meant to be apolitical service providers, with the authority of the public school remaining in the hands of male heads of department, principals, and inspectors. Women responded by exerting control where they could, namely classrooms and more specifically the pace, method and lessons of instruction. Ultimately, I suggest that women were quasi-citizens in the public school, yet leaders in the delivery of democratic hope for the age. Their

experiences question the gender-blind inclusiveness of educational 'democracy' for post-war Canada.

¹ The definitions of democracy in education are vast. For recent definitions see the work of Ken Osborne and Joel Westheimer. Ken Osborne, *Teaching for Democratic Citizenship* (Toronto: Our Schools/Ourselves, 1991); Ken Osborne, "Teaching for Democratic Citizenship," in *Sociology of Education in Canada*, ed. L. Erwin and D. MacLennan (Toronto: Copp Clark Longman, 1994); Joel Westheimer, "Democratic Dogma: There is No One-Size-Fits -All Approach to Schooling for Democracy," *Our Schools/Ourselves* 15, no.1 (2005): 25-30.

² Madeleine Arnot and Jo-Anne Dillabough, "Introduction" in *Challenging Democracy: International Perspectives on Gender, Education and Citizenship*, ed. M. Arnot and J. Dillabough (New York: Routledge, 2000). Arnot and Dillabough aptly describe the harmful effects for various groups of the "nameless, faceless entity" that is liberal democratic citizenship. See, also, Derek Heater, *A History of Education for Citizenship* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

³ Madeleine Arnot and Jo-Anne Dillabough, "Feminist political frameworks: New approaches to the study of gender, citizenship and education," in *Challenging Democracy: International Perspectives on Gender, Education and Citizenship*, ed. M. Arnot and J. Dillabough (New York: Routledge, 2000); See also, Madeleine Arnot and Jo-Anne Dillabough, "Feminist Politics and Democratic Values in Education," *Curriculum Inquiry* 29, no.2 (1999): 159-189. Arnot and Dillabough provide a uniquely thorough assessment of the critical texts in this field. Their examination of the field has been particularly beneficial for my understanding of the relationship among gender, education and democracy.

⁴ Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988); Carole Pateman, *The disorder of women: democracy, feminism, and political theory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989).

⁵ Anne Phillips, *Engendering Democracy* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991).

⁶ Robert Adamoski, Dorothy E. Chunn and Robert Menzies (eds.), *Contesting Canadian Citizenship: Historical Readings* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2002), 20.

⁷ Arnot and Dillabough, "Introduction," *Challenging Democracy*, 4.

⁸ Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (London: Sage Press, 1997); See also, Nira Yuval-Davis and Penina Werbner (editors), *Women, citizenship and difference* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999); Anne Phillips, *Democracy and Difference* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993); Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

⁹ Nira Yuval-Davis, "Women, citizenship and difference," *Feminist Review* 57 (1997): 4-5, as quoted by Arnot and Dillabough, "Feminist Politics and Democratic Values in Education," 164.

¹⁰ Arnot and Dillabough, "Introduction," *Challenging Democracy*, 5.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Carmen Luke and Jennifer Gore (editors), *Feminisms and Critical Pedagogy* (New York: Routledge, 1992); Carmen Luke (editor), *Feminisms and Pedagogies and everyday Life* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996); Elizabeth Ellsworth, *Teaching positions: Difference, pedagogy, and the power of address* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1997); Bronwyn Davies,

Frogs and snails and feminist tales (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1989); Patti Lather, *Getting Smart* (New York: Routledge, 1992); Jane Kenway, Sue Willis and Jill Blackmore, *Answering Back: girls, boys and feminism in schools* (New York: Routledge, 1998); Rebecca Priegert Coulter, "Doing Gender in Canadian Schools: An Overview of the Policy and Practice Melange," in *Gender Issues in International Education*, ed. S. Erskine and M. Wilson (New York: Garland Press, 1999).

¹³ Valerie Walkerdine and Helen Lucey, *Democracy in the Kitchen: Regulating Mothers and Socialising Daughters* (London: Virago, 1989); See, also, Valerie Walkerdine, *Schoolgirl Fictions* (London: Verso, 1990).

¹⁴ Jo-Anne Dillabough, "Women in Teacher Education: Their struggles for inclusion as 'citizen-workers' in late modernity," in *Challenging Democracy: International Perspectives on Gender, Education and Citizenship*, ed. M. Arnot and J. Dillabough (New York: Routledge, 2000); See also, Jo-Anne Dillabough, "Gender Politics and Conceptions of the Modern Teacher: women, identity and professionalism," *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 20, no.3 (September 1999): 374-394.

¹⁵ Z.S. Phimister, "The Principal and the School," *The School* November (1947), 103, quoted by Robert M. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 183.

¹⁶ See appendices and discussion to follow in this chapter for detailed information on the sample and interview process for the women's oral histories.

¹⁷ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: the birth of the prison* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977); See a similar application of Foucault for issues of post-war governance in Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and The Family in Postwar Canada* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1999), 8.

¹⁸ Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (New York: International Publishers, 1971) as cited by Andrew Ross, *No Respect: Intellectuals and Popular Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1988), 55. See also, Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from Cultural Writings* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1979); Esteve Morera, "Gramsci and Democracy," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 23 (1990): 5-37.

¹⁹ Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, as cited by Ross, *No Respect*, 55.

²⁰ Ross, *No Respect*, 55.

²¹ Shirley Tillotson, *The Public at Play: Gender and Politics of Recreation in Post-War Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*. See also, Doug Owsam, *Born At the Right Time: A History of the Baby-Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1996); Mary Louise Adams, *The Trouble With Normal: Post-war Youth and the Construction of Heterosexuality* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994). A strategy of containment within the post-war period of the United States is discussed by Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988). Traumatic changes included the return of military men to the workforce and often strained familial relations; women being expected to leave their positions in the workforce following the war, but continuing to work due to the flourishing economy; an unprecedented baby boom; a shift in the marketplace from a producer-based economy to a consumer-focus; waves of immigration; the threat

of the atomic bomb palpable; and a global intelligence race, typified by the launch of the Russian satellite Sputnik.

²² Tillotson, *The Public at Play*, 4-6.

²³ Alison Prentice et al., *Canadian Women: A History* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988), 351; Ann Porter, "Women and Income Security in the Post-War Period: The Case of Unemployment Insurance, 1945-1962," *Labour/Le Travail* 31 (1993): 111-144; Susan Prentice, "Workers, Mothers, Reds: Toronto's Postwar Daycare Fight," *Studies in Political Economy* 30 (1989): 115-144; Shirley Tillotson, "Human Rights Law as Prism: Women's Organizations, Unions and Ontario's Female Employees Fair Remuneration Act, 1951," *Canadian Historical Review* 72 (1991): 532-557. For broader societal trends that reflected the transgressive nature of hegemonic citizenship, see, for example: Franca Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); Adams, *The Trouble with Normal*; Veronica Strong-Boag, "Home Dreams: Women and the Suburban Experiment in Canada, 1945-1960," *Canadian Historical Review* 74, no.4 (1991): 471-504; Veronica Strong-Boag, "Canada's Wage Earning Wives and the Construction of the Middle-Class, 1945-1960," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 29, no.3 (Fall 1994): 5-25. Franca Iacovetta's work, based on the lives of post-war Italian working-class families, demonstrates that an increased political allowance of 'immigrants' into Canada and their fight for greater rights was matched by growing assimilationist, 'Canadianized' programs. In her research on post-war youth, Mary Louise Adams argues that educators and child 'experts' began to promote sex education. The purpose, however, was an aggressive endorsement of heterosexuality, or the proliferation of the 'normal' post-war family that could combat a perceived increase in deviancy. Veronica Strong-Boag has illustrated that women, confined to the sprawling suburbs of the period, an endorsement of the male breadwinner model, were in fact working, and for some finding fulfillment in that work, both inside and outside of the home.

²⁴ Tillotson, *The Public at Play*, 8-9.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 9.

²⁶ F. Henry Johnson, *A Brief History of Canadian Education* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1968); Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*; Neil Sutherland, "The Triumph of Formalism," in *Children, Teachers and Schools*, ed. J. Barman, N. Sutherland, and J.D. Wilson (Calgary: Detselig, 1995).

²⁷ Robert D. Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1999), 30. See also, a number of articles in J. Donald Wilson and David C. Jones (editors), *Schooling and Society in 20th Century British Columbia* (Calgary: Detselig, 1980). In this collection, scholars noted that there existed two strains of Progressivism or 'New Education,' during the early part of the twentieth-century in the West, with one group welfare and reform-minded, with Dewey representative, and the other group business and management-oriented, with Thorndike representative. Few historians have followed-up on this issue, which is an important line of inquiry. Recent exceptions include: Kathleen Weiler, "No women wanted on the social frontier: gender, citizenship and progressive education," in *Challenging Democracy: International Perspectives on Gender, Education, and Citizenship*, ed. M. Arnot and J. Dillabough (New York: Routledge, 2000); Rebecca Priegert Coulter, "Getting Things Done: Donald J. Dickie and Leadership Through Practice," *Canadian Journal of Education* 28, no. 3 (2005): 669-699. This thesis intends to deepen and complicate this discussion, as I argue that such categories seemed to collapse for the average educator in the post-WWII period. Furthermore, I argue that those who

proclaimed allegiance to progressivism embraced a reform agenda that was similarly conservative as that claimed by traditionalists.

²⁸ Dillabough, "Women in Teacher Education," 180-181.

²⁹ See appendices for a biographical overview of each interviewee, the project summary, consent form and interview guide. This information reveals the interviewees' knowledge of the research prior to participating, the terms of their agreement to participate, and some of the general questions they were asked.

³⁰ Patricia Anne Staton and Beth Light, *Speak with their own voices: a documentary history of the teachers of Ontario and the women elementary public school teachers in Ontario* (Toronto: FWTAO, 1987), 130. They argue that the demographics of women teachers remained fairly consistent over a long period: most were white, Anglo-Saxon, protestant, and from lower to middle class families. The main change during this period was the increase in the number of married women teaching, as cited by Cecilia Reynolds, "Hegemony and Hierarchy: Becoming a Teacher in Toronto, 1930 - 1980," *Historical Studies in Education* 2, no.1 (1990): 111-117. Reynolds' statistics show that in 1961 72% of women teachers were British, followed by a small percentage with French and German backgrounds.

³¹ Charles E. Phillips, *The Development of Public Education in Canada* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1957); Johnson, *A Brief History of Canadian Education*. For the historiography of the early development of Canadian education, see, for example, J. Donald Wilson, "Some Observations on Recent Trends in Canadian Educational History," in *An Imperfect Past: Education and Society in Canadian Education*, ed. J.D. Wilson (Vancouver: CHEA and the Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction, University of British Columbia, 1984).

³² See, for example, Michael B. Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975). This work explores the relationship between work place and schooling. Katz is generally credited with influencing a radical revision of Canadian educational history that heretofore neglected class issues; Robert D. Gidney and Doug A. Lawr, "Who Ran the Schools? Local vs. Central Control of Policy-Making in Nineteenth-Century Ontario," *Ontario History* 67 (1980): 131-143; Robert D. Gidney and Doug A. Lawr, "Community vs. Bureaucracy? The Origins of Bureaucratic Procedure in the Upper Canadian School System," in *Historical Essays on Upper Canada: New Perspectives*, ed. J.K. Johnson and B.G. Wilson (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1989). Gidney and Lawr illustrate the ways local people resisted school bureaucracies in late nineteenth-century Ontario; Chad Gaffield, *Language, Schooling and Cultural Conflict* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988). Gaffield argues that French language schools in nineteenth-century Ontario contributed to the preservation of French culture and not its assimilation to the dominant English culture; Neil Sutherland, *Children in English Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth Century Consensus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976). Sutherland's work was groundbreaking in the field of childhood studies. Two collections soon followed that addressed the 'new' social history and its focus on family and children, Joy Parr (editor), *Childhood and Family in Canadian History* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982); Patricia T. Rooke and R.L. Schnell (editors), *Studies in Childhood History: A Canadian Perspective* (Calgary: Detselig, 1982).

³³ Patrick J. Harrigan, "A Comparative Perspective on Recent Trends in the History of Education in Canada," *History of Education Quarterly* 26, no.1 (1986): 79-80.

³⁴ Alison Prentice, "The Feminization of Teaching in British North America and Canada: 1845-1875," *Histoire sociale/ Social History* 8 (1975): 5-20; Marta Danylewycz, Beth Light and Alison Prentice, "The Evolution of the Sexual Division of Labour in Teaching: A Nineteenth-Century Ontario and Quebec Case Study," *Histoire sociale/ Social History* 16, no. 31 (1983): 81-109; Marta Danylewycz and Alison Prentice, "Teachers, Gender and Bureaucratizing School Systems in Nineteenth-Century Montreal and Toronto," *History of Education Quarterly* 24, no.1 (1984): 75-100.

³⁵ Alison Prentice and Marjorie R. Theobald, "The Historiography of Women Teachers: A Retrospect," in *Women Who Taught: Perspectives on the History of Women and Teaching*, edited by A. Prentice and M. Theobald (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991).

³⁶ Kate Rousmaniere, *City Teachers: Teaching and School Reform in Historical Perspective* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1997).

³⁷ Doris French, *High Button Boots: Federation of Women's Teacher's Associations of Ontario, 1918-1968*, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1968); Staton and Light, *Speak with their own voices*; Sandra Gaskell, *The Problems and Professionalism of Women Elementary Public School Teachers in Ontario, 1944-1954* (Ed.D. Dissertation: Faculty of Education, University of Toronto, 1989). For an associational history of Catholic women teachers in Quebec, see, Nadia Fahmy-Eid and Micheline Dumont (editors), *Maîtresses de maison, maîtresses d'école. Femmes, Familles et Éducation dans l'histoire du Québec* (Montréal, Boréal, 1983).

³⁸ Reynolds, "Hegemony and Hierarchy"; Cecilia Reynolds, "In the Right Place at the Right Time: Rules of Control and Woman's Place in Ontario Schools, 1940-1980," *Canadian Journal of Education* 20, no.2 (1995): 129-145; Cecilia Reynolds and Harry Smaller, "Ontario School Teachers: A Gendered View of the 1930s," *Historical Studies in Education* 6 (1994): 151-169; Sheila L. Cavanagh, "The Heterosexualization of the Ontario Woman Teacher in Post-war Period," *Canadian Woman Studies* 18, no.1 (1998): 65-69; Sheila L. Cavanagh, "The Gender of Professionalism and Occupational Closure: the management of tenure-related disputes by the 'Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario' 1918-1949," *Gender and Education* 15, no.1 (2003): 39-57; Sheila L. Cavanagh, "Female-Teacher Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Ontario, Canada," *History of Education Quarterly* 45, no.2 (2005): 247-273. See also, Susan Gelman, "The 'Feminization' of the High School: Women Secondary Teachers in Toronto, 1871-1930," *Historical Studies in Education* 2 (1990): 119-148; Judith Arbus, "Grateful to be Working: Women Teachers During the Great Depression," in *Feminism and Education: A Canadian Perspective*, ed. F. Forman, M. O'Brien, J. Haddad, D. Hallman, and P. Masters (Toronto: Centre for Women's Studies, OISE, 1990).

³⁹ Rebecca Priegert Coulter and Helen Harper (editors), *History is Hers: Women Educators in Twentieth Century Ontario* (Calgary: Detselig, 2005).

⁴⁰ Ibid., 16. The expansive number of interviews, seven contributors, and six decade time span, make it difficult to sum up methodological approach and theoretical understanding of women teachers' oral history for this collection. This is the primary reason why I do not treat this recent text in the following chapter's theoretical analysis of the field. I do, however, draw upon several articles within the collection, particularly the work of Sheila L. Cavanagh, for this thesis.

⁴¹ Ibid., 21.

⁴² Jean Barman, *Sojourning Sisters: The Lives and Letters of Jessie and Annie McQueen* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003).

Chapter 1

Productive Tensions: Feminist Readings of Women Teachers' Oral Histories⁴³

According to Sandra Harding, the best feminist work ensures that research is grounded in women's experiences, considers the power relations between researchers and researched, and works towards the elimination of patriarchal oppression.⁴⁴ While these commonalities are pronounced in most feminist studies, feminist researchers begin from diverse and contested epistemological positions.⁴⁵ In recent years, contests over the differences between poststructuralism and materialism have sometimes appeared to take precedence in the quest for 'the best feminist work.' While each approach in itself is vast and encompasses an array of positions, which is beyond the scope of this exploration, each theory is marked by dominant themes and points for analysis. Poststructuralist feminists demarcate their work by asserting, as Barbara Johnson notes, that gender is a question of language that can only be subjectively deconstructed within local contexts.⁴⁶ In contrast, materialist feminists, such as Jennifer Wicke, insist that an examination of material conditions, both domestic and industrial, is the basis for revealing the general and definable principles that produce gender hierarchy.⁴⁷ Judith Butler has warned against the propensity for contemporary feminists to exaggerate 'difference' of approaches in their work. She writes: "...the question of whether or not a position is right...is in this case, less informative than why we come to occupy and defend the territory we do, what it promises us."⁴⁸ In light of this statement, it is all the more important to question: does a feminist reading of women teachers' oral histories benefit from a purely poststructuralist or materialist analysis or rather from an integrated framework? An increasing number of feminist theorists are reconciling modernist questions of structural equality with poststructuralist concerns for discourse and difference: acknowledging that

feminists share the goals of investigating and de-normalizing power. The work of feminist political and social theorists, notably Nancy Fraser and Linda Nicholson, directly counter the fragmentation of these earlier approaches by acknowledging women's political agency within hierarchies of identification.⁴⁹

A feminist reading of women teachers' oral histories, which integrates the strengths of poststructuralist and materialist feminism, provides productive tensions for historians seeking to explore the complex relations of power that create narrative meaning making. When examining women's oral histories, Joan Sangster argues that historians should be concerned about the dangers of poststructuralism's propensity for "form over context, of stressing deconstruction of individual narratives over analysis of social patterns, of disclaiming our duty as historians to analyze and interpret women's stories."⁵⁰ Equally dangerous is over-reliance on materialism with the possibility of imposing grand narratives that match political agendas and define power as purely 'objective,' economic or unified. In contrast, a feminist poststructuralist *and* materialist reading of women teachers' oral histories challenges generalizing theoretical traditions, and, more importantly, the need for a feminist critique that is 'right' according to extreme theoretical categories.⁵¹ In its place, an integrated analysis provides a feminist critique of oral history that encourages historians to, as Marjorie Theobald describes, work within layers of memory, rather than beyond them. There, we can discover a point at which women's narratives can expose and destabilize essentialist tropes or myths encouraged by male dominance.⁵²

As Luisa Passerini argues, oral histories are revelations of truths, but "it is up to the interpreter to discover in which sense, where, for what purpose."⁵³ This chapter considers how historians have interpreted women teachers' oral histories. The selected studies for analysis are from the United States, New Zealand and Australia. Unlike the case for Canada,

scholars in these countries have undertaken major studies of women who taught in the twentieth-century and tapped into their first-hand accounts of educational processes in such areas as labour conflicts, teacher training, and state educational policies.⁵⁴ Some Canadian scholars have begun to embark on such studies. Few, as previously discussed, have turned to oral history as a central resource or published a series of articles or a manuscript of their studies. The works selected for this chapter, in addition to being some of the best-recognized studies in the field, provide oral histories from concentrated interview pools that deal with a fairly specific time period and are examined in-depth by the historians who authored the work. These selected texts are not intended to represent a comprehensive historiography of empirical studies, but do illustrate various historical approaches and understandings of the value of women teachers' narratives. This chapter provides an analysis of conceptual issues raised by feminist researchers and faced by oral historians, such as myself, in exploring women's oral histories. Few scholars here explicitly address their theoretical leanings, an area that should be confronted if more sophisticated appraisals are to occur. Nevertheless, the authors below deal implicitly with theoretical concepts that feminist poststructuralists and materialists debate regarding the representation of women's experiences. I do not, therefore, attribute the identity of any theoretical tradition to the historians or their work in women teachers' oral histories that are under examination. Rather, the focus is on using feminist poststructuralist and materialist theories, at times in retrospect from when the histories were produced, for an understanding of the most comprehensive readings for written oral histories of women teachers. In particular, this chapter addresses three key concepts for historians' representations of women teachers' narratives: knowledge, discourse and identity.⁵⁵

While these terms are certainly interrelated, this chapter treats each separately. The first section addresses knowledge, or the assertions of 'truth' historians make through women's memories of teaching. Many postmodernist feminists assert that oral historians can reveal multiple and fluctuating truths by paying close attention to the organizing principles underlying narratives. Materialist feminists have questioned the political efficacy of unending truths offered by postmodernism and encourage oral historians to lay bare the locations of power that produce evidence from oral histories. The second concept is discourse, which in this case refers to teachers' use of language to explain their self-identity within society. While the power of language to structure women's realities has been the foundation of feminist poststructuralism, materialist feminists emphasize the structural parameters of discourses. The third section addresses the identity construction of women teachers. Some poststructuralist feminists support the interrogation of women teachers' individual narratives, as they reject the imposition of 'Woman.' In contrast, some materialist feminists seek to understand the subjectivities of 'women' as a group, defined according to social patterns of patriarchy, particularly informed by class relations. Rather than stifling, the tensions between these feminist frameworks for oral historians might be productive. The potential of women teachers' oral history can be found between these theoretical traditions, where multiple truths are located within the power dynamics of their construction, language as experience is understood in relation to material life, and the question of the self is continuously negotiated within social structures.

REMEMBERING EXPERIENCES AND HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE

Poststructuralist feminists seek to destabilize male dominance, in part, by reading women's oral histories as knowledge production, a process through which women make sense or meaning of their lives.⁵⁶ Narratives are treated as linguistic constructions and historical texts which, open to multiple interpretations, can provide evidence of how women conceptualize their past experiences or relationships to the social world. Jacques Derrida argues that life as text accentuates the notion that there is no clear window into the inner life of a person, because the view is always filtered through the glaze of language, and processes of signification.⁵⁷ Experience as interpreted through oral history is thus a fluctuating 'truth' that exists within the layers of life as it happens, life as it is told by the subject, and life as narrative interpreted by the historian.⁵⁸ The role of the oral historian is not to provide the facts of women teachers' pasts, even if this were possible; rather it is to analyze the way historic knowledge is created through the production of discourse as informed by experiences and subject locations.

Poststructuralist feminists argue that oral history as evidence, set within a text, can lead to the re-conceptualization of the study of women's work in education or, for that matter, in some other field. Richard Quantz's study of the failure of women teachers' unionization in Hamilton, Ohio, during the 1930s provides an illustration. He rejects traditional historical claims that rely purely on structural or material explanations with respect to professional associations, namely, the failure of unionization as a result of weak ties to the organized, largely male, labour movement and harsh economic times.⁵⁹ Quantz argues that while larger forces shape the story, the event in question can only be fully understood through an analytic foundation that includes women who lived through it and

their discursively constructed subjectivities. Contrary to structurally based studies, he demonstrates that failure to unionize was not because women teachers were unknowing dupes of the educational elite. Instead, Quantz illustrates that women organized their realities around key cultural metaphors, such as viewing the school as family and a legitimate female institution, which provided them with a perception of power that appeared to make external professional associations irrelevant.⁶⁰ Quantz's study ends by noting that he has provided temporal conclusions from patterns within the women's narratives of that time and place.

Historian Kate Rousmaniere frames her narrative of teachers' diverse meanings of and relationships to work in similar terms. In her *City Teachers: Teaching and School Reform in Historical Perspective*, Rousmaniere argues that historical scholarship has remained relatively silent about the diversity of women teachers' work, as accounts regarding the messiness of life inside schools are missing. She argues that traditionally historians have misread conditions of women teachers' work, narrowly defining it as factory-like labour constrained by material structures, namely prescriptive policy and curricula. She implies, in part, that this is due to materialist feminists not listening to the language and the recurring echoes of meaning found in teachers' narratives. Through an ethnographic examination of teachers' experiences of work in New York schools, she refutes arguments that schools became rationalized, orderly, and financially efficient institutions during the 1920s' 'Progressive Era.'⁶¹ As she looks "...sideways into the picture presented...in order to identify teachers' motivations, feelings, and reactions," Rousmaniere illustrates that women teachers interpreted administrators' concept of 'progress' as involving different meanings of order, including more intense labour and divisions among teachers.⁶² In addition, 'progress' meant a negotiated work culture by which women teachers sporadically

both accommodated and resisted their conditions. Rousmaniere's narrative is, at times, an unrelenting form of historical advocacy for teachers. She provides, however, an illuminating concluding point: for reform to be effective in schools, whether in 1920s New York or elsewhere, teachers' concerns must be heard amongst the voices of educational reformers and policy texts.⁶³ For Rousmaniere, like Quantz, it is the historian's job to explore knowledge as a linguistic representation of life which, when studied, provides clues, patterns, and themes that speak to how women teachers, in relation to a multitude of conflicting 'truths' and 'voices,' understood and acted upon their surroundings.

This poststructuralist conceptual stance rejects an empiricist view of the past as objectively fixable through the scientific pursuit of facts and a singular, universal truth.⁶⁴ It thereby undermines traditionally male-based scientific claims to authority over knowledge, including biological determinism of gender disparities. At the same time, this framework rejects the attempts of feminist empiricists to re-inscribe objectivist notions of 'woman' through the elimination of male bias in the sciences.⁶⁵ All knowledge, including that of the women participating in research, is subject to deconstruction and scepticism.

In contrast, materialist feminist researchers have argued that poststructuralist suspicion of all truth claims are disingenuous and politically untenable for a feminist agenda that seeks to foster research from and for women. Roberta Spalter-Roth and Heidi Hartmann are critical of any feminist epistemological position that does not claim scientific credibility and generalizability. Without such evidence, they argue, feminists would be discredited in policy debates and unable to actualize feminist goals for political reform.⁶⁶ Donna Haraway makes a similar argument in claiming that feminist poststructuralists fall into a dangerous territory of relativism, which is the "perfect mirror twin of totalization in the ideologies of objectivity; both deny the stakes of location, embodiment, and partial perspective; both make

it impossible to see well.”⁶⁷ In her research, Haraway reclaims the notion of objectivity which she defines as feminists’ articulation of subjugated knowledges.⁶⁸ She asserts that partial perspectives, as a way of seeing, enable accessible communication among feminist researchers for change in the ‘real’ world of women.⁶⁹

Considering materialist feminists’ calls for a strong political feminist agenda, the seduction for many oral historians has been to write a descriptive, coherent story that privileges the seemingly transparent knowledge of women.⁷⁰ Such narratives are founded on the belief, articulated by Paul Thompson, that “...transforming the ‘objects’ of study into ‘subjects’, makes for a history which is not just richer, more vivid and heartrending, but truer.”⁷¹ Alice Duffy Rinehart’s 1983 study *Mortals in the Immortal Profession: An Oral History of Teaching* works from such a standpoint. Her book is very much the product of the time in which it was written, when post-modern questions were not at the forefront of history. Rinehart produces an extensive compilation of thirty-eight interviews with women who had worked in various American schools throughout their lifetime.⁷² She covers important issues such as reasons for entering teaching, family background and major political events affecting education.⁷³ Rinehart presents oral histories as reminiscences or anecdotal personal insights, in other words as self-evident depictions of reality, instead of scrutinizing them within a theoretical context. Her failure to analyze the ‘historical knowledge’ in teachers’ narratives misses the complex relations of power, both privilege and subordination, which underlie the dynamics of meaning making. Valorizing women teachers in an effort to let them tell their story is realized at the dangerous cost of depicting their narratives as another form of constrained consciousness similar to conservative rhetoric of teachers’ apolitical subjectivities. Essentially, Rinehart fails to treat memory as an unstable basis for women teachers’ knowledge, a basis on which the historian must examine the

contradictions and silences for the structuring paradigms and processes that shape their individual and collective pasts.⁷⁴ Only through a respectful scepticism about narratives will women teachers and historians be able to find patterns in their voices to collectively deconstruct the power relations that shape the educational system.

If careful not to privilege a singular feminine 'voice,' the oral historian can foreground Haraway's demands for the exposure and location of power relations in the relationship between researchers and researched. As such, materialist feminists' concern to provide a platform for political activism based on interrogation of power relations can be realized with poststructuralist sensitivities. In fact, Michel Foucault, an unwitting father of poststructuralism, argued against linear histories that did not analyze the power to name on the part of the researcher.⁷⁵ As Leslie Bloom argues, the feminist researcher provides the most illuminating illustration of meaning making in history: here there exists a genuine respect for a subject's right to define her own history, but simultaneously an acknowledgment of the researcher's explicit role in the history constructed.⁷⁶ Diane Wolf similarly asserts that feminist fieldwork across theoretical traditions has to deal with the inherent power inequalities between the researcher and the researched, including questions of authorship, ownership of data, and use of evidence (sampling methods, relationship with subject, and confidentiality).⁷⁷ This demands fostering a relationship of trust in the research process based on the researcher's continual reflexivity.⁷⁸ That being said, historical knowledge produced through oral histories is, ultimately, a reported discourse created in particular contexts and analyzed within scholars' own location and seemingly 'objective' research frameworks.

Kathleen Weiler makes this point in her 1998 study of interviews with twenty-five women teachers who lived and worked in rural California between 1850 and 1950.⁷⁹ Weiler

critically reads women teachers' narratives as discursive texts produced in specific historical contexts. The historian, as her work illustrates, selects and highlights certain themes in accordance with teachers' class, gender, and racial locations. She notes that the oral history of an African American woman, obtained in an interview conducted in the 1970s by a black scholar, produced a narrative centred on the freedom struggles of black people to gain access to educational institutions. This narrative is contrasted with one conducted by a white, male scholar and produced in the conservatism of the early 1950s in which the conventional characteristics of teacher sacrifice and community building became the focus.⁸⁰ With respect to her own interviews, Weiler cites incidences in which women, unaware of her liberal feminist perspective, intentionally edited their stories to present images of acceptable authority figures and happy endings which they believed corresponded to the expectations Weiler might have because of her conservative family background.⁸¹ These examples demonstrate that awareness and discussion of the context of interviews, of the goals of the historian, and of the interaction between the subjectivities of researcher and researched are mandatory in the exploration of the 'historical knowledges' of women teachers' narratives. They illustrate how it is important for historians to be critical not only of themselves but also of subjects' efforts to construct a convincing historical narrative from the stories. While these issues are not new for oral historians, Weiler's work speaks to an emerging awareness among scholars of the emancipatory potential of women's stories, as opposed to white, male 'experts,' when the production aspects of the oral history are clear.

While the contextual production of oral histories can address concerns for location, materialist feminists argue that historians also must be wary of obscuring the voices of their subjects. A poststructuralist approach that implies all narratives represent equally valid knowledge could result in the textual dominance of the researcher's experiences. This

danger is particularly evident in Kathleen Casey's work entitled *I Answer With My Life: Life Histories of Women Teachers Working for Social Change*. Casey undertakes a study of the life and work of thirty-three women who, obtained through snowball sampling, came from three general subject positions: religious Catholic women, secular Jewish women, and black women teachers.⁸² Her study of these women's stories is framed by Casey's own awareness that knowledge is not produced 'out there,' but, rather, in relationship between the subjectivities of herself and those she interviewed. In an effort to illuminate this dialogue, Casey at times dominates with a lengthy description of her family background, political stance, and perspectives on education.⁸³ This occurs in conjunction with attempts to create an open-ended format for her interviews that, she claims, allow the interests of the narrators to be at the forefront of the content and interpretation. That outcome is in fact undermined by sampling, questions and categorizations which are powerful forces in directing narratives. While self-conscious of her methodological and textual dominance, Casey is careful to note that women teachers' interests can usurp her agenda. Specifically, she began her research seeking to interview Communist women teachers. She often confronted secular Jewish women with this characterization, but was repeatedly told by the women themselves that they were not 'radical' or 'terrorist' Communists.⁸⁴ Casey recognized that, in the context of the 'Left' in the 1980s, when she conducted the interviews, her categories not only no longer corresponded with but were deeply threatening to the identities of the subjects. In retrospect, Casey comments that her own biography of conservative schooling and remoteness from Communist networks prevented the effective inclusion of evidence.

Historians should be cautioned against imposing their agenda on women's oral histories and their conceptions of historical knowledge for there is not a clear window into women's past experiences that can be uncovered. At the same time, women teachers'

various remembrances represent historical knowledge of how they understood and attempted to interact with their positions in education systems of a given time and place. The historian must lay bare his or her intention to interrogate women teachers' experiences from their own 'objective' lens, thereby making claims from oral histories that hold political truths and value.

THE LOCATIONS OF WOMEN'S DISCOURSES

Casey's work demonstrates how feminist analysis of the evidence or knowledge women teachers create through oral history is directly related to debates between language and materialism as sources of gender oppression. Michele Barrett notes that poststructuralism rejects the supremacy of materialism over signs or discourses.⁸⁵ In particular, poststructuralism challenges materialist feminism's focus on the cause of women's oppression rooted in economic relations.⁸⁶ We should not interpret such a challenge, however, to mean that discourse is not intimately related to material life. Materialist feminists react against work, associated with poststructuralism, which describes women's lives as floating above their contexts, rather than within them.⁸⁷ Signs should not simply replace production as a root cause of women's oppression. An analysis of discourse with respect to women's narratives must seek to examine the system of "...controlling metaphors, notions, categories and norms which develop and delimit the subjects' conceptions and expressions of personal, work and social relations."⁸⁸ Discourse is thus a way of perceiving women's experiences through multiple and competing forces within society.⁸⁹ As theorist Mikhail Bakhtin argues, voices create structures through which the reality of a multitude of concrete worlds might be perceived or discussed.⁹⁰ In addition to

perceiving how women construct themselves, such discussion enables the historian to better understand the ways that dominant discourses, as they relate to structural institutions, also construct women's narratives. The oral historian must not identify language as synonymous with life. Women teachers' lives and language are active sites of negotiation for the historian to explore subjectivities and material constraints that ground language choices according to factors such as gender, class, race, region, and workplace. It is up to the historian to provide an effective reading of both discourses and the material world of the texts. Historians must approach oral narratives with dual, simultaneous interpretations, namely, a reading for structure, or the experiences of the material world and the workings of it, and a reading for culture, or the ways memories of events and experiences are organized through language.⁹¹

The work of Richard Quantz and Margaret Nelson is particularly attuned to how discourse and material realities shape their subjects' histories. They each focus on teachers' negotiations of material factors as they are expressed through discursive strategies. Quantz argues that women teachers during the Depression era in Ohio dealt with careers that were characterized by both empowerment and confinement. Using the shared language and subjectivities he observed in the narratives, he describes how women used metaphors for teaching that publicly accommodated and personally resisted their situation. These metaphors include the subordinate-authority figure (teacher as both respected/fearful by students and respectful/fearful of male administrators) and the school as family (mother/child relationship with students and a sister-like relationship with co-workers, but expected to be single with the father-like figure of an administrator).⁹² Quantz notes that the complete picture of these women's experiences is not to be found in these abstractions, as women teachers did not approach life metaphorically, but concretely. He argues that

teachers' subjective redefinitions under the structural conditions of that period made it possible for them to think of themselves in oppositional ways rather than always accommodating dominant discourses. This study provides interesting examples of how teachers' work experiences do not always conform to hegemonic discourses of material conditions. For example, his interviewees strongly identified with a mother metaphor that afforded them a great amount of authority within the community, while keeping them subordinate within the educational system.⁹³ Despite such dynamics, Quantz's concluding remarks allude to the idea that these women contributed to their own powerlessness as teachers because they did not change their material realities, merely their subjective worlds. He acknowledges the discursive authority women had over their experiences and then subsequently dismisses any 'real' power. Quantz misreads the teachers' narratives, namely, that they are speaking to the negotiating of a meaningful identity within the context of patriarchal oppression. As a result, he negates a dialectic relationship, expressed by the women in their narratives, between 'formal' avenues of power and a person's own 'informal' influence.

Nelson, who deals with teachers' relationships to their working conditions in Vermont, reconfigures Quantz's conclusions regarding the relative impact of discourse and structure.⁹⁴ Specifically, Nelson notes that the meaning or satisfaction derived from teaching cannot be understood solely on materialist terms. Rather, she credits women's expressions of power or oppression as having an impact on their positions and work environments.⁹⁵ Unlike Quantz, she concludes that women teachers' talk of empowerment was as 'real' as their structural context when determining their experiences of work.⁹⁶

The importance of this distinction is clear in the work of Kathleen Casey. Casey, in contrast to Quantz, focuses intimately on her subjects' discursive structures and does not

fully explore their material realities. Her work, which sets out to be an analysis of women's experiences through the primacy of language, is useful for historians to understand the narrative construction of the teaching self. Casey's study, however, only brings the historian so far. Her study should be complemented by a greater contextual analysis of the women's narratives. It is this type of linguistic analysis, associated with poststructuralism, which materialist feminists accuse of presenting women's lives as floating above their contexts. Casey's work centres on reproducing dimensions of women teachers' work for social change through the repetitive, yet distinctive concepts and metaphors they construct. She notes that she needed to identify with the particular, gender-bound, religious languages that were consistently being used by Catholic women teachers before she recognized their political theorizing.⁹⁷ For example, Casey argues that many women would not explicitly make negative comments against administrators in their schools, yet they often described times of school reform and disruption with the metaphor of death and sacrifice. One woman recalled the death of a fellow teacher when discussing a change in administration.⁹⁸ The inability of some women to vocalize their experiences must be understood with respect to the constraints they endured as both women and nuns in society. In addressing the potential for women's voices to be 'privatized,' Casey also includes body language within her discourse analysis. She recalls an interview in which a woman was recounting her choice to become a nun, and traced a figure eight in the air to represent a sense of unity among her childhood, religious life, and teaching.⁹⁹ Casey's ability to read for cultural meaning or the construction of language enables her to illuminate women's experiences. She fails, however, to show how women negotiated their relationships with the dominant discourses of institutions that shaped their voice, such as church, state, and school. The reader wants to know more, for

example, about the metaphor of death as it related to educational discourse and work environments within this specific context.

The opposite can be said for the work of Sue Middleton and Helen May, which explores the strategies that teachers used to understand the dominant discourses and social movements that swept through New Zealand schools between 1915 and 1995.¹⁰⁰ Using materials from administrators, philosophers, and a cross-section of teachers, Middleton and May assert that they want to recapture how teaching affected and was affected by a diverse range of issues (the purpose of schooling, the streaming of Maori children, and 'progressive' child-centered education).¹⁰¹ Unfortunately, their study does not fulfil this goal, as they confuse descriptions of structural conditions with discourse analysis. What they construct is a descriptive historical account that focuses on the political irrespective of the personal, with little analysis of subjects' memories or languages. Although Middleton and May powerfully state "...now, let us listen as teachers talk teaching," they actually edit women's stories in compliance with competing dominant discourses of education that existed during the period in question.¹⁰² This is particularly evident as the authors admit to cleaning up the raw data, removing subjects' slang words and digressions, as well as indiscriminately incorporating their own narratives into their subjects' stories.¹⁰³ As a result, Middleton and May, at times, treat oral histories as anecdotal evidence. With the removal of the silences, and the inattentiveness to literary devices, such as metaphors that structure speech, the reader can miss how women teachers organized or determined their subjectivities located within rapidly changing public institutions. Middleton and May do not examine some of the most fascinating questions: How did the mothers whom they describe as "reserve labour" in the 1950s rationalize their careers? How did teachers feel about students who espoused racism during the tension filled decade of the 1960s?

As a whole, these works demonstrate that studies of women teachers' narratives, which are founded on an analysis of discourse *or* materialism, do not provide the fullest historical explanation of women's teaching lives, since the meaning of these concepts are defined in relation to one another. Women's narratives are embedded within the historical and contemporary context of their lives. As such, their oral histories reveal the societal imperatives by which they organized their narratives as effective teachers, as well as the ways women manipulated discourses to shape the structural parameters of their working lives. Schools did not simply impose themselves upon the identities of women teachers nor did women teachers have full control over the shape of their teaching selves within the school environment.

THE SOCIAL SELF OF TEACHERS' IDENTITIES

Obviously the relationship between women's discursive positioning and identity formation are inextricably linked. At the centre of this relationship for feminist theories and historians is how to express women as subjects. Given the focus of poststructuralist feminism on multiple subjectivities, the concern is that readings for the material effects could create a seemingly unified 'Woman's' discourse. Feminist standpoint theorists, for example, seek generalizable and singular definitions of 'Woman' for political efficacy. Standpoint theorists, like Nancy Harstock, contend that women as an oppressed group, by virtue of their material realities according to the sexual division of labour, have a vision of social relations distinct from men.¹⁰⁴ She argues that this vision, struggled for by women over time, must be privileged for its unique commentary on patriarchy.¹⁰⁵ Dorothy Smith also acknowledges the need for researchers to begin from women's distinct standpoint. Unlike Harstock, she

does not argue that women's standpoint refers to an authentic women's perspective.¹⁰⁶ Instead, Smith argues that standpoint is a research method for understanding the ruling apparatuses that women speak to as shaping their everyday worlds. She argues that researchers, particularly those persuaded by poststructuralism, must concentrate on historically placing and embodying female subjectivity in order to check the general validity of their accounts.¹⁰⁷ Smith and Harstock turn to a materialist Marxist framework as a means for 'escaping' seemingly poststructuralist abstract categories of meaning that ignore the "coordering of actual activities," or the patterns of women's experiences, and changes in women's lives.¹⁰⁸

Scholars have challenged this position, arguing that materialists' desire to locate the 'Woman's' perspective implies that they can locate the 'authentic centre' of the female identity through an examination of the personal, inner life.¹⁰⁹ Defined as such, the oppressed individual, or in this case a woman, can be politically liberated by articulating their fixed identity. Postcolonial feminists provide beneficial insight into this matter. Many strongly argue that inferences of fixed identity construction are inaccurate and continue to colonize the 'Third World Woman' or the 'Black Woman' according to White Western images of their powerlessness.¹¹⁰ Chandra Mohanty argues that many feminist researchers' discursive practices reproduce hegemonic public discourses of non-Western women's identities and cultures as statically 'Other.'¹¹¹

It is necessary to adopt, therefore, an analysis that acknowledges that women do not have a coherent self moving through history with a single identity. Instead, the self is a socially constructed, unstable identity constantly created and negotiated through both dominant, contradictory discourses and resistance to those conceptions. All female subjects, therefore, have agency or power for resistance, at least theoretically. The notions of

separated private, powerful selves from social selves, as Mikhail Bakhtin notes, are myths. The self is defined in its encounter with the 'other,' thus the self-identity is a product of social forces.¹¹² As such, a materialist or contextual analysis of oral history, informed by the feminist poststructuralist negation of the search for unity, is most helpful for the oral historian. This synthesized approach is illustrated in the work of Natasha Mauthner and Andrea Doucet. In examining issues of child care and motherhood these researchers employ a relational ontology for the analysis of women's interviews. They do not read for a positivist rational self, but, rather, for women as they define themselves in relationship to the others and contexts, and as they were defined by the researcher's location within the interview.¹¹³

The self as defined by the other should not mean that women can only control, know and define a fragment of themselves. Women can articulate a coherent identity but it is for the historian to explain the formation of that identity as an ideological struggle for agency within patriarchal and oppressive institutions and discourses. Michel Foucault writes that "in thinking of the mechanisms of power [researchers should] think of its capillary form of existence, the point where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions, attitudes, their discourses, and everyday lives."¹¹⁴ Identity formation needs to be deconstructed to understand the frameworks of women's differentiated experiences. What it means to be a woman, how that is defined according to the subjects' material needs and available languages should be the main points of exploration for the historian.

Kathleen Weiler's study of rural teachers provides one of the most beneficial, integrative analyses. She illustrates that identity formation, as revealed through women teachers' narratives, is free and structured, personal and public, as well as internally and

externally shaped. These contradictions are particularly clear as Weiler explores why women chose to teach. Most respondents could not provide an answer, and only a few acknowledged their limited options or the few jobs that were considered 'women's work.'¹¹⁵ Despite the awareness of structural constraints, almost all women presented themselves as autonomous individuals, making personal choices. Weiler notes that women's identities as teachers were constructed around American nationalist discourses based on the freedom of individuals to make their own futures regardless of limitations.¹¹⁶ Contradictorily, therefore, the subjects did not challenge the idea that teaching was women's work, and they did not describe themselves in terms of 'natural' avocation, such as sacrifice, and nurturing. These women constructed themselves in opposition to stereotypical characteristics of femininity, while also presenting narratives that reveal taken-for-granted assumptions about the restrictions women faced. Such contradictions, or what feminist historians term 'bad fits,' highlight the very point at which the subject actively negotiates her concept of self.¹¹⁷ Language used to conceptualize the 'self' is not unitary. Instead, apparent coherence obscures meanings of class and gender that define women teachers' identities. This is evident in the narrative of a white Protestant teacher who framed her identity as a teacher in traditional terms, asserting her respectability within the community.¹¹⁸ Weiler notes how the intersections of class and gender work subversively within this narrative. The subject represents her 'self' as a powerful, Christian, pure woman, without reference to her financial struggles and lack of upper class associates. This woman's choice of representation is very significant for understanding her perceptions of her status and roles in society.

Kate Rousmaniere, like Weiler, reads women teachers' narratives for self-representation, rather than literal content, in her effort to examine what it meant for her subjects to be teachers in 1920s' New York. Focusing on the collectivity of her subjects'

narratives, Rousmaniere seeks to understand women teachers' occupational identities. She begins this study by explaining the problems associated with categorizing teachers' identities. She argues that women teachers exist within a paradoxical position. Teaching is characterized as a profession, but exists under close supervision; it is a middle class career but has a high proportion of marginalized groups.¹¹⁹ An analysis of such incongruencies reveals the thin line historians tread between exploring common themes among narratives and over-generalizing, thus imposing an essentialist identity on the woman teacher. Foremost, however, it is evident to the reader that locating the identity of women teachers as a group means that the historian and the subject must negotiate the context of women's work in relation to intersections of class, gender, 'race,' sexuality, region, age and so on. For Rousmaniere, that means exploring the recurring themes of narratives in order to provide herself with a tentative roadmap to the internal and external ordering of teachers' subjectivities. She concludes from this map that women teachers created an identity for themselves as semi-independent workers.¹²⁰ As a result, teachers maintained some individual control and personal integrity for their job, but worked in isolation that discouraged effective change through unionization. Rousmaniere argues that this collective identity shaped both city teachers' work and their responses to that work.¹²¹

While Weiler and Rousmaniere argue that the formation of identities for women teachers was defined primarily by accommodation, Kathleen Casey provides oppositional readings. Casey argues that the 'progressive' female subjects she interviewed consistently resisted or reinterpreted dominant and conservative constructions of their identities as teachers. The subversion of dominant meanings to represent the identities of women teachers is particularly explicit in the narratives of black women teachers. These black women teachers use their narratives to disclose, disguise and remake their identities. In doing so

they are exposing racist stereotypes produced by whites, undermining the construction of race as biological category, and asserting their power to articulate their own identities.¹²²

For example, within black women's narratives, whites often appear as caricatures, the timeless slave narrative provides a framework, and the meaning of derogatory words, such as mammy, are transformed into more powerful characters.¹²³ While less likely to directly state the constraints of school life, these narratives represent the diversity, agency, limitations, personal and public frameworks that shape women teachers' identities in specific national contexts.

Women's oral histories are embedded narratives, to which historians need to be attuned. Feminist theorists, based on Habermas' work on communicative action, argue that women can only know 'themselves' once they have reflected upon their "own structural 'embeddedness' in formal and informal political and language structures."¹²⁴ Women thereby negotiate and act upon difference "in relation, and response, to meaningful social interactions with others."¹²⁵ Women's oral histories are at once, therefore, individual and social stories.

These texts, as a field, reveal the productive tensions offered by feminist poststructuralist and materialist readings for women teachers' oral histories. Their findings require historians to elicit, and listen carefully for, the interrelated concepts of historical knowledge, discourse and identity, as they are the central organizing principles for women teachers' oral narratives and the historians' representations of those narratives. An integrated reading reveals how school structures shaped women teachers' identities, while also demonstrating the ways women invoked cultural discourses, such as the school as family, to assert their authority. By openly acknowledging the complex production of oral

history, historians can understand that their research priorities, such as teacher resistance or structure of the one-room schoolhouse, must co-exist with women teachers' priorities, such as their daily workload. An integrated analysis also highlights that the diverse definitions of work are dependent on the discourses available for women's social status. The historian can understand how white women teachers focus on education as community building, while black women teachers focus on education as a freedom struggle. An integrated analysis further reveals how an individual woman teacher's lack of 'official' autonomy can depend on her perceptions of collective power for women teachers. As Joan Sangster notes, poststructural analysis helps to deconstruct the narrative form of scripts for meanings in women's oral histories and to acknowledge the construction of the narrative as text by both researcher and researched.¹²⁶ She further argues that feminist materialist insights are needed to focus historians to examine the ways relations of power shape women's choices within social, cultural, political and economic boundaries.¹²⁷ Although the approaches are often contested within feminist theory, it is an integrated feminist poststructuralist and materialist analysis for women teachers' oral history that provides a framework for 'good' feminist research. This framework provides a guide for my analysis of women teachers' oral histories in twentieth-century Canada that can cross the often unstable and dichotomizing post-modern bridge. The deconstruction of women's teachers' narratives reveals the structuring paradigms and processes that have shaped women's individual and collective material realities in our educational past.

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- ⁴³ An earlier version of this chapter has been published: "When Oral Historians Listen to Teachers: Using Feminists' Findings," *Oral History Forum* 23 (2003): 89-112.
- ⁴⁴ Sandra Harding, "Introduction," in *Feminism and Methodology*, ed. S. Harding (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 8-9.
- ⁴⁵ Shulamit Reinharz, "Neglected Voices and Excessive Demands in Feminist Research," *Qualitative Sociology* 16 (1993): 71-72.
- ⁴⁶ Barbara Johnson, *A World of Difference*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 37.
- ⁴⁷ Jennifer Wicke, "Celebrity Material: Materialist Feminism and the Culture of Celebrity," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* (Fall 1994): 741.
- ⁴⁸ Judith Butler, "For a Careful Reading," in *Feminist Contentions: A Philosophical Exchange*, ed. S. Benhabib, J. Butler, D. Cornell, and N. Fraser (New York: Routledge, 1995), 127-128.
- ⁴⁹ Nancy Fraser and Linda Nicholson, "Social criticism without philosophy: An encounter between feminism and post-modernism," in *The Postmodern turn: New perspectives on social theory*, ed. S. Siedman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
- ⁵⁰ Joan Sangster, "Telling Our Stories: Feminist Debates and the Use of Oral History," in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, Third Edition, ed. V. Strong-Boag and A. Fellman. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997), 317.
- ⁵¹ Feminist researchers have begun to challenge the monolithic characterization of these two 'camps' of thought. The diversity of analysis within poststructuralism and materialism is not central to this study, but, rather, the permeable boundaries between them are explored.
- ⁵² Majorie Theobald, "Teachers, memory and oral history," in *Telling Women's Lives: Narrative Inquiries in the History of Women's Education*, ed. K. Weiler and S. Middleton (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1999), 21.
- ⁵³ Luisa Passerini, "Women's Personal Narratives: Myths, Experiences, and Emotions," in *Interpreting Women's Lives: Feminist Theory and Personal Narratives*, ed. Personal Narratives Group (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 197.
- ⁵⁴ For an overview of work in the field of teachers' oral history, see Jack Dougherty, "From Anecdote to Analysis: Oral Interview and New Scholarship in Educational History," *Journal of American History* 86, no.2 (1999): 712-723; Ivor F. Goodson, "Studying Teachers' Lives: An Emergent Field of Inquiry," in *Studying Teachers' Lives*, ed. I. Goodson (London: Routledge, 1992). For an overview of research in the more specific area of women educators' oral histories, see Peter Cunningham, "Narrative and Text: Women, Teachers and Oral History," *History of Education* 29, no.3 (2000): 273-280; Kathleen Weiler and Sue Middleton, "Introduction," in *Telling Women's Lives: Narrative Inquiries in the History of Women's Education*, ed. K. Weiler and S. Middleton (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1999).
- ⁵⁵ Kathleen Weiler, "Reflections on writing a history of women teachers," in *Telling Women's Lives: Narrative Inquiries in the History of Women's Education*, ed. K. Weiler and S. Middleton

(Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1999), 44. Weiler discusses briefly the importance of understanding some of these concepts when utilizing oral histories of women teachers.

⁵⁶ See, for example, Kathleen Casey, "Why do Progressive Women Activists Leave Teaching?: Theory, methodology, and politics in life-history research," in *Studying Teachers' Lives*, ed. I. Goodson. (London: Routledge, 1992); Passerini, "Women's Personal Narratives."

⁵⁷ Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology* (Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 1976).

⁵⁸ Joan Scott, "Experience," in *Feminists Theorize the Political*, ed. J. Butler and J.W. Scott (New York: Routledge, 1992).

⁵⁹ Richard A. Quantz, "The Complex Vision of Female Teachers and the Failure of Unionization in the 1930s: An Oral History," in *The Teacher's Voice: A Social History of Teaching in Twentieth Century America*, ed. R.J. Altenbaugh (London: Falmer Press, 1992), 139-140.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 153-155. See, also, Richard A. Quantz, "Interpretive Method In Historical Research: Ethnography Reconsidered," in *The Teacher's Voice: A Social History of Teaching in Twentieth Century America*, ed. R.J. Altenbaugh (London: Falmer Press, 1992).

⁶¹ Rousmaniere, *City Teachers*, 1-2.

⁶² Ibid., 3-8.

⁶³ Ibid., 9

⁶⁴ Sandra Harding, "Conclusion," in *Feminism and Methodology*, ed. S. Harding (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 182-184; Spalter-Roth, Roberta and Heidi Hartmann, "Small Happiness: The Feminist Struggle to Integrate Social Research with Social Activism," in *Feminist Approaches to Theory and Methodology*, ed. S. Hesse-Biber, C. Gilmartin and R. Lydenberg (New York: Oxford, 1999), 334-336.

⁶⁵ Harding, "Conclusion," 184. See also, Spalter-Roth and Hartmann, "Small Happiness."

⁶⁶ Spalter-Roth and Heidi Hartmann, 340-341.

⁶⁷ Donna Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: the reinvention of nature* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 191.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 188.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 187.

⁷⁰ Joy Parr, "Gender History and Historical Practice," in *Gender and History in Canada*, ed. Joy Parr and Mark Rosenfeld (Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd., 1996).

⁷¹ Paul Thompson, *Voice of the Past: Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 90.

⁷² Alice Duffy Rinehart, *Mortal in the Immortal Profession: an oral history of teaching* (New York: Irvington Publishers, 1983), v.

⁷³ Ibid. Review by Richard Altenbaugh, "Introduction," in *The Teacher's Voice: A Social History of Teaching in Twentieth Century America*, ed. Richard J. Altenbaugh (London: Falmer Press, 1992), 3.

⁷⁴ Kathleen Weiler, "Remembering and representing life choices: a critical perspective on teachers' oral history narratives," *Qualitative Studies in Education* 5, no.1 (1992): 40.

⁷⁵ Michele Barrett, "Words and Things: Materialism and Method in Contemporary Feminist Analysis," in *Destabilizing Theory: Contemporary Feminist Debates*, edited by M. Barrett and A. Phillips (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 211.

⁷⁶ Leslie Rebecca Bloom, "Stories of One's Own: Nonunitary Subjectivity in Narrative Representation," *Qualitative Inquiry* 2, no.2 (1996): 176-188.

⁷⁷ Wolf, Diane, "Situating Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork," in *Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork*, edited by D. Wolf (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1996), 2-3. Methodological issues such as these are explored at length in the following resources: Lynda Measor and Patricia Sikes, "Visiting Lives: Ethics and Methodology in Life History," in *Studying Teachers' Lives*, ed. I. Goodson (London: Routledge, 1992); Sherna-Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai (ed.), *Women's Words: the feminist practice of oral history* (New York: Routledge, 1991); Joyce McCarl Nielsen (ed.), *Feminist Research Methods: Exemplary Readings in the Social Sciences* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990).

⁷⁸ Wolf, "Situating Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork," 34-36

⁷⁹ Kathleen Weiler, *Country Schoolwomen: Teaching in Rural California, 1850-1950* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 1-7; Kathleen Weiler, "Reflections on writing a history of women teachers." She discusses various uses of the same sample of subjects.

⁸⁰ Weiler, "Reflections on writing a history of women teachers," 45-55.

⁸¹ Ibid., 55-56.

⁸² Kathleen Casey, *I Answer with My Life: Life Histories of Women Teachers Working for Social Change* (New York: Routledge, Inc. 1993), 13-17; Kathleen Casey, "Why do Progressive Women Activists Leave Teaching?" In this article she uses the same subjects' narratives as in her book, *I Answer With My Life*.

⁸³ Casey, *I Answer With My Life*, 8-9.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 69-71. A similar point is made clear in the narratives of religious Catholic women teachers.

⁸⁵ Barrett, "Words and Things," 202-203.

⁸⁶ Ibid. Barrett discusses feminist poststructuralist critiques of a single causality of women's oppression.

⁸⁷ For example, critiques of Judith Butler, *Gender Troubles: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall Incorporated, 1990).

⁸⁸ Casey, *I Answer With My Life*, 31.

⁸⁹ Parr, "Gender History and Historical Practice," 15 Parr states: "Experience, this is to say, is formed through discourses. Experiences are not made by discourses, but discourses are the medium through which experiences are comprehensible. Thus the study of the elements from which experience is constituted is not a diversion from the analysis of power, but a way to understand how power works."

⁹⁰ M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), as quoted by Casey, *I Answer With My Life*, 20-21.

⁹¹ Popular Memory Group, "Popular memory: Theory, politics, method," in *Making Histories*, eds. R. Johnson, G. McLennan, B. Schwartz, D. Sutton (London: Hutchinson, 1982), 228-234. See, also, Peter Munro, *Subject to Fiction: Women Teachers' Life History Narratives and the Cultural Politics of Resistance* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1998).

⁹² Quantz, "The Complex Vision of Female Teacher," 142-146.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 145-148.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 156.

⁹⁵ Margaret K. Nelson, "From the One-Room Schoolhouse to the Graded School: Teaching in Vermont, 1910-1950," *Frontiers* 7, no.1 (1983): 14-15 and 19. See, also, Margaret K. Nelson, "Female Schoolteachers as Community Builders," in *The Teachers's Voice: A Social History of Teaching in Twentieth Century America*, ed. R.J. Altenbaugh (London: Falmer Press, 1992); Margaret K. Nelson, "The Intersection of Home and Work: Rural Vermont Schoolteachers, 1915-1950," in *The Teacher's Voice: Social History of Teaching in Twentieth Century America*, ed. R.J. Altenbaugh (London: Falmer Press, 1992); Margaret K. Nelson, "Using Oral Case Histories to Reconstruct the Experiences of Women Teachers in Vermont, 1900-1950," in *Studying Teachers' Lives*, ed. I. Goodson (London: Routledge, 1992).

⁹⁶ Nelson, "From the One-Room Schoolhouse to the Graded School," 15-16 and 19

⁹⁷ Casey, *I Answer With My Life*, 31.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 42-43.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 48.

¹⁰⁰ The description of the method of interviewing and sampling is provided in both of the following resources: Sue Middleton and Helen May, "Disciplining the teaching body 1968-78: progressive education and feminism in New Zealand," in *Telling Women's Lives: Narrative Inquiries in the History of Women's Education*, ed. K. Weiler, and S. Middleton (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1999), 76; Sue Middleton and Helen May, *Teachers Talk Teaching, 1915-1995: Early Childhood Schools and Teachers' Colleges* (New Zealand: Dunmore Press, 1997), 9-17.

¹⁰¹ Middleton and May, *Teachers Talk Teaching*. This work is reviewed by Laura Docter Thornburg, "Review of *Teachers Talk about Teaching, 1915-1995: Early Childhood Schools and Teachers' Colleges*," *History of Education Quarterly* 38 (1998).

¹⁰² Middleton and May, *Teachers Talk Teaching*, 17.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 9-17.

¹⁰⁴ Nancy Harstock, "The Feminist Standpoint," in *Feminism and Methodology*, ed. S. Harding. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 159-160. See also, Patricia Hill Collins, "Learning from Outsider Within: The Sociological Significance of Black Feminist Thought," in *Feminist Approaches to Theory and Methodology: an interdisciplinary reader*, ed. S. Hesse-Biber, C. Gilmartin and R. Lydenberg (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). Collins discusses the distinct standpoint of Black women academics (as Outsiders Within) to influence the knowledge interrogation of concepts such as family and culture. She argues that her outsider within status enables an analysis of women's experiences based on the simultaneity of oppressions (class, race, gender).

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Dorothy Smith, *The Everyday World as Problematic* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 111.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 108 and 122.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 141.

¹⁰⁹ Barrett, "Words and Things," 210.

¹¹⁰ Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses," in *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, ed. C. Mohanty, A. Russo, and L. Torres (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 54.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, as paraphrased by Casey, *I Answer With My Life*, 26.

¹¹³ Natasha Mauthner and Andrea Doucet, "Reflections on a Voice-centred Relational Method," in *Feminist Dilemmas in Qualitative Research: Public Knowledge and Private Lives*, ed. J. Ribbens and R. Edwards (London: Sage, 1998), 125-133.

¹¹⁴ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and punish*.

¹¹⁵ Weiler, "Remembering and representing life histories," 44-46.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹¹⁸ Weiler, "Reflections on writing a history of women teachers," 52-54. See, for example, Weiler, *Country Schoolwomen*.

¹¹⁹ Rousmaniere, *City Teachers*, 5-7. Her point is particularly relevant for the urban teaching force in the United States. See, also, Kate Rousmaniere, "Where Haley Stood: Margaret Haley, teachers' work, and the problem of teacher identity," in *Telling Women's Lives: Narrative Inquiries in the History of Women's Education*, ed. K. Weiler and S. Middleton (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1999).

¹²⁰ Ibid. She discusses this theme in most chapters.

¹²¹ Ibid., 135.

¹²² Ibid., chapter "A Signifying Discourse of Black Women Teachers Working for Social Change."

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Jurgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, Volume 2 (translated by T. McCarthy) (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), as cited by J. Dillabough, "Gender Politics and Conceptions of the Modern Teacher," 387.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Joan Sangster, "Telling Our Stories," 317.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

Chapter 2

The Post-WWII Objectives for Educational 'Democracy' in Secondary Schools

To understand the position of women teachers, we must first examine the objectives that shaped their work as agents for post-World War II Canadian secondary schools. This chapter outlines the ideological terrain women teachers had to negotiate before turning, in the following chapters, to their position within and reaction to the broad social shifts in education during the period. Most Canadian educational historians who examine the purposes of schooling, whether they focus on issues of curriculum and instruction or policy and administration, debate the extent to which progressive or traditional theories of schooling shaped education systems. Notable historians, from Henry Johnson to Robert Stamp and Neil Sutherland, have declared traditionalism the winner of this debate.¹²⁸ They argue, with Ontario or British Columbia as the typical references, that Canadian education systems did not embrace progressivism in the same manner as schools in the United States, and, that progressivism, when included in schooling, was primarily confined to the elementary level. These scholars conclude that Canadian secondary schools held strong to traditional philosophies until well past the mid-twentieth century. Robert Stamp makes the specific case that post-WWII secondary schools were marked by a back to basics curriculum focused on traditional subjects of history, English and languages, teachers with liberal arts backgrounds, and the physical expansion in the number and size of schools themselves.¹²⁹ Provincial governments and boards of education sought to ensure a formalist mandate through prescriptive curriculum, enforced by school inspectors who evaluated teaching techniques, and capped by province-wide matriculation examinations that served to regulate student learning.¹³⁰

Other educational historians, including Paul Axelrod and Robert Gidney, assert that a picture of traditionalism is not that clear. They recognize elements of progressivism within all levels of twentieth-century Canadian schools.¹³¹ Robert Gidney notes in his book, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools*, that post-war secondary institutions, with the growing prominence of psychology, utilized progressivism, which challenged traditional pedagogy and ushered in new theories of child learning. The rapid growth of urbanization and consumerism demanded a new curriculum relevant to the modern world.¹³² The implementation of vocational programs, and an emphasis on 'child centered' and experiential learning, both in the physical organization of the classroom and instructional methods, similarly symbolized ingredients of educational progressivism in the secondary school system.¹³³

While addressing this long standing historiographical debate, Gidney contends in passing that the popularization of the concept 'democracy' in post-WWII Canada brought elements of progressivism into schools. Indeed most scholars have assumed that progressivism, with its promise of gentle guidance, student choice and experiential-based learning, was the model for a democratic education. That association was not novel. John Dewey, a father of progressive pedagogy, explained: "democratic social arrangements promote better quality of human experience, one which is more widely accessible and enjoyed, than do non-democratic and anti-democratic forms of social life."¹³⁴ How could Dewey's ideal of 'democratic' education have been a popular objective for post-war schools if traditionalism, with its focus on academic elitism, authoritarian pedagogy, and formal discipline, was the major influence? Have Axelrod and Gidney overestimated signs of progressivism in post-war secondary schools?

Posing these particular questions is not, however, especially helpful, perpetuating as it does the idea that post-war education was caught between two purely antagonistic modes of thought. Within this binary model, progressivism produced good, democratic schools and, by contrast, traditionalism was undemocratic and bad. Such a dichotomy is especially unhelpful when exploring the popularity of 'democracy' as an objective for post-war public secondary schools. First, 'democracy' was not the preserve of the 'Progressive Educator.'¹³⁵ Second, the majority of educators, namely, administrators and teachers, did not fit these two discreet ideological categories. Third, educational 'democracy' for post-war Canada was not necessarily synonymous with egalitarian ambitions.

While historians may want to declare winners and losers in this debate of theoretical influences, education officials from the period resisted clear and consistent definitions of progressivism and traditionalism. Except for the exceptional individual, like conservative scholar Hilda Neatby or progressive educator George Weir, most academics and commentators did not proclaim full allegiance to either dogma. Instead, most post-war educators claimed to work in the name of 'democracy.' While this had been a central focus for compulsory education since Confederation, the concept has taken on particular urgency in moments of national crisis. 'Democracy' gained renewed prominence in the 1940s and 1950s as citizens sought to avoid totalitarianism in the wake of the Holocaust, ensure participatory citizenship at a time of growing civil rights and decolonization movements, and assert the superiority of Western democracies to communist regimes. Public schools offered a means to counter all these dangers. Secondary schools with their special role in forming apprentice adults into citizens, rather than their elementary feeders, supplied primary targets for educational democracy. 'Democratic' rhetoric was a central part of the pedagogical agenda, inclusive of *both* progressive and traditional influences. Public education, along

with other burgeoning social institutions and services in the areas of recreation, health and employment, was intended to uphold liberal democracy.

To that end, education officials touted the need for the best of both old (traditional) and new (progressive) theories to produce superior sites of every kind. In his much overlooked later work, Dewey makes just this case: democratic education cannot be defined by divisive 'isms,' the learning of skills *or* historical values, and teaching to the child *or* the subject.¹³⁶ After WWII, commentators used democratic maxims of unity and accord in several collections of essays on Canadian schools. In one contribution, W.H. Swift, Deputy Minister of Education in Alberta, expressed the democratic impulse for education as an era of Hegelian synthesis. Swift did not assert that progressive and traditional theories would be easily blended, "since some concepts are diametrically opposed," but insisted that "we are attempting to create the best we can by way of reconciliation...the old and the new and, in so far as human ingenuity permits, improve on both."¹³⁷ In a similar peace-making tone, Sperrin N.F. Chant, Dean of Arts and Science at the University of British Columbia and author of the British Columbia Royal Commission on Education in the late 1950s, reflected on the debate between progressives' emphasis on individual needs versus traditionalists' emphasis on the requirements of the nation: "No attempt will be made here to disentangle these two basic functions of Canadian education, they are complementary and should merge harmoniously in every feature of the educational programme."¹³⁸ Swift's and Chant's words differed little from those of their contemporaries who, similarly working in the name of democracy, promised schooling free of dissension and partaking of a range of the best educational methods.

The rhetoric of educational 'democracy,' encompassing both the democratization of schools and educating of citizens to uphold a democratic nation promised individual

autonomy, equality, and order in an era of seeming instability. Such guarantees reflect the often generic quality of much 'democracy' talk which rather vaguely publicized post-war democratic education as everyone's business. Post-war democratic rhetoric or discourse was not, however, simply words without consequences.

As much recent scholarship reminds us, discourse "denotes statements, practices, and assumptions that share a linguistic coherence and work to identify and describe a problem or an area of concern."¹³⁹ Here I understand 'democratic rhetoric' to include the policies, standards and assumptions educators embraced to produce ideal post-war citizens. Canadian historians, such as Doug Owsram, Shirley Tillotson, Mona Gleason and Mary Louise Adams, have explained that definitions of citizenship, which existed under the popular banner of national egalitarianism, served to contain those qualities and practices that lay outside the desired post-war norms.¹⁴⁰ Educational 'democracy' in the 1940s and '50s promised universal access, social services and local autonomy. These 'democratic' offerings simultaneously re-affirmed the ideal citizens as productive individuals who would self-govern according to their positions within the social stratification of a capitalist, Judeo-Christian, and ultimately imperialist society that enshrined the nuclear family. Educational democracy, expressed through both progressive and traditional philosophies, was never primarily humanitarian. Rather, democracy was conservatively interpreted to preserve an orderly and superior 'democratic' state.¹⁴¹

Despite the recognized popularity of 'democratization' in the post-war national agenda, few educational historians have explicitly examined how policy-makers, administrators, and 'experts' translated 'democracy' on the ground.¹⁴² Even fewer have taken a comparative approach to determine whether this agenda was a regional phenomenon or more national. It is for this purpose that the thesis centres on a regional analysis of

Toronto and Vancouver. The comparison, between 'hogtown,' with its 'Tory' legacy, and the Pacific Gateway, with its 'pioneering' heritage, provides a valuable opportunity to measure the relative potential of democratic pedagogy. An examination of provincial policies and local programming demonstrates that regional legacies hold true to a certain extent. British Columbia had more officials who used Deweyan rhetoric for progressive-oriented programming, such as individualized timetables and guidance/psychological services for secondary school students. Ontario secondary schools were more traditionally academic in orientation, but still embraced greater local autonomy for schools and teachers than prior to WWII, particularly in the area of curriculum planning. Despite differences, national trends and ideology, as illustrated through senior academic and political discourses across the country, ultimately prevailed even though public education was in Canada a provincial responsibility. In ways that were reminiscent of some of the common pre-WWI trends identified by Jean Barman and others, when nationally-oriented 'schoolmen' and women were at work, such as British Columbia's first superintendent of education John Jessop and the McQueen sisters, English Canada's two dominant centres were in substantial agreement in the years after 1945 as they faced pressures to protect the West against 'godless' communism.¹⁴³

This chapter explores three areas in which potential 'liberatory' trends were evident on both a national and local level for secondary schools. The first is curriculum or the programming for schools. Programming changes post-WWII included increased vocational training within the diversified course offerings of composite or comprehensive secondary schools. Enhanced equality of initial opportunity was compromised by policies that sorted students into intellectual streams, academic elites and future blue-collared workers.

The second area is character education. With formal guidance departments, supported by psychologists, and the introduction of more social studies courses, educators embraced secondary schools as a social service, responsible for ensuring maximum personal growth for every individual. The teaching of seemingly universal values, like good-will, tolerance, and loyalty, was matched by a simultaneous emphasis on 'responsible' citizenship and the merits of social hierarchy.

The third aim was school re-organization or administrative reform. In the post-war period, educators sought to re-organize the school as a microcosm for participatory democracy, where local autonomy was honoured in decision-making processes and supervision practices. Autonomy was offered by educators within the boundaries of consolidated, central systems and for the purpose of encouraging citizens' independence from the social welfare net. In brief then, this chapter unravels the contradictory ways 'democratic' rhetoric was invoked for learning 'effective' citizenship, from national discourses about Canadian education to the debates within Toronto and Vancouver school boards.

'DEMOCRATIZING' THE CURRICULUM

In the years following WWII academics and political and administrative officials spoke of a two-pronged objective for the secondary curriculum: a universal education open to all, but also aimed at producing an intellectual elite. The post-war secondary school was to have a broadening, seemingly 'progressive' purpose in developing the average citizen. In line with the inclusion of education under article 26 of the United Nations' 1948 Declaration of Human Rights, the official mandate for many Canadian educators of the time was the gospel

of universalism. Secondary schools were meant to produce a mass population that was literate, technically trained, and knowledgeable. H.L. Campbell, Deputy Superintendent of Education for British Columbia, under the Liberal-Conservative Coalition, and author of well-known curriculum texts during the period, stated that "democracy, or progress based on the will of the majority, is in danger if the average citizen is ignorant."¹⁴⁴ Stanley Spicer, Vice-President of the Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation, writing on fitness in the expansion or re-construction of post-war curriculum, commented: "The problem of educating the many, with wide differences in I.Q. background, and ambition, is tremendous. The answer lies not in the restricted curriculum of years ago...education must help boys and girls prepare for life in a democratic society – a life in which they can make their maximum contribution."¹⁴⁵ Both men would have applauded trends which saw rates of attendance in high school rise. While in the 1940s only 28 percent of students ages fourteen to seventeen in British Columbia were attending grade nine or higher, by 1955 that figure rose to over 55 percent.¹⁴⁶ For three to five years, the secondary school was becoming a common experience in the lives of most urban teenagers and thus an all the more appropriate site for social reconstruction.¹⁴⁷

Vocational education, or the preparation of citizens for useful employment, was one outgrowth of the 'democratization' of school curriculum. The events of World War I encouraged educators and others, most notably parents, to question secondary education's preparation purely for the professions. WWII made the effective training of trades' workers all the more urgent. The prosperity of the 1940s and '50s with their growing urban infrastructure, which included new schools to accommodate Toronto and Vancouver's population boom, highways, railways, and hydro-electric projects, afforded parents the chance to have their children in school with the fair certainty that graduates could obtain a

job, at least in the expanding blue-collar sector.¹⁴⁸ Politicians across Canada responded to such hopes. The federal government, led by Liberal Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King, implemented the 1942 Vocational Training Coordination Act that funded vocational programs in secondary schools.¹⁴⁹ In 1944, Ottawa entered into an Apprenticeship Agreement with most provinces.¹⁵⁰ These acts spurred changes at the local level that enabled more student choice of technical/vocational programs in secondary schools. By the early part of the 1950s, most Toronto secondary schools were establishing new business and industrial courses. For example, Malvern Collegiate Institute created a commercial department, while Bloor Collegiate Institute increased its Industrial Arts and Crafts courses.¹⁵¹ At much the same time, the Vancouver Board of Trustees announced the renovation of Industrial Arts shops and Home Economics laboratories in more than six secondary schools.¹⁵² When speaking at a 1956 Canadian symposium, B. F. Addy, principal of the Manitoba Technical Institute, pointed to the 'democratic' impetus for burgeoning vocational and industrial education initiatives: "The strength of Canada and its progress as a nation is inseparately bound with the skills and technical and scientific knowledge of its people. We must ever maintain a productive people if we are to remain free."¹⁵³

The pure vocational or technical school, however, was unusual. Educators sought a less divisive and more egalitarian 'democratic' model. The most common pedagogical pattern was the 'one-size-fits-all' composite or comprehensive secondary school. Such initiatives combined the technical institute and academic high school, but also provided instruction in general education for non-university bound students who did not want to declare a vocation. This model provided for diversified programming, inclusive of three graduation programs for university, general or technical education, alternative courses for slow and gifted children, and a greater number of elective courses. The composite school

meant a significant curriculum overhaul to address individualized needs of students and to fulfill the ideal of education for 'every man's child.' Reflecting on the comprehensive school model sweeping across most Canadian provinces, Winnipeg principal and Assistant Superintendent, Ewart H. Morgan, wrote: "The Canadian high school today is one of our democracy's great experiments. It adventurously undertakes to gather in the masses of our teen-age youth and to provide them a large part of the cohesive elements that bind them into a Canadian people."¹⁵⁴

Implementing decisions made just prior to the war, the Vancouver Board established seven new or re-structured six-year composite secondary schools, to replace most separate junior high and high schools (grade seven to twelve with senior matriculation).¹⁵⁵ The larger composite school and its wider range of study options enabled the Vancouver Board to introduce individual timetables as opposed to class timetables and to experiment with the innovative use of majors for students.¹⁵⁶ H.M. Evans, Registrar of the Department of Education for British Columbia, stated in 1958 that the province committed itself to a comprehensive policy in an "attempt to satisfy...the extensive requirements of mass secondary education in its varied communities."¹⁵⁷ In the Toronto area at the time, the majority of secondary students experienced comprehensive programming within four year collegiate institutes (grade nine to twelve with senior matriculation), retaining junior high schools for middle grades. This course of study included fewer options for students than in Vancouver, as more core academic subjects were necessary for graduation. These core courses were accompanied, however, by additional options in home economics, commercial subjects, business, typewriting, and shop.¹⁵⁸ Speaking of post-war trends in education, C.C. Goldring, the director of the Toronto Board of Education from 1951 to 1959, emphasized that the Board needed "classes and schools that were organized differently to meet the

varying needs.”¹⁵⁹ For example, in 1952 alone North Toronto Collegiate Institute (C.I.), Harbord C.I., Humberside C.I., Jarvis C.I., Oakwood C.I. and Riverdale C.I. experimented with remedial programs in most of their academic subjects, and intensified their guidance departments to assist students in selecting courses to ensure successful completion.¹⁶⁰ Although based on differing strategies, the annual reports from both the Vancouver and Toronto Boards signal that secondary schools were no longer meant to be preparatory colleges for elites. Instead, secondary schools became focal points for ensuring a breadth of moral, physical, and labour force competence.

Attempts to increase and diversify programs to include all types of students did not necessarily result in equality within the system or the ‘democratic’ community. Board officials in both cities promised universality and inclusion in response to complaints that schools failed too many students. Matriculation was still most common among the middle-upper class but enrolment increasingly included a growing urban immigrant population.¹⁶¹ Although the average girl or boy was attending school for more years than ever, the majority of those who entered high school failed to graduate. Figures across Canada show that only approximately one quarter of students attained high school graduation in 1956.¹⁶² Retention rates in urban centres were typically higher than in rural areas but only one-quarter to one-third of students were completing grade twelve in Toronto.¹⁶³ Statistics were significantly higher for British Columbia, and specifically Vancouver: approximately 50 percent of children were completing grade twelve in the early to mid-1950s.¹⁶⁴

Statistical variation could, however, reflect a number of factors from the lure of employment opportunities and the socio-economic demographics of the school population to inconsistent data collection methods. If post-war educators’ assertions of the correlation between curriculum and retention rates are accurate, however, then a central factor may also

have been the different types of post-war comprehensive schools in the two cities.

Vancouver secondary schools were more comprehensive, housing six levels and more individualized student plans. Toronto, while certainly working towards similar goals, kept a four year graduation program within its predominant collegiate institute, which retained fewer options outside academic subjects. In any case, Toronto vice-principals, to a much greater degree than their Vancouver counterparts, made retention a primary initiative for the early 1950s by conducting surveys on the causes of drop out rates and measures to address this issue.¹⁶⁵

The seemingly more academic bias of Toronto's programming may have been a tacit acknowledgement of the unrealistic hope for equality of vocational and academic programs within mass secondary education. This point was made explicit by Ralph Tyler, University of Chicago Professor of Education and renowned curriculum theorist, who wrote in the 1953 issue of the British Columbia Teachers' Federation (BCTF) newsletter, *The B.C. Teacher*: "We have been doing something about getting more and more of our youth population into the school, but all too often we have failed to realize that equal opportunity is not thus assured. Many children, because of their limited background, are not receiving in the school the opportunity...to live as intelligent citizens in a free society."¹⁶⁶ Tyler's remarks accurately describe the post-war secondary school in which general education was offered to one and all, yet students were still not positioned to reap its touted benefits equally. A survey conducted in 1957 by the Vancouver School Board showed that only 31 percent of grade twelve students had chosen the General Program. From 1945 to 1961, only approximately 27 percent of the total secondary school population in Toronto was participating in non-academic programs.¹⁶⁷ Even with a poor graduate rate, it is likely students remained in university entrance programs because employers, parents and educators

continued to believe in its prestige over the stigma attached to general and vocational streams in schools.¹⁶⁸

As Canadian historian Harry Smaller points out, based on the work of American sociologist Aaron Benavot, while some have seen the development of vocational education as a moral commitment to equal educational opportunity, others have observed it as “a natural outcome of expanding democratic societies bent on integrating and socializing new citizens.”¹⁶⁹ He supports this latter point by arguing that in Ontario most pure vocational and technical institutes were situated in working-class, immigrant, and industrial urban communities. Ron Hansen’s work on composite schools explains that its growth can be attributed, in part, to the hope that the public would have confidence in a new and better school concept that embraced expanding notions of egalitarianism. At the same time, he argues, the concept originated in England, and flourished in post-war Canada, when policy makers needed to create the perception of comprehensiveness in order to temper potential public unrest over class differentials, including class-based schools.¹⁷⁰ It is not difficult to see how the democratic innovation of the inclusive and flexible post-war curriculum, could also be viewed as a giant sorting system to funnel students along pre-determined channels.

In the context of post-war Canada, many public commentators were not subtle in communicating their belief that general and/or vocational education was a suitable dumping ground for ‘unsuitable students,’ namely, newly arrived immigrants, working class youth or even the ‘retarded,’ who might become semi-educated workers to meet the demands of industry in an expanding capitalist society. In 1957, Dorothy Thompson, a columnist for the *Globe and Mail*, described general education as “utilitarianism at the expense of precise knowledge, and apparently assumes the average American (Canadian) child is half-moron.”¹⁷¹ These sentiments were echoed by education officials. George M. Weir, self-

proclaimed progressive, Head of the Department of Education at the University of British Columbia, and later Minister of Education under successive Liberal governments, described the early stages of vocational training in the following manner: "There are jobs for the fit, and we are trying to fit the unfit for jobs. That is the whole purpose of our vocational training."¹⁷² C.C. Goldring explained his policy of inclusiveness as experimenting to "adapt programmes to the abilities and needs of students with limited capacities...not curtailing pupils' preparation for higher education."¹⁷³

For these educators, the paramount problem was not actually mass education or children of 'limited capacities,' it was the gifted child. Educators were anxious that the intellectual elite, seen as the future leaders of the nation, could be lost in the masses. At a 1956 conference held at the University of British Columbia and covered extensively by *The B.C. Teacher*, an executive for Imperial Oil Limited expressed the widespread belief that the security of the nation was dependent on the secondary school focusing on the small group "whom we call the gifted."¹⁷⁴ Society, he argued, relies on the gifted "for pioneering advances in knowledge, for expert opinion in all fields, and for the leadership upon which the fate of our Western civilization must ultimately depend."¹⁷⁵ Discovering and developing untapped human intelligence was critical to post-war educators. This resource was considered one of the greatest weapons in the intelligence race of the period; a race that reached its peak with Russian's Sputnik in 1957. School promoters used Soviet technological and scientific advancements as a reason to focus on intellectual leaders. In 1957 Dr. Samuel R. Laycock, renowned Alberta educational psychologist and professor of education, warned Toronto audiences that his latest study showed: "The gifted child in Russia is getting every opportunity to develop his talents....Long before the end of high

school [in Canada], gifted boys and girls meet a distaste for academic work. They are made to travel the pace of the average child.”¹⁷⁶

To focus on the intellectual elite, many educators argued, was not undemocratic. Indeed, ignoring the gifted simply for the principle of universalism was portrayed by many as unjust, undemocratic and dangerous. Historian Jacques Barzun from Columbia University wrote for the *University of Toronto Quarterly*: “We cannot afford to waste talent and keep ourselves at the common level of amiable dullness when every ‘people’s democracy’ manufactures as many *elites* as it does classes of fighter planes.”¹⁷⁷ Hilda Neatby, outspoken conservative Canadian educator and critic, asserted that the country’s democracy could only be assured with the re-intellectualization of schools. A University of Saskatchewan history professor, she believed that non-university bound students were genetically inferior burdens on an overcrowded secondary system. In one of Neatby’s many popular texts, *A Temperate Dispute*, she cited contemporary statistics that identified 70 percent of children as incapable of intellectual development past age twelve or fourteen. As a result, educators should properly focus resources on the more promising 30 percent.¹⁷⁸ If this did not occur, in her words “...we will be looking for a master race to organize us.”¹⁷⁹ Neatby led the Canadian campaign against progressivism. In her well-known book, *So Little for the Mind*, she argued that progressive ideas that school should be child-centered, stress experiential learning, and reward all students’ individuality were anti-intellectual and anti-cultural and did not exercise the mind.¹⁸⁰ Neatby believed egalitarian aims for more vocational courses, or the provision of resources for every child, translated into lowered standards and mediocrity. In her view, the educator’s primary function was intellectual training: “...to dispel ignorance, and to train the mind for control and power.”¹⁸¹ Unless this was the standard for all students, according to Neatby, ‘true’ democracy could not survive,

as the masses would become like a herd blindly following a leader.¹⁸² Neatby did not reject the principle of universal access to education. She asserted, however, that education should set a high academic standard for all students, and that no special provision should be made: essentially, the fittest survivors needed to lead a 'democratic' nation.

The assertion that the best kind of universalism should mean access for all to a traditional, academically oriented education was representative, albeit in more tempered form than Neatby, of much post-war provincial political dialogue and policies. In the 1950s, British Columbia and Ontario appointed royal commissions to investigate education: both invoked the principle of universality, highlighting the need for every student to be intellectually challenged in post-war secondary schools. Many historians have argued that the 1950 Ontario Commission on Education, chaired by Justice John A. Hope, took a moderate position somewhere between progressive and conservative ideas. They cite the report's call for a three-tiered system (six years of elementary, three years of junior and four years of secondary level schooling) and its limited funding for separate schools, as well as its traditional focus on teaching students the virtues of Christianity and honest hard work.¹⁸³ Education officials supported the report's traditional elements, namely, the commissioners' lengthy declaration that: "...mastery of subject matter is the best present measure of effort and the most promising source of satisfaction in achievement. We are not unduly concerned that a proportion of school tasks should be hard and unpalatable, because much of life is equally so."¹⁸⁴ Leslie Frost's Tory government shelved many of the more radical elements of the report. Significant Ontario administrators and politicians, such as William Dunlop, Minister of Education in the 1950s, supported the centrality of the traditional pursuit for the mastery of knowledge. Dunlop, supported by Premier Frost, stated in his annual report on education in 1951 that schooling's prime purpose was to produce loyal, intelligent, right-

thinking citizens.¹⁸⁵ He argued that this would not be accomplished until the 'fads' of progressivism were eliminated. Although vocational programs continued to retain more students than academic streams, Dunlop concentrated his efforts on reinstating history and geography as separate subjects in place of the progressive favourite of 'social studies,' curtailing course options in high schools, and limiting grants for extra-curricular activities.¹⁸⁶

As the decade of the space race intensified so too did the focus on intellectual leaders in British Columbia. In 1958 its Royal Commission on Education, led by Sperrin N.F. Chant, was given a mandate to assess all phases of the educational system and its philosophy, organization and finances. The *Report* concluded that the general aim of the public school system should be "that of promoting the intellectual development of the pupils, and that this should be the major emphasis throughout the whole school programme."¹⁸⁷ This Report sharply departed from the previous government-initiated curriculum review, the 1925 *Survey of the School System*, and its explicitly progressive agenda set by Harold Putnam, an Ottawa School Inspector, and George Weir.¹⁸⁸ Historian F. Henry Johnson notes that Chant commissioners rationalized a new focus on the academically inclined as being necessary first to learn "more intelligent ways for dealing with the problems that threaten the human race," and second because "intellectual development has been traditionally accepted as the primary concern."¹⁸⁹ Towards this goal the commission recommended the re-classification of school subjects so that more time would be devoted to the 'central' subjects of English and math and less time 'wasted' on art and home economics. It also recommended that teaching techniques, like the project method, should only supplement external examinations, uniform grading standards and competition in the classroom.¹⁹⁰ The *Vancouver Sun* reported that education officials uncritically embraced the Chant Report. Only Neville Scarfe, Dean of the University of British Columbia's College of

Education and outspoken progressive, was opposed: slamming the Report as “depressing, disappointing and reactionary.”¹⁹¹ Evidently he found few to agree with him. Almost all of the Chant recommendations, including a lengthening of the school year, were implemented in some form or another by the Minister of Education, Leslie Peterson, in the early 1960s.

Despite the trend toward vocational subjects and despite differences between educational authorities in British Columbia and Ontario, most were faithful to a conservative conception of democracy; the promise of universality, but limited by the necessity for an intellectual elite. The concept of a ‘democratic’ curriculum was for most prominent post-war critics of education based on equality of access and not equality of opportunity. Secondary schools represented an investment in human capital that promised successful competition in the volatile postwar world.

The effects of economics on school objectives were highly visible. Population increases put resources at a premium. As Goldring noted in a 1959 *Globe and Mail* article, educators faced with “overcrowding schools and all types of abilities” had to focus on the idea of the “same opportunity rather than equality of opportunity in terms of ability or need.”¹⁹² Equity of access was set within the bounds of affordable liberal arts subjects. The academic bias of the secondary school lessened the strain on the system’s limited finances and teacher supply.¹⁹³ A more academic curriculum could promise equality at more affordable costs while in fact favouring those pupils who were intellectually and otherwise gifted by reason of class, gender and ethnicity.

'DEMOCRATIC' VALUES

In addition to curriculum reconstruction, the development of values or 'character' was a critical post-war educational objective. The comprehensive secondary school would expand professedly 'progressive' services and courses that would provide social, physical and emotional guidance for the 'whole' child. The character-building function was intended both to assist students' personal development and to teach them responsible civic choices. Instruction of 'democratic' values promised personal and national freedom. For that reason, school officials placed the objective of character education on par with intellectual stimulation in their agenda for educational 'democracy.' This was the message of William F. Russell, the president of Columbia University Teachers' College, in an address to the Toronto chapter of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation (OSSTF) in 1950. He started by arguing that freedom was "not only confronted by hostile armed forces," but in seemingly peaceful times "by that sly enemy within and without – Communism."¹⁹⁴ Russell argued: "...we may expect our descendants at some future time to go so very far to the left that they may make certain decisions...that will end in the destruction of their liberties."¹⁹⁵ He went on to cite Aristotle's doctrine that democracy is fragile without counter measures.¹⁹⁶ In Russell's opinion, protection of democracy began with educators' eliminating the "great gap between knowledge and conduct."¹⁹⁷ Familiarizing students with the knowledge of their rights and responsibilities as citizens within a democracy was not enough. Students had to learn how to perform their citizenship duties according to the nation's culture. The patriotic imperative for teaching 'democratic' values informed the 1951 article written by Paul R. Hanna, Professor of Education at Stanford University and a specialist in the area of social studies, for *The B.C. Teacher*. As he explained: "In a divided world, where the totalitarian

governments are effectively using education to indoctrinate for authoritarian values and to immunize against democratic values, the democracies have no alternative except to do a fundamentally better job of preserving and improving our way of life."¹⁹⁸

Guidance programs were a specific manifestation of efforts to provide morally grounded and productive curriculum and life choices. Such services had been for the most part an incidental and nebulous part of school life for almost two decades prior to 1945.¹⁹⁹ Not until the post-war period did school officials formally organize guidance departments and services in secondary schools across the country. These programs were intended to address public concerns that youth were rejecting 'proper' citizenship under the influence of immoral actions in the world and transgressions to traditional values within Canada. As historian Mary Louise Adams argues, public expressions of fear escalated over a supposed rise in juvenile delinquency due to inferior wartime mothering, an increasingly consumer-oriented culture, and exposure to communist sentiments.²⁰⁰ Reformed youth were central to a post-war reconstruction agenda to restore order and a sense of 'normality.' No other time or place to indoctrinate 'proper' character was better than sites where almost all teens spent a number of their formative years. Dr. Jack Griffin, first president of the Canadian Mental Health Association, explained that the "child is in a relatively controlled environment for several hours each day and the possibilities of building in him sound emotional habits and attitudes as well as good social relationships are unexcelled."²⁰¹ Guidance services were established for these very purposes, namely, the personal and social adjustment of students to make suitable educational and life choices. Based on services ranging from individual counselling to aptitude studies, the secondary school began assuming functions of other social institutions, including the home and church, to help students function better in post-war society.²⁰²

By the early 1950s, guidance services were implemented in the comprehensive Toronto secondary schools through Attendance Departments, with the assistance of Child Adjustment Services and Child Guidance Clinics. C.C. Goldring reported in 1951 that students were increasingly seeking their assistance. The Attendance Department, for example, had assisted 5,943 children and parents, up by 22 percent from the previous year.²⁰³ According to Edward Davidson, the Chairman of the Toronto Board, secondary schools had fully implemented guidance services by the end of the decade. He outlined the mounting work of the Attendance Department, including visits to truants' homes to "improve trouble which may be financial, psychological, physical and environmental" and contributing to a clothing centre for students who lacked "adequate attire."²⁰⁴ Guidance programs were expanded to address reports of growing absenteeism, parental neglect, juvenile employment, delinquent behaviour, and health problems.²⁰⁵ Vancouver started formally addressing these same issues with the inception in 1944 of the Division of Educational and Vocational Guidance within the Department of Education. This division in the 1948-49 school year alone approved 34 counselling schemes for British Columbia.²⁰⁶ Support for counselling included the distribution of guidance materials, bursaries for secondary school in-service training, and studies on pupils' employment aptitudes. The Vancouver School Board regularly used these resources. Furthermore, under its own initiative in 1955, the Board co-ordinated with the Department of National Health and Welfare and local secondary schools to establish training programs for 'special counsellors' who would assist teachers with designated problem pupils.²⁰⁷

Such social services were imbued with the pro-active, scientific 'expertise' of psychologists. As historian Mona Gleason argues, psychologists' claims to specialized knowledge of children's development guaranteed them a primary place in character

training.²⁰⁸ The 'scientific' methods of psychologists were incorporated into post-war schools as a progressive and democratic method, unlike the subjectivity of teacher observation, to enable fair and accurate measure of student maturity. Longstanding faith in science's ability to measure and control human behaviour soared in the post-war search for guarantees in an age of uncertainty. The resurgence of scientific testing came despite increased post-Holocaust public skepticism to claims to a hereditary basis of character and intelligence. Teachers, counsellors, and parents turned to psychologists' scientific findings to help 'guide' students. Toronto Board officials certainly considered the mental health community to be partners in producing proper citizens. The board took over Child Adjustment Services from the Department of Public Health in 1951, and consequently began to establish permanent psychological services for the mental, emotional and social development of all secondary pupils.²⁰⁹ By 1954, the Board reported regular visits by psychologists to service 'problem children,' train teachers to administer group intelligence tests and improve their techniques of interviewing children, and to direct parent workshops on mental health.²¹⁰ The focus on children's social and mental health needs pressed school systems, and specifically teachers, to diagnose and correct maladjusted characters.²¹¹ By the end of the 1950s Dr. Stogdill, a psychologist working with the Toronto Board, reported to a newspaper that the heavier load on the child adjustment services staff necessitated hiring more mental health specialists for secondary schools.²¹²

Psychologists also flourished in Vancouver secondary schools. Indeed psychological testing had an exceptionally strong presence in British Columbian schools. According to historians Thomas Fleming and David Conway, the post-war mandate for mental testing had been set as early as 1925 with Putnam and Weir's survey. It recommended that a Bureau of Measurements be set up in Vancouver for the province to conduct some of the first

standardized intelligence testing in Canada. Within its first year, the Division of Tests, Standards and Research administered achievement tests to seventy-seven thousand pupils and aptitude tests to more than fifty-thousand.²¹³ By year ten it had conducted over 500,000 such tests.²¹⁴ While tests were explicitly designed to differentiate the bright from the slow, supporters believed they also served to give reliable, though not infallible, guidance to moral worth. G.M. Weir, who organized the institutionalization of testing, made regular pronouncements in line with progressive educator Edward L. Thorndike, a leader of the American eugenics movement, that pure intelligence, social intelligence, nationality, and socio-economic background correlated positively. Drawing from his intelligence study of student nurses, Weir concluded that the most intelligent and moral were from middle-class families of English, Scotch and Irish ancestry. He wrote: "dullness and moral worth are related almost as closely as twin brothers."²¹⁵ Mona Gleason argues that psychologists presented testing as an instrument to demystify the developmental needs of each student, but those needs were in turn strictly set within the bounds of race, culture and class. She cites, by way of example, poor scores on Stanford intelligence tests given to interned Japanese students of British Columbia as legitimating educators' insistence on assimilation through the use of English. Gleason further notes that the emphasis of psychologists "...on the satisfaction of children's needs for affection, belonging, independence, social approval, self-esteem, and creative achievement," instead of providing justification for diversity and self-expression, lent itself to the demands of social authorities for the production of an "obedient, industrious, and happy citizenry."²¹⁶

The affirmation of traditional racial, class and gender boundaries was a clear part of the character education agenda of Toronto and Vancouver secondary schools. Educators expressed concern that in the comprehensive and mass secondary school age, students would

neither learn nor accept their appropriate social position. Middle class youth, particularly males, symbolized hope and prosperity with their potential for scholastic achievements and future professional careers.²¹⁷ In contrast, working class adolescents, and especially ethnic minorities, with their seemingly culturally impoverished homes, conjured up delinquency and required a moral discipline rather different than their class and racial superiors.²¹⁸ Part of citizenship training in schools, therefore, was teaching all students 'responsible' behaviour that varied according to their appropriate social positions in society. H.L. Campbell revealed this philosophy in a 1952 lecture: without training "responsible citizens who seek the common welfare rather than selfish goals," modern universal education may reach a point in which all are educated for white-collar work and "no youth are willing to do necessary physical work of the world."²¹⁹ Fundamental values of integrity and service to others needed to be taught to guarantee class and gender as well: "...will young women with high school education be content to marry and raise families on a farm?"²²⁰ To address these concerns, Toronto and Vancouver educators complemented greater social services with more formal and informal classes in the lessons of normative and 'responsible' post-war citizenship.

Like discussions of the aims of guidance and psychology in schools, talk of 'democratic' values in Canada's youth through revised course offerings was most often steeped in vague language of liberation. The opaqueness of 'character' is perhaps most evident in the growing number of social studies courses offered in post-war schools. Both the Vancouver and Toronto Board increased their social studies course options to include subjects from history and geography to law, economics and political science. The importance of such courses is indicated by the fact that the number of social studies credits required for graduation, not to mention the number of electives, was equal to mathematics in

both school systems. The overall purpose for social studies courses in Toronto and Vancouver was similar, and not surprisingly, explicitly intended to invoke patriotism, skepticism regarding left-wing propaganda, a sense of 'brotherhood' within the country and the world, respect for law, and acquisition of such personal habits as courtesy and neatness.

A close study of each group of social studies courses is beyond the scope of this study, but one innovative course for Vancouver secondary schools provides some insight into the more specific agenda for post-war reconstruction of 'normality.' In 1951-52, British Columbia created a new course entitled *Effective Living* that was implemented for grades ten to twelve. In support of its goal of open minds and toleration, the course encouraged question and answer and discussion and personal reflection, rather than traditional memorization or recitation. All course units, including Personality, Family, and Community Health, underscored "developing a stable heterosexual pattern," "developing habits of constancy and loyalty," and "adjusting to accepted customs and conventions." The course guide offered such leading questions as "Why is wearing the right dress a mark of maturity?"; "I spend every cent I can. Society won't let me starve. Is this a mature attitude?"; "What is the importance of religion to happiness in life and in marriage?" Toronto schools would not offer a similar course until the 1960s, but did address these units within their 1942 social studies curriculum revisions, particularly in Physical Education and Health. From establishing the nuclear family to becoming a mature worker, social studies courses clearly differentiated proper and improper citizenship.

Educational historians have particularly noted lessons in implicit racial superiority within social studies courses. Timothy Stanley argues that by 1925 schools textbooks had contributed towards British Columbia becoming a white supremacist society. He demonstrates that geography and history texts transmitted imperialist and racist ideas of a

province born out of white man's progress over the morally depraved Asian and First Nations 'Others.'²²¹ José Igartua has undertaken a similar study for Ontario, but specifically addressing the 1940s and '50s. Approved history texts, namely George W. Brown's *Building a Canadian Nation* (1942) and Arthur Lower's *Canada: A Nation and How it Came to Be* (1948), detail how a hierarchy of the races was a basic component of secondary school texts. Igartua argues that these texts represent the British 'race' as the authors of freedom and democracy, fighting off threats to the birth of Canada, namely, Aboriginal and French peoples.²²² Social studies courses, like the new social services of the post-war secondary school, thus served disciplining, limiting, and sorting functions.

While social studies is most often given the greatest attention by citizenship scholars, 'character' education pervaded formal and informal classes. For example, lessons in the re-affirmation of the nuclear family were central to the secondary school environment in both cities. In her introduction to *A Diversity of Women*, Joy Parr concludes that social authorities considered the disruption of the nuclear family to be a main cause for unrest and it thus garnered a great deal of attention in the post-war years. She argues that legal heterosexual coupling, with the middle-class father as breadwinner, was a national metaphor for a strong consumer economy, cohesive and peaceful relations, and thus a defense against Communism.²²³ Societal trends fed fears of social breakdown. Particularly worrying were veterans coming back mentally scarred from fighting, mothers absent in war work entering paid labour in greater numbers than any previous peacetime period, increasing numbers of urban immigrant and working-class families, and divorce rates steadily rising from 88.9 per 100,000 married persons ages fifteen or older in 1951 to 124.3 in 1968.²²⁴ No wonder the moral backbones of Canadian youth needed stiffening.

According to A.D. Flowers, a principal in British Columbia, writing in a Vancouver newspaper, children needed to learn "more than just reading, writing and arithmetic. Boys had to learn how to be boys, and girls had to be taught how to be ladies."²²⁵ Vancouver school reports made special mention of their ladies' fashion shows to exhibit the great work of home economics, the strength of their future nurses' and teachers' clubs that would direct unmarried girls into admirable professions, as well as mother-daughter and father-son evenings to solidify gender identification. Toronto School Board reports highlighted night classes in homemaking, domestic arts classes for immigrant women, and more co-educational sports, like square dancing and badminton.²²⁶ This latter program was part of a wider array of secondary school offerings in both cities, including marital classes, which were intended to foster nuclear families. William Blatz, the director of the Institute for Child Study at the University of Toronto, made this point when he recommended that teenagers mingle more between the sexes so they "can sublimate their sex appetite into directions which will aid them to maintain the ideals of chastity and faithfulness which our social culture considers to be essential."²²⁷

Mary Louise Adams notes that Christian ideals underpinned educators' encouragement of students towards middle-class, domestic goals.²²⁸ These goals provided a bulwark against godlessness, symbolized by the potentially harmful influences of a burgeoning popular culture.²²⁹ Specifically, educators suspected that youth were being 'corrupted' by crime comics with their subversive homosexual imagery, rock and roll music with Elvis' pelvic thrusts, and salacious Hollywood movies from James Dean's *Rebel Without a Cause* to Marilyn Munroe's fatal sexuality in *Niagara*.²³⁰ While materialism encouraged the growth of capitalism, and its offerings of the middle-class life, social authorities worried that youth would become self-indulgent or unproductive without

Christian discipline. A survey conducted by the Canadian Youth Commission in the mid-1940s indicated that most young women and men were aware of and even shared educators' concerns. They agreed that while schools taught them important subjects and developed thinking abilities, they were less convinced that they had suitable learning in citizenship, specifically, sufficient preparation for the wise use of leisure time.²³¹

J.G. Althouse, acting in his role as Chief Director of Education for Toronto schools, appealed to board members, early in 1950, to address the proper use of youth's leisure time. He noted that prior to depression and wars, the West had been lulled "into a false sense of security" based on the "assumption that knowledge meant wisdom."²³² With the threat to democracy, he asserted, children understood that freedom was not a natural state. Youth's years should be spent in practicing self-discipline, greater human understanding, and religion.²³³ Althouse was reaffirming a policy for religious instruction that had been implemented in elementary schools since 1944. At that time, Ontario Premier George Drew's Conservative government introduced the 'Drew Regulation,' which legislated two half hour periods of religious instruction per week in public schools. This instruction was under consideration for secondary schools upon recommendation by the Hope Commission in 1950. During the post-war period, religious exercises, inclusive of a scripture reading, repetition of the Ten Commandments at least once a week and the Lord's Prayer daily, and memorization of selected Bible passages, opened each secondary school day.²³⁴ Martin Sable, a Jewish Studies scholar, argues that it fell upon the Jewish community, and particularly, Rabbi Abraham Feinberg of Toronto's Holy Blossom Temple, to protest on behalf of minority children the Protestant doctrine of the 'Drew' regulation and other such regulations.²³⁵ The Jewish community issued a particular complaint to the Toronto Board

over the distribution of Gideon Bible that excluded the Old Testament to all Toronto students.

Spirituality, as a replacement for worshipping material progress, would also be a central lesson for Vancouver secondary students. In a 1960 speech to Magee Secondary School graduates, school board vice-chairman William J. Burnett explained that success was defined, not by wealth, but by happiness. He stated: "No work is menial or humble...neither wealth, education, position, nor power will necessarily guarantee success." The valedictorian of the ceremony confirmed Burnett's message by insisting that students use their biblical school motto as their guide in life: "Let There Be Light." The driving force behind religious instruction was again progressives Weir and Putnam. Their *Survey of the School System* in 1925 proposed the option of Bible study in public schools to compensate for insufficient character training in other social institutions.²³⁶ Faced with the fear that Bible study would spur a separate school system, and the fact that the *Public School Act* policy precluded sectarian teaching, Putnam and Weir had to wait until leaders from the various Christian denominations reached an agreement on the content for instruction. In 1941, Bible study was approved as an 'extra-mural' or elective course for grade nine to twelve students to take for university entrance.²³⁷ The rationale stressed personal enlightenment motivating students towards social obligations of harmonious living. Although not compulsory, unlike the prayers and biblical readings required at the start of the day, the Bible course illustrated the direct relationship between Christianity and good citizenship. This was certainly the message for minority students, in particular aboriginal youth, who were being forcefully integrated in the British Columbia school system in the post-war period.²³⁸ After a revision of the *Indian Act* in 1951 to educate Indian children in association with other children whenever possible, the British Columbia Government made

arrangements for an increasing number of aboriginal children to attend public schools.

While the integration of aboriginal students would primarily take place in rural schools, public enrolment figures went from 1,200 in 1952 to 3,788 in 1961. By 1962-63, almost 400 aboriginal students were entering public secondary schools.

For all youth, the message of 'democratic' citizenship held central tenets, defined similarly by senior education officials across the political spectrum; students were to adhere to Christian ethics, uplift traditional family values, and realize the potential contribution of their social status. The difference between those educators who would claim progressive or traditional alliances was not so much the substance of 'democratic' values, but rather the method of their transmission. For the healthy psychological and social development of students, progressive adherents supported the introduction of courses and social services, albeit through methods of discussion and debate, rather than traditional discipline and rote learning. They interpreted the school as a critical part of an increasing social safety net, inclusive of broadened health-care initiatives and unemployment provisions, which came to characterize Canada in the post-war period. It was this extra responsibility that concerned more conservative educators. Hilda Neatby acknowledged that liberal definitions of democracy that focused on personal liberty and social equality were admirable, "but these same functions can and should happen in homes and churches...schools have done well in some of these areas with health services and guidance and psychological treatment...but should focus on its main purpose that no other agency can provide...to dispel ignorance."²³⁹ Neatby's national discourse joined more localized discussions that lauded citizenship training of 'democratic' values in the schools in so far as it did not detract from academic goals.

This was the tone of a series of editorials in local and national newspapers in the post-war period. A *Vancouver Sun* editorial in late 1946 reviewed an education conference in Vancouver on social studies led by G.M. Weir. The author commented that educators were groping in the fog for a way to address ethical values in education: "Too many teachers seem to think the solution lies in piling more courses upon the unfortunate pupils."²⁴⁰ Weir and his supporters were criticized as overestimating the capacity of children. In a *Vancouver Herald* editorial over a decade later, similar sentiments were expressed. It juxtaposed 'drivel' guidance offered in the Chicago public system, including lessons on 'building good relations with our parents,' with Japanese schools that merely insisted on behaving in a civilized manner, without 'social studies' or "elaborate courses in behaviourism which make our forefathers look like dolts."²⁴¹ The author concluded that education should not be 'social behaviour' under any fancy name or methods other than traditional study with "a considerable exercise of muscle."²⁴² A year later, reporter Philip Deane of the *Globe and Mail* extensively critiqued secondary schools in the United States in an article entitled "Character, Not Missiles, Is the Challenge." Citing the work of Arthur Bestor, well-known conservative education critique and author of the *Educational Wastelands: The Retreat from Learning in Our Public Schools* (1953), Deane blamed schools offering girls courses in 'marital adjustment' for creating ignorant students.²⁴³

Most educators did not assert an either/or choice between education for life adjustment or knowledge. J.G. Althouse, a political moderate, agreed that schools were becoming burdened with new responsibilities. Yet he also approved of them helping children to develop wholesome human relationship through religious and moral teaching. Althouse's solution was to teach such qualities "through indirect methods more than courses."²⁴⁴ For Althouse and others, indirect methods included dress codes, extra-curricular

activities, Home and School or Parent Teacher organizations, student involvement with volunteer organizations and industry, and, most importantly, exposure to teachers of 'good' character. While most of these elements were certainly a part of school environments, secondary schools in both Vancouver and Toronto also embraced direct methods of character education. Character training encompassed professedly progressive aims for personal development and contribution towards a broadening social safety net. At a time when transgressions of normality or the fears of abnormality seemingly threatened 'democracy,' these aims were firmly and conservatively rooted in pre-war patterns of gender, class and racial hierarchies.

ORGANIZING FOR 'DEMOCRACY'

In order to foster the personal development of 'democratic' values, the school attempted to use these principles as a guide for effective social organization. An autocratic and pedantic climate was out of fashion in the post-war context. Educators rationalized trends towards decentralized decision-making powers as both a 'progressive' step towards equality and a necessary lesson in self-sufficiency. Its products need not become dependent on a welfare nation. In keeping with the rationale, most post-war educators agreed that the secondary education system needed to be re-organized as a laboratory for society's participatory 'democracy,' complete with collaborative methods and harmonious living. School officials needed to redistribute power so that all school communities, teachers, students, parents and administrators from the rural and urban regions could meaningfully contribute to educational and national betterment.

Such sentiments were also international in scope, according to the editors of *The B.C. Teacher* and its sister newsletter of the OSSTF, *The Bulletin*. Both extensively covered British conferences and reports on the role of education in the making of national democracy. A February 1951 issue of *The Bulletin* that detailed a British report on the best forms of school organization was indicative.²⁴⁵ The authors presented three potential structures for the secondary school. The first was depicted as factory-like, a place in which students were given facts like widgets and memory-based tests at certain ages to split them out mechanically into the work world.²⁴⁶ This model treated students as automatons unable to cultivate personal relationships and understand 'real living'. The second, the happy family, addressed such shortcomings by focusing on the pursuit of friendliness and happiness for all school members. While the authors suggested personal fulfillment is a positive goal, they argued true 'democracy' could not exist without motivating citizens by a broader purpose. In contradiction to the two flawed models, the third democratic model was held up as the ideal. The democratic school focused on members taking individual responsibility to enrich the entire community. Relationships among staff and students, and staff and administrators, and administrators and political officials were to be marked by consultation and mutual respect. The environment would not be authoritarian, but, rather, enable choice, individuality and teamwork. The authors idealistically concluded from the British research that: "Only experience of life in a democratic school community can give young people the values they need and the understanding upon which to build full and happy personal lives."²⁴⁷ In order for the secondary school system to fulfill its objectives for the training of all students into productive and good citizens it had to practice democracy.

If the ideals of democratic partnership were to be realized, one of the first issues for Canadian educators was regional equality. This was one premise behind the post-war trend

toward larger school districts. Their advent in post-war Canada was hailed as a progressive step towards solving financial inequities. Consolidation would provide more adequate funding and facilities to out-lying areas.²⁴⁸ By the end of WWII, Canada had fallen behind most English-speaking countries in its efforts to conquer the geographical expansion of schooling.²⁴⁹ Because of its shift to consolidated school units, Britain had become the measure for democratic organization in teachers' federation newsletters. Popular demand for equitable distribution of education resources had swept Canada for years prior to the war as better roads, proliferation of motorized cars, the mechanization of farm work and increased technical education lessened the rural and urban divide.²⁵⁰ Demand outpaced the initial response of provincial officials who largely left local communities to fund their education costs. For example, prior to the war, Ontario's provincial grants were approximately 10 percent of the total costs of school boards, unlike Great Britain which provided grants that covered between 40 to 80 percent of local school costs.²⁵¹ The lack of central funding disadvantaged poorer rural communities who, without tax bases comparable to more prosperous urban areas, could not pay for educational improvements or better credentialed teachers. Post-war Canadian school officials believed consolidation provided the democratic solution to equal opportunity for smaller municipalities and rural communities. Provincial authorities intervened to centralize education funding so that taxes would be collected and re-distributed evenly, based on the needs of districts. This money would go to more consolidated school facilities where provinces could cost-efficiently provide adequate facilities and educational standards to youth of less wealthy communities. By the mid-1950s, provincial grants across Canada started to climb to British rates as some 780 larger unit boards amalgamated 16,000 smaller boards.²⁵² According to the Superintendent of Education in British Columbia, J.F.K. English, the greatest advantage of

consolidation was "the contribution of the larger unit to social living. Because of the facilities offered by the larger unit for secondary education, rural and urban children mix readily, and social barriers are broken down."²⁵³

British Columbia led the national trend with a quicker and more geographically encompassing response than most provinces.²⁵⁴ Change came in 1944 when the provincial government appointed a one-man inquiry into the finances of the public education system. Dr. Maxell A. Cameron, who was an education professor at the University of British Columbia and the author of a study of educational financing in Ontario, was charged to make recommendations for wide-scale reform. While initially a finance study, Cameron soon found this issue inseparable from administrative reform. His primary objective was the creation of school districts "large enough and powerful enough that their work will be a challenge to the trustees who control them and to see to it that these districts have financial resources adequate to their responsibilities."²⁵⁵ Cameron recommended the creation of 74 large districts out of an original 650.²⁵⁶ The new entities would be financed by a basic district rate of taxation, with provincial grants to cover the difference between tax revenue and extra expenditures, a share of total costs that "would always be well over half."²⁵⁷ This scheme was unique on the national scene, covering more villages and cities than most reorganization plans, providing for a provincial contribution second only to Prince Edward Island, and implementing the plan within a year of its finalization.²⁵⁸ Provincial grants that seemed generous in 1945, however, quickly became inadequate with rising inflation, birthrates and capital expenditure costs. The province spent the next decade trying to determine a more equitable formula for school funding. After an investigation by H.L. Campbell in 1955, a revised formula increased school districts to eighty-two, and more importantly, replaced Cameron's suggested fixed grants with a diversified plan that

addressed local needs for capital building costs and transportation expenses.²⁵⁹ While school consolidation had the largest impact on rural areas and their administrative structures, the Vancouver School Board, re-zoned during this time as district 39, was also hugely influenced by the new funding formulas and the increasing capital costs the province covered.

The Toronto Board also underwent consolidation in response to the need for greater financial equity. Like British Columbia, change did not come until the mid-1940s. Historian Robert Stamp details Ontario's movement towards assuming more local costs, beginning with recommendations in a 1938 report by the Committee on the Costs of Education. During the 1943 election, when Conservative leader George Drew, in his attempt to stave off a left-wing Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) victory by running on a platform of social justice amidst global prosperity, guaranteed the provincial assumption of 50 percent of school taxes previously collected on real estate.²⁶⁰ Upon victory and the necessity to balance the books, this promise dropped to 50 percent of an approved list of costs. Nonetheless, once implemented in 1945, local expenses were appreciably less than prior to WWII: urban boards received between 30 and 60 percent of approved costs based on population and grants for rural boards ranged from 50 to 90 percent.²⁶¹ The same post-war inflation, population boom and increase in capital projects that reduced the effectiveness of the Cameron plan on the Pacific in the 1950s meant that provincial grants would slip to below 30 percent of total costs for some school areas.²⁶² Larger school districts were again the answer to spiraling costs. Ontario's school consolidation plans were more haphazard and slower than British Columbia's. Not until 1950 did the Hope Commission recommend the province-wide replacement of local administrative units with large regional boards.²⁶³ With disagreement among the commissioners and surrounding

controversy over some radical elements of the report, few provincial educators were ultimately willing to systematically impose reform on rural areas.²⁶⁴ Nonetheless, many school boards voluntarily amalgamated to cope with the demand for more schooling and dwindling revenues. By the early 1950s some 536 township areas had replaced 3,465 rural school districts.²⁶⁵ In addition, the Toronto Metropolitan School Board emerged in 1953 from urban and suburban municipalities.²⁶⁶

While the intent of such broad changes was financial equity, some educators and communities resisted centralization schemes that abolished locale authority and identities. Furthermore, increased provincial grants did not erase the large disparities in tax revenue for rural consolidated districts.²⁶⁷ In Ontario, rural resistance halted compulsory wide-scale reform. In the West early experimentation with district consolidation was similarly met by rural accusations that the government was being "arbitrary, undemocratic, coercive, despotic, fascist, and even un-British."²⁶⁸ To justify consolidation provincial authorities advocated strong local controls. For example, Maxwell Cameron advocated that local residents elect their own school trustees who would work in direct communication with the province through district superintendents to determine allocation of resources, staffing decisions and priorities for school programming.²⁶⁹ The British Columbia Teachers' Federation supported this revised structure in a 1959 brief to the Royal Commission on Education: "As school boards assume policy-making responsibility and cease to be primarily executors of policy made in [the provincial capital of] Victoria, they may be expected to attract to their membership outstanding, community-minded citizens."²⁷⁰ Similarly, The Hope Commission advocated that amalgamated boards assume more decision-making powers over in standards of teaching, school management routines, and selection of curriculum materials.²⁷¹ J.G. Althouse spoke of the delicate, yet critical, relationship

between local and central authorities when implementing new reforms: "Forward steps in Ontario education are taken when a number of communities become interested in new phases of educational service...Our reforms march forward on a ragged front...[but] they march forward with the informed understanding and active support of the people who maintain and patronize the schools."²⁷²

One major initiative to produce a smoother and clearly democratic partnership between local and central authorities was a post-war change in the conception of supervision. In particular, inspectors shifted from the older arm's length critical assessors to locally-employed collegial assistants. As new, less qualified teachers were responding to the demand for their services, inspectors could not provide necessary, personalized assistance. Ideal supervision was re-conceptualized as democratic, decentralized and collaborative. In 1956 G.E. Flower, the Director of the Canadian Education Association's Kellogg Project in Educational Leadership, described the transformation. Under the old system the provincial government would send out inspectors to ensure that local boards were using grant money properly, namely, following all school regulations, such as attendance laws, and following the prescribed course of studies, particularly judging the competence of teachers.²⁷³ With the creation of larger school districts, the inspector no longer skipped from board to board auditing standards. Rather, larger districts, and particularly urban boards, which now had the responsibility of operating more complex school systems, were granted permission by the province to employ their own inspector. In theory, the 'new' inspector, being locally appointed, would be able to better address community needs while ensuring provincial standards for schooling. J.G. Althouse described the 'new' inspector of Ontario as "an executive officer and a financial *advisor* to his boards."²⁷⁴ J.F.K. English of British Columbia described the same official, whose title in that province was officially changed to

district superintendent of schools in 1958, as working "in a closer relationship with school boards... [with] more administrative work in addition to their special responsibility, which is the supervision of instruction in the schools."²⁷⁵ While inspectors or superintendents worked in an executive capacity, typically with the due respect from trustees and teachers, they were no longer the locus of official provincial power. Inspectors had the legal right to attend board meetings but lacked voting privileges. Instead, it was assumed that board members would avail themselves of the inspector's "experience, training and knowledge."²⁷⁶

According to the Public School Acts of British Columbia (1958) and Ontario (1954), the city boards of Vancouver and Toronto would use inspectors in their new administrative capacity; to evaluate and record the organizational and instructional quality of a school district, and, where necessary, provide recommendations for change to maintain provincial standards.²⁷⁷

Given the extra duties of administration for the local inspector, or district superintendent, J.G. Althouse reported, there was little time or energy remaining for instructional supervision.²⁷⁸ Local inspectors required the growing support of assistant supervisors, grade consultants, and directors of instruction. Vancouver appointed four teachers in 1955 to the newly created position of teacher-consultant. Teacher-consultants, who became province-wide with the Public Schools Act of 1958, were meant to assist teachers, particularly those at the probationary stage, with their instructional methods.²⁷⁹ For Ontario, according to the Supervision and Inspection Committee of the OSSTF, it was the school staff, and particularly the heads of departments, who took on the duty of regular peer supervision.²⁸⁰ The provinces' inspectors were instructed to appraise the work of teachers, the accommodations of the class, and the success of students, as well as schools' internal methods of supervision.²⁸¹

School officials in both provinces looked to the principal for internal school supervision. In an article entitled "The New Principal," G.E. Flower explained that post-war Canadian officials had borrowed from the British model of the principal as headmaster.²⁸² As a master teacher in close daily contact with teachers, pupils and the community, the principal was ideally suited to be an instructional leader, rather than an administrative co-ordinator. Local principals' associations developed, and university summer courses on principalship thrived, in efforts to address the previously overlooked role of the principal on the supervisory team.²⁸³

Whether principal, department head, teacher consultant or inspector, the expected form of supervision in the post-war secondary school had changed from judgment and enforcement to a more 'democratic' process of collaborative review for improved instruction. C.W. Booth, deputy minister of education for Ontario, spoke to the revised aims in supervision at a national level in the September 1959 issue of *Canadian Education*. Booth argued that supervision had changed from "cold, critical analysis imposed from above to the present friendly, sympathetic, co-operative appraisal of daily work by supervisor and teacher for the benefit of teacher and pupils alike."²⁸⁴ The prime purpose, he insisted, was to prompt professional self-study and regulation.²⁸⁵ He concluded that: "Supervision at its best is a co-operative project, involving pupils, teachers, department heads, principals, superintendents, and inspectors – all working together and giving their best for the school, the community, and the nation."²⁸⁶ The rhetoric of the period often managed to frame supervision as democracy in process but this was not always obvious. G.E. Flower recounted a story of a teacher who was visited first by an inspector, then by the assistant inspector, followed by a helping teacher, and ending with a supervisor for public health and one for the province's physical education branch. The teacher commented after all of these

friendly visits: "I am glad to say that none of them managed to keep me from doing my work."²⁸⁷ Stories of supervision were not always that innocuous. Boards and teachers spoke of inspectors who remained over-authoritarian, especially in rural areas where they had more authority, trustees who 'blacklisted' teachers from certain districts, and principals who withheld teachers' increment pay with overly-critical written reports.²⁸⁸ Educators treated these issues as scandalous when they found their way to newspapers, because excessive supervision disregarded one principle of participatory democracy; a sense of autonomy. As British educator, Sir Arthur Binns, stated at a Principals' Conference held at the University of British Columbia in 1958, "You can never make professional people out of men and women who merely or even mainly carry out the orders of other people."²⁸⁹

The need for autonomy in a substantive educational 'democracy' carried over from the re-conception of supervision to curriculum reforms. The post-war years saw growth in the participation of teachers, and even lay groups, in the development of curriculum. As the populace and purpose of the post-war secondary school broadened, so too did its stakeholders. More parents were demanding a voice in what their children learned in school, and industry leaders were demanding certain skills be taught to their future employees. If teachers were required to transmit an increasingly complex program of study and take responsibility for making this knowledge base fit for each student, then they needed to be trained participants in curriculum development. It no longer sufficed for one or two 'experts' who were removed from the classroom to dictate materials that teachers were simply to follow.²⁹⁰ While the initial writing of course studies and final approval remained in the hands of provincial experts, Departments of Education across the country more than ever were willing to consider the desirability of teacher and lay representation on general curriculum policy and procedure committees, and to a greater extent on subject committees

to revise or prepare courses of study and materials to suit local situations.²⁹¹ Allan Morrison, Director of Curriculum and Research for the Department of Education in Nova Scotia, argued that the increased participation was a necessary part of a democratic nation: "A society which is based on government responsible to a widely enfranchised population is founded on an assumption that people can and will make decisions which are good in the long run....that the individual can be depended upon to do his best according to his 'light and leading.'"²⁹²

Morrison's faith in democratic procedures for curriculum building, from an administrative perspective external to the classroom, found some room in the policies of Ontario. In 1949, the newly appointed Tory Minister of Education, Dana Porter, announced the 'Porter Plan.'²⁹³ Porter was assisted by the head of the Ministry of Education's curriculum branch, Stanley Watson, a rare self-proclaimed progressive in Ontario political circles.²⁹⁴ A significant component of the plan was a relatively wide divestment of power to school communities. The Department of Education, through co-ordinating committees, provided suggested courses of study to local committees who had the power to disregard them and create their own.²⁹⁵ Furthermore, province-mandated Departmental examinations, except for Senior Matriculation, were abolished, which freed school staff to determine assessment of their course requirements.²⁹⁶ The process for curriculum development also underwent reconstruction. In addition to the standard input of superintendents, principals, and teacher training personnel, curriculum committees would have official representation from Home and School Associations and the Ontario Teachers' Federation (OTF).²⁹⁷ The OTF had a uniquely co-operative relationship for a teachers' federation with provincial authorities in this period, which provided for strong leadership from teachers in the area of curriculum design. This was due in part to an OTF initiative which, in conjunction with the

Ontario Education Association and co-ordinated by Ontario teacher Blanche Snell, established more than sixty committees in 1947 and 1948 to study each subject area in the secondary curriculum. The high level of participation demanded by teachers became apparent within years of the implementation of the Porter Plan. Over 5,000 teachers on 139 local curriculum development committees revised more than 1,400 courses in 129 areas, including a number in Toronto.²⁹⁸ The Department of Education encouraged teachers' participation: "...the acceptance of the responsibility for curriculum revision provides teachers with an opportunity to reach their true professional status...group participation will give teachers practice in those democratic techniques and procedures...It will afford the opportunity for the development of democratic leadership."²⁹⁹ Within a year of this statement, Porter left his position with the Ministry to pursue leadership of the provincial Tory party. His replacement, W.J. Dunlop, did not see curriculum reforms as a priority. By the end of the decade, only twelve committees remained and only 18 percent of teachers participated.³⁰⁰

Education leaders in British Columbia shared Dunlop's underlying skepticism of the program. While school officials in the province sought curriculum feedback from teachers and lay groups, they did not call for the same widespread consultation and local powers. According to H.L. Campbell, the British Columbia government believed that not only the public, but teachers, lacked the ability to decide independently on courses of study. With lower professional qualifications due to high demand, and the presence of scientific, well-trained, curriculum personnel in central offices, untrammelled local initiative was no answer.³⁰¹ British Columbia officials were not willing to say, however, that Ontario's curriculum organization was superior or more democratic. Chairman of the BCTF curriculum committee, Don Pritchard, explained that Ontario was "just catching up with the

more progressive centres. Secondary classes there are still organized in 'forms'; there is little use of 'options' in our meaning of the term; and 'promotion by subject', and 'individual timetables' are used as yet by only a very small minority of the high schools."³⁰² Undeterred by rebuffs, the BCTF still pushed for a greater teacher voice in curriculum building. Upon the advice of progressive educator Herbert B. King in 1935, who later became the Chief Inspector of Schools, curriculum committees had been created, under the Council of Public Instruction, with teacher and public membership. The BCTF wanted direct representation on the province's Central Curriculum Committee in 1948.³⁰³ Despite being guaranteed only consideration of representation, the federation and its teachers continued to participate in some curriculum committees, albeit in relatively low number compared to Ontario. Approximately 125 teachers worked on various standing and advisory curriculum committees in 1958.³⁰⁴ In 1961 the Department of Education formally recognized the value of their contributions and granted the federation three places on newly established secondary and elementary Professional Curriculum Committees.³⁰⁵

Although central authority would continue to characterize the post-war secondary school, with prescribed content and inspections, officials supported a shift in policy that encouraged the active participation by an increasing number in the education community. Movement toward democratic re-organization, or at least the rhetoric of democratic administration, resembled for some educators, such as Stanley Watson of Ontario and G.E. Flower of British Columbia, a Deweyan model: educators' co-ordination of experiences to stimulate change by and in the best interest of those whom the changes affected. In Flower's writings, the post-war re-organization was to create an environment "to stimulate, to encourage, to assist, to guide, and even to direct teachers so that they will experience the maximum professional development and hence make available to their pupils the riches

possible learning experiences.”³⁰⁶ Most school officials who supported such reforms rarely spoke directly of progressive influences. Instead, educators made the case for system-wide democratic procedures based on their cost-efficiency and productivity. After all, the consolidation of schools was a money saver, as was the extra-curricular, voluntary participation of teachers in curriculum planning. Some academics and political officials proffered an even more conservative ideological justification: practices in participatory democracy, which offered elements of local autonomy and space for individual voice in administrative matters, rightly discouraged citizens from dependence on the state. They warned that without democratic reforms the secondary school might produce citizens who were reliant on the welfare of government-supported education and thus a welfare nation.

This conservative message was the foundation of Frank MacKinnon’s many widely-read texts on education, history and governance in Canada. At the time principal of Prince of Wales College (later the University of Prince Edward Island), he was well-known within political and administrative arenas of education. In one of his most noted texts, *The Politics of Education*, MacKinnon wrote that “democracy itself is on trial” because the state was simply telling schools how to educate, and doing so according to populace fads.³⁰⁷ He argued that political authorities had refused to grant teachers and administrators enough control over education, a refusal based on the assertion that they had a democratic responsibility to the public that elected them to oversee such matters.³⁰⁸ MacKinnon implied that the state’s emphasis on submission to authority did not represent the public will, but, rather, resembled a totalitarian regime. He asserted that there would be greater efficiency if teachers were not forced to adopt the duties of administrators or “play politics,” but, rather, simply had the “freedom to teach.”³⁰⁹ Teachers who “subordinate their own thinking and efforts to the kind of window dressing which impresses officials...thereby stifle the innate quality of initiative

and independence necessary for scholarship.”³¹⁰ MacKinnon was not arguing for each person to have direct decision-making powers within the democratic school. Rather, each member of the school should concentrate on their specific function in the system.

MacKinnon wanted teachers to be free from interruptions by inspectors and bureaucratic duties like heavy paper work, so that they could focus on the academic training of young people. If not, he argued, the state would continue to dominate; teachers and students would get into the habit of receiving rather than getting, and expecting rather than doing.³¹¹

Peoples’ dependency on the state, according to MacKinnon, was sparked by ‘undemocratic’ school organization and was hazardous to teachers and students. It was, thus, teachers’ responsibility to not only protect their rights within the school, but to ensure democratic rights in their classrooms. Teachers could only effectively teach if they inspired self-discipline. Such arguments in favour of autonomy influenced instructional methods in post-war secondary schools. The Toronto Board experimented with the implementation of language labs for French courses, which would allow girls and boys to follow their own pace of study along with dictation cassettes.³¹² The Vancouver Board proudly announced that their straps were locked away and discipline through ‘man-to-man’ talks was the modern approach that got results from teenagers.³¹³ Secondary schools in both cities used workshop techniques and open debating in social studies classes to encourage students to form their political opinions. In addition, towards the end of the period, Vancouver and Toronto schools experimented with television programming, provided by the Canadian Broadcasting Company, to motivate students to develop their own interpretation of the content provided in the classroom.³¹⁴ According to post-war psychologists, healthy adolescents could only develop within a democratic setting that enabled them to practice inner discipline in their work, and have freedom in school to make their own choices and mistakes. Influential

American child psychologist, Dr. Benjamin Spock, spoke to this point at an international conference on child psychology held in Toronto in April of 1954, stating that teachers influenced "...the atmosphere of the classroom...their [students] inner discipline."³¹⁵ The famous pediatrician often directed his message to elementary teachers. The same message was also given to their secondary colleagues. George Roberts, a Durham Board principal and past president of the OSSTF and OTF, explained to secondary teachers in the 1959 issue of *The Bulletin* that flexibility could result in wrong decisions by students, but that: "This, we are told, is a lesson in responsibility for democratic choice, and a risk that must be taken."³¹⁶

School officials' desire for individuality within educational democracy fit snugly with a conservative vision of a productive citizenry that served, rather than burdened, the state. Roberts warned: "'joyriders' are perhaps the greatest obstacle in the way of one of the teacher's major objectives: the nurturing of the individualist in the age of conformity."³¹⁷ It was not simply the health of the student, but rather the health of the democratic nation that concerned Roberts and many other educators. Roberts worried that Canadian schools were following the trend of the United States where, "having created a welfare state of the body, they are now trying to create a welfare state of the mind."³¹⁸ Roberts and other conservative critics, including MacKinnon who referred to education as the new 'social service,' were also concerned with the government's renewed social security initiatives during the postwar period, such as health insurance, unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation. While more broadly based welfarism could be interpreted as protective measures for labour, the state provided only those concessions, some scholars have argued, that would thwart socialist activities, and secure a labour force fundamental to the Fordist regime of accumulation.³¹⁹ Conservatives worried that the social security net would produce a lazy or

overly-dependent citizenry. The school could prevent this by inculcating students' with self-reliance and individuality. As the first director of UNESCO, Julian Huxley stated at the time, "Man must now take a conscious part in his own evolution, or there will be no evolution."³²⁰ As this chapter has suggested, schools were to ensure that each person made the 'right' choices to contribute as 'good' citizens to the 'democratic' nation.

This chapter argues that, to understand the post-war period, educational historians need to look beyond progressivism *or* traditionalism. Rather, educational officials worked to produce secondary schools in the name of democracy, a term that embodied diverse values. Given the chaotic post-war years, few education officials could deny those values that liberal 'democracy' conjured up in the minds of the public: freedom, equality, autonomy and order. What did 'democracy' really offer for the post-war educational agenda? 'Democratic' objectives, from national to more localized political and administrative discourses, and inclusive of both progressive and traditional theories of learning, produced an educational agenda that solidified, more than it disrupted, pre-war patterns of normality. The ideal citizen was re-affirmed through post-war secondary schooling as white, middle-class and heterosexual. The conservative invocation of citizenship was often masked in the fluidity and multiplicity of language for 'democratic' values, relations and practices in secondary education. A closer examination of the assumptions and practices that underlay such discussions reveals that potentially 'democratic' visions were rife with hierarchical, bureaucratic and autocratic methods designed to "lead and direct an adequately socialized majority."³²¹ The freedom and choice of a universally accessible education was envisioned as equality of access and not of opportunity. Moral stability through character education provided for personal growth but always within the bounds of traditional values. The

secondary school's laboratory for practical democracy provided for individuality and autonomy accompanied by inner-discipline that was to guarantee social stability. This critical examination of educational 'democracy' illustrates that the concept itself is at once identifiable and clear, as well as unstable, contradictory, and at times, elusive.

The next chapters will suggest what the conflicted message of educational democracy meant in classrooms. In particular, they explore what the gendered implications were of democracy for the agents of its implementation. What did freedom, morality and autonomy offer for women teachers in post-war secondary schools in Toronto and Vancouver?

¹²⁸ Johnson, *A Brief History of Canadian Education*; Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*; Sutherland, "The Triumph of Formalism."

¹²⁹ Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 193. See, also, Robert M. Stamp, "Growing Up Progressive? Part II: Going to High School in 1950s Ontario," *Historical Studies in Education* 17, no.2 (Fall 2005): 321-31.

¹³⁰ Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 193.

¹³¹ Paul Axelrod, "Beyond the Progressive Education Debate: A Profile of Toronto Schooling in the 1950s," *Historical Studies in Education* 17, no.2 (Fall 2005): 227-41; Gidney, *From Hope to Harris*.

¹³² Gidney, *From Hope to Harris*, 30.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 31.

¹³⁴ John Dewey, *Experience and Education* (60th Anniversary Edition) (Indiana: Kappa Delta Pi, 1998), 34. See, also, John Dewey, *School and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1900); John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: MacMillan, 1916).

¹³⁵ There exists on-going debate among education scholars, particularly in the United States, concerning competing strands of progressivism. Scholars have identified two primary strands, namely, the liberal pedagogical progressives and the conservative administrative progressives. Most educators agree that more radical groups of progressives had a limited presence in schools, particularly in first part of the last century, with administrative reforms dominant. Furthermore, as David Labaree notes, pedagogical and administrative progressives, for their differences, shared many beliefs and often worked together. This was the case in post-war Canada. My study places a greater emphasis on these similarities than Labaree, working as it does from the perspective of 'senior officials' and teachers for whom such distinctions were rarely acknowledged in the post-war context. See, David F. Labaree, "The Ed School's Romance with Progressivism," in *Brookings Papers on Education Policy*, ed. Diane Ravitch (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2004).

¹³⁶ Dewey, *Experience and Education*.

¹³⁷ W.H. Swift, "Pendulum or Synthesis?" in *Education: A Collection of Essays on Canadian Education, Volume 1, 1954-1956* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1956), 83-84.

¹³⁸ S.N.F. Chant, "A Canadian Education," in *Canadian Education Today: A Symposium*, ed. J. Katz (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1956), 15.

¹³⁹ Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 8. She bases this definition on Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Volume 1: *An Introduction* (New York, 1990); Jeffery Weeks, 'Foucault for Historians,' *History Workshop* 14 (Autumn 1982): 106-119.

¹⁴⁰ Owrarn, *Born At the Right Time*; Tillotson, *The Public at Play*; Adams, *The Trouble With Normal*, 18-38.

¹⁴¹ Jean Mann, "G.M. Weir and H.B. King: Progressive Education or Education for the Progressive State?" in *Schooling and Society in 20th Century British Columbia*, ed. J.D. Wilson and David C. Jones (Calgary, Alberta: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1980), 115.

¹⁴² Notable exceptions in the Canadian context include: Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*; Adams, *The Trouble with Normal*.

¹⁴³ Jean Barman, *Sojourning Sisters*; F. Henry Johnson, *John Jessop: Goldseeker and Educator: Founder of the British Columbia School System* (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1971).

¹⁴⁴ H.L. Campbell, *Curriculum Trends in Canadian Education* (Quance Lectures in Canadian Education) (Toronto: Gage, 1953), 96-97.

¹⁴⁵ Stanley T. Spicer, "Physical Fitness – A Problem for the Schools?" *Education: A Collection of Essays on Canadian Education, Volume 2, 1956-1958* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1959), 61 and 64.

¹⁴⁶ M. Wisenthal, "Summary of total full-time enrolment, by level of study, related to relevant population, Canada, selected year, 1951 to 1975," *Historical Statistics of Canada*, Section W: Education, 11-516-XIE (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2003).

¹⁴⁷ Adams, *The Trouble with Normal*.

¹⁴⁸ Gidney, *From Hope to Harris*, 9.

¹⁴⁹ John E. Lyons, Bikkars Randhawa, and Neil A. Paulson, "The Development of Vocational Education in Canada," *Canadian Journal of Education* 16, no.2 (1991): 142.

¹⁵⁰ B.F. Addy, "Vocational and Industrial Education," in *Canadian History Today: A Symposium*, ed. J. Katz (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1956), 135.

¹⁵¹ Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto, Ontario Historical Education Collection (OISE/UT, OHEC), Toronto Board of Education, Director of Education, *Report on the experimental and newer aspects of schools work by the Toronto Board of Education*, 1951, 5; 1952, 37-39.

¹⁵² City of Vancouver Archives (CVA), Public School Records, Vancouver School Board, *Board of School Trustees Annual Report, 1951-1952*.

¹⁵³ Addy, "Vocational and Industrial Education," 136.

¹⁵⁴ Ewart H. Morgan, "Secondary Education," in *Canadian History Today: A Symposium*, ed. J. Katz (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1956), 124.

¹⁵⁵ CVA, H.B. Smith, "Ten Years of Secondary Education," *Board of School Trustees Annual Report, 1959-60*.

¹⁵⁶ D. B. MacKenzie, "Providing for Individual Differences in Secondary Education in British Columbia," *Education: A Collection of Essays on Canadian Education, Volume 1, 1954-1956* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1956), 33-36.

¹⁵⁷ H.M. Evans, *Composite High Schools in Canada*, University of Alberta Monographs in Education, no.1, (1959):76, as cited by F. Henry Johnson, *A History of Public Education in British Columbia* (Vancouver: Publications Centre, UBC, 1964), 182.

¹⁵⁸ Toronto District School Board Sesquicentennial Museum and Archives (TDSBA.), Toronto Board of Education, *Year Book* (Toronto: Noble Scott Co. Limited, June 30, 1954), 12. For a listing and map of the collegiate institutes in the Toronto and Metropolitan areas see the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation provincial newsletter, *The Bulletin*, November 1957 and November 1959. Newspapers of the period show that education officials debated the proposition of combining junior and senior high schools. This initiative was, however, shelved during the period under study.

¹⁵⁹ TDSBA, C.C. Goldring, "Appendix: Trends in Education," Toronto Board of Education, *Board Minutes*, January 6, 1950.

¹⁶⁰ OISE/UT, OHEC, *Report on the experimental and newer aspects...*, 1952, 8-10.

¹⁶¹ Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 183.

¹⁶² Johnson, *A History of Public Education in British Columbia*, 188; Chant, "A Canadian Education," 15.

¹⁶³ Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 183; OISE/UT, OHEC, Canadian Teachers' Federation, "Information Notes – Pupil Retention in Canadian Schools," *Pupil Retention in Canadian Schools* (Ottawa: Canadian Teachers' Federation Research Division, January 1957).

¹⁶⁴ OISE/UT, OHEC, "Pupil Retention in Canadian Schools"; Johnson, *A History of Public Education in British Columbia*, 188; CVA, *Board of School Trustees Annual Report*, 1952-1958.

¹⁶⁵ OISE/UT, OHEC, *Report on the experimental and newer aspects*, 1953, 4.

¹⁶⁶ Ralph W. Tyler, "Facing Up to the Big Issues," *The B.C. Teacher*, January 1953, 155.

¹⁶⁷ W.G. Fleming, *Ontario's Educative Society, Volume 3: Schools, Pupils and Teachers* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1972), as quoted by Harry Smaller, "Vocational Training in Ontario's Secondary Schools: Past, Present – and Future?," *Training Matters: Works In-Progress for the Labour Education and Training Research Network* (York University, Centre for Research on Work and Training, April 2000), 14.

¹⁶⁸ Johnson, *A History of Public Education in British Columbia*, 184. Toronto officials state in their 1953 annual report that schools were finding it difficult to obtain consent from parents to limit academic course options to those grade nine students who had limited ability or ambition. OISE/UT, OHEC, *Report on the experimental and newer aspects*, 1953, 3-4.

¹⁶⁹ Aaron Benavot, "The Rise and Decline of Vocational Education," *Sociology of Education* 56, no.2 (1983): 63-76, as cited by Harry Smaller, "Vocational Training in Ontario's Secondary Schools," 10. For information on the history of streaming in Ontario schools see, Bruce Curtis, David W. Livingstone and Harry Smaller, *Stacking the Deck: The Streaming of Working-Class Kids in Ontario Schools* (Toronto: Our Schools/Our Selves, 1992).

¹⁷⁰ Ron Hansen, "Comprehensive Secondary Schools: A Pilot Study of Two Ontario Schools Fifty Years After the Introduction of Comprehensive Programming," (Unpublished Report) (London, ON: The University of Western Ontario, Faculty of Education, 2002), 1.

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- ¹⁷¹ Dorothy Thompson, *Globe and Mail*, 15 November 1957, as cited by William E. Hume and Harold F. Taylor, *Trouble in the School: Educators Cheat Your Child and the Nation* (Bracebridge, ON: Bracebridge Books, 1958), 12.
- ¹⁷² "Weir Says BC Youth Get Equal to Best," *News Herald*, 24 January 1947.
- ¹⁷³ OISE/UT, OHEC, *Report on the experimental and newer aspects*, 1951, 2.
- ¹⁷⁴ R.S. Ritchie, "Your Product and Customers," *The B.C. Teacher*, February 1957. This was a talk adapted from an address delivered before the B.C. Education Conference, held at the University of British Columbia on November 16, 1956.
- ¹⁷⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁷⁶ "One Student In Five Is 'Wasting School's Time'," *Vancouver Herald*, 4 February 1957. This was a Canadian Press story that came out of Toronto.
- ¹⁷⁷ Jacques Barzun, "The Battle Over Brains in Democratic Education," *The University of Toronto Quarterly* 23, no.2 (January 1954): 115.
- ¹⁷⁸ Hilda Neatby, *A Temperate Dispute* (Toronto: Clark, Irwin and Company, 1954), 19.
- ¹⁷⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁸⁰ Hilda Neatby, *So Little for the Mind* (Toronto: Clark, Irwin and Company, 1953). See, also, Arthur Bestor, *Educational Wastelands: the retreat from learning in our public schools* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1953).
- ¹⁸¹ Neatby, *So Little for the Mind*; Neatby, *A Temperate Dispute*, 12.
- ¹⁸² Neatby, *A Temperate Dispute*, 32-34, 45-49.
- ¹⁸³ Hugh A. Stevenson, "Developing Public Education in Post-War Canada to 1960," in *Canadian Education: A History*, ed. J.D. Wilson, R. Stamp, and L.P. Audet (Toronto: Prentice-Hall Limited, 1970), 387-399; Johnson, *A Brief History of Canadian Education*, 170-171; Douglas Myers, "From Hope to Hall-Dennis: The Official Report as an Instrument of Educational Reform," in *Means and Ends in Education: Comments on Living and Learning*, ed. Brian Crittenden (Toronto: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1969), 11-14.
- ¹⁸⁴ Province of Ontario, *Report of the Royal Commission on Education* (Hope Commission) (Toronto: King's Printer, 1950), 34.
- ¹⁸⁵ Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 193.
- ¹⁸⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁸⁷ Province of British Columbia, *Report of the Royal Commission on Education* (Chant Commission) (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1960), 17-18.

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- ¹⁸⁸ J. Harold Putnam and George M. Weir, *Survey of the School System* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1925).
- ¹⁸⁹ Ibid., as quoted by Henry F. Johnson, *A History of Public Education in British Columbia*, 257.
- ¹⁹⁰ British Columbia, *Report of the Royal Commission on Education*, 264-360.
- ¹⁹¹ *Vancouver Sun*, 30 December 1960, 1, as cited by F. Henry Johnson, *A History of Public Education in British Columbia*, 267.
- ¹⁹² "How To Guide Pupils Outlined by Goldring," *Globe and Mail*, 9 February 1959.
- ¹⁹³ Gidney, *From Hope to Harris*, 15 and 28. See, also, Charles E. Phillips, *Public Secondary Education in Canada* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1955).
- ¹⁹⁴ William F. Russell, "Education Can Save Democracy," *The Bulletin*, April 1950, 65.
- ¹⁹⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁹⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁹⁸ Paul R. Hanna, "The Educational Outlook at Mid-Century," *The B.C. Teacher*, January 1951, 152.
- ¹⁹⁹ Morgan, "Secondary Education," 123.
- ²⁰⁰ Ibid., 40-41.
- ²⁰¹ J.D.M. Griffin, "The Contribution of Child Psychiatry to Mental Hygiene," *Canadian Public Health Journal* 29 (November 1998), quoted by Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 119.
- ²⁰² Ibid.
- ²⁰³ OISE/UT, OHEC, *Report on the experimental and newer aspects*, 1951, 31-32.
- ²⁰⁴ TDSBA, Toronto Board of Education, *Annual Report - The Board of Education for the City of Toronto Reports to the Citizens for the Academic Year, 1960-1961*, 13.
- ²⁰⁵ OISE/UT, OHEC, *Report on the experimental and newer aspects of schools, 1951-1954*; TDSBA, *Annual Report, 1960-1961*.
- ²⁰⁶ CVA, Public School Records, British Columbia, Department of Education, *Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, Seventy-eighth Annual Report, 1949-1949* (Victoria, BC: King's Printer, 1950), 126-127.
- ²⁰⁷ Johnson, *A History of Public Education in British Columbia*, 186.
- ²⁰⁸ Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 119.

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- ²⁰⁹ OISE/UT, OHEC, *Report on the experimental and newer aspects of schools*, 1954, 20-22; TDSBA, *Annual Report, 1960-1961*, 13.
- ²¹⁰ OISE/UT, OHEC, *Report on the experimental and newer aspects of schools*, 1954, 20-24.
- ²¹¹ Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 119-139. Gleason discusses the resistance of teachers to psychologists' demands for them to diagnose their students.
- ²¹² "Psychiatry Costs More At Schools," *Toronto Sun*, 2 March 1959.
- ²¹³ Thomas Fleming and David Conway, "Setting Standards in the West: C.B. Conway, Science and School Reform in British Columbia, 1938-1974," *Canadian Journal of Education* 21, no.3 (1996): 303-304. The bureau was subsumed in 1947 by a larger Division of Tests, Standards and Research, under the direction of well-known British Columbian administrator C.B. Conway.
- ²¹⁴ CVA, British Columbia, *Annual Report, 1955-1956*, 143-146.
- ²¹⁵ Mann, "G.M. Weir and H.B. King," 99.
- ²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 119-120.
- ²¹⁷ Adams, *The Trouble with Normal*, 42.
- ²¹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²¹⁹ Campbell, *Curriculum Trends in Canadian Education*, 44-46.
- ²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 47.
- ²²¹ Timothy J. Stanley, "White Supremacy and the Rhetoric of Educational Indoctrination: a Canadian case study," in *Children, Teachers, and Schools In the History of British Columbia*, ed. J. Barman, N. Sutherland, and J.D. Wilson (Calgary: Detselig, 1995).
- ²²² José E. Igartua, "What nation, which people? Representations of national identity in English-Canadian history textbooks from 1945 to 1970," unpublished paper for CISH 2005, Themed Session, Textbooks: from the Narrative of the Nation to the Narrative of Citizens. Rebecca Coulter argues that textbooks by Donald J. Dickie, written for the elementary level and approved for use in both British Columbia and Toronto, may have been an exception to the Anglo-Canadian nationalism of social studies textbooks during the period. For example, Coulter notes that in the 1930s and 40s Dickie produced two primers that featured Aboriginal children as protagonists. See, Donald J. Dickie and George Dill, *Two Little Indians* (Toronto: J.M. Dent, 1933); Donald J. Dickie, *Joe and Ruth Go To School* (Toronto: J.M. Dent, 1940). Rebecca Priegert Coulter, "Getting Things Done," 680-681.
- ²²³ Joy Parr, "Introduction," in *A Diversity of Women: Ontario, 1945-1980*, edited by Joy Parr (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 5.
- ²²⁴ Veronica Strong-Boag, "Canada's Wage-Earning Wives and the Construction of the Middle Class, 1945-1960," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 29, no.3 (1994), 7; Adams, *The Trouble with Normal*, 26.

²²⁵ "Girls in Slacks Spark a Furore," *The Province*, 22 December 1956.

²²⁶ See, for example, Franca Iacovetta, "Recipes for Democracy? Gender, Family, and making Female Citizens in Cold War Canada," in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, 4th Edition, ed. V. Strong-Boag, A. Perry and M. Gleason (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

²²⁷ W.E. Blatz, "Your Child – and Sex," *Maclean's Magazine*, 1 January 1945, 37-39, as cited by Adams, *The Trouble with Normal*, 75.

²²⁸ Adams, *The Trouble with Normal*, 21.

²²⁹ Martin Sable, "George Drew and the rabbis: Religious education and Ontario's public schools," *Canadian Jewish Studies* 6 (1998): 25-53.

²³⁰ Adams, *The Trouble with Normal*, 41.

²³¹ Chant, "A Canadian Education," 18; Canadian Youth Commission, *Youth Challenges the Educators* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1946). For more on the commission, see, Michael Gauvreau, "The Protracted Birth of the Canadian 'Teenager': Work, Citizenship, and the Canadian Youth Commission, 1943-1955," in *Cultures of Citizenship in Post-war Canada, 1940-1955*, ed. N. Christie and M. Gauvreau (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003).

²³² TDSBA, Toronto Board of Education, *Board Minutes*, 6 January 1950, 138.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Hope Commission, *Royal Commission on Education*, Chapter IV, "Social, Spiritual and Other Aspects of Education" as cited by Edward E. Stewart, *The 1955 Status of Recommendations in the Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario, 1950* (Master's thesis: University of Michigan, 1956), 48-50. See also, Paul Axelrod, "Beyond the Progressive Education Debate," 237; Robert D. Gidney and Wynn P.J. Millar, "The Christian Recessional in Ontario's Public Schools," in *Religion and Public Life in Canada: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. M. Van Die (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

²³⁵ Sable, "George Drew and the rabbis." According to the newspaper of the period, the issue gained renewed interest among educators. See, "Should Public Schools Teach Religion?" *Globe and Mail*, 10 February 1959.

²³⁶ Putnam and Weir, *Survey of the School System*, 53-55.

²³⁷ Moriah Shaw, "Bible Study," *Homeroom: British Columbia's History of Education Website* www.mala.bc.ca

²³⁸ During the same period, the provincial government was proposing the assimilation of Doukhobor children as a solution to their passive and violent protests for their own separate schooling. See Johnson, *A History of Public Education in British Columbia*, 138-147.

²³⁹ Neatby, *A Temperate Dispute*, 11-12.

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- ²⁴⁰ "An Ethical Basis," *Vancouver Sun*, 30 November 30, 1946.
- ²⁴¹ "Can Civilized Living Be Taught?" *Vancouver Herald*, 9 April 1957.
- ²⁴² Ibid.
- ²⁴³ Philip Deane, "Character, Not Missiles, Is the Challenge," *Globe and Mail*, 25 January 1958, as cited by Hume and Taylor, *Trouble in the School*, 173.
- ²⁴⁴ J.G. Althouse, *Addresses: A Selection of Addresses by the Late Chief Director of Education for Ontario, Covering the Years 1936-1956*, 63. See, also, J.G. Althouse, *Structures and Aims of Canadian Education* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1949).
- ²⁴⁵ E.J. Palmer, "Democracy in School Life: Report of the Schools Committee of the Association for Education in Citizenship," *The Bulletin*, February 1951, 24.
- ²⁴⁶ Ibid., 25.
- ²⁴⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁴⁸ G.E. Flower, "The Larger School Unit in Canada," in *Education: A Collection of Essays on Canadian Education, Volume 1, 1954-1956* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1956), 37.
- ²⁴⁹ J.M. Paton, "Democracy's Challenge to Our Schools," in *Concern and Competence in Canadian Education: Essays by J.M. Paton*, edited by D.A. MacIver (Toronto: Guidance Centre, Faculty of Education, University of Toronto, 1973), 5.
- ²⁵⁰ Flower, "The Larger School Unit in Canada," 37.
- ²⁵¹ Paton, "Democracy's Challenge to Our Schools," 6.
- ²⁵² Flower, "The Larger School Unit in Canada," 37.
- ²⁵³ J.F.K. English, "The Reorganized System of Local School Administration in British Columbia," *Education: A Collection of Essays on Canadian Education, Volume 2, 1956-1958* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1959), 44.
- ²⁵⁴ T. Fleming and B. Hutton, "School Boards, District Consolidation, and Educational Governance in British Columbia, 1872-1995," *Canadian Journal of Educational Administration and Policy*, 10 (January 1997): 1-22. The province began experimentation after the delivery of the 1935 *Report on School Finance in British Columbia* by Dr. Herbert B. King, a Liberal appointed investigator, principal at a Vancouver high school and part-time lecturer at the University of British Columbia. Fleming and Hutton discuss the initial experimentation with district consolidation, when Bill Plenderleith, inspector of schools for the Peace River region, filed a report to the Department of Education concerning the deplorable conditions of schools in his area and the potential savings of consolidation with bulk purchasing of supplies and the elimination of duplicate administrative services.
- ²⁵⁵ Maxwell A. Cameron, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Educational Finance* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1945), 83-87, as quoted by Johnson, *A History of Education in British Columbia*, 128.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., 125-129.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 131.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.; English, "The Reorganized System of Local School Administration in British Columbia," 41. While most jurisdictions required years of local negotiations, Premier John Hart, and George Weir, his soon to be reinstated Minister of Education, delivered on a promise to fully implement Cameron's report throughout the province upon re-election.

²⁵⁹ English, "The Reorganized System of Local School Administration in British Columbia," 42-44.

²⁶⁰ Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 184. See, also, Norman B. Baird, *Educational Finance and Administration for Ontario* (Toronto: Department of Research, Ontario College of Education, University of Toronto, 1952).

²⁶¹ Ibid., 185.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Hope Commission, *Report of the Royal Commission on Education*, Chapter X and XI; Stevenson, "Developing Public Education in Post-War Canada to 1960," 387. Similarly to British Columbia, Ontario had undertaken initial consolidations from the late 1930s onward.

²⁶⁴ Gidney, *From Hope to Harris*, 24. One particularly contentious recommendation was restrictions on Roman Catholic schools.

²⁶⁵ Johnson, *A Brief History of Canadian Education*, 114-116.

²⁶⁶ W.T. Newnham and A.S. Nease, *The Professional Teacher in Ontario: The Heritage, Responsibilities and Practices* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1965), 35. The Toronto Metropolitan School Board included both elementary and secondary schools in the city of Toronto, the towns of Leaside and Weston, the villages of Forest Hill and Swansea, the Lakeshore district, and East York, North York, Etobicoke, York, and Scarborough townships. For more information on the creation of metropolitan governance see W.J. McCordic, "An Experiment in Metropolitan Government," *Canadian Education* 14, no.2 (1959). *Canadian Education* was a quarterly publication of the Canadian Education Association.

²⁶⁷ Gidney, *From Hope to Harris*, 7.

²⁶⁸ Fleming and Hutton, "School Boards, District Consolidation, and Educational Governance in British Columbia."

²⁶⁹ English, "The Reorganized System of Local School Administration in British Columbia," 43.

²⁷⁰ "What We Said," *The B.C. Teacher*, December 1959, 132. This was a BCTF Brief to the Royal Commission on Education.

²⁷¹ Hope Commission, *Report of the Royal Commission on Education*, Chapter X and XI; Stevenson, "Developing Public Education in Post-War Canada to 1960," 387.

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- ²⁷² Althouse, *Addresses*, 117-118, as cited by Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 187.
- ²⁷³ G.E. Flower, "Supervision in School Systems," in *Canadian Education Today: A Symposium*, ed. J. Katz (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1956), 54-55 and 61. See, also, Eric Williams Ricker, *Teachers, Trustees, and Policy: The Politics of Education in Ontario, 1945-1975* (Ph.D diss: University of Toronto, 1981).
- ²⁷⁴ Althouse, *Addresses*, 84. The emphasis is mine.
- ²⁷⁵ English, "The Reorganized System of Local School Administration in British Columbia," 44.
- ²⁷⁶ Cameron, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Educational Finance*, 87-96.
- ²⁷⁷ Province of British Columbia, *Manual of School Law*, (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1958), 7, as cited by British Columbia Teachers' Federation, "What We Said," *The B.C. Teacher*, December 1959, 133; Province of Ontario, *Partial List of Acts Pertaining to the Administration of Education in Ontario (Public Schools Act)* (Ontario: Baptist Johnston, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, 1954), 86-90.
- ²⁷⁸ Althouse, *Addresses*, 148; OISE/UT, OHEC, *Report on the experimental and newer aspects of schools*, 1952, 2-3.
- ²⁷⁹ Johnson, *A History of Public Education in British Columbia*, 156.
- ²⁸⁰ W.D. Douglas, "The Principal and Supervision and Inspection," *The Bulletin*, 31 May 1957, 141; C.W. Booth, "Some Basic Aims and Recent Trends in Secondary Education," *Canadian Education* 14, no.4 (1959): 46-47. Douglas was a member of the Supervision and Inspection Committee of the OSSTF.
- ²⁸¹ OISE/UT, OHEC, *Report on the experimental and newer aspects of schools*, 1952, 2-3.
- ²⁸² G.E. Flower, "The New Principal," *Education: A Collection of Essays in Canadian Education, Volume 2, 1956-1958* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1959), 69.
- ²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 71; Flower, "Supervision in School Systems," 56-57.
- ²⁸⁴ Booth, "Some Basic Aims and Recent Trends in Secondary Education," 44.
- ²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*
- ²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 45.
- ²⁸⁷ Flower, "Supervision in the School System," 56.
- ²⁸⁸ For examples of supervision concerns in British Columbia: "Editorial - Rating Scales," *The B.C. Teacher*, December 1947, 87-88; "Teacher Blacklist Charge Under Probe," *Vancouver Sun*, 28 September 1951; CVA, Public School Records, *Minutes of School Principals' Meetings*, Loc. 74-A-6, "Principal Reports on Teachers: Teacher Absences, and Teacher Exchange to Toronto," February

28, 1956. For a more thorough examination of such concern in the Ontario context, see Gaskell, *The Problems and Professionalism*.

²⁸⁹ "What We Said," *The B.C. Teacher*, December 1959, 146.

²⁹⁰ "Education 1959," *The B.C. Teacher*, May-June 1959, 389.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 84-85.

²⁹² Allan B. Morrison, "Curriculum Construction," in *Canadian Education Today: A Symposium*, ed. J. Katz (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1956), 80-81.

²⁹³ Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 190.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 190.

²⁹⁵ D.L. Pritchard, "Curriculum Planning in Ontario," *The B.C. Teacher*, December 1952, 113-114.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁷ Morrison, "Curriculum Construction," 89-90.

²⁹⁸ Myers, "From Hope to Hall-Dennis," 16.

²⁹⁹ L.S. Beattie, "Group Planning and Teacher Participation in Curriculum Revision," *The Bulletin*, June 1951, 120.

³⁰⁰ Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 191.

³⁰¹ Campbell, *Curriculum Trends in Education*, 101-107.

³⁰² Pritchard, "Curriculum Planning in Ontario," 114.

³⁰³ Johnson, *A History of Public Education in British Columbia*, 253.

³⁰⁴ "Education 1959," *The B.C. Teacher*, May-June 1959, 389.

³⁰⁵ Johnson, *A History of Public Education in British Columbia*, 253.

³⁰⁶ Flower, "Supervision in School Systems," 53.

³⁰⁷ Frank MacKinnon, *The Politics of Education: A Study of the Political Administration of the Public Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), 3-4.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 24-42. He argued that administrators, who had little access to students but still gave orders to teachers about how to instruct them, decreased the profession's autonomy and the ability to recruit 'good' teachers. Large post-war initiatives, notably by the Canadian Education Association in association with the W.K. Kellogg Foundation, to develop leadership in the schools had designated the teacher as relatively unimportant compared to administrators. See, also, Althouse, *Addresses*, 58. The Canadian Education Association often worked in association with the W.K. Kellogg foundation

to improve educational research through workshops and lectures during the period in question. The Foundation was created in 1930 by the United States entrepreneur W.K. Kellogg. Kellogg created the foundation to support philanthropic initiatives that would primarily focus on the education and health of children.

³⁰⁹ Ibid, 86-87.

³¹⁰ Ibid., 87-88. While he acknowledged the need for certain central regulations and administrative duties that might affect teachers' academic freedom, he argued that it should be avoided as much as possible.

³¹¹ Ibid., 8, 82.

³¹² OISE/UT, OHEC, *Report on the experimental and newer aspects of schools*, 1952, 5.

³¹³ Chris Crombie, "New Approach to School Problem," *Vancouver Sun*, 13 September 1950.

³¹⁴ TDSBA, Toronto Board of Education, *Annual Report, 1960-1961*; CVA, Vancouver School Board, *Board of School Trustees Annual Report, 1959-1969*.

³¹⁵ Benjamin Spock, "Preventative Applications for Psychiatry," *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly* 1 (1955): 7, as quoted by Gleason, 132.

³¹⁶ George Roberts, "What Do 'They' Mean?," *The Bulletin*, October 1950, 189.

³¹⁷ George Roberts, "What's Wrong with Our Teachers?" *The Bulletin*, December 1959, 393.

³¹⁸ Ibid., 392-393.

³¹⁹ Bryan D. Palmer, *Working-Class Experience: Rethinking the History of Canadian Labor, 1800-1991, Second Edition* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992), 269.

³²⁰ J.W. Perks, "To What Ends Shall We Teach?," *Education: A Collection of Essays on Canadian Education, Volume 1, 1954-1956* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1956), 7.

³²¹ Mann, "G.M. Weir and H.B. King," 115.

Chapter 3

'Democratic' Knowledge, Teacher Professionalism, and the 'Female' Weak Link

The professional standards set for post-war teachers implied that any committed and properly trained individual could further democracy. The growing body of feminist research into education and democracy has refuted such easy connections, arguing that liberal discourse, such as that in post-war education circles, marginalizes egalitarian principles of professionalism.³²² Political theorist Diana Coole explains that reason is the idealized crux of liberal democratic thought. It endows the holder with political power to participate in Western democracy. In European philosophical tradition and political theory, only man can possess reason. Western thought, Coole argues, continues to assert gendered hierarchies of knowledge and citizenship, "mind over body, culture over nature, reason over emotion, order over chaos," within which the feminine is a metaphor for the lesser terms.³²³ The knowledge-bearing, rational, and autonomous subject is conflated with dominant notions of masculinity, and the feminine 'other' conflated with subjectivity and emotionality. Women are, as Lorene M.G. Clark suggests, in the 'ontological basement' of political life and the democratic state.³²⁴ Carole Pateman's work on the 'fraternal pact' in the public sphere stresses that liberal discourse positions women far removed from the disembodied and reasonable citizen, symbolized through the freedom-fighter male soldier. Ironically enough, given assumptions regarding women's supposed lesser capacity for violence, they are conceptualized as a threat to social order.³²⁵ Within this essentialist binary, only men can objectively transcend personal interests to legitimately participate in and uphold orderly, public politics.

At least in theoretical terms, the ability to reproduce or teach curriculum productive of civilized democratic citizens is predicated upon this gender dualism. This is Jo-Anne Dillabough's primary point as she explores how Enlightenment concepts have re-emerged in the modern narratives of teachers and diminished the view of women as professionals.³²⁶ She argues that contemporary British educational discourses present 'neutral' representations of teachers in which women are free and equal to men in their capacity for independent educational practice within a liberal democracy. Simultaneously, however, governing authorities deem seemingly 'feminine' characteristics of personal reflexivity, authenticity, and sociability as ineffectual. A 'good' teacher becomes a technician of state-determined standardized outputs, not a socially-engaged critical reformer. Dominant masculinist models of autonomous and politically detached subjects denote success. Drawing on the work of Valerie Walkerdine and Helen Lucey, Dillabough notes "it is still the bourgeois male teacher or student who is honoured with the title of 'rational being' in the purest sense...women teachers and female students cannot possess knowledge in their own right because they are viewed as moral vessels through which liberal democracy and the rational society are cultivated."³²⁷ The structure of both teaching and professionalism has located women teachers as symbolic of the private sphere, unable to fulfill the rational ideal for liberal democratic citizenship. At the same time, women teachers, positioned as mothers in the school and as guardians of the nation, must support the very democratic principles that underlie their inferiority to men teachers.³²⁸ The result, Dillabough suggests, "leads to women's exclusion from the formal language of teacher professionalism, yet simultaneously defines their inclusion on the basis of female subordination."³²⁹

Most feminist scholars of women teachers' identity formation, like Dillabough, have examined the relationship between knowledge production and gender social construction

through a contemporary lens. With the notable exception of Walkerdine and Lucey, few have explored the historical evolution of this relationship. The contractions between the ideals of knowledge production and the gendered codes of professionalism can readily be detected in post-WWII Toronto and Vancouver. Canada and its democratic schools required instructors who gained and transmitted 'expert' knowledge to technical, vocational and academically streamed students. Teachers were to be instrumental actors for 'democratic' state goals. This meant, as outlined earlier in this thesis, producing technologically literate workers for capitalist accumulation and citizens with higher-order rationality for Western supremacy. This orientation came at the expense of a broadening 'democratic' purpose for developing students' unique strengths. It also readily disadvantaged socially engaged, reflexive teachers.

This chapter demonstrates how women teachers, like students who were sorted in the new 'democratic' curriculum that devalued non-academic streams, were classified as gendered in their capacity for academic/rational knowledge. Most progressive and traditional teacher educators did not correlate secondary teachers' competency with 'feminine' capabilities, such as an effective connection with children or appreciation of learning theories. Rather, in the era of the space race and faith in scientific expertise, teachers were evaluated according to technical functionalism, measurable student achievement and objective standards of practice that took masculinist advantage for granted.³³⁰ Women teachers in Vancouver and Toronto were confronted by educators, from politicians to federation representatives, who affirmed that men were natural scholars and thus more committed to academic qualifications as professionals. Women teachers, who flooded schools in response to post-war staff shortages, were routinely counted as less qualified, less capable and less committed. Women, with their assumed primary obligation

to the home, could not fulfill the intellectual and technical ideal for 'democratic' citizenship. Yet, ironically enough, they were to be its handmaidens in ushering in the new post-war world.

This chapter also moves significantly beyond those feminist political and social theorists who concentrate on women's exclusion from 'democratic' life. It examines the responses of women teachers themselves to their contradictory inclusion as 'professionals' in schools.³³¹ How did they define their identity given the gender dualism? Did women teachers capture a sense of professionalism by embracing their perceived private sphere capabilities, despite its weak status, or did they take up dominant masculine forms of competence to achieve professional autonomy?³³² Do their narratives question these distinctions? Without the experiential understandings of the women teachers themselves, the gender dualism of teacher professionalism within liberal 'democratic' discourse remains at best abstract and at worst universal. Their oral histories, introduced in the first section of this chapter, reveal that the majority of women attempted to cast their teaching selves as rational, knowledge-bearing professionals. The following section demonstrates the ways women's grip on such an identity was made tenuous by education administrators and women's own various social locations.

A DISEMBODIED 'RATIONAL' IDENTITY

In the course of interviews, teachers revealed that they understood they worked during a period in which there was increased public faith, and corresponding government actions, for schools to contribute to the progress of the West. With burgeoning ambitions but limited resources, post-war citizens relied upon teachers to meet the challenge of the nuclear age.

School officials needed instructors who could act on these hopes. J.G. Althouse, the Chief Director of Education for Ontario, and Dean from 1934 to 1944 of the Ontario College of Education (OCE), responded to worries about schools' capacity to take on the task of modern democracy and voiced a commonplace dilemma: "the rising tide that demands special treatment for every child is hard to square with the insistence for raising standards."³³³ Other critics went further. Hilda Neatby posed the question: "Is Teaching a Learned Profession?"³³⁴ A teacher training manual used in Ontario during the latter part of the post-war period, written by W.T. Newnham and A.S. Nease, similarly asked "Is Teaching a Profession?"³³⁵ Although these two administrators answered in the affirmative, the reduction in qualifications for teaching, even as teachers' responsibilities for 'democratic' security grew, was greeted with uneasiness.³³⁶

Teachers' federations across the country supplied thorough in-depth analyses of what it meant to be a 'good' teacher for educational 'democracy.' Both progressive and traditional commentators writing in the BCTF and OSSTF newsletters agreed that 'good' classroom instructors had to defend democracy by nourishing intelligence in youth, thereby preparing them for employment. Teachers were not to instruct '*the subject or the child*,' the typical paradigm for these learning theories, but were to know their subject in sufficient depth, to translate specialized knowledge, and instill a desire for intellectual development in youth. Historian Rebecca Coulter argues that progressive educator Donalda Dickie, a recognized leader in teacher-education who authored the textbook *The Enterprise in Theory and Practice*, believed in teaching based on child-centered instruction *and* the mastering of knowledge and skills.³³⁷ In the later stages of her career, Dickie retracted her sole adherence to the progressive-oriented 'project method' for democratic instruction, because students "leave school without ever having read a complete, connected history of their country."³³⁸

While debates continued regarding the best methods for achieving such ends, namely a progressive emphasis on experience-based learning or traditional teacher-directed instruction, substantial agreement existed about the need for professional training and the qualities of a 'good' teacher.

This commonplace consensus was revealed in a 1959 article on the definition of the professional teacher. The author, F.J. McNamara, a senior teacher in Sault Ste. Marie and regular contributor to the OSSTF *Bulletin*, explained: "we will discover that what we admire in modern pedagogy is in many ways but a rediscovery of Christian tradition."³³⁹ While he may have underestimated the differences in educational theory, he reflected the widespread agreement that competency was based on the association between expertise and service to the community. These qualities were outlined more specifically in an accompanying article by J.L. Ord, Superintendent of Schools for Ontario's Windsor District. In "The Qualities of a Good Teacher," he pointed to a person's feeling for teaching, their interest in understanding children, and serving students' educational needs. Equally important was sound scholarship and a thorough knowledge of subjects.³⁴⁰ These two qualities were echoed by a prominent British Columbian educator, Edgar Dale, in an April article that same year. In *The B.C. Teacher*, he presented the professional teacher as an "an efficient learner" who had "mastered the subject matter of his own field."³⁴¹ Dale argued, moreover, that intellectual goals were only effective with teachers who could communicate to boys and girls from a diversity of backgrounds. He further insisted: "Our democratic tradition of universal education was fought for by public-minded citizens...he [the teacher] must see himself as a person in the public service, dedicated to helping others build a freely communicating, inclusive society."³⁴²

Professionalism was commonly presented as relatively apolitical. It simply meant garnering the natural respect of the community as 'experts' who would elevate the raw material of youth into precious human resources for the nation. Specific qualifications for professionalism often sounded innocuous. Newnham and Nease assumed that teaching was a typical profession in requiring university education, professional training, and recognition by the public.³⁴³ Conservative Neatby pointed similarly to public recognition, an ethical code of moral integrity, and skills in teaching practice.³⁴⁴ The implication was that potential teachers, like their students, had every chance to obtain the knowledge necessary for proficiency. Underlying these seemingly gender-neutral concepts of competency, however, was a hierarchy of knowledge that subordinated the caring, communicative teacher to those deemed intellectual 'craftsman.'

The intellectual part of teaching was continuously stressed by post-war commentators. McNamara, who asserted himself as a centralist in the progressive and traditional debate, made this especially clear when he discussed the need for teachers to understand not only the 'gifted' but the 'slow' student. In his assessment, however, it was "much easier for the bright teacher to develop such understanding than for the stupid or mediocre teacher to become bright."³⁴⁵ Neville Scarfe, Dean of the University of British Columbia's Faculty of Education and self-proclaimed progressive, actually warned that affective teaching could create gullible and undiscerning citizens. In "The Aims of Education in a Free Society," for the Second Canadian Conference on Education in March of 1962, Scarfe compared learning to scientific research, within which the teacher's job was to mentally train students for clear logical thinking, thereby decreasing students' "susceptibility to *emotional persuasion* and subtle propaganda."³⁴⁶ For Scarfe, a teacher's ability was judged first and foremost by the development of rational powers in students. Of course, in

democratic fashion, he was not simply reserving rationality for university-bound students: "Thinking is in no sense restricted to academic subject-matter... Music and vocational subjects may engage the rational powers of pupils equally so."³⁴⁷ Ken Argue, Scarfe's more traditional colleague in educational philosophy, was crude in his prioritization of a teacher's personal aptitude for working and relating to youth. Quoted in the March 1953 issue of *Maclean's*, Argue stated: "Many people think that as long as you love children you can teach...Dogs love children."³⁴⁸ These educators signaled that teachers' 'natural' creative and communication ability were not learned skills for professional expertise. Rather, intellectualism was the prized commodity with observable outcomes, which fitted well with a renewed emphasis in Vancouver and Toronto secondary schools on streaming students based on intelligence testing, implementing government-developed external and standardized tests, and having faith in science-based 'experts.'

The narratives of the women in both cities reflected this rather 'taken-for-granted' conception of post-war professionalism. When referring to their colleagues or role-models, the majority of women plainly referred to them as 'good' teachers. It was difficult to tease out more, as the definition seemed self-evident to them. When asked what exactly a 'good' teacher was during the late 1940s and '50s, Donna Weber, who taught in Vancouver secondary schools, answered: "Someone who knew the subject...who could put it across in a way that the student could enjoy it and take it in, learn something, change their behaviour."³⁴⁹ Donna's general, third person response was typical. She and the other teachers were acknowledging the basic dual function for them of knowledge expertise and communication with students that was established by teacher representatives and political officials. At the same time, however, the women recognized the different value put on professional scholarship and supposed natural sympathies. Catharine Darby, also of

Vancouver, argued that a 'good' teacher was one who was "interested in kids," but she summed up the best teachers as "all scholars."³⁵⁰ Catherine asserted that "anyone who didn't fit into that category [scholar] soon drifted away – they went elsewhere." Phoebe McKenzie of Toronto echoed these sentiments. Much like school officials of the period, she contended that teachers guaranteed school order, respect and control not so much by sympathy as by respect. Phoebe McKenzie believed that teachers were perceived as caring when "there was order in a classroom and there was going to be respect...the big thing was to get your [students'] schoolwork done and get them to university."³⁵¹ These women recognized that professional autonomy and authority was predicated upon rational 'expertise'; a quality that could garner respect by setting teachers apart from parents, critics and even many political administrators.

When the women were asked if or how they perceived themselves as 'good' teachers, their rapport with youth seemed secondary. In a rare statement, Abigail Sears of Vancouver commented: "I had a good relationship with students and therefore I didn't have any great problem."³⁵² Most of the interviewees called upon dominant masculinist conceptions of teacher professionalism, namely as disengaged scholars and technicians for student achievement, to define their successful careers. A scholar or 'expert' identity was perhaps the strongest theme that characterized women's narratives from both cities. For most women with university backgrounds, which accounted for seventeen of the twenty interviewees, their liberal arts background was central to teaching. They often discounted the significance of their teacher training as "how to" and "boring."³⁵³ In contrast, they provided detailed and energized accounts of their undergraduate and/or graduate courses and the scholars from which they learned their subject areas. Compared to the easily passed year at OCE, Karen Phillips, a teacher in Toronto, recalled her undergraduate degree in languages

during the 1940s as "...unrealistically heavy...a high degree of breakdowns and people dropping out because of the pressures of the course." Although difficult, she referred to her professors as "inspiring, brilliant, and famous." Despite her unusual qualification of a doctorate in English, Karen's heavy emphasis on academic work versus professional training was far from unique.

Women without graduate degrees, and in less academic subjects, still asserted the centrality of their university training. Vancouver's Catharine Darby recounted her academic success in home economics in the late 1930s and early '40s as really being a triumph in science, involving quite a few courses in conjunction with the medical school, still an uncommon practice for women at the time. Her science knowledge lay at the heart of her effectiveness: "When you get into dyes there is a tremendous amount of chemistry involved. When you get into baking a cake ...there is physics involved....it's no wonder it is a science field." Other women did not dwell upon academic backgrounds, despite their university training, but they nevertheless asserted 'expertise' in their teaching area. This was particularly the case for the physical education teachers, most of who interviewed for this study taught for the Vancouver Board. Sophie Canning, for example, spoke extensively about her athletics background in the 1940s playing for championship sports teams and, in fact, working as a professional athlete to pay for university, as the basis of her teaching proficiency. Obtaining her first job had nothing to do with her teacher training or her ability to interact with youth generally. Rather, she stated: "I started at 14 on a senior women's team so I was on a championship team and so they wanted a good athlete – that's how I got the job."³⁵⁴

Sophie's was one of a number of narratives in which specialized knowledge and the expectations of post-war education officials strongly correlated. Demonstrating 'expert'

knowledge, regardless of practical experience and specific teacher training, seemed to provide many women with access and promotion to what they deemed the 'best' employment opportunities. Karen Phillips, an English and language teacher, made this clear as she described her first job interview for a collegiate institute in the Toronto area in the mid-1940s. Along with asking about "what church you belonged to," what the male administrators mostly cared about was "your academic standing, realizing the importance of being on top of your subject."

In fact, some women credited their superior academic performances as essential for urban employment. Rural schools, with their smaller budgets, likely attendance problems, were almost always less desirable.³⁵⁵ The interviewees, like the broader education community, credited city situations with superior standards, greater possibilities for promotion, and higher salaries. Teaching in centres such as Vancouver and Toronto was often deemed a privilege for the strongest 'experts' in each field. June West, who taught English and was the only one in Toronto who also instructed physical education, affirmed this in observing, "It was very difficult to get jobs particularly in the city so most of my classmates had to get jobs out of town... Barrie, Alliston, you name it. But with higher grades I got a job at [a Toronto school] just starting."³⁵⁶ Cecilia Reynolds' study on becoming a teacher during this period supports June's memory. Reynolds shows that hiring practices in the 1940s, often based on personal connections, meant that women were placed in multi-grade, rural schools in which they were the junior staff member with a male manager.³⁵⁷ In contrast, men may gain some experience in rural areas but were typically given their smaller school to alone teach and manage.³⁵⁸

Many women in the study, particularly those in Vancouver, had to start careers in quite isolated regions of their province. They asserted that it was their superior subject

knowledge that eventually got them not only a job in the city, but employment in the best 'academic schools,' promotions to teach senior grades, and even appointments to typically male held positions as head of department.³⁵⁹ Sadie Chow stated that she did not get a position in the city initially because "first of all I am Oriental and they would only take the top ten."³⁶⁰ Chow, the only visible minority woman in the study and actually one of the first Chinese women to teach at the secondary level in Vancouver, argued she forced school officials to see her ethnicity as a non-issue by proving she was an expert in home economics. As a result, she believed that she obtained a position at one of the best city schools and later became a department head at a different secondary school. In Toronto, Muriel Fraser acknowledged that it was critical for her to have attended the University of Sorbonne to study French in the late 1940s in order to be recognized as an "expert" in French, to access the "serious French students," and become head of the languages department. Women implied that they needed to go 'above and beyond' what was expected of their male peers, which at that point was a university degree, plus one-year training at a College of Education. These requirements were often waived to find enough teachers, especially for rural areas, but formal teacher preparation and higher credentials were increasingly becoming the requirement.³⁶¹

Women teachers portrayed their accomplishments as part of a seemingly normal process of building credentials and climbing the professional ladder. They constructed narratives as 'normal' professionals working within the bureaucratic system, much as technical experts for standardized outputs. Perhaps Phoebe's earlier reference is most telling. She defined teacher competency as control and discipline for high examination results and the production of university-bound students. British Columbia's women teachers made a similar case. Their oral histories were characterized by language of efficiency and

productivity as they explained how they got observable, concrete results for their work as 'experts.' Alma Erickson, a teacher in math and science, claimed that her school had a reputation for 'good' teachers because the staff was a disciplined cadre of professionals. She defined 'discipline' in this way: "Well you taught the material and you got good results from your students and later in the year when they wanted a good course and they were going on to University they wanted to enroll in your classes."³⁶² These results were not just expected from the traditional academic courses that Alma taught. Donna Weber expressed similar expectations of her physical education students. She stated: "I was considered to be a good teacher. I didn't have any discipline problems...I also just followed the system that was there...It was a very academic school."

Stories of 'successful' secondary school graduates supplied the dominant theme in women's narratives. While discussing her pedagogy in teaching French, Beth Merle noted: "I have a former student who is a Ph.D. in French and has developed this programme and her father sent me a brochure...she can get them [students] used to hearing different voices for the language."³⁶³ For Beth, this former pupil's accomplishments confirmed the professionalism of her mentorship. Similarly, Muriel Fraser focused the interview on her successful graduates that used French and German in their careers: "One needed it [bilingualism]...ended up at one point being the President of York University." The same narrative typified the memory of Grace Logan, a Latin teacher in one of the only specifically designated schools for technical students in Vancouver. She was specific in making the case that: "everyone had the wrong impression about Tech ... Tech was meant really to train for technical jobs but they found that if they took a language and English until their grade twelve they could get into university ... a lot of them did."³⁶⁴ Through stories of their

former pupils, women teachers demonstrated that they had in fact produced leaders for their communities.

Despite teaching in vocational, general and academic streams, few spoke of students other than the university-bound. Furthermore, the interviewees rarely discussed classes as a whole, or students that they personally helped from 'slipping through the cracks' of the system. The women did not discuss 'failures' in their classes, even when directly questioned. They seemed to assume not only that post-WWII secondary schools were more accessible, but that in practice educational 'democracy' was 'sink or swim' for their students and themselves. Failures indicated a failure of their abilities as teachers, without the recognition of external factors to student success. Ironically, it was almost as if their memories of the most 'successful' students ultimately kept the women themselves from 'slipping through the cracks' of educational 'democracy.' If their interviews were any guide, their relationship to star graduates made these teachers successful.

Few teachers alluded to patriotic inspiration or the ideal of 'democratic' superiority for desiring the status of rational, knowledge-bearing professionals. They sought to express professional competency, even as they acknowledged women's precarious standing, by describing their careers within a survival theme. The women repeatedly used defensive language to suggest a lack of respect by educational officials. Phoebe McKenzie, a teacher in one of Toronto's collegiate institutes, repeatedly returned to this theme: "There was strain on me. I knew I had to prove myself again."³⁶⁵ In Phoebe's case, the strain to prove she was a 'good' teacher was directly related to her marriage. Phoebe had many interruptions in her career in the late 1940s and 50s as a result of getting married and having children. She typically deferred to her husband's "very successful" secondary teaching career. Although not dealing with the tensions of marriage and motherhood, like Phoebe, Muriel Fraser

described her career as “managing to survive.” At the same time, she noted being passed over for promotion to head of the French department because a male colleague wanted the position and he was a ‘family man’ who had served in the war.

Abigail Sears, a physical education teacher, appropriately selected the metaphor of a “game” for her post-war teaching career. In her experience, playing that game meant fighting for resources and respect from her male colleagues. The game was the potentially damaging value system of ‘democratic’ knowledge that produced particular gender dynamics for women teachers in the post-war period. Women, as mothers, nurturers and social creatures, were viewed by the school community as unable to acquire and transmit ‘rational’ knowledge. The ‘secondary’ status of seemingly ‘rudimentary’ and ‘naturally’ abilities, like sociability, reflexivity, and subjectivity, is troubling in itself. Of particular concern is how school officials positioned women in association with these ‘inferior’ qualities, and thus as second-class professionals for the functioning of educational ‘democracy.’ Women were presented with the dilemma of balancing their ‘feminine’ subjectivities, constructed as inappropriate for the profession, and emulating ‘masculine’ attributes, considered unacceptable for women at that time.³⁶⁶ Not surprising most of the women constructed their oral histories through stories of emotional detachment, similarly noted in Emma Rich’s study as “a utilitarian approach to teaching, with less emphasis on responding to students’ needs or the processes of learning, and more emphasis on learning outcomes and control.”³⁶⁷ Such a unitary, singular picture of the professional self was a seemingly irrefutable self-defense against any accusation that women were not capable of setting aside ‘feminine’ qualities of emotionality and sociability to produce rational, democratic citizens for the strength of the nation. Such defense was ultimately, however, quite fragile in the eyes of most contemporary educational authorities who questioned

women's grasp on 'democratic' knowledge necessary for professionalism. Women's narratives, however, challenge liberal democratic rhetoric that conveys women's personal inadequacies, rather than their social positioning, as the 'weak link' for post-war professionalism. The women interviewed were proud of their accomplishments.

WOMEN TEACHERS' PROFESSIONALISM AS PROBLEMATIC

Despite their faith in their academic prowess, women teachers had to confront the common distinction educators of the era made between teacher training for the secondary level, dominated by men, and the elementary level, dominated by women. Superior occupational status was denoted for the secondary level, because of its relative focus on the academic stream or university-bound students. This status was most often constructed by post-war school officials as simply an issue of higher credentials, with secondary teachers holding university degrees. A closer reading of teacher educators' perceptions of the qualities of female-dominated elementary teaching, however, reveals that such distinctions were based on the pervasive conception of a gendered rationality for teacher proficiency; secondary women thus had to deny guilt by 'female' association. In both Vancouver and Toronto, women accounted for approximately 30 percent of secondary teachers and 80 percent of elementary teachers.³⁶⁸ Like the comprehensive schools of the post-war period, educators implemented a change to the structure of teacher training that was intended to bring equality of opportunity for elementary and secondary teacher training within one setting, that being the university. While this move created an appearance of improved opportunity for all teacher candidates, the result was sustained differentiation of the offerings and assessment of these programs.

Milton LaZerte was a leading proponent of the establishment of faculties of Education across Canada that would encompass teaching training 'under-one-roof.' A Professor Emeritus at the University of Alberta, Dean of Education at the University of Winnipeg, and the expert to whom most educators turned when discussing the criteria for teacher professionalism in the 1940s and '50s, LaZerte stood out among many teacher educators of the period who insisted that the lower qualifications for elementary training, and thus for mostly female teachers, needed to be addressed to increase the public's waning trust in the knowledge of its educators. Most notable was his 1949 report for the Canadian Education Association (CEA) on ways to improve the status of teaching, thoughts he extrapolated upon in his 1950 Quance lectures, *Teacher Education in Canada*, at the University of Saskatchewan.³⁶⁹ He argued that membership ethics and commitment had to be instilled for teachers to be recognized as professionals. More importantly, teachers needed an adequate university-based training that provided them with a body of technical knowledge, from which they should act as scientific researchers in their subject fields. Using the language of economic efficiency, LaZerte fought for mandatory degree requirements for both secondary and primary instructors. Those without university training, notably, of course, women in the elementary sector who qualified through Normal Schools, lowered professional standards since: "The public judges a profession by the lowest not by the highest qualifications."³⁷⁰

LaZerte saw his demands partially fulfilled in 1956 when the Faculty of Education at the University of British Columbia opened with Neville V. Scarfe as Dean.³⁷¹ The Normal School, the Summer School of Education and the School of Education at the University were subsumed into this new Faculty. British Columbia, in conjunction with Alberta, was seen as a leader in raising the standards and status of teachers generally and of elementary teachers

in particular.³⁷² Elementary teachers could receive a Bachelor of Arts or Education degree after four years, but were permitted to teach after one year of university credits. The same year in Ontario, Normal Schools were renamed Teachers' Colleges in an effort to raise the prestige of the elementary level. It was not until 1974, however, just before these Colleges were absorbed by university-banded Faculties of Education, that elementary training obtained degree-granting privileges.³⁷³ Like the post-war comprehensive school, however, teachers' colleges continued to distinguish elementary and secondary training programs, with few cross-over course options or instructors. They remained much the same as before re-organization, with the universities gaining little control over teacher certification. This stayed in the hands of each province's Department of Education.

The continuity of distinct elementary and secondary programs, inclusive of the devaluation of the former, is conveyed in the description by George A. Hickman, Dean of the Faculty of Education at Memorial University in Newfoundland. The 'new' teacher programs were separated by grade levels, which he categorized as general and professional streams.³⁷⁴ Professional education, according to Hickman, was specialized training that embraced preparation in academic areas. Here he speaks of a teacher's expertise, clarity and logic to become "a reasonably intelligent member of a staff which concerns itself with the reconstruction and administration of the curriculum of the school; an understanding of the principles governing classroom organization, management and control."³⁷⁵ Hickman made clear that it was the secondary level, dominated by male teachers, to which specialization applied, "...for it is obvious that a broad general education is better for the elementary school teacher."³⁷⁶ The general education in Canadian teacher training centres included, according to Hickman, the development of knowledge and skills that should be the common possession of all citizens of a democratic society, such as personal growth and responsible

citizenship. As he outlined, general education prepared elementary teachers to cultivate the social, not public and professional, elements of education. His words envisioned a housewife for the nation: "They [general educators/elementary teachers] are concerned with the natural world in which man makes his home, with the social world of which he is a responsible part, and with the personal world within which man discovers himself. They contribute to the student's capacity to function well ... as a member of a family."³⁷⁷ Hickman's language makes clear that secondary teachers were functional and public actors for intelligent citizenship, whereas elementary teachers were preparing for the role of nurturing mother.

For the women of this study, LaZerte and Hickman represented not simply the perceived domesticated credentials of the elementary level, but an assessment of women's general teaching abilities as inferior, 'common,' and 'unskilled.' The stigmatizing effects of such dismissal were evident in the oral histories. This was especially visible for those women who were trained and often held their first positions in the elementary division. For some, elementary training happened within Normal Schools, prior to consolidation, but again this differed little from later university-based programs. Normal School or the shorter elementary training at university was a far more affordable option, especially for women, who earned less than men, and whose families were less likely to consider them life-long wage-earners. It was also considered by the public and educational administrators to be a more 'natural' fit for women's motherly qualities. Of the twenty women in this sample, four attended Normal School, three were without a university degree before teacher training. These women taught in Vancouver. The regional difference may simply be the limited sample. One survey of the era suggested British Columbia secondary schools had the highest percentage of degree-bearing teachers than any other province.³⁷⁸ While the report

does not cite how many of these were women, the authors of the survey do make the correlation between British Columbia having the highest proportion of men teachers with the high percentage of credentials. The regional difference may also lie with the more academic bias of Toronto collegiate institutes. For a secondary school to obtain the title of collegiate institute, it had to have more than five members on staff with specialist certification that could not be obtained without a university degree.³⁷⁹

Not unexpectedly, the Vancouver women who had trained for elementary schooling often understood themselves as 'less professional' in the eyes of colleagues and administrators. Claire Anderson, a physical education instructor, did not identify herself nor speak in the first person when discussing the admirable qualities of teachers during the post-war period. She asserted that almost all of the people in her schools were professionals, "except me, they had their degrees and I mean how can you double that?"³⁸⁰ Claire described her abilities, which she explained as not justifying an assessment as professional, as her love of children: "I just wanted each kid to have an experience of happiness with one another and sharing." Claire was among the many women who acknowledged the differential values accorded to academic and caring professionalism. Sophie Canning, who had received a Bachelor of Physical Education from the University of British Columbia, but also trained at Normal School, offered a similar reflection. She stopped a line of questioning about her education and said: "I want to say two things, I was never smart but I was always energetic." Throughout the interview, she described herself as unconcerned about her professional status. What really mattered most to her was the respect she earned as a disciplinarian, and as someone who cared enough to find out about her students. She was one of the few to speak at length about a student's personal needs, recounting a story in which she replaced shoes stolen from one of her students. Sophie actually credited her

elementary training for this response, "because the high school were a cold sort...become pompous I guess."

Such a caricature appeared not to trouble those women purely trained for high school employment. They often perpetuated the association of elementary teaching with mothering, firmly disassociating themselves from this while distinguishing themselves as stalwart professionals. Their focus on students' scholastic achievement matched the primary purpose of the secondary school. Beth Merle of Toronto explained that her choice between elementary and secondary teaching was easy: "I didn't want a class of little kids in front of me. If I was going to do French it had to be secondary."³⁸¹ Fran Thompson, a specialist in English, stated: "I wanted to teach history ... all high school teachers probably had the same thing; they loved their subject ... never occurred to them that they had to know anything about their students."³⁸² Fran and Beth's university credentials and location within traditional academic areas afforded them a better chance to disassociate themselves from the standing of 'caring professional.' While at times they expressed enjoyment about interactions with students, they purposefully set their mastery of subject matter in direct opposition to the values of nurturing youth that were allied with 'female' elementary instructors. Some were self-conscious about the distinction they drew. Grace Logan, a Latin teacher in British Columbia, recalled the well-known stigma when she described being "horrified" when an inspector came to watch one of her lessons during a mandatory one week elementary practicum: "... he said to me had you ever thought of continuing in elementary education and I thought, he doesn't think I can do secondary ... I was really, really quite disappointed ... I never considered elementary."

The necessity for these women to discriminate signaled opinions that had much less to do with the elementary sector per se, than perceptions of the 'female' teacher in the post-

war period. This becomes clearer considering that female staff in secondary schools were similarly constructed as less professionally competent and under-qualified. In particular, educators leveled suspicion on women who entered to address vacancies left by servicemen during WWII and the growing teacher shortage in the late 1940s and '50s. According to a February 1946 survey by the Canada and Newfoundland Education Association, predecessor to the CEA, there were over 4,000 too few qualified teachers.³⁸³ In 1952 the total shortage was estimated at 6,556, with increases to the decade's end.

Teacher supply represented a national emergency, declared F.S. Rivers, Superintendent of Professional Training in Ontario, and R.W.B. Jackson, Professor at the Ontario College of Education (OCE), in their report for the journal of the CEA. In Ontario the situation was most acute in rural areas and at the elementary level, but urban secondary schools also needed 200 more teachers annually within the decade than universities were expected to produce.³⁸⁴ F. Henry Johnson, co-ordinator for teacher education for the British Columbia Department of Education at the time, told local newspapers that the province would be short 750 secondary school teachers by 1956.³⁸⁵ Rivers and Jackson concluded that population change caused the shortfall. They predicted a near doubling of enrolment for all levels of schooling across the country from 1945 to 1960.³⁸⁶ The post-war baby boom occupied elementary classes, while secondary school increases were spurred by immigration and a general demand for higher education.

Most provinces, including Ontario and British Columbia, adopted emergency, temporary measures to address the shortage. Many responses continued wartime policies, and were in place when the women interviewed here obtained their first teaching positions. Responses included the consolidation of schools and renaming teachers' colleges. More ambivalent initiatives included lowering entrance requirements for higher education and

shortening teacher training. Ontario and British Columbia Departments of Education resorted to issuing a large number of temporary certificates or Letters of Permission, requiring only one year training after grade 13 and two short summer courses for those entering elementary schools, and similar crash summer courses and reduced practice teaching after a baccalaureate for secondary candidate.³⁸⁷ In 1947, British Columbia officials reported over 129 teachers in the junior/high school level on temporary certificates.³⁸⁸ In Ontario, one in thirteen secondary teachers enrolled in summer courses when they were first offered at the OCE in 1954-55.³⁸⁹ Provinces also initiated recruitment campaigns by way of radio broadcasts, newspaper columns, booklets, and posters. While new candidates were sought, palliative measures were advertised to encourage the return of trained and experienced teachers who had retired or left teaching for other reasons, notably marriage or motherhood.³⁹⁰ According to William Dunlop, Minister of Education for Ontario, these strategies were effective. In 1952, he spread the good news that "by emergency measures, it has been possible to prepare, during the year, a sufficient number of teachers to ensure that no school was closed for lack of a teacher."³⁹¹ While the situation was not quite as rosy for British Columbia, particularly in the interior regions where schools were closed due to staff shortages, the Vancouver Board announced that temporary certification and teachers coming from the prairies and eastern Canada had solved the problem.³⁹²

Women answered officials' calls for more teachers. Women's rates of participation, specifically older women who were married, grew during WWII as they temporarily filled in for military personnel. At their peak, women accounted for over 70 percent of the teaching force. While their rates of employment dropped to pre-war levels at the end of WWII, the shortage of teachers allowed women's employment to reach near war-time rates by the mid-

1950s.³⁹³ Toronto Board of Education *Year Book* statistics in 1954 show that 271 of the 754 secondary school teachers were women and 51 of that number were married.³⁹⁴ Vancouver produced similar statistics: 246 of 755 secondary teachers, 68 married.³⁹⁵ Given the numerous and incommensurate levels of certification for the two provinces during this period, it is difficult to ascertain the numbers who held temporary or under-qualified certification for the secondary level. One BCTF study on the specific qualifications of married women teachers conducted early in the period and based on wartime emergency measures, similar to post-war initiatives, concluded that approximately 40 percent possessed 'second-rate' qualifications and were teaching only until necessity no longer dictated.³⁹⁶

School officials nevertheless relied upon women's flexible labour and supported policy shifts and specific programs to entice them into the workforce. For example, in 1954, British Columbia's Department of Education began Future Teachers' Clubs in high schools.³⁹⁷ Although policy did not allocate these clubs by gender, Vancouver secondary schools' yearbooks show all-female clubs.³⁹⁸ Departments in both provinces embarked on teacher recruitment drives overseas, typically hiring women for pre-specified boards and under an assisted immigration scheme, who would otherwise be unable to afford such travel. Lastly, both Vancouver and Toronto Boards recruited women who had left the profession due to marriage. Toronto officials used the newspapers to recruit married teachers throughout the 1950s. Z.S. Phimister, Superintendent and Chief Inspector of Schools, reported to *The Globe and Mail* that the Toronto Board would even lessen mandatory maternity leave for those "young women teachers supporting their husbands who are attending medical school or theological college."³⁹⁹ Officials in British Columbia extolled the virtues of married women, by announcing in their newsletter that without bringing them "back to the profession, even though they have been absent of years...there is no doubt that

chaos would have existed.”⁴⁰⁰ Sheila L. Cavanagh argues that policies enticing married women into the profession cannot be purely seen as a triumph against gender discrimination.⁴⁰¹ Instead, women of the ‘marrying’ variety or who were married were hired as symbols of society’s heteronormativity. I explore this point in more detail in the chapter to follow on ‘democratic’ values of the era.

Broader policies supported recruitment endeavours for women teachers, and specifically the ‘marrying-kind.’ In 1944, Vancouver women who married after placement in a school gained ‘security of tenure,’ and for Toronto women, an official bar to married women was lifted in 1946.⁴⁰² Women were often still expected to leave their jobs once pregnant. Furthermore, in 1951 the Ontario Teachers’ Federation created a single salary schedule to base pay on qualifications, not gender. This policy was enacted in conjunction with the province’s 1952 Female Employees’ Fair Remuneration Act. Due to the leadership of Hilda Cryderman and Mollie Cunningham in its executive, the BCTF adopted this policy in 1954; one year after it was enacted by the newly elected W.A.C. Bennett Social Credit government.⁴⁰³ The BCTF had encouraged boards as early as the mid-1940s to remove overt sex differences, and most complied, with Vancouver reported as one of the last to hold out.⁴⁰⁴ Wage discrimination also continued as the majority of women teachers could not secure higher paying administrative positions in these cities.⁴⁰⁵ British Columbia statistics show that women’s pay was approximately 56 percent of men’s in 1945. Although the disparity would drop, a 23 percent differential remained in 1954-55.⁴⁰⁶

Post-war inducements enticed back four married interviewees who taught in Vancouver. Abigail Sears remembered that originally after getting married “you knew you were out.” She continued teaching because of “an order in council in Victoria for me to be permitted to teach because I was married...the principal went to bat for me.” Abigail only

stayed six more months until she was pregnant with her first child. While most women did not refer to explicit policies, such as permits, they did remember pressure-filled requests to return to the teaching force from influential local administrators. Sadie Chow was adamant that after the birth of each child she was not going to teach. Each time, however, she recalled a "phone campaign" from the Vancouver Board's home economics co-ordinator insisting that she come back to school. Sadie was convinced by this co-ordinator who stated: "with your mind, you'd just sit home and vegetate...you know your children don't have the quantity of time with you but I am sure they have the quality because you always take them everywhere." Sadie's recollection indicates that while the barrier to married women working may have lessened, mothers still needed to justify their presence. In explaining her decision, Sadie insisted she was a reluctant participant, always found good child-care, and did not seek out the position. Her desire to rationalize returning to work is understandable given five of the seven teachers with offspring in this study described confrontations with male colleagues. Abigail, for example, recalled a personal male friend encouraging her to send a teaching application after she had left teaching for her fourth child. After a long time without a response, Abigail followed up by telephone. The male friend informed her at that point that "mother of children should not be working; they should be in the home." After Alma Erickson returned to teaching she remembered with some laughter that male teachers assumed she was inexperienced and treated her like a beginner. She described one man, a novice himself, having the nerve to tell her she should not be teaching since she was married with children.

Although teachers' federation representatives, political officials and educational administrators in both Vancouver and Toronto encouraged women's participation in the public system, the women's stories indicate that they encountered intense scrutiny.

Similarly, political representatives asserted that the emergency programs they established, and to which women responded, produced minimally acceptable teachers for Canadian education. Herbert Edgar Smith, Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Alberta until 1955 and frequent contributor to professional journals, stated: "By hopeful definition they are temporary measures, devious in detail, and all to be deplored...but Departments of Education have to face an electoral demand that classrooms be kept open and at least some kind of teacher provided for them."⁴⁰⁷ Smith was correct that measures were temporary. When the shortage abated in the mid-1960s, British Columbia and Ontario Departments of Education scaled back teaching permits and elevated requirements for teacher training.⁴⁰⁸ The problem for these school officials was that emergency programs supplied recruits, but did not relieve public concerns about professional standards. Temporary measures were viewed by many educators, particularly federation representatives, as exacerbating an on-going problem that afflicted the profession. Researchers asserted that a shortage was not simply the result of an increased student population. The problem resided with individuals, particularly men, choosing either not to enter or to leave teaching. Many researchers and political officials stressed that the shortage was due to the profession's lack of prestige.⁴⁰⁹ By implication, those teachers, primarily women, who were obtaining positions at the secondary level in increasingly larger numbers during the period, were 'second-best' additions to a profession that could not retain or recruit men.

Given this context, some women's stories were marked by moments of embarrassment. Such emotion was poignant for Marion Hayes, a Toronto collegiate institute teacher in history and English. Despite a degree in hand, she reluctantly, and in hushed tones, admitted that she did not take the regular one-year OCE course, but was one of

the teachers who worked while taking two summer sessions. She whispered: "I'm actually one of the few people and not many of my friends know about this...I'm one who did it in the summer. They needed more teachers and there was a twelve week course and then about five weeks to follow it up."⁴¹⁰ Marion may have been unusual among the Hog Town group. Three Vancouver women disclosed either taking crash summer courses or receiving temporary certification prior to formal training. These teachers described themselves as at the mercy of administrators who sent them to remote locations with extremely bad working conditions. Even more, their positions were not secure and their certification was non-renewable without the personal recommendation of their local board or inspectors. When speaking of her first teaching post in a mining town in 1949, British Columbia's Sadie Chow explained that she was "granted an elementary temporary teaching certificate for one year...it was the lowest form...if you looked at the conditions you wouldn't want to renew it." She went on to say that she wished for a husband to take her away from such a workforce. Claire Anderson painted a much happier picture of her early rural positions. At the same time, she noted that a top male administrator at her Normal School simply told her where she was needed and she went. The result was two rather isolated schools, and then a technical school outside of Vancouver, all of which were described as being 'problem' locations and at which she was not initially given her subject area to teach. Although these women were filling teaching positions at a time when the 'democratization' of schooling opportunities relied on their labour, they did not count on appropriate praise or compensation.

These stories reveal that women's inferior status was not simply a matter of qualifications, but reflected women's position as part a flexible, reserve army of labour for the public education system. Many male administrators in fact questioned the motives of

female careerists, claiming that their 'natural' inclination was and should be full-time marriage and motherhood. J.D. Aikenhead, professor of education at the University of Alberta in Calgary and a specialist in school administration, undertook national research on why individuals entered or returned to the profession. He argued that opportunities were open for women interested in Canada's survival to improve the learning of children and youth in their communities. Aikenhead acknowledged that "more women than men had returned" to teaching.⁴¹¹ He asserted that women's reasons, however, reflected simply a public extension of their propensity for private nurturing. They entered the system, he contended, not for a steady wage, but due to their "fondness for children, a liking for colleagues, and a desire to serve society."⁴¹² Aikenhead reassured public officials that women were not planning to become a permanent presence in secondary schools: they did not view teaching either as a living wage or a career in the same way as men. His incorrect assumption, based on the middle-class, nuclear family ideal of the period, was that all women desired marriage and support by breadwinning husbands. Intellectualism or career goals were not contemplated as reasons for women's place in the post-war secondary school.

Within this study, however, over half of the women interviewed did not marry and many provided financial support to parents. Of those who did marry, some spoke of financial necessity due to husbands' illness or loss of business.⁴¹³ Regardless of economic necessity, many women simply viewed teaching as one of the only accessible avenues of work in which they could apply their education. When asked if she knew before entering university that she wanted to be a teacher, Beverley Hurst stated: "Education was important. I was good at languages and there weren't that many things you could do in that day and age. I wasn't going to be a nurse and I didn't think I wanted to be a secretary particularly ... teaching was a good thing to do with my courses."⁴¹⁴ Others spoke of teaching as a long

term career option, because they could continue to work while married. Melanie Kilburn explained entering teaching, instead of medicine in which she was most interested, knowing that her long years of undergraduate school would not go to waste when she married. She explained: "It was either you had a career that would fit in with marriage and children or if you were going to go through this long training then you would always be full time [as a mother]. Now how did that fit in?" Most officials ignored such women's desires for remuneration and service.

The recruitment of men, however, was viewed more realistically. Aikenhead, for example, argued that men were not becoming teachers because of a lack of prestige, "slow promotions, few well-paid top positions, and low salaries."⁴¹⁵ Freelance journalist Max Braithwaite voiced his opinion that "the really alarming fact is that the average male teacher stays in the profession only eight years."⁴¹⁶ Improved salaries were perhaps the most common recruitment measure. Percy Muir, secretary of the Ontario School Trustees Council, told the Canadian School Trustees' Association: "We get a large number of capable women teachers but we are not getting the men. An appropriate salary for a single girl is not adequate for a man and family. But there's not much we can do about it. The law says we must pay an equal salary to women."⁴¹⁷ Salaries did steadily increase after the war. Pay for secondary school teachers in Ontario doubled from 1945 to 1960, and had improved substantially in western provinces.⁴¹⁸ George Roberts, past president of the OSSTF and OTF, argued that salaries were getting so much better that teaching was competing for men's employment with the field of engineering. He optimistically stated: "In 1958 Toronto hired some 40 university engineering graduates, gave them summer courses in pedagogy and sent them into high schools."⁴¹⁹ In this instance, crash courses in teach training were not problematic. This different assessment occurred for the same reason that the Toronto branch

of the OSSTF campaigning against a uniform salary payment for elementary and secondary teachers, regardless of sex; men as breadwinners were priorities in the public institution of the school and thus had a right to a higher salary.⁴²⁰ The male president of the Toronto branch was cited in the September 25, 1952, issue of the *Telegram* as objecting because secondary school teachers were losing their right to bargain independently of the less-prestigious women-dominated elementary affiliates.⁴²¹ While the same kind of campaign would not be made by the BCTF, perhaps as a result of a strong female presence on their executive, that province's male administrators made similar comments about the preference and rightful place of men in secondary schools.

Women acknowledged that they were expected to step aside in deference to men. Alma Erickson of Vancouver got her first job teaching because of the war; she then lost it when servicemen returned. She said: "they [school officials] figured they [women] should be released to let men have the jobs so that's that." Alma explained that she worked happily for years as a substitute secondary teacher until her husband became seriously ill and she had to support their family. Alma, like many women, accepted men's priority as a moral imperative given their status as soldiers and breadwinners. This was certainly the rationale for Muriel Fraser of Toronto who passed on a promotion so that a married man would receive advancement. Muriel recounted: "there was a chance to go to [a Toronto secondary school] and again I turned it down because there was a fellow in the French department who was married with a family and I knew that if I didn't take it, he would get it." Muriel's narrative is particularly revealing because she saw no contradiction in her belief that married men were entitled to career advancements, while both her parents were financially dependent on her throughout much of the 1950s. Nonetheless, her story expressed what was rarely

openly spoken by the interviewees; men fulfilled the ideals of the 'good' teacher and women had to show they were up to the tasks.

Of course, few officials during this era of popular egalitarianism explicitly declared for public consumption that it was men who were preferred for secondary schools, and not simply those teachers with the best credentials. In a rare, revealing statement, Charles Ovans, general secretary for the BCTF in the 1950s, admitted: "Given a choice in anything above primary grades, a school will take a man to a woman."⁴²² School officials asserted that men were collectively more attractive because they obtained more advanced degrees and dominated the seemingly more 'intellectually' rigorous subjects of mathematics and science that were in high demand during the period. Men, therefore, could provide rationally sound instruction for youth to become professional leaders for the nation's secure and prosperous 'democratic' future, in which science, as in the space race, would be critical. Women, in contrast, were framed by educational discourse as unable to fulfill this primary 'democratic' objective. As a result, they were vulnerable to accusations of undermining teacher professionalism and the public's faith in schooling. Officials and others feared, or perhaps hoped, that female 'propensities' for home and motherhood as a primary obligation encouraged reduced commitment to the world outside the home, notably the noble vocation of teaching. This is particularly evident in information available from British Columbia and Ontario teacher's federations. They expressed concerns to their membership and the public through newspaper columns that women were 'unethical,' 'unfair' and 'unprofessional'; comments that struck at the heart of an occupation that was valued for its fulfillment of educational 'democracy.'

The OTF, created by The Teaching Profession Act of 1944 amalgamating all existing teacher associations under an umbrella organization as a means of raising the overall status

of the profession feared the influence of female recruits.⁴²³ Although policies, like short summer courses, the lack of unified contracts, and low salaries were discussed for lowering the prestige of teachers, it was women, single and working before marriage, married, and mothers, who were regularly identified as the weak link in the quest for professional recognition.⁴²⁴ Such beliefs were not restricted to male members of the OSSTF. Eileen Gladman, female Chairman [sic] of the OTF's Relations and Discipline Committee, pinpointed the problem as women's inability to separate personal and public interests. In an article published in the May 1959 issue of *The Bulletin*, she explained: "Many times, too, a woman teacher accepts without question the idea that family responsibilities of any kind come before the fulfillment of the contract she has entered into as a teacher. Whatever may be the motive let us stress the ethical and professional importance."⁴²⁵

Contemporary historian Sandra Gaskell provides the most extensive examination of women's supposed offences. Women were incriminated as undedicated because of the general belief that teaching was not a career for them, but, rather, a short job between school and marriage.⁴²⁶ They were simply working for luxuries, unlike male teachers who considered family breadwinners. Regarded as transient workers, federations accused them of willingness to accept positions outside of union contracts and, most abhorrently, of underbidding men for positions by accepting reduced money or benefits.⁴²⁷ With such allegations on hand, many men in the federation readily dismissed their female colleagues, with little interest obtaining greater pensions or administrative positions.⁴²⁸

Throughout the late 1940s and '50s the BCTF made similar complaints. In a February 1955 column entitled "Some Ethical Considerations," appearing that same month in the local paper, the editor of *The B.C. Teacher* appealed on behalf of the federation to "all married women teachers, and to single teachers about to be married, to be considerate and

fair.”⁴²⁹ The article began by extolling the ‘democratic’ changes to the education system since the Depression years regarding married women, to the point that school boards admit married women are among their very best teachers. The editor noted that despite demonstrating a professional outlook comparable to single women, these same school boards now had complaints. In particular, school boards were “fed up” with women abusing leaves of absences to be married in the middle of term and accepting positions knowing they were pregnant and would have to be replaced.⁴³⁰ He was not alone in his reservations. According to Vancouver School Board committee reports and other regular newsletter columns on the subject of women teacher, male inspectors, superintendents, and principals were appalled that women might teach to earn ‘pocket’ money until marriage, take time off for *unsanctioned* domestic reasons, and shirk their extra-curricular duties and other special assignment for work at home.⁴³¹ The marrying woman, who had been newly ‘welcomed’ into the school, was now under surveillance for not being able to let go of her domesticity for professional life. The editorial warned that unless women dealt with these issues fairly “they will not only be acting unprofessionally as individuals but they will be creating a condition which will tempt school boards to return to policies against the employment of married women teachers.”⁴³² Another column was even more stern, warning about the federation’s position: without written consent from administrators before taking leave for marriage, women were in breach of the Code of Ethics and would be brought before the Executive to be “severely dealt with.”⁴³³ While few women faced dismissal as a result of these indictments, it is clear that federations in both provinces defined women, and not society’s sexist view of women’s role or women’s limited opportunities within educational ‘democracy,’ as the culprit in retarding the status of the profession.

Not surprisingly, no interviewee acknowledged accusations of unethical professional practice on their part or on the part of their female colleagues. A number insisted, however, that women were often more ethical than their male counterparts. They referred to men as "cheaters" when they attained superior results to women teachers from their students. Donna Weber, who taught physical education in Vancouver, noted that men were successful coaches at her school because the "boys were taught to cheat," what she deemed as fouling in order to win the game. Her philosophy was that "if you couldn't stop them properly without breaking the rules then you didn't deserve to win the game." Alma Erickson, also of Vancouver, repeatedly spoke of men who were determined to do better and cheated by "practically teaching the exam." She argued that the male head of department would often set the exam so his students got the best results. Knowing that her students were 'bright,' she insisted that examinations be set for all classes. While these stories target male teachers' unethical actions, they also solidify these women's ethical competency as teachers in this era.

Women's relative silence, as noted previously, on most discussions of their association with 'feminine' attributes, such as motherhood, nurturing and emotionality, may also signal their defense against accusations that they could not put personal interests aside for their work. On the rare occasion that interviewees did voluntarily and directly speak to the issue of care-giving for their students, the women actually spoke of such actions in unethical or inappropriate terms. When asked as a physical education teacher if she had a counselling role for students, Jessie Russell responded: "no I didn't, but some teachers did...I didn't get into that because it's wrong...I was the teacher, they're the student, I'm not your counsellor or your mother that you're gonna come to and talk to me about your boyfriend."⁴³⁴ Jessie continued by noting a fellow teacher who often had students in her

office to talk, which she found objectionable. Similarly, Ellen Stewart recalled students acknowledging her effective teaching because she kept an appropriate distance. The students talking about another teacher had mentioned to Ellen about "how awful it was that there were high school teachers who forged this close personal relationship and how very damaging it was."⁴³⁵ Grace Logan of Vancouver, at one point in her interview, suggested that her classroom worked "beautifully" because "when you came into my room it's like you're coming into my home." When following up on her metaphor of a home, Grace immediately retracted her previous description and stated that the school was not a family environment and she was not nurturing of the students. Rather, she asserted, this type of environment was "proper ... a great disciplinary feature."

For Sophie Canning, the gendered sanctions associated with 'feminine' capabilities or an emotional attachment to students had a more ominous implication. Sophie is a lesbian who was not out during this period in her life. She states: "I would not tolerate it; [homosexuality] was a terrible word." Sophie would not tolerate discussion of her sexuality because society was intolerant. She recognized that if her sexuality was revealed, then she would have been fired from her job teaching physical education to girls. She recounted a story, at length, regarding a female student who "idolized" her and invited her to come with her family for an outing one weekend. Sophie refused the girl's offer and explained to her that she was only her teacher Monday to Friday. She recalled: "her [the student's] face fell but that...you know it was times like that I was lucky that I was able to keep it that way and you know what I mean...you had to watch that nothing got affectionate." Sophie's oral history enables a clearer understanding not only of women's abilities to call upon a distanced professional image, but the implication of losing their appearance as that sort of 'good' teacher. For Sophie it was a necessity for her very livelihood. Still more than the other

teachers here, she felt confined by codes of heterosexuality that emphasized difference and women's problematic professionalism. Her narrative, similar to the other women's oral histories, was rife with professional landmines that resulted from assumptions regarding her 'naturally' nurturing femininity and illogical capabilities for knowledge production.

The response of these women to inferior positioning within post-war educational 'democracy' demonstrates that there were no ready, simple solutions for their equality. As Emma Rich reflects from her work on women in England's teacher training programs for physical education: "there is no simple materiality, no correct behaviour which these women can unequivocally achieve."⁴³⁶ She remarks: "Their inclusion in their profession is contradictory, by mere virtue of the fact that as women they remain subordinates in a dominant Gender Order which underpins the dominant educational discourses."⁴³⁷ Illuminating the struggling professional portrait of women teachers in post-war education, therefore, is not to suggest that women did not attain or lacked the attributes of the 'good' teacher. Rather their narratives illustrate the discursive and practical means by which they made sense of their teaching selves. Caught in an essentialist double bind of professionalism equating to dominant masculinity, the women's narratives marked the apprehensions they experienced in fulfilling post-war objectives emulating and producing the rational 'democratic' citizen. Throughout the interviews the women spoke of their need to prove they had a place within the public secondary school system as professionals; a status allotted more easily to men by virtue of their sex. Their identity as professional teachers was less tenuous, according to the women, if they presented themselves as detached, knowledgeable scholars who could produce intellectual leaders of the nation. Given women's various educational backgrounds, teaching subjects and social locations, their narratives do not reify

an essentialist binary of professionalism. Rather, the women teachers were positioned both by themselves and by school officials across uncomfortable gender differences. The image of teacher as subject expert and thus rational citizen was much easier to construct for women who were single, with advanced university degrees, and who taught in academic-oriented subjects and regions. For other women teachers, the grip on a scholarly identity and professional recognition was even more tenuous, as they acknowledged holding an inferior position in teaching due to such factors as motherhood, elementary training and the type of school setting.

While the women's narratives demonstrate that they were unable to completely resist or alter masculinist conceptions of the modern teacher, they nonetheless asserted their ability to embody professionalism. Each maintained that a great teacher could be a woman of sound scholarship. The women admitted their struggles, however, in gaining recognition as 'good' teachers: they were handicapped by the competing and multiple frameworks that identified them personally, socially and occupationally as less professional. Their narratives of post-war Canada provide proof of the contention of feminist political and social theorists that liberal democratic discourse offers professional autonomy in seemingly androgynous form, while perpetuating a gender dualism that restricts women teachers' access and 'capability' for professional and 'democratic' knowledge. Yet if women were precluded from equality with men, they might offer something different. The following chapter addresses, as feminist theorists of teacher identity have argued, the role for women teachers as moral vessels for a democratic order, rather than knowledge-bearers for democratic citizenship.

³²² See, for example, Arnot and Dillabough, "Feminist Politics and Democratic Values in Education"; Walkerdine and Lucey, *Democracy in the Kitchen*; Madeleine Arnot, *Reproducing Gender: Essays on educational theory and feminist politics* (London: Routledge, 2002); Kathleen Weiler, *Women Teaching for Change* (South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey, 1988).

³²³ Diana Coole, *Women in Political Theory: from ancient misogyny to contemporary feminism* (Hertfordshire: Hearvester, Wheatsheaf: 1993), 18.

³²⁴ Lorene M.G. Clark, "The rights of women: the theory and practice of the ideology of male supremacy," in *Contemporary Issues in Political Philosophy*, ed. W.R. Shea and J. King-Farlow (New York: Science History Publication, 1976), as cited by Dillabough, "Gender, Politics and Conceptions of the Modern Teacher," 377.

³²⁵ Pateman, *The Sexual Contract*; Pateman, *The disorder of women*.

³²⁶ Dillabough, "Gender, Politics and Conceptions of the Modern Teacher," 373-394.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, 380. See Walkerdine and Lucey, *Democracy in the Kitchen*, 200.

³²⁸ Kathleen Casey, "Teacher as mother: curriculum theorizing in the life histories of contemporary women teachers," *Cambridge Journal of Education* 20 (1990): 301-320.

³²⁹ Dillabough, "Gender, Politics and Conceptions of the Modern Teacher," 381.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, 375. Dillabough expresses similar qualities when exploring the masculinist conception of the modern teacher.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, 379. Dillabough calls on historians to examine the contradictory position of women teachers' inclusion in the teaching profession.

³³² Alison Weir, *Sacrificial Logics: feminist theory and the critique of identity* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 66.

³³³ Althouse, *Addresses*, 61.

³³⁴ Neatby, *A Temperate Dispute*, 53-73.

³³⁵ Newnham and Nease, *The Professional Teacher in Ontario*, 8.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 8; Neatby, *A Temperate Dispute*, 54-59.

³³⁷ Coulter, "Getting Things Done," 686. See Donald J. Dickie, *The Enterprise in Theory and Practice* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1940).

³³⁸ Donald J. Dickie, *The Great Adventure: An Illustrated History of Canada for Young Canadians* (Toronto: J.M. Dent, 1950), as quoted by Coulter, "Getting Things Done," 689. For more information on the development and strands of progressive movement in Alberta, see, R.S. Patterson, "Progressive Education: Impetus to Educational Change in Alberta and Saskatchewan," in *Education in Canada: An Interpretation*, ed. E.B. Titley and P.J. Miller (Calgary: Detselig, 1982), 169-192;

Amy von Heyking, "Selling Progressive Education to Albertans, 1935-1953," *Historical Studies in Education* 10, no.1 and 2 (1998): 67-84.

³³⁹ F.J. McNamara, "Teaching: The Unique Profession," *The Bulletin*, September 1959, 242.

³⁴⁰ J.L. Ord, "The Qualities of a Good Teacher," *The Bulletin*, September 1959, 199-200 and 238.

³⁴¹ Edgar Dale, "The Education of Teachers," *The B.C. Teacher*, April 1959, 249-350.

³⁴² Dale, "The Education of Teachers," 350. Even though women comprised three-quarters of the teaching force across Canada, the generic teacher was always referred to with the male pronoun. See Reynolds, "Hegemony and Hierarchy," 114. She noted that in 1951 women were 73 percent and men were 28 percent of the teaching workforce in the country. This would change by 1971 when women were 66 percent and men 34 percent.

³⁴³ Newnham and Nease, *The Professional Teacher in Ontario*, 8.

³⁴⁴ Neatby, *A Temperate Dispute*, 54-59.

³⁴⁵ McNamara, "Teaching: A Unique Profession," 241.

³⁴⁶ Neville Scarfe, "The Aims of Education in a Free Society," *The Second Canadian Conference on Education: A Report*, ed. F.W. Price (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1962), 69. The emphasis is mine.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 71.

³⁴⁸ Sidney Katz, "Part 1 – The Teachers," *Maclean's Magazine*, 1 March 1953, 9.

³⁴⁹ Interview with Donna Weber (pseudonym), conducted on May 22 2005 in Vancouver, British Columbia.

³⁵⁰ Interview with Catharine Darby (pseudonym), conducted on May 19 2005 in Vancouver, British Columbia.

³⁵¹ Interview with Phoebe McKenzie (pseudonym), conducted on November 16 2001 in Toronto, Ontario.

³⁵² Interview with Abigail Sears (pseudonym), conducted on May 17 2005 in Vancouver, British Columbia.

³⁵³ Interview with Karen Phillips (pseudonym), conducted on November 26 2001 in Toronto, Ontario; Interview with Melanie Kilburn (pseudonym), conducted on January 21 2002 in Toronto, Ontario.

³⁵⁴ Interview with Sophie Canning (pseudonym), conducted on September 17 2005 on Vancouver Island, British Columbia.

³⁵⁵ Gidney, *From Hope to Harris*, 11; Gaskell, *The Problems and Professionalism*, 60.

³⁵⁶ Interview with June West (pseudonym), conducted on December 7 2001 in Toronto, Ontario.

³⁵⁷ Reynolds, "Hegemony and Hierarchy," 106-107.

³⁵⁸ Ibid.

³⁵⁹ Similar stories were told by Toronto interviewees. See, for example, Interview with Muriel Fraser (pseudonym), conducted on December 1 2001 in Toronto, Ontario; Interview with Karen Phillips; Interview with Elizabeth MacKay (pseudonym), conducted on November 14 2001 in Toronto, Ontario.

³⁶⁰ Interview with Sadie Chow (pseudonym), conducted on September 16 2005 in Vancouver, British Columbia.

³⁶¹ Reynolds, "Hegemony and Hierarchy," 103. See, also, H.E. Smith, "Teacher Training," in *Canadian Education Today: A Symposium*, ed. J. Katz (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1956); Newnham and Nease, *The Professional Teacher in Ontario*, 38-59. They speak to the specific paths to certification for all levels of teachers in Ontario; Johnson, *A History of Public Education in British Columbia*, 209-223. He outlines the certification requirements for British Columbia teachers.

³⁶² Interview with Alma Erickson (pseudonym), conducted on September 15 2005 in Vancouver, British Columbia.

³⁶³ Interview with Beth Merle (pseudonym), conducted on November 23 2001 in Toronto, Ontario.

³⁶⁴ Interview with Grace Logan (pseudonym), conducted on September 19 2005 in Vancouver, British Columbia.

³⁶⁵ Sheila L. Cavanagh argues that the 'official' elimination of the marriage bar in the mid-1940s was not necessarily a 'triumph' for women teachers. They still encountered school officials' imposition of 'traditional' family values. I explore this issue in more detail in chapter four. See Sheila L. Cavanagh, "The Heterosexualization of the Ontario Woman Teacher in the Postwar Period."

³⁶⁶ Sandra Acker, *Gendered Education: sociological reflections on women, teaching and feminism* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1994).

³⁶⁷ Emma Rich, "Gender Positioning in Teacher Education in England: new rhetoric, old realities," *International Studies in Sociology of Education* 11, no.2 (2001): 137; C. Davies, "The Sociology of Professions and the Profession of Gender," *Sociology* 30 (1996):672.

³⁶⁸ TDSBA., *Year Book*, 1954; CVA, Public School Records, *Vancouver Personnel and Research Subject Files*, Loc. 59-A-1, File 18, "Calculations of Married Women on Staff, School Term 1956-1957," 1957.

³⁶⁹ Canadian Education Association, Committee on the Status of the Teaching Profession (Chairman M.E. Lazerte), *Report on the Status of the Teaching Profession* (Toronto: Canadian Education Association, 1949); M.E. LaZerte, *Teacher Education in Canada* (Toronto: W.J. Gage Limited, 1950). His work was cited by teacher federations in both Vancouver and Toronto.

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- ³⁷⁰ LaZerte, *Teacher Education in Canada*, as cited by L. John Prior, "Teaching and Professionalism," *The B.C. Teacher*, November 1959.
- ³⁷¹ Johnson, *A History of Public Education in British Columbia*, 221-222.
- ³⁷² Smith, "Teacher Training," 166.
- ³⁷³ Ontario Archives, "Teacher Training," *Lessons Learned: The Evolution of Education in Ontario*, <http://www.archives.gov.on.ca/english/exhibits/education/teachers.htm>. See, for more information, Department of Education, Teacher Education Branch Records, RG 32-19, 1945-1960.
- ³⁷⁴ G.A. Hickman, "The Preparation of Teachers," *Education: A Collection of Essays on Canadian Education, Volume 2, 1956-1958* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1959), 49-52.
- ³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 49-50.
- ³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 51.
- ³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 50.
- ³⁷⁸ Government of Canada, *Survey of Elementary and Secondary Education*, (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics), 1958-1963, as cited by "Education 1959" *The B.C. Teacher* (May-June 1959), 388.
- ³⁷⁹ Newnham and Nease, *The Professional Teacher in Ontario*, 38-59.
- ³⁸⁰ Interview with Claire Anderson (pseudonym), conducted on May 13 2005 in Vancouver, British Columbia.
- ³⁸¹ Beth probably did not have the opportunity to teach French at the elementary level because it was not a major part of the curriculum. Despite this fact, however, she argues that it was her choice not to teach younger children.
- ³⁸² Interview with Fran Thompson (pseudonym), conducted on November 20 2001 in Toronto, Ontario.
- ³⁸³ Max Braithwaite, "Why Teachers Quit," *Maclean's Magazine*, 1 January 1947.
- ³⁸⁴ F.S. Rivers and R.W.B. Jackson, "Teacher Supply in Canada," *Canadian Education*, Volume VIII (June 1953): 20. See, also, W.G. Fleming, *Estimates of Teacher Supply and Demand in Ontario Secondary Schools for 1957-1972*, Education Research Series, Number 3, The Department of Educational Research, Ontario College of Education (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956).
- ³⁸⁵ "Next Year - B.C. Short of Teachers by 1,700," *Vancouver Sun*, 5 March 1955.
- ³⁸⁶ Rivers and Jackson, "Teacher Supply in Canada," 10.
- ³⁸⁷ Smith, "Teacher Training," 168; French, *High Button Bootstraps*, 142; Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 199.

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- ³⁸⁸ "Amount of B.C. Teachers Not Qualified for Positions," *Vancouver Sun*, 21 February 21, 1947.
- ³⁸⁹ "Many Teachers Take Summer Courses," *The Bulletin*, September 1954, 165. Although they do not provide the breakdown by gender, one can assume that women were the majority since it was mostly women who responded to the shortage. Furthermore, men had a higher rate of university graduation and programs for veterans supported their higher education.
- ³⁹⁰ Smith, "Teacher Training," 168.
- ³⁹¹ Province of Ontario, Department of Education, *Report of the Minister of Education* (Toronto: King's Printer, 1952), as quoted by Gaskell, *The Problems and Professionalism*, 157.
- ³⁹² "B.C. Teachers Not Qualified for Positions," *Vancouver Sun*, 21 February 1947.
- ³⁹³ The employment of women teachers was similar to national trends in which women's participation in paid labour reached over 30 percent, with over half married, which was the highest percentage than any previous peacetime. See, for example, Strong-Boag, "Canada's Wage-Earning Wives," 7.
- ³⁹⁴ TDSBA, *Year Book*, 1954, 12.
- ³⁹⁵ CVA, Public School Records, *Vancouver Personnel and Research Subject Files*, Loc. 59-A-1, File 18, "Calculations of Married Women on Staff, School Term 1956-1957," 1957. These statistics are not exact as many women would not denote themselves as Miss or Mrs and instead used initials. Furthermore, it is believed that many women did not reveal to the board that they were married because it would affect their employment status. Thus, the records are low estimates of the number of women single and married who worked in Toronto and Vancouver at the time. The fact that education officials were specifically recording the numbers of married women teacher speaks to their uneasy inclusion into the profession. For more on the position of married women teacher in British Columbia, see, Stella Shopland, *Status of Married Women Teachers in the Province of British Columbia* (M.A. Thesis: University of Washington, 1957).
- ³⁹⁶ "Married Women Teacher Survey," *The B.C. Teacher*, March 1946, 206. For more information on the informal segregation of men and women in teacher education at the Ontario College Education, see, Reynolds, "Hegemony and Hierarchy," 103-105.
- ³⁹⁷ Johnson, *A History of Public Education in British Columbia*, 219.
- ³⁹⁸ Ibid.
- ³⁹⁹ *Globe and Mail*, 23 January 1959.
- ⁴⁰⁰ "What We Said," *The B.C. Teacher*, September-October 1959, 14.
- ⁴⁰¹ Cavanagh, "The Heterosexualization of the Ontario Woman Teacher," 65-69; Cavanagh, "Female-Teacher Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Ontario, Canada," 113-134.
- ⁴⁰² Staton and Light, *Speak with their own voices*, 143-144; CVA, Public School Records, *Vancouver Personnel and Research Subject Files*, Loc. 59-A-1, File 18, "Report to Personnel Committee,

February 7th 1955, Status of Married Women as Teachers," 1955. Furthermore, in British Columbia women's mandatory retirement age of 60 was revised to equal that of men at age 65.

⁴⁰³ Punham Khosla, Laura King and Linda Read, *The Unrecognized Majority: A History of Women Teachers in British Columbia* (BCTF: Status of Women Committee in British Columbia, 1979).

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., 40.

⁴⁰⁵ Gaskell, *The Problems and Professionalism*, 31-32.

⁴⁰⁶ Khoslad, King and Read, *The Unrecognized Majority*, 40. They show that in 1945 men were paid \$2118 and women were paid \$1361. By 1954-55 the pay for men was \$4136 and for women \$3362.

⁴⁰⁷ Smith, "Teacher Training," 168

⁴⁰⁸ Johnson, *A Brief History of Canadian Education*, 164.

⁴⁰⁹ J.D. Aikenhead, "Research on the Teacher Shortage," *Education: A Collection of Essays on Canadian Education, Volume 2, 1956-1958* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1959), 37-39.

⁴¹⁰ Interview with Marion Hayes (pseudonym), conducted on November 27 2001 in Toronto, Ontario.

⁴¹¹ Aikenhead, "Research on Teacher Shortage," 38. Cecilia Reynolds argues that teaching became an increasingly acceptable job for a man, probably in part due to the increasing credentials of the profession. Men in teaching labour force actually steadily increased after 1921. Reynolds notes, however, that this mostly took place in the rapidly expanding administration level and not as teachers. In 1940, approximately twenty percent of the secondary staff was assigned to manage and by 1980 this number was almost 50 percent. See Reynolds, "Hierarchy and Hegemony," 98-99. I discuss the gender distinction between workers and managers in chapter five.

⁴¹² Aikenhead, "Research on Teacher Shortage," 38.

⁴¹³ See, for example, Interview with Sadie Chow; Interview with Alma Erickson.

⁴¹⁴ Interview with Beverley Hurst (pseudonym), conducted on December 14 2001 in Toronto, Ontario.

⁴¹⁵ Aikenhead, "Research on Teacher Shortage," 37-38.

⁴¹⁶ Braithwaite, "Why Teachers Quit," 10.

⁴¹⁷ Aileen Campbell, "Pay Equality Hurts School," *The Province*, 22 September 1958.

⁴¹⁸ Roberts, "What's Wrong with Our Teachers?," 394.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

⁴²⁰ Mary Labbatt, *Always a Journey: a history of the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario, 1918-1993* (Toronto: Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario, 1993), 46-51.

⁴²¹ "Patrick McGivney Toronto Head Teachers' Federation," *Telegram*, 25 September 1952. Other articles include: Robert Adams, "Teachers Opposing Plan For Uniform Salaries in Metro," *Toronto Daily Star*, 17 January 1959; "Teachers Resent Uniform Pay Plan Boycott Meeting," *Toronto Daily Star*, 29 January 1959.

⁴²² "Board won't pay more pence, marriage's but indulgence," *The Province*, 14 February 1957.

⁴²³ Gaskell, *The Problems and Professionalism*, 36.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*, 37-38.

⁴²⁵ Eileen Gladman, "Problems in Professional Conduct," *The Bulletin*, May 1959, 145. Gladman demonstrates through her authoritative position with the OTF that women were not simply regulated, but themselves part of the regulation of others' professional behaviour.

⁴²⁶ Gaskell, *The Problems and Professionalism*, 32.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*, 38-39.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*, 41-42.

⁴²⁹ "Some Ethical Considerations," *The B.C. Teacher*, February 1955, 199; "Married Women Teachers Urged To Be 'Fair,'" *News Herald*, 26 February 1955.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴³¹ CVA, Public School Records, *Minutes of School Principals' Meetings*, Loc. 74-A-6, "Reports on Teachers, Public Relations and Leaves of Absences," February 12, 1959; CVA, Public School Records, *Minutes of School Principals' Meetings*, Loc. 74-A-6, "Married Women and Extra-Curricular Activities," May 28, 1959; "Hints to Job-Seekers," *The B.C. Teacher*, May-June 1951, 333; "Recruitment and Selection of Teachers," *The B.C. Teacher*, November 1952, 61; "Teachers Told Not To Quit Classrooms for Honeymoons," *Vancouver Sun*, 29 April 1952.

⁴³² "Some Ethical Considerations," *The B.C. Teacher*, February 1955, 199.

⁴³³ "Hints to Job-Seekers," *The B.C. Teacher*, May-June, 1951, 333.

⁴³⁴ Interview with Jessie Russell (pseudonym), conducted on September 16 2005 in Vancouver, British Columbia.

⁴³⁵ Interview with Ellen Stewart (pseudonym), conducted on September 13 2005 in Vancouver, British Columbia.

⁴³⁶ Rich, "Gender Positioning in Teacher Education," 145.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*

Chapter 4

Performing Post-war Citizenship: Moral 'Democracy' and the 'Woman' Teacher⁴³⁸

The 'woman' teacher of post-WWII secondary schools was situated as the moral gatekeeper for 'democratic' citizenship. Feminist theorists argue that within liberal democratic discourse women are collectively celebrated as daughters of the state, guardians of the nation and cultivators of citizenship.⁴³⁹ In theory, women are reproductive, benevolent actors or virtuous beings.⁴⁴⁰ Unlike the explicit conflict between 'democratic' knowledge and women's 'natural' abilities, no such tension arises for their role as cultural benefactors. Instead, as Madeleine Arnot and Jo-Anne Dillabough describe, women are the keepers, cultivators and symbols of democracy.⁴⁴¹ Without claims to rationality, and thus formal political agency for the production of 'democracy,' women serve in effect to uphold democratic citizenship and the state itself. While women are critical to the enterprise, nationalist rhetoric privileges male-based hierarchies and suppresses awareness of gender located on the margins. Valerie Walkerdine and Helen Lucey argue that this discourse, in Foucauldian terms, is a non-coercive, but deeply conservative strategy because "women of all classes have been placed as guardians of an order which is too difficult to escape."⁴⁴² Women teachers in particular, they explain, are given the awesome responsibility of nurturing 'democratic' ideals of citizenship, namely, free-will, equal opportunities, and choice. Their actions are set, however, within educational parameters that constrict their authority in terms of 'correct' and 'incorrect' mothering, and serve to reconstitute the legitimacy of a masculine-version of the 'right citizen.'⁴⁴³ Nira Yuval-Davis clearly summarizes the position of women in 'democratic' nations: "Girls did not need to act; they had to become the national embodiment."⁴⁴⁴ As adult women, teachers had to embody the

national ideal while disavowing the authority, resting on rationality and coercion, properly owed to male citizens.

This was the tightrope women teachers walked in Vancouver and Toronto. In the context of post-war reconstruction, progressive and traditional educators alike mandated objectives for students to gain an appreciation of the values of 'democratic' citizenship and the ability to express those values in gender roles, family patterns, and work habits. Teachers were responsible for implementing new social services and guidance courses to instruct youth about their freedoms and rights as citizens. Attempting to recover from wartime instability and fears of social deviance in the atomic age, social and education officials defined 'rights,' and thus the work of teachers, within a 'normative' structure. This definition of the nation's 'democratic' values as best expressed in the white, Judeo-Christian, middle-class, heterosexual nuclear family. Women teachers were expected to shore up this ideal. As such, women needed to embrace their 'womanliness.' At the same time, they were cautioned against unbridled femininity, with its emotional and sexual wiles, because it might threaten 'masculine' rationality.⁴⁴⁵ Women teachers were liable for 'normative femininity,' while simultaneously accountable for preserving 'masculine' ideals of conduct. The result, Sheila L. Cavanagh argues in her work on women elementary teachers in the first half of twentieth-century Ontario, is that the educational community demanded "women adhere to more rigid standards of social propriety and moral deportment to demonstrate their professional enculturation."⁴⁴⁶ Citing the work of Penina M. Glazer and Miriam Slater, Cavanaugh explains: "Women had to be sensitive to an ever present scrutiny of their performance, personal style and presentation of self."⁴⁴⁷ Women teachers' oral histories demonstrate an embodied, daily, and active negotiation of prevailing definitions of 'feminine' respectability. They regularly spoke of struggling with physical performances to

represent both their gender role and occupational duties in the name of a moral educational 'democracy.'

Judith Butler's theoretical framework of gender as performative is helpful for understanding women teachers' discussions of their physicality in schools as both symbolic and negotiable sites of nationalist rhetoric. Butler argues that gender roles are not signifiers of a core gender identity, but social roles developed within specific historical contexts and learned through the 'stylized repetition of acts': "the gendered body acts its part in culturally restricted corporeal spaces and enacts interpretations within the confines of already existing derivative."⁴⁴⁸ Restrictions within cultural, social and even occupational codes do not, however, mean that women cannot take ownership of their identities. Gender roles are socially-sanctioned creations that are, as Butler states, "put on, invariably, under constraint, daily and incessantly, with anxiety and pleasure."⁴⁴⁹

In recent decades, feminist historians in Canada have explored women's embodied performances of professional and national identities. Notably, Kathryn McPherson applies Butler's framework in *Bedside Matters: The Transformation of Canadian Nursing, 1900-1990*, which explores the relationship between performance and women's social and occupational identities. She argues that nurses learned to play their part "not only in terms of the occupationally specific skills and responsibilities they took on, but also in terms of the behaviour and attitudes they had to exhibit."⁴⁵⁰ Listening to nurses' own articulation of their presentation, McPherson demonstrates that public expression shifted over the century in response to modifications in the definition of femininity and in the political economy and legal and social norms established by nursing leaders, administrators and educators.⁴⁵¹ While she is particularly attentive to linking the social conditions inscribed on the nurses' body, McPherson, like many other Canadian feminist historians, references women's

historical body within the world of medicine, biology and physical health.⁴⁵² That preoccupation does not, however, capture the full picture. As Butler demonstrates, women's historical body is enacted daily in diverse contexts and social locations. Teaching ultimately provides as good an example as nursing. The teaching body is worthy of particular exploration given its instructive value and representation for the nation's future citizens.

This chapter explores women teachers' embodied performances of 'democratic' values within post-WWII Vancouver and Toronto public secondary schools. How did they negotiate a liberal 'democratic' order that romanticized women as 'democratic' sentinels and, thus active participants for the restoration of post-war 'normality,' while also positioning them as passive conductors of pre-determined patriarchal morals? Playing the role of cultural guardian was problematic, especially given that the traits of 'proper' post-war citizenship were not emblematic of the women's lives. Women teachers' narratives illustrate their attempts to embody their prescribed roles while at the same time negotiating space in which to exercise options, performing those citizenship qualities they deemed most effective for their gender and occupational identities. The first section of this chapter outlines the roles assigned to women teachers as the cultivators of students' 'democratic' morality. The following section explores the ways interviewees both embraced and struggled to perform 'normative' values expressive of the 'respectable' woman teacher, notably via heterosexuality and the nuclear family.

EMBODYING 'DEMOCRATIC' VALUES

One post-war slogan, "The character of a people determines the character of its democracy," set the moral terrain for educators.⁴⁵³ Schools were to be in the forefront of establishing the

appropriate intellectual, as well as moral, standards of 'the people.' Secondary schools, as the second chapter detailed, taught democratic values through increased 'progressive' social services, including guidance programs and school psychologists, as well as the more 'traditional' means of social studies courses, which conveyed the legal and historical development of Canadian citizenship. Scholars have typically placed progressive and traditional means at odds with each other, with the former supplying a liberating influence, offering contemporary values so students can freely analyze the world's problems, while the latter seeks acceptance of revered values and customs of the past.⁴⁵⁴ Ralph Tyler, University of Chicago Professor of Education, whose curriculum theory work was often quoted during this period in Canada, called this one of the "eternal" conflicts in education.⁴⁵⁵ For the majority of educators in the post-war context, however, the liberation or conformity conflict had little meaning in the day-to-day world. They employed both progressive and traditional programming for 'character' education. Liberation was the goal for all educators who revered the democratic promise of freedom, security, and opportunity. It would be delivered, however, through conformity to 'normative' values that heralded past customs, but were also deemed by social authorities as critical for contemporary issues and a secure future. Specifically, social studies courses and guidance services focused on Christian ethics to combat the period's supposed rampant materialism and 'god-less' youth popular culture. Similarly, school curriculum and psychologists reaffirmed the white, middle-class, nuclear family as the primary "source of affectional relationships, the basis of a consumer economy, [and] a defense against Communism."⁴⁵⁶ Adherence to these fundamental values, educators asserted, taught students how to protect their freedoms as Canadian citizens.

Such views certainly informed the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario, which saw autonomy and obedience as equally important to modern citizenship since

"intelligence alone had not prevented citizens of other countries from choosing nefarious political systems."⁴⁵⁷ Frank Wilson, a trustee for the Chilliwack, British Columbia, region and a regular contributor to *The B.C. Teacher*, similarly explained that civilized living required reconciling freedom with a necessary adherence to rules: the "free man actively supports and maintains the order and the harmony of the society...the servile man is kept in order. The foundation of a free society, therefore, is a body of citizens who keep order and who positively understand and support the rules and standards which are essential to that order."⁴⁵⁸

For educators across the philosophical and political spectrum, teachers played the central role of ensuring 'liberating' citizenship through lessons in 'conformity.' After all, teachers, second to parents, had the greatest contact with youth in their formative years. An article for *The Bulletin* in 1951, "In Praise of Teachers," vividly described the teachers' responsibility as a patriotic duty. The author described each school, with masculine imagery, as a "miniature nation, where the young citizens are forming habits, acquiring attitudes towards the world they live in and towards their fellow-citizens...The teachers – it is almost too awful a responsibility to put down in black and white – are the statesmen in those miniature nations."⁴⁵⁹

Adherents of both progressive and traditional philosophies agreed teachers' classroom personalities and appearances, more than their style of instruction, formed attitudes and habits. In 1953, Sidney Katz, a traditionalist and writer for *Maclean's*, summed up the demand: "Moral behaviour can't be taught as a subject like reading...the greatest influence for good is what the teacher is and how he acts. "The example of the respected teacher," said Aristotle, "outweighs his formal teaching."⁴⁶⁰ Progressive educator Neville Scarfe likewise remarked "what is best learned in the school is acquired incidentally,

as if by infection, rather than by direct instruction. Children are very imitative and they need, therefore, to have examples of high quality persons in the classroom.”⁴⁶¹ Although the two philosophical camps had some differences, with progressives believing teachers’ indirect influence enabled students to ‘discover’ the moral compass for citizenship and traditionalists arguing that teachers provided a cost-efficient means of inculcating values, they agreed that the ‘qualities’ of the teacher were of the utmost importance for the personal development of students and the national development of citizenship.

Like contemporary definitions of professionalism, the specific qualities needed by teachers tended to be rather vague in outline. Sometimes they seemed no more than the qualities that would enable any citizens to live well in a democracy. *The B.C. Teacher* contained several articles on the personal qualities of ‘respected’ teachers. One was a reprint by Sidney Hook, professor at New York University and author of *Education for Modern Man*, which first appeared in the December 1953 issue of *New York Times Magazine*. Hook maintained that teachers were the unacknowledged legislators of the free world, because the “teacher by his manner and practice serves as a living example to his students.”⁴⁶² He listed teaching’s seven deadly sins: “discourtesy, indifference, courting, popularity, bluffing, superficiality, bullying, and dogmatism.”⁴⁶³ In an address to student-teachers at the Hamilton Teachers’ College in 1954, Ontario educator J.G. Althouse provided his own list of professional qualities, including a sense of humour, authority, affection, firmness and courtesy.⁴⁶⁴ He reminded candidates for the vocation that their ability to affect students’ behaviour and learning “...depends on your own temperament, your own intelligence, your sensitivity and your attitude towards life.”⁴⁶⁵

A closer examination of school officials’ idealized qualities for teachers’ ‘character’ reveals a gendered necessity. The qualifiers used by Althouse, Hook, and many others

frequently invoked a genderless, non-specific figure. While qualifiers, such as indifference and courtesy, could have been legitimately aimed at men and women, most shone an intense spotlight on women's moral bearings.⁴⁶⁶ In one of many articles published by the OSSTF on this issue, Norman McLeod, past President of the federation, insisted that teachers generally had to emulate community standards. He wrote: "Any teacher who feels secure and satisfied in the complete privacy of his own class-room and his own home is living in a strange paradise."⁴⁶⁷ It becomes clear that McLeod is directing his comments to women teachers when he goes on to specify that it is mandatory for a good and happy teacher to have a soft voice, elegant language, "avoid nagging."⁴⁶⁸ *The B.C. Teacher* published moral imperatives. In a 1946 issue, the editors reprinted a report by Toronto principals, which they argued was equally applicable to men and women teachers.⁴⁶⁹ This assertion is highly suspect considering the content of the article and the authors' reliance on the feminine pronoun when referring to teachers. Like McLeod, the authors made explicit references to 'feminine' attributes, such as a pleasant voice, not fussing too much, and a love of children.⁴⁷⁰ The authors referred in detail to housewife-like duties as critical, silent influences on the 'character' of students. In this description, each teacher reproduces, rather than produces, a constructive learning environment "dressing modestly and tastefully; keeping her desk and the window-sills neat; having a few good large pictures, if possible, and having them well placed; and arranging displays of work in an artistic manner."⁴⁷¹ Such BCTF and OSSTF missives made it clear women teachers not only shouldered responsibility for the moral development of their students, but were themselves susceptible to unseemly personal qualities that compromised their ability to do so.

The 'ethical' scrutiny women teachers endured in the course of their federations' public relations campaigns, as touched upon in the previous chapter, is one of the strongest

signs of their obligation to 'character' education. Other community authorities similarly took for granted women's special role in education. Feminist historians have noted that women teachers have long been specific targets for surveillance by the public. North American studies have examined nineteenth-century lady-teachers who, placed on pedestal as moral guardians, Republican mothers, and Protestant missionaries were scrutinized for private and public behaviour that did not fit within the bounds of femininity.⁴⁷² Sandra Gaskell argues that surveillance of women teachers' personal life continued into the post-war era. Women who worked in rural communities, she notes, lacked anonymity and were often subject to ad hoc employment contracts and conditions.⁴⁷³ In a number of cases elementary teachers complained to their federation of termination because male trustees and ratepayers claimed they failed to respect community values.⁴⁷⁴ For post-war, urban, secondary school teachers, on the other hand, psychologists assumed the role of community overseers. Their dictates pushed women teachers to reproduce citizenship's highly gendered discourses.

Psychologists assumed an unprecedented place in post-war secondary schools, regulating among other things the 'character' of students and educators. Psychologists focused on women teachers, assuming that they should carry gendered roles originating in the home into classrooms. They urged women, as they did mothers, to temper their authority over children, warning against 'womanly' tendencies to smother children with their domineering inclinations. In this regard, Mona Gleason points to the University of Saskatchewan's Samuel Laycock, one of the most applauded professors of educational psychology. This influential academic warned women teachers against cultivating reclusive and needy adolescents, and, thus, adults, by extending the tendency to over-mother from the home to the classroom.⁴⁷⁵ Based on a survey of classrooms across Canadian provinces,

Laycock charged the “dithery” and “tense” teacher, “who sees all her Johnnies as individuals whom she can boss or dominate,” with thwarting children’s psychological fulfillment.⁴⁷⁶ In one contribution for *The B.C. Teacher*, he was unambiguous about his gendered perceptions of mental health and stability. Poor mental health in teachers revealed itself with “emotional problems,” “malicious gossip,” “over-sensitive” personalities and “nagging.”⁴⁷⁷ To overcome these problems, Laycock encouraged teachers to consult the burgeoning field of educational psychology. While he associated women teachers with moral stability for students and the nation, Laycock identified male authorities as the determinants of female capacity. Such psychologists affirmed that women’s ‘embodied selves’ were sites for the differentiation and medicalization of what was ‘normal’ or ‘abnormal,’ ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ gender behaviour in classrooms as elsewhere.⁴⁷⁸

Laycock’s assertions on the national scene permeated administrative and academic discourses in both British Columbia and Ontario. An influential psychologist, Dr. C.G. Stogdill, who worked with the Toronto Board, affirmed Laycock’s statements about the Canadian home in a 1952 *Telegram* article: “...watch for over-solicitous mother... parents should avoid any hard-and-fast set of rule in bringing up their children.”⁴⁷⁹ In Toronto, Althouse’s address to inspectors and student teachers advised them to search for the “danger of over-teaching,” which he characterized as teachers who “talk too much.”⁴⁸⁰ Vancouver school board officials responded directly, claiming that ‘talking too much’ was a problem for their new teachers (who were primarily women) and was being addressed.⁴⁸¹ A contributor to *The B.C. Teacher* noted that psychologists’ allegations against women were circulating across North America. She wrote: “Some recent studies have found teachers as a group, more neurotic than other groups of women.”⁴⁸² While the author disagreed, she cited social authorities who “think we tend to be an emotionally immature group.”⁴⁸³ Psychologists

provided scientific justification for educational authorities as they sought preferred behaviours from their female staff.

Evidence from the women interviewed suggests that they were self-conscious of their unique position as role-models for 'democratic' citizenship in Canadian secondary schools. Explicit acknowledgement informed many Vancouver narratives. Unlike Toronto counterparts in the collegiate institutes, who seemed to make scholarship more central to their oral histories – a mark of the women, as a group, having different training, levels of certification and subject specialties – the Pacific Rim professionals were more likely to focus on moral duties. This difference could also be attributed to the different times in which the interviews were conducted. Although I asked each group very similar questions, my research agenda was more focused on issues of democracy by the time I conducted the Vancouver interviews. When asked about the values of this period, Catherine Darby explained that her Vancouver secondary school job involved training students in the best values. Asserting her perspective as a detached, objective professional, she rejected the idea that such training was a form of mothering but had to admit "teachers were role models for them [students]." Grace Logan described doing the best she could "to be a role model" for students, creating an atmosphere "conducive to learning [with] good manners to decent speech." She later concluded that the school and her discipline "was sort of forming of good character."

Persistence of the 'respectable character' theme communicated the extent to which all the women understood themselves to be principally positioned as symbolic of moral citizenship. A few interviewees openly recognized that educational authorities considered women, more so than men, to be the primary care-givers when it came to infusing 'proper' citizenship. Donna Weber recounted community "expectations of teachers' behaviour,

especially women.” As she pointed out, “teachers were the ones we learned things from...[thus we] couldn’t raise a raucous, we couldn’t be rude, we couldn’t be impolite.” In her mind, the explanation was clear since “women were always considered to be natural teachers...there were certain things men did well and certain things women did well.” Interviewees also expanded upon reflections of men ‘cheating,’ referring to some men as ‘immature’ or engaging in ‘immoral’ practices; women were regularly thereby positioned as the ethical practitioners. Ellen Stewart recounted numerous incidents that captured this perspective. In one story, a male colleague complained to students that she was far too strict. In her subsequent rebuttal, Ellen asserted that she was a ‘fair’ disciplinarian whose students, unlike those of her fellow teacher, learned “formal organization,” “boundaries,” and “a security in which they can act.” Her indictment of her colleague was a particularly strong accusation given the much publicized ‘code of ethics’ that included warnings against talking about other teachers, championed by both federations.⁴⁸⁴ The regularity with which women were accused of ethical violations and ‘gossiping’ suggests that the code targeted women - the sex perceived as less rational.⁴⁸⁵ In this case, Ellen provides an example of resistance with her acerbic comments regarding her colleague, affirming the moral shortcoming for which her sex was much more likely to be held culpable.

While some interviewees referred to specific moral lessons they taught, they, like school officials of the era, believed that women’s less directive role-modeling had greatest effect. Ellen Stewart and Sadie Chow were among the few women who told extensive stories about specific instruction in morality. As a coach, Ellen emphasized orchestrating games so that her students would learn sportsmanship above all else. The rules of the game helped produce “beautifully, socially well trained young ladies, and they loved to play.” Sadie Chow argued that her instruction went beyond making a dress in home economics; her

pupils were encouraged to dress for economic productivity. She recounted tales of her grade twelve classes: "the kids would bring something we would wear on a first job interview and we would critique one another and see you know, the effectiveness of it...this allows you to get into the world." Sadie, as with the other women, believed the 'values' of their subjects were critical for students' citizenship. Even these narratives of direct instruction, however, convey the centrality of *representing* or mimicking democratic citizenship through gendered embodiment rather than *producing* 'democratic' citizenship. Sadie was especially representative of this perspective, in part, due to her subject specialty. This home economist stated quite matter-of-factly that "appearance is your first key to your whole personality." She described an elaborate dressing scheme each week that would make her the 'epitome' of students' aspirations: "every week I wore a different colour and the object of the game was to teach kids how to colour co-ordinate and to accessorize." As the only racialized teacher in the group interviewed, such observations may also reflect her own sense of the need to camouflage one's inner self in the face of potential critics and her own hard-won self-consciousness of being successful in a mainstream occupation by literally clothing oneself in success and respectability.

Toronto women also spoke to their function as moral benefactors. While not as direct as Vancouverites, they regularly engaged in metaphorical discussions of 'the school as a show.' They continuously articulated their teaching lives as the performance of a myriad of 'expected' appearances. Beverley Hurst of Toronto described teaching as being "in our own show pretty well." Phoebe McKenzie recalled advice from other teachers not to "get emotionally involved, just put on a show." She responded: "So I put on a big show." Women in the study portrayed themselves as well-trained actresses, stepping on stage in front of classrooms and quickly becoming appropriate in language, dress, and personality.

Few women identified the educational structures that insisted on such performances. Specifically, few spoke of the imposing presence of their federation or psychologists during their careers. This may be because they remembered warnings against 'airing their dirty laundry' in public with the code of ethics or because they regarded themselves as free agents, whatever the moralizing of would-be experts. In any case, at least in their days of retirement, women teachers had their revenge on male experts who had sought to constitute themselves as pedagogical authorities. Their comments reflect the very tensions officials exploited either in condemnation or praise, namely, that women teachers were upheld publicly as moral guardians and then expected to surrender their ability to make judgments of students to male scientists external to the education system.⁴⁸⁶ Karen Phillips recalled opposing as superfluous many of the prescribed rules of the guidance department. She remembered: "All my career, if some of these rules were not very smart you opposed them. It took me ages to turn in the reports they demanded on attendance. I couldn't see the purpose of the information that took so much time so I didn't do it." Other women indicated that they ignored circulated warnings against 'over-mothering.' Claiming to be strict disciplinarians, they denied the relevance of such admonitions. Phoebe McKenzie of Toronto even admitted, with some considerable apprehension, that she "had the misfortune of slapping the face of a girl whose parents were both Ph.D.s in Psychology." She recalled the girl as previously very insolent and subsequently her "devoted servant." When Sophie Canning taught in Vancouver she enforced physical punishment. After witnessing a boy step on a girl's foot, she remembered: "I went right over to him and I stepped damn hard on his foot...I could see my name in headlines, teacher breaks child's foot." She emphasized that she "had no time for psychology." While psychologists, federation officials and even political officials may have been major social forces in the public profiling of women

teachers, most interviewees asserted that such external voices had little to do with the day-to-day realities of classrooms. They engaged with these authorities in so far as the women demonstrate their contrary preoccupations with their work as teachers.

Women in both Ontario and British Columbia did cite teacher training as a source of influence. Melanie Kilburn stated that she learned the expectations of “looking and acting like a teacher” during her time at OCE in 1951 to 1952: “...you had white running shoes...your posture had to be just right and your uniform had to be just so. Most of the people in Phys.Ed ended up looking like Phys.Ed teachers...We needed that to get into the schools.”⁴⁸⁷ Donna Weber, another physical education teacher, identified a UBC professor who told her two weeks before graduation that she was not going to succeed as a physical education teacher. The reasons, Donna explained, were “because I had poor posture, I smoked and my running shoes weren’t clean.” Proper posture and abstinence from smoking had long been associated with proper feminine and indeed maternal behaviour and health. Mary Louise Adams notes that the high school curriculum in the post-war period for girls’ physical education included calisthenics for the improvement of posture and gracefulness for much the same reasons. Similarly, a clean and crisp uniform, which the interviewees regularly identified as important, symbolized science-like hygiene and military-style order, both offering potential salvation for delinquent youth. Such purity and order invoked themes that infused ‘democratic’ values of the age.⁴⁸⁸ Melanie and Donna’s memories of learning orderliness and ‘reproductive health’ from their teacher training years were understandable. Teacher-training manuals of the period such as *Teaching in the Modern Secondary School* (1952) advised readers that service to the community depended on a positive answer to the following questions: “Am I neat and clean in personal appearance? Do I insist upon my right to live a normal life in the community, yet recognize those social behaviours that are

unacceptable to the community? Do I keep myself physically clean and attractive?”⁴⁸⁹ Early in their careers teachers learned that performance of citizenship duties as reputable teachers required that their exterior image reflect hegemonic societal ideals.

This lesson carried on into the workplace. For the most part, the women commented that the schools in which they worked, specifically interactions with administrators, ingrained the importance of women's physical presence in the classroom. With respect to administrators on the west coast, Grace Logan commented that she had a school board inspector speak to her after one class and “he had just one complaint, that my voice was too loud.” She said “I wasn't aware it was loud, I tried to lower the tone of my voice.”

Similarly, in Ontario, Karen Phillips recalled an incident in which an inspector “told the French teacher that she hadn't powdered her nose, her nose was shiny. She should pay more attention to her appearance.” Although Karen did not imply this incident taught her to powder her nose before teaching, the memory clearly lingered because it summed up school boards' efforts to discipline their female staff, a discipline that men might well escape.

While Beth Merle's narrative also involved an administrator, in this case the principal, she also suggested her own role in shaping the presentation of her female apprentices. She recalled setting some of the boundaries of dress for younger, student teachers in the later part of the post-war period. When a neophyte wore a short skirt, the principal reacted by asking: “Are you going to speak to that young woman, or am I?” Beth took up the task. She voiced her general agreement by suggesting further that it was important not to wear dresses with busy patterns. Students were readily distracted. Beth also emphasized that she shared with younger women a desire to be an attractive presence in the classroom. She proudly commented on wearing a navy dress with red inverted pleats that she “heard a lot about.” Such recollections reveal that merely stepping into the

classroom did not make the teacher. Experience had, after all, taught Beth the nature of appropriate and attractive garb. Those in training had yet to learn that lesson. Phoebe McKenzie also noted the appearance of her student teachers. She asserted, however, that their look, which was different from hers, was positive because it caught the students' attention: "You know it is very refreshing every week or two to have somebody young and attractive to come in to teach [laughter]." Unlike Beth, Phoebe found the new styles of dress in the 1950s to be liberating. Like Beth and Phoebe's recollections, many women's stories addressed 'other' women's ability to present as teachers. A positive sense of self sometimes appeared to revolve around the negative images of other women. Failures could not negotiate teaching's stage; the successes could. In such distinctions, the women interviewed signaled their understanding and their commitment to ideals that identified them as respectable female members of their profession.

THE VIRTUES OF 'DEMOCRATIC' APPEARANCES

Women teachers, encouraged throughout the education community to emulate 'proper' citizenship, had to negotiate 'respectable' feminine appearances that wedded them to patriarchal values. Respectability was largely synonymous with restoring those lifestyle 'norms' shook by the war. The paramount image teachers were expected to convey was that of a happy participant in the idealized nuclear family model. Interviews illustrate that women understood the imperative of this model. When asked about their regular workday routines, many began by referring to dress. Detailed in their descriptions, they were most adamant about their distinct personas in the mixed-sex environment of the secondary school. Beth Merle of Toronto forcefully explained that she always wore: "...a skirt or blouse.

Certainly not pants. You didn't wear pants then." Vancouverite Abigail Sears was equally clear: "No pants!" She claimed to have been the first woman in her secondary school to wear pants in the mid-1960s, an act which sparked a whispering campaign against her. Melanie Kilburn explained her early experience in a Toronto collegiate institute taught her the importance of shifting from gym tunic to classroom skirt: "I had a wrap around skirt and as I whizzed down the hall, I would be wrapping it around....so that it would cover the bare legs." Melanie strove to hide any hint of the unladylike glimpse of bare legs and shorts after she left the gym. These interviewees were ensuring that as a working woman they were not perceived as taking on masculine appearances or positions.

Such memories convey public trepidation surrounding the ever increasing number of women in the male-dominated public sphere, and in this case, the male-dominated secondary school. In her research on women's WWII work in the military, Ruth Roach Pierson argues that public fear over the destruction of 'femininity' rose as women joined the 'masculine' world.⁴⁹⁰ Such fears were exacerbated in the post-war period as women's employment rose again. When 'abandoning' the family home under any pretext, women faced scrutiny, at times accused of working for material luxuries or taking the rightful positions of men, both viewed as fundamentally immoral. Kathryn McPherson, in her work on nursing, asserts that a visual advocacy of heterosexual values was especially critical for women undertaking professional lives during this time. She demonstrates that health-care administrators, who believed a more youthful and less constrictive feminine figure would increase the attractiveness of nursing and deter entry into other growing employment options, encouraged an exaggerated feminine figure.⁴⁹¹ Administrators invoked the hetero-social youth culture of the age by persuading women to attend residence dances, wear a more tailored uniform, and to use a smoking area in hospitals.⁴⁹² This created a more 'normative' connection between

heterosexuality and nursing than in the past. The gender hierarchy was also clear in nurses' prescribed 'uniform' that signified their 'official' subservience to the male doctors.

Although teachers would not wear a uniform, school officials did provide edicts for women's dress that signified heterosexuality or status as marriageable material. This is evident in the regular controversies that emerged in British Columbia newspapers regarding female attire. For example, a principal reportedly suspended three girls for wearing slacks, with Stan Evans, the assistant secretary of the BCTF, affirming the legal right of schools to ensure that "skirts really make ladies."⁴⁹³ At the same time, women were encouraged not to take femininity too far and controversy surrounded the new modern woman's look of tight sweaters, which were 'disturbing for male students trying to focus on their work' and sheer nylon blouses. The latter were actually banned for female employees.⁴⁹⁴ Women could protect their position in the workplace by exhibiting proper 'feminine' appearances that included the assertion of gender differences. Clear distinctions solidified the differential levels of authority between women and men teachers. The dress and deportment of women also served to reproduce the nuclear family, with men as the legitimate breadwinner, in the school – a central 'character' lesson in the educational agenda of post-war 'democratic' citizenship.

Sheila L. Cavanagh argues that the nuclear family model was as much about compulsory heterosexuality as fears of growing lesbianism. Permission for married women to teach provided an opportunity to condemn homosexuality.⁴⁹⁵ Teaching afforded white, middle-class, educated women a socially acceptable means to be removed from 'traditional' family structures. With a shift in tolerance for married women, who became a necessary part of the system, came a heightened intolerance of independent women living outside marital relationships. Where once such women had been the admired backbone of Canadian

education, they were increasingly suspect, dismissed as inadequate spinsters. Although married women still faced accusations of unprofessional behaviour, Cavanagh asserts that single women were chastised for not being of 'marrying-mind.' Women's greater access to higher education and paid labour provided new opportunities to opt-out of heterosexual relationships, leading to anxiety that female relationships would be a replacement. Single women teachers, who "refused to organize their private lives and sexuality around a man," were treading on dangerous ground, potentially understood as "emotionally maladjusted, sexually inverted, celibate and/or queer."⁴⁹⁶ Madiha Didi Kayatt, in her work on lesbian teachers, supports this point by exploring the ways sexologists and psychologists of the period imposed a medicalized model of sexuality that connected the lack of a stable nuclear family background with spinsterhood, mental illness, and subsequently lesbianism.⁴⁹⁷ Fears and accusations of instability were particularly pronounced for young, fertile women who chose independence. As during the industrial revolution, these independent spirits were finding careers in expanding city centres that offered less supervision and more leisure.⁴⁹⁸ Many single teachers of this period, and particularly of this study, fit that mold. They were not the 'old spinster,' but, rather, the young, fertile, urban, single woman.

Cavanagh suggests that post-war discussion of the 'unmarried teacher' assumed a eugenics cast. She quotes an excerpt from an article entitled "Better Teachers, Biologically Speaking" published in *Education Digest*, a popular education magazine: "...the married are, on the whole, biologically superior to the unmarried (...longevity, keeping out of jail, and freedom from mental disease) so are the fertile superior to the sterile. It is desirable not merely that teachers should marry, but also that they should have children."⁴⁹⁹ When young, eligible, white women refused to marry, they appeared to challenge their obligations as

future mothers and reproducers of 'democratic' citizenship.⁵⁰⁰ As professionals, they also failed to communicate the nature of proper citizenship.

Ontario and British Columbia school officials, more subtly than their counterparts in *Education Digest*, glorified the marriageable woman in their schools. For example, at the beginning of the 1952 school year, C.C. Goldring, Director of the Toronto Board of Education, seemed positive, even proud, of the shortage of women teachers due to high marriage rates. He reported to the *Globe and Mail*: "men like the motherly qualities of the kindergarten teacher, the rim lines of the physical education teachers, and the home economics teachers' skill with the skillet."⁵⁰¹ Similarly, Vancouver newspapers regularly put sexually attractive women teachers on display. One such picture, "Pretty, New Teachers," was accompanied by the caption claiming that these teachers were "enough to send dad to school with junior."⁵⁰²

Educational authorities simultaneously alluded to fears of independent women when discussing the image of female teachers inside school walls. Cartoons in the papers used the 'spinster' teacher image to police teachers and celebrate in contrast young, attractive, marrying women. The threat of the spinster teacher loomed large and was characterized by spindly bodies covered by oversized skirts and jackets, glasses hanging from sharp noses and hair tight in a bun; all in all far from the attractive vessel for reproduction. One cartoon that advertised Education Week, an annual national campaign across Canada that encouraged the community to come and learn more about schools, depicted a spinster teacher surrounded by dead plants, bored children, and, falling pictures of apples (in other situations a recognizable sign of students' affections for their teacher).⁵⁰³ School officials viewed the spinster teacher, with her seeming rejection or inability to fulfill the role of wife or mother, as an unacceptable ambassador to the public. This view could very well have been a public

relations exercise to swell the ranks of women teachers. In 1955 the report of the West Coast conference of the Canadian Education Association, noted in the context of its efforts to enhance public understanding and support for education, that "It was hoped that some mass medium process could be devised to parallel 'Medic' for the medical profession, and 'Dragnet' and 'Mr. D.A.' for the police departments. At present, all we have is 'Our Miss Brooks,' which is worse than useless."⁵⁰⁴ Our Miss Brooks may have been 'useless,' albeit a successful radio and television personality in the late 1940s and 50s, because she was yet another spinster woman teacher. Even her obvious attractiveness could not counterbalance her sharp wit, tough talk, and failure to win Mr. Boynton, the school's biology teacher. We can only speculate whether the CEA would have referred to Miss Brooks as a meaningless media darling when she finally married Mr. Boynton and lived happily, we suppose, after the show was cancelled in 1956.

Women teachers were awkwardly positioned between the virtuous, loving mother, whose rightful place was in the private sphere, and the deviant, single spinster teacher, who rejected her 'natural' purpose and the single, sexy 'it' girl! An article in *The B.C. Teacher* acknowledged the contradictions. The author encouraged readers to see women teachers as more 'normal people.' Instead, "the public lamented because we dressed dowdily, until it was presently discovered that we spent too much on our clothes. About the same time we were found to be using too much lipstick, although it was admitted that some of us would be easier on the eye if we used it."⁵⁰⁵ The women's oral histories were shaped by both images, although for most, neither seemed a fit, as they were conscious of the dilemmas of each. This conundrum is evident in both the narratives of single and married women in the study.

Fran Thompson's memories of her teaching days as a single woman are representative of many of the women's narratives. She struggled to identify herself as a

'respectable' woman and a proper 'teacher' within available discourses. When she began teaching in a Toronto school, Fran asserted, she did not want to emulate the social character of her mentors. She stated: "I had a rather prejudiced opinion myself. I bought the stereotype that these unmarried women would be old spinsters...a kind of spunky spinster... she dressed in long black skirts, thick stocking and funny looking coats." Fran depicted the spinster as the typical older teacher who was alone, rough and oddly-dressed. She characterized her own appearance when she began teaching in the 1950s as having been "well-dressed...always a skirt or something like that." This vague description did not fully separate her from the spinster teacher. Fran additionally distinguished herself from her predecessors by referring to "with the times" topics she discussed with her students. She specifically referred to debates over sex education: "conservative people saying, 'You mean unmarried teachers could stand up and talk about birth control and in a school.' I was laughing because I knew that was already going on. They didn't know it was going on." Through her narrative, Fran represented her self as "with it" and "with the age" in her well-dressed appearance and 'liberated' message of womanhood and sexuality to her students. She was nevertheless also cautious. Due to condemnation by critics of the 'new' woman of the postwar era, Fran did not outwardly adapt her appearance with a corset cinched waistline, tight sweater and perky breasts.⁵⁰⁶ Furthermore, the 'new' woman's look, which included fashions of big crinolines, hats, and high heels, was frequently impractical in the school setting. In the end, Fran found solace by performing the appearance of traditional and respectable femininity in the course of acting out alternative visions of womanhood to her students.

Phoebe McKenzie, married with children during her teaching days in Toronto, similarly asserted her need to negotiate complicated terrain. Like other wives, she never

specifically invoked the image of the spinster. Instead, Phoebe cheerfully mentioned her daughter's joke that she was "one of the first modern women." She defined 'modern' as her groundbreaking ability to be married, raise children, and have a career. Without further questioning on the subject, Phoebe felt the need to add: "...but I had a very good reputation as a teacher before I got married...we were very moral." Her comments illustrate the fears that surrounded the 'modern' woman, especially post-war experts' accusations of women's sexual wiles. Physical education teacher Jessie Russell of Vancouver, who was also married, referred to skepticism of her 'proper' motherly qualities and basic 'femininity' due to her subject area. She alluded to societal misgivings about potential associations with a masculine muscular physique and stereotypical 'butch' lesbian exterior. She remembered a university professor bringing students to watch her teach a physical education class for the explicit reason that: "you keep looking feminine, you're not a jock, you dress nicely and you, you know you're careful about your appearance and you do a good job at the lesson." Jessie conveyed her own comfort by highlighting her ability to be an 'effective' teacher while simultaneously exhibiting her 'womanliness.' She went on to describe her work in the gym as having a profound influence on the presentation of her students' sense of self. Jessie explained that she "just wanted to look like a nice PE teacher, I didn't want to look sloppy...like my hair was always in a pony tail...I met one [student] at a reunion and she said every morning she would try and do her hair the way I had it." She, like most of the women interviewed, made concerted efforts to steer through the pitfalls for women's embodiment of post-war 'norms.'

Sophie Canning, a square dancer and caller in her off-time, also claimed ability to perform or dress the part demanded by the times. As a lesbian, however, she depicted her dress less in terms of expressing a non-spinster or new 'woman' identity, than covering-up

her 'demonized' female sexuality. When discussing the issue of 'character' lessons for her students, she commented that she never felt comfortable addressing issues like sex with her students because she had always lived her 'life in the closet.' For Sophie, this was not simply work-place imagery. Her parents brought her up "so nobody, not my mother or father, was ever seen with their clothes off and that had an effect on me." Her own teaching attire provided a protective second-skin. Unlike the other women interviewed, she insisted that she only wore pants, never a tunic: "long blue pants, fairly tight, and one time I had to do something and I was dressed up and this person came up [to me and said], "My god your legs aren't blue!" Sophie concluded: "see I had a dress problem." Unlike the other women interviewed, her "problem," as she defined it, was not the result of admonishment from school officials or even inability to convey the appearance of 'respectable' femininity. Rather, Sophie recognized the need to play a part, not revealing herself too much, at the same time as she rejected the binary of the post-war model for femininity. For example, when asked why officials took issue with women wearing pants, as she did, Sophie reacted with surprise at that news. She took a moment to recount a story in which it was liberating to ignore the rules. Sophie recalled teaching a dance program to a mixed class of boys and girls: "God it was fun and I started them out exactly – get with whoever you want...and they can dance with whoever they want and they were so at ease that they [the boys] didn't have to pick a girl you know and then away we went." Sophie was refusing to impose the same hetero-social programming for her students that she felt urged to portray.

Sophie was perhaps most explicit concerning her resistance to post-war edicts when she followed questions about dress with her own inquiry: "Are you Christian?" She proceeded to explain that she had renounced organized religion in her life due to the hypocrisy. Sophie was referring to the historical pathology of homosexuality through the

imposition of Judeo-Christian morality.⁵⁰⁷ Christian ethics, as Mary Louise Adams argues, underpinned the ideals of middle-class domestic appearances during the post-war period.⁵⁰⁸ Ewart H. Morgan, Winnipeg principal and Assistant Superintendent, suggested the increasing role of the school in church duties with his contribution to a national symposium on Canadian education in the late 1950s. He argued that the secondary school “finds that life is unitary, that the cultivation of the intellect cannot be separated from the cultivation of the spirit, and that mind and body and spirit must be ‘educated’ together.”⁵⁰⁹ It was not any spiritual belief that was proffered by educators. Instead, the post-war secondary curriculum took for granted that the Western world’s healthy democracy depended on Anglo-Saxon political traditions and Christian heritage. The belief that: “all men are brothers and the children of God, the belief that there is a spark of the divine in every man...these are beliefs which distinguish our Western world from all previous civilizations and which give to it its characteristics virtues.”⁵¹⁰ The duty of the education system was to ensure that teachers “have truly grasped and taken possession of the spiritual heritage of our civilization.”⁵¹¹ Karen Phillips remembered the school board members’ first question when going for her job interview: “what church do you belong to?” Like earlier generations of women teachers, she and others here understood themselves as one contemporary expression of the traditional ‘angel in the schoolhouse.’

The necessary adherence to the doctrines of Christianity for the teachers as the cultural benefactors of the nation may have been, in part, the reason Sophie at once abandoned ties to religion and admitted that prior to teaching she wanted to be a minister. Other women teachers reflected on lessons in Christianity provided in the context of social studies and bible reading courses and in opening exercises. Such lessons were considered the basis for ‘democratic’ values and a protection against both the seeming godlessness of

the country's Communist enemies and their potential influence on impressionable youth. In the east, Phoebe McKenzie stated: "I insisted on excellent manners...we had opening exercises. First thing was God Save the Queen on the P.A. Some wouldn't stand up so I insisted they stay out in the hall. I probably shouldn't have done that. If I were reading the 8th Psalm I would point something out. I would probably get fired for doing that today." While Phoebe did not explain further, we could reasonably assume that her non-Christian students were resisting the imposition of these religious teachings; an action that she would not tolerate. On the west coast, Grace Logan recounted using biblical readings to specifically teach her female students the etiquette that was expected of them in the community. After recounting a story in which she was embarrassed for not knowing proper dining etiquette, Grace said: "I used to read then the little bit from the Bible about a woman...what the values there are to be expected in a woman, because I thought many of them you know were now going to be out into the wider world than their school...of course we used to read the Bible to them in the morning."⁵¹² In her mind, proper maturity rested in Christian ethics. Most of the women wanted to ensure students were aware of such ethical implications for their lives, as the teachers were for themselves.

Many of the women described teaching not simply as a job, but as a vocation or a higher calling as pillars in their community. Alma Erickson, typical of those interviewed, explained her choice of profession as fate. She forced her two and a half year old brother to participate in home school lessons as she played 'teacher' before her own school years. Jessie Russell called herself a "born teacher," obviously still a badge of honour as her refrigerator magnet read "Teachers are born not made." For many, their work to ensure effective citizenship transcended the boundaries of the school walls. June West tied citizenship training to her own sense of community obligation. Her philosophy for teaching

was that students would become "very community minded" in life if they "knew I cared about them and the community." For her part, June noted that she contributed to Red Cross projects and chose to teach with the National Defense overseas. Melanie Kilburn put the challenge more metaphorically: "The school was the community and vice versa." When discussing her volunteer work outside of the school, as well as her leadership of extra-curricular activities in the school, Melanie explained: "I'm sure that was just the CGIT training [Canadian Girls in Training]...you just did something if it was needed." Phoebe McKenzie remembered working for many charitable causes through her affiliation with a women's missionary society during her teaching years. For such enthusiasts, their role in the community was intimately connected to their religious commitment to service to others.

Such service had a history predating professional associations' desires that their members actively demonstrate their value to the wider public. They invoked older, turn of the twentieth-century notions of 'municipal housekeeping.'⁵¹³ In an effort for social betterment and the institutionalization of public welfare, middle-class, primarily white Christian reformers, many of whom were women teachers, based their demands to the government on the ideal of caring for the community as they did the home.⁵¹⁴ The post-war re-emphasis on the family and welfare allowed female teachers to reclaim a central role in the functioning of the state. Most interviewees were clear that religious observance and service to the community were directly related to loyalty to the country. As Christian women, they also supplied 'respectable' role models and instructors for the country's future citizens.

The women specifically expressed a desire to 'uplift' those students they perceived to be economically, racially and socially disadvantaged. Most interviewees who professed a workable gendered identity for themselves as women teachers, which accounted for all but a

few of the women, directly connected this to their social status. In addition to Christianity and heterosexuality, women teachers' whiteness and middle-class backgrounds were implicit in their affirmation of normative citizenship. Unlike their regular acknowledgement of femininity's fraught character, few women directly or indirectly referred to their own class or race. Their silence reflected the dominant demographics of the teaching profession, which was comprised of the Anglo-Saxon, middle-class exemplars of citizenship.⁵¹⁵ It also speaks to 'taken for granted' prestige and dominance.

Franca Iacovetta argues that while Canada's exclusionary immigration and refugee policies visibly defined 'desirable' citizens by race and class, efforts to remake those immigrants who were eventually 'welcomed' into the land of opportunity have been often overlooked.⁵¹⁶ Women immigrants were encouraged by social workers and health 'experts' to abandon traditional home-making traditions and adopt seemingly more healthy and moral 'Canadian' ways of shopping, cooking and child-rearing. Iacovetta argues that campaigns to 'Canadianize' working-class, immigrant women's domestic lives were a strategy in 'domestic containment.' She defines domestic containment as "state-sanctioned and volunteer efforts within Western countries to police not only the political but also the social, personal, moral and sexual lives of its citizens – a process, which, ironically, involved the repression in liberal Western democracies of individual rights and freedoms in the name of demographic rights and freedoms."⁵¹⁷ In Canada's case, the dominance of the Anglo-Celtic nuclear family stabilized increasingly pluralist, 'democratic' values.⁵¹⁸ Iacovetta notes that night classes and cooking courses provided by the Toronto Board of Education were a large part of attempts to 'morally uplift' newcomer mothers. As the second chapter outlined, these same efforts were also a large part of the Vancouver Board's diversified programming. While those interviewed did not directly address such specific campaigns, or their

participation in them, they were matter-of-fact about the relationship between their 'domestic' appearance, embodied through their whiteness and middle to upper-class status, and their power to guide poor and racialized minority students.

One of Karen Phillips' recollections of a woman colleague in the 1950s communicates such assumptions: "There was one other woman for a while in the English department. She came from a wealthy family and used to dress up in all her finery, evening dress with jewelry, for the class, so that these poor working class children would know what it was like to see something like that." While her example clearly exceeded the limits of the ordinary with its picture of flamboyant entitlement, it nevertheless embodied relations of power that were for the most part demonstrated less eccentrically.

For many Vancouver interviewees issues of racial diversity in their schools, rather than dominant class issues for the Toronto women, marked their 'inspiring' performances. Alma Erickson described the pressure of 'keeping up' with the expensive dress of her middle-class female students, who came to school "in their cashmere sweaters, one hundred and some dollars." "Looking neat and smart," however, was more important. As Alma explained with some hesitation, the kids who came down from "south Van, from the Indian reserve and those people down there didn't have that much money and some of them would come to school in running shoes, girls would come, um, poorly dressed." The women's narratives often took on the commonplace ethnocentrism that drew on some national rhetoric of the period. Catharine Darby spoke of "a lot of Chinese, real scholars among them [and] a lot of immigrants coming in, there were quite a few Italian people – it was post-war...they wanted to do better for their children when they came to Canada." Her part, as she described next, was to show students from these families techniques in home economics that were "as useful as possible, so it meant that we didn't do ethnic stuff, it would have been too

narrow...the clothing we made was Western.” Catharine took for granted the duty to transform such ‘new’ Canadians into proper citizens. Others interviewed deemed such work as ‘civilizing’ or teaching etiquette to students who were ‘savages.’ Catharine’s narrative, as with most claiming racial and class privilege, suggests that while some women struggled with ‘normative’ values, many accepted conventional notions of dominant femininity.

That the struggle or ease by which women performed dominant citizenship was based on their social locations is particularly apparent when comparing Toronto’s Phoebe McKenzie, an Anglo-Saxon woman, born to a prosperous family, and Vancouver’s Sadie Chow, a Chinese woman whose family was working-class. Phoebe juxtaposed her ability to be both moral and a ‘modern’ working, married woman with the image of her immigrant cleaning lady and nanny. Although it is unclear whether these women were racial minorities, or the British-born who dominated domestic service in these years, Phoebe distinguished herself ethnically from them.⁵¹⁹ Phoebe referred to her Anglo-Saxon upbringing when describing her standards of cleanliness; her hired help were another matter. She described her first nanny as “absolutely useless. She was wonderful with the two little ones but she wouldn’t even clear the breakfast table.” At the same time, Phoebe noted her own unsuitable ‘character’ for service-oriented work. Phoebe solidified her claims to modernity by communicating the economic status that permitted her to work outside the home and hire domestic replacements for much home labour. She stated that she did not make the same mistake as “women today who work and do not have adequate help at home. Help is expensive today, I know. I had full time help as well as a cleaning lady twice a week.” In her narrative, Phoebe’s status as a teacher and woman was separate from that of the ‘cheap’ labour she hired. Phoebe’s help not only assisted her with raising the children

and cleaning the home, but served as iconic figures that cemented her status as a 'modern' woman teacher.

In contrast, Sadie, a home economics teacher, identified herself as struggling to look Caucasian in order to garner respect from students and the school community as a 'modern' and moral woman. She described early attempts to 'white' her life in cooking and dress as a necessity for her teaching and offered one extensive story in illustration: "I was teaching a lesson on less tender cuts of meat...all of a sudden I heard a chair snap and this girl stood up...she said "I'm not gonna take anything from a God damn Chinaman anymore!" and she got up and banged out the door." After explaining that the student eventually apologized for her remarks, Sadie thought that until that point "I had lived my life not realizing I was really Oriental because my look was Caucasian like you know, like the banana - white on the inside yellow on the outside." She explained that after the war all those people who had the appearance of the enemy, whether Japanese, Italian or German, "fell into a syndrome, you know hide what you really are just be who you think you are." Sadie commented throughout her beginning years as a teacher: "I was so busy turning myself into a Caucasian that I really didn't give my own heritage a whole lot of thought until the last 30 years...now you see I have all kinds of Oriental motifs in the house." Sadie was revealing most starkly the social sanctions that accompanied a woman's failure to successfully symbolize post-war 'normativity.' Although racism marked her teaching identity, she still asserted her ability to dress in a finer way and teach her female students how to 'effectively' present themselves in the world. As such, her accounts also indicate that women, even as they tried to embody moral standards for Western 'democracy,' produced varied performances of the ethical, professional and attractive 'feminine' teacher. Sadie, almost as an aside to these memories, also noted that some of her Chinese students would come to her for advice about their social

lives. Specifically, she recalled “some students once, who I think were dating someone Caucasian, and we started to talk and they said, ‘what do you think of mixed marriages...what do you think is acceptable?’” Sadie did not reveal her advice, yet her ‘extra’ comments were a powerful illustration of her contradictory role as a racial minority in producing students’ value systems. She might have faced and largely accepted the commonplace imperative to reproduce nationalist, ‘democratic’ values of the period, but her body betrayed other histories and possibilities.

Women teachers negotiated their performance by juggling personal lives, public personas, including gender respectability, their definitions of professional identities, their functioning in the workplace, and the necessities of their students’ lives. The women’s awareness of social sanctions that shaped their presentation of self speaks to the body as a powerful, contextually specific and daily signifier for nation, gender and professionalism. Their stories also suggest that women were part and parcel of post-war social regulation. They often constructed stories in which they were obviously acting out domestic virtues. The ability to exhibit these values, many of which the women shared or could easily display, garnered them a measure of power and respectability within their schools and community. Melanie Kilburn’s description of running down the hallway from the gym to the classroom while dressing in her wrap-around skirt demonstrated accommodation even as it admitted that gender display took different forms. In fact, Melanie was one of many women who maintained a critical view of society’s demands on female students. She recalled being greatly disgruntled by a young girl’s preoccupation with appearance: “One of my really good kids got the ball and was in the perfect place for a lay-up shot and she dropped the ball and said, ‘Oh, I broke my nail.’” She told the student: “How could you give a darn about your

finger nail?" With resignation, Melanie stated: "They didn't want to mess their hair...appearances were everything." Despite such advice, teachers' narratives illustrate that transgression was problematic because of the paradoxical position of women teachers in the unfolding of educational 'democracy.' Women understood that they were both empowered and scrutinized, upheld as the epitome of virtue and morality because of their maternal qualities, and suspected of potentially dangerous, irrational 'feminine' behaviours.

The appearance of the 'respectable' woman teacher was not straightforward or easy to produce, but, rather, a complex web of performing appearances and identities. This chapter illustrates some of the ways those appearances, particularly normative notions of femininity, sexuality and family, were upheld and rejected in women's lives and teaching. For some interviewees, this meant negotiating the images of old spinsters and the 'new' modern woman. Others, largely conformed to the appearance of traditional womanhood while acting out alternative visions of gender and family roles, which were considered pragmatic and necessary for effective teaching. Their narratives expose the false essentialism of gendered 'democratic' values, as the non-essentialist character of women's reproduction of national rhetoric is revealed through their post-war performances.

If women's function for 'educational' democracy was reduced to moral benefactor and exemplar of patriarchal values, how was it possible for contemporary school officials to define women as men's equal, in other words as appropriate agents for liberal participatory 'democracy?' In exploring this question, the following chapter examines the gendered responsibilities and authoritative structures of the 'newly' decentralized public secondary schools of Vancouver and Toronto.

⁴³⁸ A version of this chapter is part of a forthcoming publication: "Performing Post-war Citizenship: Women Teachers in Toronto Secondary Schools," *Review of Education, Pedagogy and Cultural Studies*, edited by Leda Cooks and Katie LeBesco, special issue on the teacher's body.

⁴³⁹ See, for example, Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation*; Roland Martin, "Excluding women from the educational realm," in *The education feminism reader*, ed. L. Stone (New York: Routledge, 1994); Carol Gilligan, *In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982).

⁴⁴⁰ Martin, "Excluding women from the educational realm," as cited by Arnot and Dillabough, "Feminist Politics and Democratic Values in Education," 165.

⁴⁴¹ Arnot and Dillabough, "Feminist Politics and Democratic Values in Education," 164.

⁴⁴² Valerie Walkerdine, "Post-structuralist theory and everyday social practices," in *Feminist Social Psychology*, edited by Valerie Walkerdine (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1986), 177, as quoted by Arnot and Dillabough, "Feminist Politics and Democratic Values in Education," 177.

⁴⁴³ Walkerdine and Lucey, *Democracy in the Kitchen*.

⁴⁴⁴ Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation*, 45.

⁴⁴⁵ Cavanagh, "The Gender of Professionalism and Occupational Closure," 55.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁷ Penina M. Glazer and Miriam Slater, *Unequal Colleagues: the entrance of women into the professions, 1890-1940* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1987), 232, as quoted by Cavanaugh, "The Gender of Professionalism and Occupational Closure," 55. For contemporary work on appearance and teachers and pedagogy, see Sandra Weber and Claudia Mitchell, *'That's funny, you don't look like a teacher': Interrogating Images and Identity in Popular Culture* (Washington: Falmer, 1995).

⁴⁴⁸ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble*, as cited by Kathryn McPherson, "'The Case of the Kissing Nurse': Femininity, Sexuality, and Canadian Nursing, 1900-1970," in *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada*, ed. K. McPherson, C. Morgan and N. Forestell (Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 1999), 181. This article stems from McPherson's larger study, *Bedside Matters: The Transformation of Canadian Nursing, 1900-1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003).

⁴⁴⁹ Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory," in *Performing Feminisms: Feminist Critical Theory and Theatre*, ed. S. Case (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1990), 282. See also, Walkerdine, *Schoolgirl Fictions*. For work on the body in schools as a source of discipline of sexuality and gender, see Ellsworth, *Teaching position*; Sue Middleton, *Disciplining sexuality: Foucault, life histories, and education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1998).

⁴⁵⁰ McPherson, "The Case of the Kissing Nurse," 181.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid.

⁴⁵² See, for example, Wendy Mitchinson, *The Nature of Their Bodies: Women and Their Doctors in Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991); Mary-Ellen Kelm, *Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in British Columbia, 1900-1950* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998).

⁴⁵³ Paton, *Concern and Competence*, 3. See, for example, Morrison Watts, "Character Education in the Secondary Schools of Alberta," *Education: A Collection of Essays on Canadian Education, Volume 2, 1956-1959* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1959).

⁴⁵⁴ Ralph W. Tyler, "Facing Up to the Big Issues," 151.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁶ Adams, *The Trouble with Normal*, 20.

⁴⁵⁷ Hope Commission, *Royal Commission of Education*, 28-31, as cited by Mariana Valverde, "Building Anti-Delinquent Communities: Morality, Gender, and Generation in the City," in *A Diversity of Women: Ontario, 1945-1980*, ed. J. Parr (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 37.

⁴⁵⁸ Frank Wilson, "Ethics in a Free Society," *The B.C. Teacher*, April 1955, 304.

⁴⁵⁹ H.L. Tracy, "In Praise of Teachers," *The Bulletin*, October 1951, 162.

⁴⁶⁰ Sidney Katz, "The Crisis in Education – Part 2," *Macean's Magazine*, 15 March 1953, 49.

⁴⁶¹ Neville Scarfe, "The Aims of Education," 72; See, also, Neville Scarfe, *A Philosophy of Education* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1952).

⁴⁶² "The Teacher," *The B.C. Teacher*, February 1953, 197.

⁴⁶³ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁴ Althouse., *Addresses*, 203.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid., 201.

⁴⁶⁶ Mariana Valverde, in "Building Anti-Delinquent Communities," notes the centrality of democratic citizenship and its moral overtones that as she states was a "kind of ether floating through all school activities." Contrary to my work, she claims in a section concerning schools that the burden of democratic citizenship was to be borne by men. Valverde's point centres on the panic over the delinquency of adolescent boys and their need for moral training, which does not take into account the distinction between students as the products and teachers as the producers of moral citizenship. Further, as it is beyond the scope of her article, she does not tease out the contradictory, yet greater burden of women teachers as both agents for reproducing moral citizenship and perceived dependents of the state's objectives for citizenship.

⁴⁶⁷ Norman McLeod, "Taking Stock," *The Bulletin*, 15 December 1957, 358.

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- ⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., 359-360.
- ⁴⁶⁹ "Are You a Weak Teacher?" *The B.C. Teacher*, February 1946, 186.
- ⁴⁷⁰ Ibid., 186-188.
- ⁴⁷¹ Ibid., 188.
- ⁴⁷² Theobald, "Teachers, memory and oral history," 17-18.
- ⁴⁷³ Gaskell, *The Problems and Professionalism*, 111-117.
- ⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., 111.
- ⁴⁷⁵ Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 124-125.
- ⁴⁷⁶ S.R. Laycock, "You Can't Get Away From Discipline," *Educational Review of the New Brunswick Teachers' Federation* 60 (1946): 7, quoted in Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 124-125. See, also, S.R. Laycock, "Teaching – A Job in Human Relations," *Education: A Collection of Essays on Canadian Education, Volume 2, 1956-1958* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1959), 77-80.
- ⁴⁷⁷ S.R. Laycock, "Professional Ethics and Mental Health," *The B.C. Teacher*, May-June 1957, 397-398. See, also, S.R. Laycock, "Your Job in Public Relations," *The B.C. Teacher*, January 1955, 152-154; S.R. Laycock, "Invest in Good Teachers," *The B.C. Teacher*, January 1957, 210-211.
- ⁴⁷⁸ Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 3-18. For information on the medicalization of women's bodies as a site for restricting gender roles, see, for example, Wendy Mitchinson, *The Nature of Their Bodies*.
- ⁴⁷⁹ Dr. Charles G. Stogdill, "Warn Parents: Allow Child Think For Self," *Telegram*, 7 October 1952.
- ⁴⁸⁰ Althouse, *Addresses*, 146 and 205.
- ⁴⁸¹ "City's experienced teachers not guilty of talking too much," *The Province*, 9 April 1955.
- ⁴⁸² May Hill Arbuthnot, "Teachers Are People," *The B.C. Teacher*, May-June 1946, 325.
- ⁴⁸³ Ibid.
- ⁴⁸⁴ "British Columbia Teachers' Federation Code of Ethics," *The B.C. Teacher*, September-October 1946, 9; "C.T.F. Adopts National Code of Ethics," *The B.C. Teacher*, November 1947, 55. The Canadian Teachers' Federation adopted a code of ethics for teachers' organizations across the country, including the BCTF and OSSTF. See, also, Gaskell, *The Problems and Professionalism*, 168.
- ⁴⁸⁵ For example, see Laycock, "Professional Ethics and Mental Health," 397.
- ⁴⁸⁶ Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 119-139. Gleason outlines psychologists' definitions of the 'normal' child and the 'good' teacher in the post-war era. She argues that teachers often rejected

these definitions. For example, most teachers did not believe that the 'quiet,' reclusive student was a problem or abnormal.

⁴⁸⁷ Adams in *The Trouble with Normal* notes that women were taught proper posture to benefit their reproductive organs.

⁴⁸⁸ Similar observations for 'looking like a teacher' might be found for male Phys.Ed. teachers because there was a strong emphasis on military training in schools after the war. While predominantly a male-based student activity, women students also had 'precision squads.' The interviewees who taught Physical Education in Toronto, namely, June West, Elizabeth MacKay and Melanie Kilburn, noted that their women students could often 'march circles around the boys.' The uniform and posture described by Melanie and Donna from Vancouver may have been closely related to the school's desire for a military-style appearance of order from students. See, for example, Tillotson, *The Public at Play*. Tillotson provides a broader discussion of the importance of recreation within communities after the Second World War. For discussions of purity and social reform during turn-of-the century Canada, see Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Soap, Light and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991).

⁴⁸⁹ Freeman Glenn Macomber, *Teaching in the Modern Secondary School* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1952), 253-254.

⁴⁹⁰ Ruth Roach Pierson, *They're Still Women After All: The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986).

⁴⁹¹ Kathryn McPherson, "The Case of the Kissing Nurse," 190.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*, 191-193.

⁴⁹³ "Girls in Slacks Spark a Furore," *The Province* (December 22, 1956).

⁴⁹⁴ "Tight clothes in Dirty Thirties never raised teachers' eyebrows," *The Province*, 9 September 1958; "Naughty Nylon' Problem Invades City Schools," *The Province*, 28 May 1952. For information on the look of the new 'woman' in Toronto schools, see, Adams, *The Trouble with Normal*.

⁴⁹⁵ Cavanagh, "The Heterosexualization of the Ontario Woman Teacher." See, also, Cecilia Reynolds, "Too Limiting a Liberation: Discourse and Actuality in The Case of Married Women Teachers," *Feminism and Education: A Canadian Perspective*, ed. F. Forman, M. O'Brien, J. Haddad, D. Hallman and P. Masters (Toronto: Centre for Women's Studies in Education, 1990); Alison Oram, "Embittered, Sexless or Homosexual: Attacks on Spinster Teachers in 1918-1939," and "Serving Two Masters? The Introduction of a Marriage Bar in Teaching in the 1920s," in *Not a Passing Phase: Reclaiming Lesbians in history 1840-1985* edited by Lesbian History Group (London: Women's Press, 1989). On the moral panic of lesbians, see, for example, Lillian Federman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Penguin Books, 1991); Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeleine D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Penguin Books, 1994).

⁴⁹⁶ Cavanagh, "The Heterosexualization of the Ontario Woman Teacher," 66.

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- ⁴⁹⁷ Madiha Didi Khayatt, *Lesbian Teachers: An Invisible Presence* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 21-26. For work on the dominance of heterosexual discourses in contemporary schooling, see Lather, *Getting smart*; Debbie Epstein and Richard Johnson, *Schooling Sexualities* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1998).
- ⁴⁹⁸ See Carolyn Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).
- ⁴⁹⁹ Paul Popenoe, "Better Teachers, Biologically Speaking," *Education Digest* 2, no.8 (1936), 5, as quoted in Cavanaugh, "The Heterosexualization of the Ontario Woman Teacher," 67.
- ⁵⁰⁰ Cavanaugh, "The Heterosexualization of the Ontario Woman Teacher," 67.
- ⁵⁰¹ "Cupid So Busy Can't Get Enough P.T. Teachers" and "See Kindergarten Spot to Choose Motherly Wife," *Globe and Mail*, 9 January 1952.
- ⁵⁰² "Pretty, New Teachers," *Vancouver Sun*, 15 September 1950.
- ⁵⁰³ "It's Still Education Week," *Vancouver Sun*, 6 March 1952.
- ⁵⁰⁴ CVA, Public School Records, *Vancouver Personnel and Research Subject Files*, Loc. 58-F-1, File 18, "Proceedings of the CEA – Kellogg Vancouver Metropolitan Zone Conference held at the University of British Columbia," Thursday, November 3, 1955. For more on the historical and cultural representations of teaching, see, for example, Sari Knopp Biklen, *School Work: Gender and the Cultural Construction of Teaching* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1995).
- ⁵⁰⁵ May Hill Arbuthnot, "Teachers Are People," *The B.C. Teacher*, May-June 1946.
- ⁵⁰⁶ See, for example, photographs in Adams, *The Trouble with Normal*.
- ⁵⁰⁷ See Khayatt, *Lesbian Teachers*, 11-32.
- ⁵⁰⁸ Adams, *The Trouble with Normal*, 21.
- ⁵⁰⁹ Ewart H. Morgan, "Secondary Education," 125.
- ⁵¹⁰ Wilson, "Education and Civilization," 113.
- ⁵¹¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁵¹² Interview with Grace Logan.
- ⁵¹³ Rousmaniere, "Where Haley stood," 153. See, also, Joan Sangster, *Earning Respect: The Lives of Working Women in Small-Town Ontario, 1920-1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995). She discusses the connection between women's respectability and their contributions to the community.
- ⁵¹⁴ Rousmaniere, "Where Haley stood," 153.

⁵¹⁵ Gaskell, *The Problems and Professionalism*, 33; Reynolds, "Hegemony and Hierarchy," 116-117. Reynolds statistics for Ontario show that in 1941 82% of women teachers were of British origin and in 1961 that number has only dropped to 72%.

⁵¹⁶ Iacovetta, "Recipes for Democracy?" 301.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 301-302.

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 302.

⁵¹⁹ For information on domestic services and immigrant women in the post-war period, see Franca Iacovetta, "Remaking Their Lives: Women Immigrants, Survivors, and Refugees," in *A Diversity of Women: Ontario, 1945-1980*, ed. J. Parr (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).

Chapter 5

More Responsibility, Less Power: A Gendered Participatory 'Democracy' for Schools⁵²⁰

Without the participation of citizens, liberal democracy is not genuine: this principle informed the post-war secondary school system.⁵²¹ Key to ensuring engaged citizenship is the state's ability to afford each person equal representation within the public realm. The democratic ideal requires individuals to have the autonomy to articulate and contribute a political consciousness to the nation.⁵²² Public schooling is meant to provide the opportunity for each student to attain the knowledge and values necessary to achieve political capital. The modern public school as an institution celebrates the ideals of equal and autonomous participation in the democratic order. Such celebration has masked the exact nature of citizen participation and particularly the issue of gender.

As the two previous chapters have demonstrated, democratic discourse did not grant 'woman,' given her status as moral vessel and her supposed incapacity for 'masculine' rational knowledge, the role of legitimate political agent. Feminist political philosopher Jane Roland Martin argues that with women's positioning as virtuous, benevolent actors for liberal democracy, the state designates womanhood an apolitical status.⁵²³ Further, Carole Pateman attests that women, portrayed as psychologically unbalanced, tied to the private sphere and, a source of disorder in the public realm, are socially constructed as unable to articulate a political consciousness.⁵²⁴ Women are thus historically and discursively positioned as apolitical, despite their formal inclusion by the Western state as participatory citizens for democratic order.

Such was women's paradoxical position in post-war secondary schools. In the 1940s and '50s, Vancouver and Toronto education systems set out to create a microcosm of liberal

participatory democracy. The democratic school model focused on students, teachers, and administrators each assuming the right and responsibility to enrich the community. The days when teachers received curriculum from above and students had little flexibility in the courses required for graduation were ideally disappearing. Inspection procedures were similarly revised to encourage community and personalized supervision of teachers. Teachers' efforts for collegial supervision were intended to complement external inspection, and be a source not so much of clinical analysis as of warm encouragement. Equally significant, teachers and their federations secured greater legal and decision-making powers. During this period, teachers were granted the right to hold public office and federations achieved automatic membership and the right to certify members' credentials. Canadian secondary schools were organized as laboratories for society's 'democratic' relations: a place where students learned to value and practice their right to individual autonomy as responsible citizens. Both progressive and traditional educators supported such reforms as symbols of the contrasts between democratic nations and the authoritarian regimes of the country's Communist enemies.

The appearance of the democratic school did not, however, necessarily result in democratic practice. For female teachers, specifically, formal democratic commitments did not afford them, unlike their male colleagues, opportunities for greater political influence. They faced a critical contradiction: how could they lead if they were assigned an apolitical status? The answer was two-fold. First, women teachers assumed new responsibilities for participating in educational 'democracy,' even while they were still second-class service-providers and disqualified from the 'official' powers of administration. Second, women teachers emerged as political actors, but in a re-defined sense of the term. Avenues of

conventional political participation may have been closed, but they used everyday means to resist masculine monopolization of active citizenship.

This chapter explores how women as teachers encompassed a contradictory position as leaders within a patriarchal institution that questioned their authority. This contradictory position was the result of post-war educational policy that formally espoused an egalitarian environment, yet refused the majority of women teachers administrative positions and political organization to control their work environments. In the past two decades, feminist scholars have demonstrated that women's educational labour is regularly exploited in this manner.⁵²⁵ Political theorist Iris Marion Young contends that examination of women's collective resistance provides a vantage point beyond the view of liberal individualism to the systematic and institutional processes that define political agency.⁵²⁶ Through this lens, the machinations of the state, in this case, the 'democratic' school, that excluded women's full political participation, becomes clear. At the same time women are not assumed to be simply victims. Women educators, while typically over-loaded with care-giving duties and labouring with limited security and without access to the highest paying, most prestigious and powerful administrative positions, nevertheless found their own freedom to teach within the gendered participatory democracy of the post-war secondary school.

The first section in this chapter provides an overview of the systemic discrepancy between women's responsibility and authority in the post-war school systems of Vancouver and Toronto. The next two sections consider women teachers' narratives, which tell stories of secondary schools that remained highly patriarchal, centralized, and hierarchical. At the same time, these sections examine women's negotiations of the discrepancy between responsibility and authority with reference to two areas, curriculum re-development and inspection reforms of the period. Women's adaptation, resistance or accommodation varied,

not so much according to region, as by their subject areas and promotional status within secondary schools.

THE FREEDOM TO TEACH

The physical re-arrangement of the school was itself symbolic of the education institution as a laboratory for egalitarian relations. Administrators refurbished post-war classrooms to reflect a co-operative social environment: open spaces and movable desks allowed for flexible lesson plans and group work; equipment for teaching included the new use of radio and motion pictures to address diverse learning styles; and expansion projects provided larger gymnasiums, libraries, industrial workshops, and science laboratories for greater learning opportunities for a growing school population.⁵²⁷ These changes, for all the financial strain they represented for governments, also required new practitioners. No longer was, deemed Morrison Watts, Director of Curriculum for the Department of Education in Alberta, "the old-fashioned bully and half-trained teacher" sufficient.⁵²⁸ Instead, physical re-organization recognized, Watts asserted, that "co-operative action and self-discipline are far superior to imposed authority, [and] are characteristics of modern teaching."⁵²⁹ The purpose of the school emerged then as an everyday reflection of Canada's commitment to a democratic life, where all members belonged and where individual worth meant that all contributed to the social order.

Individual freedom is a recognizable dictum for progressivism. Adherents to this philosophy asserted that post-WWII secondary school officials were lagging in efforts to eliminate forces that deprived teachers and students of the freedom to do better. Educators, from Neville Scarfe to Samuel Laycock, suggested that the "impersonal, highly conservative

and authoritarian system” would only rest in the past if administrators addressed issues ranging from the large size of classes to the excessive focus on examinations.⁵³⁰ Such progressives rejected out of hand authoritarian doctrines. Traditionalists on the other hand, such as Hilda Neatby, Frank MacKinnon and William Dunlop, publicly worried that the adoption by teachers and schools of a ‘free’ philosophy would mean wholesale acceptance of “open area activities, voluntary attendance, pupil control of curriculum, inquiry methods, abandonment of competitive tests and grades (marks).”⁵³¹ The result would be damaging for a disciplined citizenry.

James M. Paton, a Professor of English at Macdonald College (which later became the Faculty of Education at McGill University) and a prolific writer on education and the status of teachers during this period, argued that a 180° degree swing away from traditional pedagogy produced authoritarianism equal to its predecessor.⁵³² Progressivism, he suggested, demanded experiential inquiry and enforced a teacher-subordinate role that was not necessarily what worked best for members of a specific educational setting. Paton was thus recognizing the often unacknowledged resemblance between the two philosophies which had long struggled for school supremacy. As John Dewey later also observed, “inchoate curriculum, excessive individualism...is a deceptive index of freedom.”⁵³³ Ultimately, ultra-progressivism, like ultra-traditionalism, was dictatorial in its pedagogical demands.

Paton concluded that such extremes held little validity for education theorists and classroom teachers of the period. Paton’s conclusions were ultimately pragmatic: “Whether these ways are likely to be labeled traditional or progressive, student-controlled or teacher-dominated, is of very little importance, provided the young people actually learn and enjoy the experience enough to want to go on learning by themselves.”⁵³⁴ His conclusions were in

keeping with dominant trends that held dogma of any stripe out of fashion. Instead, teaching autonomy, complemented by the expectations of self-discipline and co-operation, was paramount. While progressive educators identified this as sound pedagogical practice, traditionalists urged national necessity. As the second chapter explained, many social authorities, like Neatby and MacKinnon, worried that without autonomy citizens would fall into dependency and demand too much of its government. If, after all, students and their teachers were simply told what to do and had no political voice, how would they learn the initiative of productive citizens? Civic responsibility was therefore the key lesson and independence had to be taught within a practical living situation that included knowledgeable and moral guides.⁵³⁵ Few educators espoused dichotomous solutions for political citizenship: at the system level, complete autonomy for local staffs *or* standardized governing procedures, and at the classroom level, self-discovery lesson *or* systematic readings.⁵³⁶ The majority of theorists and administrators asserted the need to “have faith in the goodness of our fellow man, our teachers, and our children.”⁵³⁷ Schools aimed for environments in which members worked and learned together to produce better ways of self-vindication for the nation’s ‘democratic’ life.

Educators across the philosophical spectrum asserted that school reorganization should trust teachers to carry out the demands of educational ‘democracy.’ Conservative Hilda Neatby asserted that teachers “should have the freedom to speak their minds on education matters.”⁵³⁸ If, she argued, the education system continued to expect slavish conformity from teachers, many strong personalities would be frustrated and leave the profession. Progressive Neville Scarfe similarly argued that “because of the known restrictions, many great minds of the nation do not even attempt to enter the teaching profession.”⁵³⁹ Referring to general criticism of teachers and to regulations that denied them

self-determination, Scarfe reasoned: "People become trustworthy only by being trusted. They learn self-discipline only by *not* being disciplined from outside."⁵⁴⁰ Such influential commentators firmly believed that teachers required freedom of practice to instill a sense of initiative and co-operation in students. Furthermore, to be respected as professional partners in the community, they needed autonomy to make decisions. Changes to curriculum and inspection procedures, outlined in chapter two, had the most immediate effect on the teachers interviewed for this study and will be examined later in the chapter when addressing women's resistance to the gender hierarchy of the system. School authorities also favoured initiatives directed at disseminating political authority to teachers through the vehicle of their federations.

One of the most significant changes in Ontario came in 1944 with the passage of the *Teaching Profession Act*. Agitated for by the province's federations, and supported by George Drew's Conservative government, the act created the umbrella organization of the Ontario Teachers' Federation. This oversaw the five existing teacher organizations: Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation, Federation of Women Teachers' Associations in Ontario, Ontario Public School Men Teachers' Federation, Ontario English Catholic Teachers' Association and Association des Enseignants Franco-Ontariens.⁵⁴¹ A clause in the legislation provided for compulsory membership for all teachers in government-funded schools. With such enforced solidarity and the financial support of a large membership, the OTF was able to campaign, with its affiliates, for better remuneration, control over certification, and rights to negotiation.⁵⁴² Not until 1975 did the federations win the right to strike or legislated, mandatory collective bargaining.⁵⁴³ Nonetheless, the OTF's broad-based authority provided teachers with more bargaining power with boards. For example, in the mid-1950s it became a statutory requirement for boards to use an approved hiring contract

that outlined in writing salary, holidays, vacation and sick days and reasons for discontinuing employment by either party.⁵⁴⁴ Furthermore, the OSSTF created the 'pink letter,' also referred to as 'grey listing,' to warn teachers not to apply to boards negotiating in bad faith.⁵⁴⁵ Given teacher shortages, these measures provided a certain degree of power to control working conditions and wages. Salaries increased steadily throughout the period and the OTF's adoption of a single salary schedule, despite continued gendered differences, undermined boards' ability to institute unfair, ad hoc financial agreements.⁵⁴⁶ The 1953-54 decision by the FWTAO, OPMTF and OSSTF to accept the principle of licensing their members was also significant.⁵⁴⁷ While the Department of Education still granted certification, licensing signified the federations' new role in deciding who would be teachers. Licensing was a form of internal regulation which the federations believed would raise the status of the profession by giving teachers the power to decide their own code of ethics and training qualifications.⁵⁴⁸

West coast teachers gained similar rights during the post-war years. The British Columbia Teachers' Federation, since 1917 composed of autonomous local associations, was the primary organization for teachers. Prior to 1945, the BCTF changed its constitution to ensure compatibility among the by-laws of its associations, thereby ensuring boards recognized the federation as the official bargaining agent for teachers and their right to compulsory arbitration in labour disputes.⁵⁴⁹ Essentially, this guaranteed collective bargaining, something the OTF would not achieve until much later. With broad-based support secured, the post-war years would be the BCTF's "coming of age."⁵⁵⁰ Achievements also owed something to the BCTF's unique affiliation with the Trades and Labour Congress that began in 1943.⁵⁵¹ Legislation passed in 1947 that made membership in the BCTF compulsory for all teachers in the province resulted from hard lobbying by

BCTF leaders, Bernard Gillie and C.T. Oates, the sympathy of Education Minister G.M. Weir, and at least as important the tacit agreement from the BCTF not to strike.⁵⁵² Furthermore, the federation made steady gains in salaries with the average wage rising by 18 percent between 1943 and 1945 alone.⁵⁵³ Government pension plans were also strengthened. In 1950, the federation secured a 6 percent government pension contribution matched teachers; 1958 amendments to the *Teacher's Pension Act* increased service pensions. The BCTF also won some control of training and certification.⁵⁵⁴ While the BCTF only adopted a membership categorization plan to assess basic competencies in 1961, the federation's president, Hilda Cryderman, began requesting this from the Department of Education as early as 1954.⁵⁵⁵ As in Ontario, this plan would not usurp the certification powers of the Department, but was a critical step in giving a voice in educational qualifications. The demand for professional authority extended beyond the education system. As early as 1944, the Federation sought an amendment to the *Municipal Act* to eliminate the restriction on teachers holding public office.⁵⁵⁶ After great public dispute between the BCTF and the Union of British Columbia Municipalities, teachers gained this right in 1958.⁵⁵⁷ Such achievements fueled a sense of security, not to mention status, and this in combination with fears about the aggressiveness of the Trades and Labour Congress brought about a rupture with the latter. At the BCTF's 1956 annual meeting, a close vote ended its affiliation.

The freedoms obtained by the teachers federations in Ontario and British Columbia during the 1940s and '50s represented a hard fought extension of full citizenship to all members of the school community as the democratic state harmonized its principles with its practices. The Education Week slogan of the period that 'education is everyone's business' invoked the other commonplace phrase of the day, "politics in these days is every man's business."⁵⁵⁸ A contributor to *The B.C. Teacher* resolutely made this point when referring to

teachers' rights to public office and their right to effective democratic organization in federations: "No group has been more directly charged with the responsibility of inculcating democratic principles in the future adult citizens than teachers...Can we then justifiably expect teachers whole-heartedly to attempt to achieve this aim and still openly deny them their own democratic rights?"⁵⁵⁹

While such statements could be interpreted as a genuine rationale for professional self-control, researchers into professionalism have argued that state concepts often suppress more radical demands. Scholars, such as Jenny Ozga, Martin Lawn, Bob Bessant, and Andrew Spaul, who examine class dynamics, have demonstrated that professionalism often compromises improved working conditions or accepts limitations on public comment.⁵⁶⁰ In other words, teacher groups sometimes reproduce the status quo. In the cases of the BCTF and OTF, codes of ethics, disciplining power over members, and disinclination to strike can all add up to a defense of the status quo. In this process of professionalism, Michael Apple argues, teachers actually become increasingly proletarianized. Rather than gaining additional autonomy, they face intensified work.⁵⁶¹

Francis S. Chase, founding Dean of the Graduate School in Education at the University of Chicago offers insight into the effects of increased political participation by teachers. During the 1950s, Chase studied teacher morale and concluded that despite satisfaction from increased educational planning and policy-making, many teachers felt that "participation is encouraged only for the sake of securing assent to decisions already made [that] may produce more dissatisfaction than satisfaction."⁵⁶² Historian Bryan Palmer in turn has argued that the government's general approach to labour during post-WWII capitalist accumulation included initiatives, such as health insurance, unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation, that ensured a stable and secure workforce.⁵⁶³ While these

programs could be interpreted as protective, they also acted to thwart alternatives to mainstream liberalism. In fact, as Palmer notes, during this era capitalism flourished and the gap between classes widened, because "the state made more effective use of the carrot than it did of the stick."⁵⁶⁴ Winning the 'freedom to teach' could be seen as the counterpart of the development described by Palmer. The victories of secondary teachers sometimes seemed more about accepting greater responsibilities than facilitating political engagement.

C.C. Goldring, director of the Toronto Board of Education in the 1950s, addressed the busy life of secondary schools across the nation in these post-war years. Focusing primarily on students' schedules, he described high academic standards, expanding courses and methods of learning, participating in school clubs, student council, music nights, and sports, volunteering with community agencies, attending Sunday school, and an array of personal development issues that often required professional guidance.⁵⁶⁵ He acknowledged teachers' responsibility to direct and manage efforts to treat students like "young adults." This role was critical because the school was a "great leveling influence and it contributes significantly to the development of boys and girls who will very shortly be taking a leading part in directing the affairs of our communities and of our country."⁵⁶⁶ Goldring was not so much describing the increasing liberties of post-war students and teachers as their growing responsibilities. J.G. Althouse, a moderate on the Ontario political scene, similarly interpreted talk of teachers' freedoms. He was representative of most educators when he paraphrased the words of Fred Clarke from *Freedom in the Educative Society*, published in 1946, in a talk to the Toronto Board in 1950: "freedom is a continuing conquest and discipline is the strategy by which that conquest is assured."⁵⁶⁷ He went on to state that schools and democracy function best when individuals have choice but that duty, sacrifice and responsibilities come before rights. In his *The Politics of Education*, Frank MacKinnon

interpreted teacher's freedom in much the same way. While he steadfastly championed greater trust in teacher's abilities, he was simultaneously demanding time and resources to work harder.⁵⁶⁸ He was not suggesting anyone 'spill the apple cart.'

Implicit in the participatory democracy embraced by the post-war education system, was a hierarchical system of authority. The federation and its members were still at the bottom. The *Teaching Profession Act* in Ontario was very clear in delineating teachers' duties, including compliance with the act, co-operation with authorities, and respect for the board of trustees. There was little mention of government's obligations to its teachers.⁵⁶⁹ Similarly, British Columbia's *Public Schools Annual Reports* demonstrated a complex bureaucratic web of controls, concerning teaching materials, examinations, budgets, timetables, and staffing, with little reflection of the voice or voices of teachers.⁵⁷⁰ Historian Robert Stamp nevertheless overstates the case in Ontario when he asserted that the post-war education system was an example of the "triumph of conservatism" and "dictatorial."⁵⁷¹ While Stamp neglected to evaluate seriously the changes favouring decentralized decision-making, inclusive of local interests and the consolidation of federation interests, he correctly emphasized the Department of Education's final control over almost all aspects of teachers' work. On the other hand, Robert Gidney, in his research on Ontario education, and F. Henry Johnson, in his history of British Columbia schools, both reject notions of post-war educational totalitarianism. They too nonetheless depict a pyramid of power. The Department of Education and its representative, the Superintendent, dictated to Inspectors, Principals, and Department Heads, who then oversaw how classroom teachers, who were ultimately accountable to the public, communicated.⁵⁷² Both Gidney and Johnson demonstrate that the state was ultimately offering only benevolence rather than autonomy to its teaching force. Classroom teachers, both men and women, worked within an

environment that acquiesced to a stronger voice for teachers' federations, but did not alter the organizational structure that centralized authority in the hands of a few.

Male teachers at least had access to the ladder of the educational hierarchy. While historians may debate the extent to which the state afforded teachers as a group greater political influence during this era, there is little dispute that women, as a group, were denied the possibility of authority to complement their role as engaged participants in the secondary school's organizational 'democracy.' The gender hierarchy of post-war education systems in British Columbia and Ontario is statistically stark. In an analysis of the positions held by women in the field of education for the 1954-55 school year, the BCTF accounted for thirteen principals, ten vice-principals, two inspectors, and two directors in the Department of Education for the province.⁵⁷³ While the percentage this presents for all principals is unclear from the BCTF's study, records show that on average women were less than 1 percent of provincial inspectors and directors.⁵⁷⁴ These positions were almost certainly held in the elementary level and the inspectors were confined to the 'female' subject areas of home economics and girls' physical education. There were no women principals in Vancouver schools at the time, despite the fact that women accounted for two-thirds to three-quarters of the total teaching population in that city. Statistics were comparable in Toronto. In 1950 the Board had 106 principals; women were 6 percent of the total. At the secondary level, the numbers negligibly improved, with women accounting for 11 percent of the eighteen principals.⁵⁷⁵ From 1930 until 1970, the numbers remained constant at two women principals, and would not double to four until 1980.⁵⁷⁶

Furthermore, department headships, a position that was not 'officially' created in Vancouver secondary schools until 1957, were primarily held by men in both cities.⁵⁷⁷ Headships generally reflected the gender hierarchy of subject matters. Like inspectorships,

women were usually only given department headships when overseeing other women in fields like home economics and physical education. Subjects with greater prestige, from history to the sciences, were overwhelmingly governed by men. Of course, an occasional woman, such as Tilly Rolston, the 1950s Minister of Education for British Columbia, achieved top positions of educational authority.⁵⁷⁸ Rolston was an individual success story that could have promoted the discourse of educational 'democracy.' She is not representative, however, of the gendered politics of the age. Ultimately women were democracy's workers and men were its managers.⁵⁷⁹ The embeddedness of this binary is evident from the 1962 book on *The Canadian School Principal*, in which masculine pronouns designated principals and feminine pronouns the teachers they were presumed to govern.⁵⁸⁰

Men and women were thus integrated into the school's laboratory of participatory 'democracy' in different and fundamentally unequal ways.⁵⁸¹ Their roles reflected societal and organizational "understandings about the respective worth and function of males and females."⁵⁸² Womanhood remained tied to the private sphere, and manhood to the public. The result was a gender order within Toronto and Vancouver secondary school systems whereby the aspirations and qualifications of women teachers were constricted. With men as the preferred candidates, women were considered lucky to have professional jobs. Equity policies including the elimination of the marriage bar and equal remuneration reflected widespread assumptions that secondary teaching, at least as long as the opportunities were constrained, was suitable for women. It was not, however, embraced as an avenue through which women would upset the prevailing gender order.⁵⁸³

Women provided the special skills of nurturer and moral benefactor for secondary school students. Committed to the vocation of teaching with these skills, and thus, service to

the community, good 'woman' teachers were not credited with desires for promotion, status and monetary rewards. Even if by chance they had such ambitious, they were believed bereft of the required 'masculine' qualifications and skills, namely, rationality, objective knowledge. An OTF column in the April 1949 issue of the *Educational Courier* suggested that limited opportunity was not taken for granted but blamed women themselves for failures: "there is a tendency to complain that men usurp the better positions, and it is true that at present time nearly all the places outside the regular classrooms are held by men; but it is also true that men tend to improve their qualifications and compete for these positions, while few women do so."⁵⁸⁴ Administrators, politicians and even teachers' federation representatives regularly questioned the commitment of female secondary teachers who were believed to have primary obligations as wives and mothers. There was also the commonplace assumption that women found reward enough in their service to their communities. J.G. Althouse, Ontario's Chief Director of Education, set the moral tone in an address to graduating student teachers in the mid-1950s: "service is something he would willingly do for nothing."⁵⁸⁵ Unlike the women in his audience, he did not have to face the hard reality of rewards less than male colleagues. Many male administrators took a similarly high road, effectively undermining the moral authority of any among the rank and file in the profession who openly professed a desire for money and power. Inspectors and principals might talk about many things but rarely about the economic and other benefits that they enjoyed. These were not to be publicly applauded in institutions committed to the post-war democratic ideal of individual pursuits for the community benefit. An essential benevolent and decorous femininity was hard put to challenge this model.

Men in contrast were tempted to consider teaching by promises of quick promotion, especially if they chose primary schools.⁵⁸⁶ In his 1947 *Maclean's* article, "Why Teacher's

Quit," Max Braithwaite argued that men's high rate of departure was fueled by lack of opportunities for advancement. He quoted a man who rejected mathematics for the Navy because he would never earn enough unless he had a better chance for promotion: "I've got to become a principal...about one chance in 40."⁵⁸⁷ No similar concern greeted female attrition: as Braithwaite explained they simply left "to get married."⁵⁸⁸

In addition to uncovering masculinist justification of male promotions, Cecilia Reynolds' study of male and female principals from 1940 to 1980 in Ontario confirms that the organizational culture of schools prevented increased administrative roles for women. The education system was still loosely structured enough that men's promotion was largely an informal process, where it was as much 'who you know,' or your connection with male administrators, as 'what you know.'⁵⁸⁹ The editor of *The B.C. Teacher* acknowledged promotional closure, referring specifically to Vancouver, in a 1948 article: "The best principalships are only open to half a dozen men who have toiled through the road of seniority and mediocrity...Our educational inbreeding is becoming more and more pronounced."⁵⁹⁰ Women or indeed marginalized populations in general, without insider knowledge or connections, were left to fill less desirable and influential spaces. The rare woman who obtained a principalship was also placed in the least prestigious schools, typically in smaller, rural areas.⁵⁹¹ Limits on the authority of women who pursued administration were signaled as early 1925 in British Columbia with J.H. Putnam and G.M. Weir's *Survey of the School System*. They argued that a woman might suit a role as associate principal: "chosen because of her special fitness to act as an advisor to girls. It would be, of course, distinctly understood that the title of 'associate principal' carried no administrative power except in relation to female students."⁵⁹² Whatever the educational re-

structuring proposed by such 'progressives,' the message was clear: women should not govern men.

Teachers' federations did not significantly challenge the prevailing gender culture, despite mostly supporting the elevation of women's overall status in teaching. The BCTF and the OTF/OSSTF perpetuated women's relative position at the bottom of the teacher hierarchy during the 1940s and '50s. Like administrators of the period, many federation representatives questioned women's commitment to the profession, scrutinized their moral behaviour and neglected to address woman-centered work issues that closed off promotion, such as maternity leave.⁵⁹³ It would be another decade or more before federations seriously questioned the relatively low status of women teachers compared to their male managers.⁵⁹⁴ On occasion, however, the federations fought the demotion of a female employee. In one case, the OTF supported a woman's refusal to resign from her principalship because she was being demoted, instead of promoted to a larger school, to make room for a male principal with less experience.⁵⁹⁵ Such defense may well have reflected the political influence of the FWTAO for women elementary teachers, a form of support absent in British Columbia. Overall, however, post-war women were left discursively and structurally without formal political authority while finding themselves with the new found 'freedoms' to teach.

THE CONTENT OF 'DEMOCRATIC' PARTICIPATION

Included in these freedoms, or burdens, to teach was increased responsibility for curriculum development. As the second chapter explained, this change occurred in Ontario through the 1949 'Porter Plan.' Although scaled back in the later stages of implementation, it was still a move towards teachers working locally to develop curriculum, rather than simply following

prescription from on high. Less extensive policy reform took place in British Columbia, yet shifts were a priority for the BCTF and the Department of Education. In 1948, the BCTF achieved teacher representation on the Central Curriculum Committee and by 1961 teachers had officially designated positions on all such provincial programming committees.⁵⁹⁶ Educational authorities supported the general concept of teachers' participation, as part of their duties as democracy's leaders in shaping educational content.⁵⁹⁷ New tasks were to be cherished as "local staffs can acquire recognized, significant control over the nature of the curriculum they administer; they can experience worthwhile personal professional growth from working with their colleagues...and they can realize the satisfactions derived from the knowledge that they are the most important influences."⁵⁹⁸ The gendered implications inherent in this message for post-war participatory 'democracy' in schools are clear when viewed from the perspective of many female staff.

Few of the women interviewed referred to working on provincial policy-making committees. The concept of greater ownership over curriculum was, however, very present in discussions of their daily work environments. For the most part, they did not interpret such initiatives as a desirable devolution, but an onerous obligation in an already busy work schedule. This characterization is perhaps clearest in discussions of the extra curricular duties that regularly overshadowed their 'freedom' to teach course work. In fact, they insisted that ownership over curriculum could not be simply defined according to Ministry initiatives, as the meaningful curriculum extended well beyond the classroom walls. Beverley Hurst commented: "We did much more than just teach during the day." Sophie Canning suggested that extra-curricular activities meant "You were going all day." As a group, the women recalled extra help for students in the morning, supervision at lunch and after school activities, no spare time for preparation, and many late nights and long

weekends marking or preparing special events like gymnastic demonstrations, mother's day teas, and fashion shows. When discussing these responsibilities, the dominant theme was service-provision of curriculum/extra-curriculum.

The women understood the difference between themselves and male colleagues who, while also overworked, escaped the same level of duties.⁵⁹⁹ Most women implied that men retained more control. Reflecting on her role in Home Economics Association in Vancouver, Catharine Darby remembered that: "They [men] were nine to five and when it came to the extra-curricular women generally got the heavy load." Phoebe McKenzie recalled bringing this point to the attention of her Toronto colleagues at a staff meeting. She was agitated that the men on staff, particularly the administrators, did not supervise dances and asked "why there were no men on duty Friday night. Lots of people would like to know why neither the principal nor one of the vice-principals was on duty." The women provided many answers to Phoebe's question in their interviews.

Among those answers were that administrators did not expect men to plan social events for the school as they lacked the requisite skills and were assumed to have families that needed their attention. Catharine explained that women were "dumped on as far as extra-curricular, more than men, because the men would say they had to get home to cut the grass – women had the sense of responsibility." The narratives reveal that educational officials interpreted extra responsibilities for women teachers as a "natural" complement to their efforts in classrooms. Some women rationalized such discrimination, using biological arguments of the period. Sadie Chow remembered men who just said "hey my day's finished at five after three and that's all the Board's paying me for," but women were willing to put in long hours because they are "multi-taskers...I think by virtue of what innately is our make-up." More unusual was the recognition that male administrators confirmed gender

bias and ultimately their own control by designating extracurricular duties to women. Her principal wanted a gymnastics display for the community, or what Ellen Stewart referred to as “a big show so that he would appear to be the great principal.” Despite the school’s gymnasium being under construction, Ellen remembered that the principal was content to leave it up to her to implement his idea. Catharine Darby similarly recounted her principal’s decision to teach his first course in Latin: a decision that resulted in her having to help him during her ‘spare’ time. She said: “unfortunately, it was my spare period – in my preparation period – I think I taught about 90 percent of it...totally unnecessary, but I was given a few perks to make up for it.” Catharine further commented that because men were in charge they often allocated themselves the smallest classes, the least troublesome students and the lightest workload. Some women noted that this lighter workload trickled down from administrators to a male hierarchy in subject areas among teachers. Specifically, women mentioned that men often taught science and math that did not involve as much marking as did female-dominated, often language-based subjects. Ellen Stewart, a physical education, English and social studies teacher, explained the lack of women in sciences at the time: “you see marking science and marking math is a piece of cake...marking English and social studies can be a big job so the men aren’t going to give away the easy jobs.” Her story was very common. The women were at once describing the old ‘boys-network’ of the school culture and women’s exclusion from formal decision-making powers.

When discussing their role in school programming, some women openly acknowledged their apoliticalism. When specifically asked if she was politically active in those days, Sophie Canning emphatically answered “No!” She went on to explain that her teaching and community engagement prevented involvement with her federation or any major planning within the school. Abigail Sears was remembering the equal pay issue of the

day when she claimed to have almost “no interest in all the political stuff going on...but I was so busy.” Referring to gender conflicts in the school, Claire Anderson stated: “I suppose those things were going on but I was always so busy.” All the women related their demanding schedules to their lack of formal authority and thus political weakness within the school and, more generally, in the education system. Education was what they could control through teaching in the classroom, rather than more broad-based actions. Abigail followed up her earlier comments on this subject by clarifying: “I was interested in teaching. I wasn’t interested in all this political stuff; a lot of my peers felt the same way.”

When specifically questioned on curriculum development in the traditional sense of course content, women teachers first described it as a completely top-down process. Karen Phillips explained that the Ontario Ministry said “here are the books you are going to read this year and that’s it. It was very restrictive.” Alma Erickson shared these sentiments: “there was a curriculum we had to cover so that was your responsibility...it was sent out by the government [and] each grade had to cover a certain amount of material and that was it.” Karen and Alma were both fairly resolute that central regulations structured, and curbed, the topics, timelines, and activities for teachers’ lessons.

In particular, most women noted that examinations set hard-to-escape conditions. Although the Hope Commission had called for a de-emphasis on examinations to allow for more freedom in the curriculum, mandatory matriculation or senior exams remained in Ontario until the 1960s, and department-based general exams were the norm through the better part of the 1950s.⁶⁰⁰ British Columbia’s Chant Commission expressed a renewed faith in external examinations and many of its recommendations were implemented in the early 1960s.⁶⁰¹ Senior matriculation examinations remained mandatory in both jurisdictions. Fran Thompson was just one teacher who described needing to teach to the departmental exams

over which she had little determination. She recalled that a grade twelve exam was set in history by the male department head and the vice-principal one year, and it contained “detailed questions on it about military battles that I hadn’t taught. I don’t think it was in the textbook.”⁶⁰² Fran asserted that because examinations were taken so seriously and strictly, she believed it unethical to inform her students of these questions. She explained: “I was really sorry. I knew it wasn’t fair but couldn’t do anything about it. I didn’t set the exam and there was nothing I could do.” Fran justified her compliance because she was an “obedient, law-abiding person who followed the rules.” Following this self-characterization, she recounted a story in which she was successful with her students by wandering off prescribed content. Acknowledging that she often wanted to teach material that was “not just textbook or set by the exam,” she described one of her grade nine classes: “I got on the great plague and the great fire. I knew that there were some wonderful descriptions so I took a whole week out of the set curriculum and taught them...They absolutely adored it but somehow or other I didn’t feel I had much freedom to do that.”

Phoebe McKenzie similarly recounted a story in which the democracy she was asked to teach did not correspond with her own experience. She recalled: “We got notices from the Board in the fifties to emphasize the importance of democracy. We were told to be sure to show that democracy is the preferred type of government...the democratic society is the preferred society.” Phoebe remembered being encouraged to add her own personal knowledge, and not simply rely on the text. In response, “I taught the rise of Modern Russia. Now when we were studying communism...when we were through studying it, we had a big blackboard summary with characteristics of communism and we would fill the whole front board and part of the side board. I had my own classroom so I would leave it on. We would go over it again.” Phoebe was aware that she was crossing important

boundaries: "I was told that you could never do that in New York. Americans were absolutely scared skinny of Communism. Even to this day, you know, one of the reasons they don't have Medicare is that it is socialized medicine." Her story is unique among those interviewed. She was one of the only persons to admit that personal politics informed lesson content. In demonstration of her own sentiments, Phoebe further recalled that trials of communists also took place in Canada during the period, and a good friend's husband was tried and imprisoned.

Phoebe's memory did not let her down. Newspapers of the period reveal a steady public surveillance of communist activities among teachers and other influential members of the education system in Toronto and Vancouver. Reporters cited Toronto teachers who attended communist rallies and school board candidates with communist affiliations.⁶⁰³ These reports were also found in Vancouver newspapers, with added accusations that CCF and former Communists taught socialism in schools.⁶⁰⁴ One particular individual, Keith Ralston, was pushed into the spotlight in 1957 when Archie Gibbs, a member of the provincial legislature, accused the Social Credit government led by W.A.C. Bennett of hiring known 'Reds.'⁶⁰⁵ Ralston, who admitted to having past Communist affiliations, was part of a larger panic that leftists teachers were producing children who came home "imbued with leanings toward non-democratic forms of government" or worse "poisoning the mind of youth against democracy."⁶⁰⁶ Such public panics readily smeared anyone who seemed less than compliant to the dominant order within schools as elsewhere.

Like Ralston, who assured the public he had no current political affiliation, women in this study denied partisan ties. While Ellen Stewart mentioned her socialist father and Sophie Canning admitted that she liked some aspects of communism most emphasized the importance of presenting themselves as apolitical to their students. Catharine Darby insisted

that people are wrong when they assume all teachers were left-leaning. Instead, she explained, you had to resist influencing students: "you had to be careful of the slant that you were portraying...you couldn't say that this was yes, no or whatever...regardless of what you thought you had to be careful." The common surveillance of teachers' political affiliations explains, in part, why the women interviewed resisted questions that designated their actions or beliefs as 'rebellious' or 'defiant.'⁶⁰⁷ They left themselves however some room to maneuver, demonstrating that they were not mere marionettes. As Phoebe McKenzie noted, she was the "master of my own classroom, with my own expectations." Her narrative, as with those of other women teachers, speaks to the contradictions that defined their participation in the school's laboratory of 'democracy.' As productive teachers, the education community expected them to follow their prescribed duties, while at the same time to exhibit initiative and autonomy as professionals, and to do so within a co-operative, teamwork environment. The majority of the women teachers depicted subtle negotiations of this tension, acknowledging their dutiful fulfillment of responsibilities even as they described efforts to preserve autonomy.

Although Karen described the curriculum as prescriptive, she quickly noted: "It was the books and not the lessons. I covered twice as much because it was too restrictive. They had no modern stuff at all, so I introduced them to and assigned them other things to read." Interestingly, the particular reading Karen used to illustrate her enrichment was, as she described, "about a young rebellious guy who explored." She did not provide the title of the book, but her message was clear; alternative options were there. Later in the conversation, Karen quietly discussed her bold use of a book that was, as she described it, "blacklisted." She explained: "Certain books were blacklisted from the English department or from the curriculum because of a certain influence they thought wasn't appropriate...to do with

McCarthyism, communism, etc...I had all of my students read *Catcher in the Rye*, not part of the curriculum but they were all expected to read it.” While one cannot be sure in what ways she understood the book to be “blacklisted,” *Catcher in the Rye* was not on the recommended text list from the Department of Education.⁶⁰⁸ Despite her awareness of the surveillance and fears of seditious activities in the McCarthy era, Karen’s decision signified the bold, yet “unofficial” steps she took to direct her students’ learning. Her story also illustrates that, while teachers were encouraged to be individuals and have a strong influence on their students, lesson content was intended to preserve government’s educational agenda.

Most interviewees argued that they took the prescribed material and ‘enhanced it’ with, what Sadie Chow referring to as her “own secrets” or their own pace, extra materials and method of teaching. Beverley Hurst, for example, repeatedly implied that the content and structure of her lesson were determined by external authorities. At a later point in the interview, Beverley was asked: “Did the principal or the government or you determine what happened in the classroom?” Without vocalizing her response, Beverley slowly raised her right hand index finger and firmly pointed it into her own chest. Even decades later she could not verbalize her own manipulation of the system; she still pretended to embrace Ministry objectives. Nonetheless, she knew that she had set an agenda that accommodated her own class, views, and workload. Mostly, the women were able to accomplish what they believed was necessary according to their obligations both to the Ministry and their students, while still retaining certain autonomy. Muriel Fraser made this argument when she stated: “I think I stuck to the curriculum. I think we managed to finish it well, but then I talked to them a lot about travels. You see I would go overseas, because you knew French and German...I brought in a lot of stuff.” Sophie Canning explained throughout that her expertise, particularly in dance, helped determine the course content. She recalled teaching

English at one point, in which she used music and movement to help students with writing exercises. Typically, the women teachers demonstrated control over curriculum development through how the content was covered and not the content per se. According to them, the emphases and pace they set were influential in their students' learning. These women had what historian Rebecca Coulter refers to as "power in practice."⁶⁰⁹

Everyday, localized control was the women's primary form of political influence into the curriculum of the day. Yet more confrontational measures were not entirely out of reach. Such actions were not without consequences. When Claire Anderson first arrived at her secondary school, it quickly became apparent that the course materials, time on the field and equipment were insufficient compared to the men's program. She described a long campaign for the equitable distribution of the budget and having great successes with the girls' sports teams thereafter. As a result, however, she remembered: "the men teachers, I had a bad time...they would just 'poo poo' me or they would plan something to have the gym and it wasn't their turn." Claire recalled going to the principal regarding these incidents and offering her resignation. Although she would not leave, Claire later noted that these teachers drove another female colleague out of the school. Catharine Darby, a home economics teacher, shared a more ominous story relating to her expressions of authority within a Vancouver secondary school. Throughout our conversation, she kept returning to "threats" and an "incident." While still cryptic, towards the end of the interview she confessed that she had received veiled threats during an anonymous late night telephone call. The reasons, men felt "women were pushing for too much," and she, in particular, was "doing too much" and getting too many perks. Catharine and Claire were among the few women who gave specific illustrations of the intimidation and harassment that could accompany agitation for gender equality. Other women shared stories of less threatening

disagreements with administrators for better curriculum resources, desired courses, and teaching lessons. On rare occasions, some admitted threatening to leave or resigning for positions of greater authority. This type of mobility might well have been effective given the teachers shortage of the period.

Distinct differences in power and expressions of autonomy existed between interviewees promoted to full or assistant headships, and those who were not. Over half the women interviewed were promoted, beyond the average generally. Promotions, which were comparable for both regions, were given almost entirely within female-dominated subjects, and rarely did, and in this sampling did not, extend to principalships. As a general rule, those promoted were often unmarried or at the very least without children. Most of those promoted here were physical, home economics, or languages teachers, and only two women, both from Vancouver, were both mothers and administrators.

Typically, the interviewees who had advanced professionally expressed relatively greater opportunity both to insert their own ideas into the content and methods of their classes, but to do so in a co-operative and collegial environment. Those who were not promoted, like Fran Thompson, found "no sharing resources between teachers, or lesson plans...no, all my teaching totally by myself." Alma Erickson, the only woman teaching in the math department of her secondary school, explained that she "had to do her own thing." June West also noted: "there wasn't co-ordination amongst the teachers in terms of how they were loading students...there was also not a conferring amongst teachers to have a multi-discipline approach." She argued, in fact, that she was glad she "wasn't a part of any team teaching because to prepare took a lot of preparation already. I was pretty much left alone to teach as I thought I should teach." According to many who did not take on an administrative role, collaboration with colleagues was either non-existent or simply extra work. Given their

workloads, and thus limited opportunities for collaboration, we might argue they were dissuaded from being team players, a problem for any person's promotion aspirations.

In contrast, Elizabeth MacKay, a department head, described a school environment in which "curriculum was my own responsibility, but you didn't have to go too far without backup...you got along well because I think there was teamwork mostly in departments...administration and teachers communicated." Elizabeth recalled opportunities to meet other women heads of physical education departments as a part of a city-wide association. They could "do a lot of chatting and discussing...because of that association we moved from entirely inter-form competition to inter-school." Similarly, Karen Phillips connected her administrative position to her participation in broader initiatives. Feelings of relative autonomy and creative license emerged in her recollection of participating in curriculum planning sessions with the OSSTF. She described this work as "making many advances...all sorts of committees prepared booklets on curriculum." Karen even managed to create a more supportive environment for her colleagues by assisting with in-service training or educational conferences. Given Elizabeth's and Karen's confidence in affecting their school environments, it is not surprising these women recalled positive responses from officials to their decision-making. Clearly, the hierarchal structure of the school was not simply defined by gender; women themselves existed at a variety of levels. The difference in perspective is understandable. Department heads wielded authority in large part as an extension of centralized, male-dominated authorities. Their personal qualities might add or subtract, but their power was ultimately derivative of a male-dominated structure. No issue makes this difference more vivid than discussions regarding inspections or supervision visits that evaluated teachers' instructional practices.

SUPERVISING AN EGALITARIAN SCHOOL

In an effort to ensure that the secondary school reflected democratic practices, educational authorities demanded changes not only to curriculum development, but to inspection procedures. These were now to mean friendly assistance, rather than autocratic judgment. To facilitate the shift, the governments of Ontario and British Columbia permitted school boards to appoint their own municipal inspectors to provide community-based and personalized support for improving instruction.⁶¹⁰ The prime goal was to initiate self-supervision as a way to strengthen teachers, and to set an example for students' learning and participation as citizens in the nation.⁶¹¹ The traditional annual inspection by board-appointed specialists was becoming rare. Inspectors in the 1950s were thus instructed to appraise not only teachers' performance, accommodations and equipment, and student success, but also internal methods of supervision.⁶¹² Specifically, in British Columbia, a policy of teacher-consultants implemented peer supervision toward the end of the period. The Toronto Board suggested similar sympathies in its 1961 *A Survey on Supervisory Practices of Persons in Personal Communication with Classroom Teachers*, which insisted that "probably most supervision is provided by teachers for other teachers."⁶¹³ However instituted, such views suggest that visits of any sorts were to provide positive support for professional improvement. The old days of intimidation were supposed to be gone.

The women interviewed asserted that teachers in their experience never in fact oversaw each other's classes as the new concept of supervision ideally suggested. They largely viewed the non-collegial, authoritative forms of inspection to which they were subject as interference and intimidation, and a sign of lack of trust in their knowledge as academics and their character as teachers. Inspections were not co-operative moments but

oppositional incidents in which people took sides. The department head loomed as an adversary rather than a partner in the improvement of instruction. Beth Merle, a department head, explained this tension: "Well, some teachers didn't take very kindly to sharing their lessons or ideas, and as head you sometimes had to do things about lessons that you would see." June West, who was not a department head, illustrated the potentially adversarial relationship between supervisor and supervisee. She recalled: "One inspector I thought was not very wise, there was this one occasion where I was teaching basketball and she brought the head of the department in and was suggesting some things I was doing that the head of the department might do. Well, I didn't think that was very....it was putting me in a bad position." June's reflections on the compromising of her authority and that of her female department head seemed to signify a common and special difficulty for women, applauded as nurturers and not disciplinarians, to exert authority. They would face even greater pressure against male authorities. Even the powers of female department heads were far less than those of the male principals, inspectors, and superintendents to whom they were responsible.

For different reasons, all the women interviewed remembered tension-filled encounters with external inspectors. Inspections were stressful "intimidating" and "bad" as weaknesses were identified.⁶¹⁴ Inspectors and principals graded performance, according to a rating scale, in a way reminiscent of an elementary school report card with categories ranging from skills to relationships, and ratings from superior to unsatisfactory.⁶¹⁵ Evaluations included items from the women's appearance to the content of their curriculum. According to those interviewed, visits did not support democracy or exchange; they represented little more than top-down dictation. The hierarchical relationship was conveyed when inspectors rarely spoke to the teachers about instructional techniques, and provided

written evaluations only to principals. Elizabeth MacKay explained: "You probably got inspected about once a year. They might tell you they would like to come into your class at such and such a time or they might just walk in. They may give comments, but they usually just walked out." Muriel Fraser commented sarcastically about visits: "It was always a great day when the inspector came around. It made you nervous and you knew you were up for inspection and you tried your best. Then there would be a great get together afterwards between the inspector and the principal. They may come around at the end of the day and say what they thought."

Negative responses helped prompt the OTF to recommend to the Hope Commission that "a copy of the Inspector's annual report on each teacher should be made available to the teacher concerned."⁶¹⁶ The Federation also wanted suggestions for improvement to be made to individual teachers and that grading be discontinued.⁶¹⁷ British Columbia's Department of Education incorporated the BCTF's similar recommendations for regulating supervision in its 1958 *Rules and Regulations* governing public instruction. This document defined and restricted the power of supervisors and added that a "supervisor shall not evaluate the work of any teacher on a written report."⁶¹⁸ While changes occurred by the end of the period, relations between inspectors and teachers long remained distant, with teachers often unaware of complaints made by inspectors to educational officials.

Not surprisingly, many of those interviewed remained uncertain about what had transpired. A number presumed negative reports to account for a lack of promotion, of increments in yearly pay, and of permanent certificates. Fran Thompson made regular threats to quit based on an inspector's refusal to approve a permanent certificate, and, thus, higher pay and more job security. Phoebe McKenzie explained the contingency of security on the inspector's report: "If you taught successfully for two years, the inspector would

decide to sign your certificate. That meant you had your permanent certificate.” From the perspective of those evaluated, inspectors appeared to exert rather than share authority. Abigail Sears was rare in admitting to a negative report from a principal who supervised her work. As she explained, he did not approve of her using mornings to prepare for classes instead of fulfilling counselling duties in the office. She stated: “I have the report still from that principal and it was the most scathing report.”

Adversarial relations existed despite initiatives by school boards and federations to improve inspections. The Toronto Board, and its association of supervisors, in consultation with principals, inspectors, and male and female teachers, undertook their *Survey of Supervisory Practices* with teachers’ feedback to understand better the dynamics of such communications.⁶¹⁹ The survey, which began in 1959, found that teachers wanted to know the purposes of criticisms, as well as visual and verbal demonstrations of changes demanded.⁶²⁰ A survey of teachers conducted the same year by the BCTF’s Supervision Practices Committee came to comparable conclusions. The 25 percent of provincial teachers who responded suggested supervisors tried to impose too much uniformity, provided conflicting advice and needed more training in their duties.⁶²¹ While many believed that supervisors could be constructive, the consensus was that advice was more useful than evaluation.

The women teachers interviewed may have agreed in principle with such conclusions, but they argued that the inspectors’ suggestions were essentially useless and inconsequential to the improvement of their instructional techniques. This opinion seemed fueled by the fact that inspectors were men who were assessed as pontificating about their expertise in teaching, but were in fact largely oblivious to subject specialties of the women they observed. Jessie Russell asserted that supervision taught her little about teaching girls

physical education: "there would be an inspector but he didn't have a clue about rhythmic or gymnastics." Beverley Hurst questioned the inspector's authority when she explained: "We never worried too much about those chaps because they were Maths and Physics people and they didn't really know...they wouldn't really understand the make-up of the lesson the way they would in Science and Math. I mean they were nice people but..." Even the prestige of scientific knowledge did not compromise her authority in female-dominated subjects such as languages.

Fran Thompson similarly recalled inspectors as administrative types out of touch with classrooms and effective teaching techniques. She illustrated this point in retelling a story about a Friday afternoon in which a "white-haired man...an inspector came in and sat during the first half of my class, then he left his seat and did this extraordinary noisily, energetic thing where he fired off questions." The inspector thought she needed "more pep to get the kids excited about all this...he made a big thing about it...fire a question here, fire a question there...make that person answer." Fran stated that "wasn't my style. I quietly taught things and if you didn't put your hand up, I didn't ask you." Fran laughed, with great satisfaction, at what the students said on Monday, "We don't know what that guy was doing. Do you mind if we go back over the lesson we did on Friday?" Claire Anderson recalled indulging her principal's interests in physical education teaching and even flattering him as a strategy to get what she wanted. She contended that the principal was usually "embarrassed" when he walked through her classes and concluded that such inspectors were useless "because there was so much going on that they weren't aware of." At one point, non-golfer Claire received golf equipment because the principal loved golf and wanted students to learn. When the principal came in the gymnasium, she told the class "take a moment because I want you to come here and see [the principal], now he is a real golfer." She

followed by quickly stating with laughter: "Oh yeah, that worked all right." By putting him on the spot, she asserted her superiority in instruction. The majority of the women believed that, despite the potential for negative reports, supervisors were of little consequence to their teaching. The teachers painted a picture in which they 'humoured them' by showing inspectors or principals what they wanted to see and then continued to teach in ways that they deemed most effective.

The women, as a group, developed similar strategies to foil surprise visits from external authorities: a plan in which all members of schools were involved. It began, as June West noted, with teachers secretively letting each other know that the inspectors were in the school so they could prepare their lessons accordingly. June remembered: "Someone in the office would know the inspector arrived and would get the book and pass it to the teachers. That was the signal when the book got passed around and the teachers would pass it to each other." Jessie Russell described the school becoming a buzz with "the rumour that the inspector's coming today." Marion Hayes' and Beth Merle's narratives confirm such shared responses. Both recalled teachers putting on lessons for the inspector that were polished and practised from years past. Marion explained: "You got to know what some of them liked. Then, of course, you got these people that they said taught the same lesson every time." Beth, like Marion, implied that these secretive practices occurred, but she did not directly associate herself with them. She stated: "I know of teachers who always taught the same lesson for inspectors. The kids knew it."

Lessons for inspectors not only prompted insider conspiracies among teachers but student complicity. As Muriel Fraser noted, "You made a special effort for that day. I used to talk to the kids and explain what was going on and they would rally around. They always behaved for those days." Teachers, students, and even office workers seemed to support

each other in defining the classroom as a place where the teacher, not an external observer, would determine the practices. After all, as Phoebe McKenzie concluded in her narrative: "I'm going to tell you something. If there is going to be any improvement in education, it is going to be right in the classroom. The greatest value in the whole educational system is a darn good teacher in the classroom."

In the face of such determination and resolve, it might be hard to understand why many women claimed they did not make more radical demands, such as promotion to principal or inspector. Most interviewees simply realized that promotion was not really an option for their sex. Without identifying her own desire for advancement, June West stated: "Now they have the opportunity. Then they didn't, so there was no point in wasting energy on that." For other women, who admitted to thinking about administration, they may not have agitated because of the fear of seeming to be trouble-makers in a period of hyper-patriotism. Teachers were inclined to choose more subtle expressions of dissatisfaction with official doctrines. For others, promotions were not an unqualified benefit since they might threaten security. Staying in a familiar setting and in a known role enabled many of the women to effectively shape their work environments. Common among the women was talk of 'stability' and 'staying put.' Abigail Sears, for example, commented: "I felt equal [nevertheless] accepting that any promotions that the men would have them and I wasn't interested...they [women] weren't thinking in terms of promotion – they stayed there." Grace Logan credited immobility to a long-awaited internal school promotion: "a lot of teachers moved around from one place to another but I stayed put and eventually became head of department and I got more pay for that."

In many ways women teachers agreed with an 'identifiable' quasi-hierarchal power structure in the school. A firm pecking order, from their perspective, meant that at least they

knew the rules they could quietly negotiate. Many interviewees spoke of their principals with respect and admiration, characterizing them as “a benevolent dictator,” or “military-like, who ran a tight ship.”⁶²² Muriel Fraser was one of those whose principal was a war veteran who used military structure in organizing the post-war secondary school. Muriel described the principal as an “ex-World War One Colonel...a very strong wonderful man” who “ruled with an iron hand. He sent out daily orders and told us to ‘kill your own snakes’.” Muriel laughed at the memory. Donna Weber’s principal “called an assembly the first week he was there and told us we were to call him Colonel. We were to recognize the ranks of all the other men on the staff who had been in the service and we were to call them by their rank.” She nevertheless referred to him as pleasant and someone who brought order to the school. Donna also remembered non-accommodation: nobody called the men by rank, “we just laughed, Squadron leader what’s his name.” For them, as with the other women interviewees, principals who ruled in such a way, while perhaps overly-authoritative, provided a healthy respect for a hierarchical organizational structure in which members fulfilled defined duties. This was perceived to support teachers because principals kept to their administrative offices and out of classrooms. Such arrangements provided a clear message to students that teachers commanded classrooms and merited respect.

The women teachers brought such authoritarian organization into their own space. Beth Merle seemed proud that her students were “scared to death” of her oral examinations in French. Sophie Canning, in a matter-of-fact tone, recounted giving her students “the stick” to teach them an important lesson in respect with a slapping noise. For such professionals, hierarchy translated into better working and learning conditions. Few women teachers recalled embracing initiatives that would provide a more independent, ‘democratic’ learning environment for students. Grace Logan argued that pupils did not respond well to

'new' ventures: "I taught the same way I was taught...I expect lessons were pretty dull...they [students] were used to thinking certain ways and they didn't want it changed thank you very much." Catharine Darby also commented that she avoided the "latest methods" because she "did things her own way." Despite gender discrimination, or perhaps even in part because of it, the familiar, orderly, and even traditional seemed most comfortable for these women in post-war classrooms.

As many insisted, "there were no gender differences I couldn't handle," or "I didn't feel gender discrimination because women just did what was needed."⁶²³ While the interviewees seemed to lack the language with which to discuss desires for more power or control, they acknowledged tactics associated with union activism or public displays of dissatisfaction as personally untenable for them, and, still worse, destructive of the negotiation of workable authority in the 'democratic' post-war secondary school of Toronto and Vancouver. Participation in the production of a 'democratic' school, for these women teachers, did not come from the pursuit of power, but, in another important way, as service-providers.

The hierarchal structure of the school was both beneficial, in that it was workable, and detrimental to women teachers. They had to negotiate the tensions of upholding an inequitable school structure while simultaneously committing themselves to public 'democracy.' The experience for the interviewees, like that shown in research conducted on women university teachers, meant at times a painful "bifurcated consciousness." Despite insufficient recognition and rewards, in other words the lack of a meritocracy, they laboured hard as service-providers for the school and remained apolitical and non-trouble-makers.⁶²⁴ Other choices would presumably have meant a short stay in the profession. In other words,

these women would not have been the subjects of this study. The sampling of interviewees for this thesis reflects those women who were not radical dissenters against post-war schooling. Nonetheless, these women provide common voice for those teachers that stayed within the system and attempted to assert opportunities where possible for control over their work. Despite describing what I interpret as the failure of the Toronto and Vancouver secondary school as a microcosm of participatory democracy, the women teachers communicated a sense of competence, empowerment and ownership of curriculum and supervision. Women teachers were able to exercise power, albeit ultimately limited, not through formalized structures, but through informal and localized means. The narratives demonstrate that liberal democracy's disguise of the norms of inequality may be somewhat vulnerable to the "powers of the weak."⁶²⁵ The women teachers readily declared, however, that greater battles had to be won in order to gain equality that would match political authority with responsibility. To bring about this revolution, post-war rhetoric of liberal democracy required women to assume public roles as authorities: a role denied by those in authority as female teachers were idealized and scrutinized for their work as apolitical nurturers.

⁵²⁰ A version of this chapter is part of a forthcoming publication: "Gendered Democracy: Women Teachers in Post-war Toronto," *Historical Studies in Education* (Spring 2006).

⁵²¹ This chapter uses Shirley Tillotson's concept of post-war participatory democracy as a serious attempt by reformers' to implement an ideal of rule by 'the people,' but limited by the liberal politics of the day that produced greater bureaucracy and leadership by 'experts.' See, Tillotson, *The Public at Play*, 5-6.

⁵²² Arnot and Dillabough, "Feminist Politics and Democratic Values in Education," 162-165.

⁵²³ Martin, "Excluding women from the educational realm," as cited by Arnot and Dillabough, "Feminist Politics and Democratic Values in Education," 165.

⁵²⁴ Pateman, *The disorder of women*; Carole Pateman, "Equality, difference and subordination: The politics of motherhood and women's citizenship," in *Beyond equality and difference: Citizenship, feminist politics, female subjectivity*, ed. G. Bock and S. James (New York: Routledge, 1992).

⁵²⁵ Jill Blackmore, *Troubling Women: Feminism, leadership and educational change* (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1999); Mary Kinnear, *In Subordination: professional women, 1870-1970* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995); Elizabeth Smyth, S. Acker, P. Bourne and A. Prentice (editors), *Challenging Professions: historical and contemporary perspectives on women's professional work* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).

⁵²⁶ Iris Marion Young, "Gender as seriality: Thinking about women as a social collective," in *Social postmodernism*, ed. L. Nicholson and S. Seidman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), as cited by Madeleine Arnot and Jo-Anne Dillabough, "Feminist Politics and Democratic Values in Education," 165.

⁵²⁷ Gidney, *From Hope to Harris*, 11-12; Morrison Watts, "Decentralized Curriculum Building," *Education: A Collection of Essays on Canadian Education, Volume 3, 1958-1960* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1960), 22-23. See, also, CVA, *Vancouver School Board Reports, 1945-1960*; TDSBA, *Annual Reports, 1950-1960*.

⁵²⁸ Ibid.

⁵²⁹ Ibid.

⁵³⁰ Scarfe, "The Aims of Education," 72-73; J.S. Bruner, *The Process of Education* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1960). See, also, on the issue of examinations, Wilbur J. Bender, *The Top-One-Per-Cent Policy* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1961).

⁵³¹ Paton, *Concern and Competence*, 94. Paton's writings in the collection primarily cover the 1950s and 60s.

⁵³² Ibid, 96.

⁵³³ Dewey, *Experience and Education*, 10.

⁵³⁴ Ibid.

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- ⁵³⁵ S.R. Laycock, "What Kind of Teachers Do We Need?" *The B.C. Teacher*, April 1948, 257; S.R. Laycock, "Toward Better Teaching," *The B.C. Teacher*, September-October 1949, 11-15.
- ⁵³⁶ Watts, "Decentralizing Curriculum Building," 21; Paton, *Concern and Competence*, 73.
- ⁵³⁷ Scarfe, "The Aims of Education," 84.
- ⁵³⁸ Neatby, *A Temperate Dispute*, 21.
- ⁵³⁹ Scarfe, "The Aims of Education," 75.
- ⁵⁴⁰ Ibid.
- ⁵⁴¹ Newnham and Nease, *The Professional Teacher in Ontario*, 212-220.
- ⁵⁴² Reynolds, "Hegemony and Hierarchy," 109.
- ⁵⁴³ Gidney, *From Hope to Harris*, 22.
- ⁵⁴⁴ Gaskell, *The Problems and Professionalism*, 28.
- ⁵⁴⁵ Gidney, *From Hope to Harris*, 22-23.
- ⁵⁴⁶ Gaskell, *The Problems and Professionalism*, 123-124 and 133.
- ⁵⁴⁷ Ibid., 162.
- ⁵⁴⁸ David L. Tough, "Licensing is Coming," *The Bulletin*, March 1954, 53-54.
- ⁵⁴⁹ Johnson, *A History of Public Education in British Columbia*, 239-244.
- ⁵⁵⁰ BCTFA, BCTF Library, *Historical Reviews and Dissertations*, William A. Bruneau, 'Still Pleased to Teach: A Thematic Study of the British Columbia Teachers' Federation, 1917-1978 (Vancouver: unpublished manuscript, 1984), 31.
- ⁵⁵¹ Ibid., 46-53.
- ⁵⁵² Johnson, *A History of Public Education in British Columbia*, 249-250.
- ⁵⁵³ Bruneau, *Still Pleased to Teach*, 50.
- ⁵⁵⁴ Johnson, *A History of Public Education in British Columbia*, 244-247.
- ⁵⁵⁵ Ibid., 251-252.
- ⁵⁵⁶ "Ruling to Permit Teachers On Municipal Council Asked," *The Province*, 6 April 1945; "Teacher Shortage," *The B.C. Teacher*, November 1946.

⁵⁵⁷ CVA, Public School Records, Special Committees' Correspondence and Reports, Loc. 59-B-2, File 14, Special Committee #25 – to set a policy for employees seeking public office, "Report to Special Board Meeting, September 2nd, 1958."

"Who Should be on Council?" *The B.C. Teacher*, January 1959, 210.

⁵⁵⁸ D.S. Hamilton, "The Crux of Freedom," *The B.C. Teacher*, November 1945, 65.

⁵⁵⁹ "Teacher Shortage," *The B.C. Teacher*, November 1946, 53; See, also, "The Canadian Teachers' Federation National Policy," *The B.C. Teacher*, November 1946, 68-69.

⁵⁶⁰ See, for example, Jenny Ozga and Martin Lawn, *Teachers, Professionalism and Class: a study of organized teachers* (London: Falmer Press, 1981); Bob Bessant and Andrew D. Spaul, *Teachers in Conflict* (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1972); Bob Bessant and Andrew D. Spaul, *Politics of Schooling* (Carlton, Victoria: Pitman Pacific Books, 1976).

⁵⁶¹ Michael Apple, "Work, Class and Teaching," in *Schoolwork: Approaches to the Labour Process of Teaching*, ed. J. Ozga (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1988).

⁵⁶² Francis. S. Chase, *Education Faces New Demands* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1956), as cited by "The Teacher and Policy Making: How Democratic Can You Get?," *The B.C. Teacher*, December 1952, 102-104 and 107.

⁵⁶³ Palmer, *Working-Class Experience*, 269-277.

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 277.

⁵⁶⁵ C.C. Goldring, "Today's Secondary School Students," *Education: A Collection of Essays on Canadian Education, Volume 2, 1956-1958* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1959), 10-12.

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 12; See, also, Jack Blacklock, "Your children made me quit teaching," *Chatelaine*, May 1957, 14-15 and 100-103. Blacklock examined the busy life of a teacher in the secondary school. The author asserted that teachers were leaving schools because they were no longer "in the business of education." Instead, he argued, teachers had to act as social workers, recreation supervisors, and police officers, not to mention academic directors.

⁵⁶⁷ TDSBA, *Board Minutes*, January 6, 1950, 139. See, also, Fred Clarke, *Freedom in the Educative Society* (London: University of London Press, 1948).

⁵⁶⁸ MacKinnon, *The Politics of Education*, 82-88.

⁵⁶⁹ OISE/UT, OHEC, Department of Education, *The Teacher Profession Act* (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1944) ; W.T. Newnham and A.S. Nease, *The Professional Teacher in Ontario*, 3-13 and 198-199.

⁵⁷⁰ See, for examples, CVA, British Columbia, *Annual Report, 1948-1949* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1950); CVA, British Columbia, *Annual Report, 1960-1961* (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1962).

⁵⁷¹ Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 200-201.

⁵⁷² Gidney, *From Hope to Harris*, 9-36; Johnson, *A History of Public Education in British Columbia*.

⁵⁷³ BCTFA, BCTF Official Records, *Women in Teaching Files*, "Analysis of Positions Held by Women in the Field of Education in B.C., 1954-1955," 1955.

⁵⁷⁴ BCTFA, BCTF Official Records, *BCTF Miscellaneous*, Loc. RG1, B36, File - List of School Inspectors and Secretaries of School Boards, "British Columbia School Inspectors, 1949-1950 and 1952-1953," 1953.

⁵⁷⁵ Reynolds, "Hegemony and Hierarchy," 111 and 115.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁷ "More Posts of Responsibility," *The B.C. Teacher*, December 1957, 121-122.

⁵⁷⁸ Juliette Proom, "Tilly Jean Rolston: She Knew How to Throw a Party," *In Her Own Right: Selected Essays on Women's History in British Columbia*, edited by B. Latham and C. Kess (Victoria: Camosun College, 1980). Rolston was British Columbia's first woman cabinet minister. As the Minister of Education she revamped *Effective Living*, introduced in 1950, to include lesson on sex education.

⁵⁷⁹ Myra Strober and David Tyack, "Why do Women Teach and Men Manage? A Report on Research on School," *Signs* 5 (Spring 1980): 494-503; Danylewycz, Light and Prentice, "The Evolution of the Sexual Division of Labour in Teaching"; Danylewycz and Prentice, "Teachers, Gender and Bureaucratizing School Systems in Nineteenth Century Montreal and Toronto."

⁵⁸⁰ French, *High Button Boot Straps*, 130.

⁵⁸¹ For more on how power works to sustain the systematic "unequal integration" of men and women workers, see Richard W. Connell, *Gender and power: society, the person and sexual politics*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987).

⁵⁸² A. Mills, "Gender, sexuality and organizational theory," in *The sexuality of organization*, edited by J. Hearn, D. Sheppard, P. Tancred-Sheriff, and G. Burrell (London: Sage, 1989), 33, as cited by Reynolds, "In the Right Place at the Right Time," 133.

⁵⁸³ Reynolds, "In the Right Place at the Right Time," 134.

⁵⁸⁴ OTF Column, *Educational Courier*, April 1949, as cited by Gaskell, *The Problems and Professionalism*, 221.

⁵⁸⁵ Althouse, *Addresses*, 200.

⁵⁸⁶ Gaskell, *The Problems and Professionalism*, 212.

⁵⁸⁷ Max Braithwaite, "Why Teachers Quit," 10.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁹ Reynolds, "In the Right Place at the Right Time," 137.

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- ⁵⁹⁰ "Editorial: Who Should Make the Curriculum?" *The B.C. Teacher*, May-June 1948.
- ⁵⁹¹ Gaskell, *The Problems and Professionalism*, 223-225.
- ⁵⁹² Putnam and Weir, *A Survey of the School System of British Columbia*, 168.
- ⁵⁹³ French, *High Button Boot Straps*, 133.
- ⁵⁹⁴ For example, the BCTF in the 1970s undertook a serious study of the status of women teachers in the province. See BCTFA, BCTF Official Records, *Women in Teaching File*.
- ⁵⁹⁵ Gaskell, *The Problems and Professionalism*, 223-225.
- ⁵⁹⁶ Johnson, *A History of Public Education in British Columbia*, 253.
- ⁵⁹⁷ L.S. Beattie, "Group Planning and Teacher Participation in Curriculum Revision," *The Bulletin*, June 1951, 120.
- ⁵⁹⁸ R.J. Love, "Where Do We Go From Here?" *Education: A Collection of Essays on Canadian Education, Volume 3, 1958-1960* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1960), 31.
- ⁵⁹⁹ Martin Lawn argued, through an examination of a British woman teacher's diary during WWII, that women teachers' workload increased during a time of national crisis. He also notes that this extra responsibility brought a measure of additional power. See Martin Lawn, "What Is the Teacher's Job? Work and Welfare in Elementary Teaching, 1940-1945," in *Teachers: The Culture and Politics of Work*, ed. M. Lawn and G. Grace (London: Falmer, 1987). I argue that the post-war period in Canada was a moment of national crisis that similarly saw an increase in women teachers' workload. While they did not gain greater 'official' powers, I illustrate how they asserted a form of authority in the school.
- ⁶⁰⁰ Hope Commission, *Report of the Royal Commission on Education*, 89-90; Robert Gidney, *From Hope to Harris*, 14 and 20.
- ⁶⁰¹ Chant Commission, *Report of the Royal Commission on Education*, 1960, 264-360; Johnson, *A History of Public Education in British Columbia*, 267.
- ⁶⁰² See, also, Interview with Alma Erickson; Interview with Donna Weber.
- ⁶⁰³ In 1952 alone, see, for example, "City Teachers at Red Rally," *Telegram*, September 26; "4 Communists Run For Council Posts 4 For School Board," *Telegram*, November 11; "24 Seeking 14 Seats on Board of Education," *Globe and Mail*, November 18. See, also, Frank K. Clarke, "'Keep Communism Out of Our Schools': Cold War Anti-Communism at the Toronto Board of Education, 1948-1951," *Labour/Le Travail* 49 (Spring 2002): 93-120.
- ⁶⁰⁴ See, for examples, Paul St. Pierre, "School Brings Socialism to Westons," *Vancouver Sun*, 14 September 1951; "Socialism Being Taught in Schools?" *Vancouver Sun*, 12 July 1945.
- ⁶⁰⁵ "Bennett Aroused at Charge 'Known Red' on School Staff," *Vancouver Sun*, 2 February 1957; "'I was a Communist' city teacher admits," *The Province*, 13 February 1957; "Former Communist

Teacher Keeps Job," *Vancouver Sun*, 19 February 1957; "Ex-Communist teacher charges investigated," *The Province*, 14 February 1957. In this last article, R.F. Sharp, Superintendent of Schools, tries to calm fears of Communist teachers by assuring the public that new teachers are required to take an oath of allegiance to the Queen.

⁶⁰⁶ "Socialism Being Taught in Schools?" *Vancouver Sun*, 12 July 1945; "Paynter Hits CCF Teachers," *The Province*, 2 October 1945.

⁶⁰⁷ One may also surmise that the women teachers did not see themselves as defiant to authority because popular memory has designated the post-war era as a conformist period in history.

⁶⁰⁸ OISE/UT, OHEC, Department of Education, *Text Books Approved or Recommended for Use in Elementary and Secondary Schools* (Toronto: The Queen's Printer, 1955); OISE/UT, OHEC, Department of Education, *Text-books authorized, approved, and recommended and instructions regarding text-books for public, separate, continuation and high schools and collegiate institutes for the school year 1950-1959* (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1950-1959); OISE/UT, OHEC, Department of Education, *Courses of Study, Grade XIII English* (Toronto: The Queen's Printer, 1954).

⁶⁰⁹ Coulter, "Getting Things Done," 678. Coulter argues that progressive educator Donalda Dickie was an influential leader in Canadian education, yet never received an administrative position. As a result, Dickie, who wrote numerous textbooks and taught in many Alberta Normal Schools, gained authority through her academic achievements and practical work with teachers. Coulter acknowledges that such power does not offer extrinsic rewards.

⁶¹⁰ Johnson, *A Brief History of Canadian Education*, 106-8.

⁶¹¹ Booth, "Some Basic Aims and Recent Trends in Secondary Education," 44; Flower, "Supervision in School Systems," 58-59.

⁶¹² OISE/UT, OHEC, *Report on the experimental and newer aspects of schools*, 1952, 2-3.

⁶¹³ OISE/UT, OHEC, Toronto Board of Education, *A Survey of Supervisory Practices of Persons in Personal Communication with Classroom Teachers* (Toronto: Toronto Board of Education, 1961), 1.

⁶¹⁴ Interview with Jessie Russell; Interview with Elizabeth MacKay; Interview with June West; Interview with Muriel Fraser, she noted being "scared stiff"; Interview with Grace Logan, she commented that they were "bad."

⁶¹⁵ Douglas, "The Principal and Supervision and Inspection," *The Bulletin*, 31 May 1957, 141-42; "Editorial: Rating Scales," *The B.C. Teacher*, December 1947; CVA, Public School Records, *Principal Annual Reports*, Loc. 74-A-6, "Principal Reports on Teachers, February 28, 1956."

⁶¹⁶ Gaskell, *The Problems and Professionalism*, 90.

⁶¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 91.

⁶¹⁸ "What We Said," *The B.C. Teacher*, December 1959, 146.

⁶¹⁹ Toronto Board of Education, *A Survey of Supervisory Practices*, 1961, 1-21.

⁶²⁰ Ibid., 14-16.

⁶²¹ BCTF Supervision Practices Committee, "Of Teachers and Supervision," *The B.C. Teacher*, February 1960, 233-235.

⁶²² Interview with June West; Interview with Karen Phillips; Interview with Ellen Stewart; Interview with Grace Logan; Interview with Donna Weber.

⁶²³ Interview with Sadie Chow; Interview with Grace Logan.

⁶²⁴ Sandra Acker and Grace Feurverger, "Doing good and feeling bad: the work of women university teachers," *Cambridge Journal of Education* 26, no.3 (1997), 26, as cited by Dillabough, "Gender Politics and Conceptions of the Modern Teacher," 382.

⁶²⁵ Tillotson, *The Public at Play*, 159-160.

Conclusion

'Democracy' as experienced and practiced in and through post-war Canadian schools embodied a normative and highly gendered social contract. Women teachers worked in the name of a liberal democracy that simultaneously offered a citizenship at once abstract and androgynous, and limiting and conservative. Their position in Vancouver and Toronto secondary schools illustrates the centrality of gender and education to the democratic project as it was understood in the tumultuous decades after the Second World War.

In accordance with a post-war national agenda for stability, teachers were to ensure that students experienced 'choice' in burgeoning curriculum options, 'freedom' through personal growth of character, and 'autonomy' in their lessons in civics. These core goals, with their presumptions of neutrality and objectivity, informed the vast majority of educators, whether progressive or traditionalist. Unanimity in support of such commitments masked the secondary school as a hegemonic institution that produced a highly diversified student body and teaching workforce, both of which were believed central to the victory of the West in the Cold War.⁶²⁶ 'Democratic' fictions supplied regulatory discourses for a country seeking capitalist, white, Christian, nuclear family 'normality.' 'Normality' was the order of the day after the horrors of war, and in the face of massive social change, including a rise in immigration, an increase in women as paid labourers, and the perceived growth of sexual 'deviants.'

The stable 'democratic' nation employed schools to promise security by categorizing students as leaders or workers based on their supposed 'capacity' for knowledge and morality. This classification also directed students to roles as citizens that similarly presumed a hierarchy of performance. Teachers in turn provided the conduits for

'democratic codes' of conduct, but gender determined new roles for them too. Women were responsible for teaching a separate sphere ideology that assumed their inferiority as professionals without the true ability for rational 'knowledge.' In effect, women became reproductive, rather than productive, agents for moral fortitude. Their role was to endorse male leadership. Within this model, women lacked political agency in the public sphere; their power was essentially private, rooted in domestic personal relations. Not surprisingly, they were rarely candidates for promotion in the public sphere where their tenure was conditional on their performance of normative gender codes that gave preference to men. Predominately male educational authorities took for granted that women teachers needed regular surveillance to perform their duties. Women knew how they were expected to behave and often performed accordingly. My interviews suggest that some teachers found ways to resist the codes that surrounded them. They discussed forms of resistance from teaching 'subversive' lessons to acting out non-dominant versions of femininity.

The reflections of women teachers stand at the centre of this thesis on the relationship among the history of education, gender and democracy. The scholar Henry Giroux suggests that we must engage with women's 'everyday' and 'particular' identities, voices and experiences if we are to counter organized knowledge that maintains masculinist governance.⁶²⁷ My analysis of the narratives of women teaching in Toronto and Vancouver schools after World War Two employs the insights of feminist theory. In particular, it employs feminist theory that seeks to infuse modernist concerns for social structure and common oppression with poststructuralism's concern for hierarchies of identification and difference.⁶²⁸

In the Name of Democracy takes seriously Michel Foucault's recommendation to explore power in its local manifestations. My use of oral histories reveals how a woman

teacher's motherhood or even her speech exposed a supposed lack of professionalism; how pants symbolized the destruction of domestic harmony; and how a Chinese-Canadian woman teaching home economics was perceived to disrupt an Anglo-Celtic national identity. Women's private identities informed their public roles in ways that were believed to require external governance. Even as they taught the directives of citizenship, they ultimately confirmed male power. Examples of resistance were hard put to overcome this gendered reality.

The women interviewed were creative agents who struggled to find ways to reconcile patriarchal educational systems with their personal needs. Historians have assumed that the 'undemocratic school' was purely oppressive for women teachers. These narratives suggest, however, that their intimate knowledge of schools gave women opportunities to exert authority. In contrast, post-war educational authorities assumed that it was inspection visits and curriculum development initiatives which empowered women teachers. Many of this study's participants characterized these schemes as interference by male administrators. Their schedules were already jam-packed with 'extra-duties' both in and out of the school. They disregarded such interference and focused on their own authority in the classroom.

Such admissions do not evoke an image of the rebellious 'woman' teacher. Just as the goals for post-war education were riddled with contradictions, women teachers emerge as complicated figures. They were neither entirely traditionalist nor progressive, neither heroes nor villains, neither typical nor atypical. They were, however, indicative of women in these years who were trying to seize the opportunities of the period in which they found themselves. In this respect, they were much like others around them. It is the power of this ordinariness, in their everyday knowledges, languages and identities, which post-war officials sought to direct in channels that would affirm gender hierarchies. Ultimately, as I

have suggested, this ordinariness was influential in shaping the nature of post-Second World War Canada.

In the Name of Democracy hopes to further a feminist appreciation of educational history by placing a spotlight on secondary school women teachers. While this research explores bureaucratic structures in the mid-twentieth-century, much like studies of nineteenth-century education, it also examines what teachers actually did in classrooms, including lesson plans, grading and discipline. This approach takes for granted that schools are a site for labour history and that women need to be understood as workers.⁶²⁹ This thesis also addresses the sometimes regional expression of teaching and education, a factor that few studies subsequent to Alison Prentice's and Marta Danylewycz's pioneering comparative case study of the teaching forces in Ontario and Quebec have recognized.⁶³⁰ This thesis suggests that regional differences did not ultimately compromise overarching commitment to national goals. Across the country, women teachers served to affirm a democratic agenda that aimed to maintain Canada's mosaic both gendered and vertical.⁶³¹

The topic of educational democracy has been largely overlooked by historians in part because of the success of liberal ideology and the power of 'democratic' rhetoric in privatizing women's voices even when present in public institutions. In deconstructing discourses and principles that shaped democracy for post-war Canada, this work challenges the liberal basis of politics in the interests of gender equality. My conclusions problematize democracy, while supporting Chantal Mouffe's call for 'radical democracy.' Radical democracy calls for a flexible, pluralist citizenship that allows for expression of antagonistic social identities, while holding on to the fundamental assertions of liberty and equality.⁶³² It is towards this end that I have taken seriously Madeleine Arnot's and Jo-Anne Dillabough's proposal for education research that employs feminist political theory to deconstruct the

every day practices of schooling.⁶³³ Such theory has helped me expose the gendered codes that were built into the educational foundations of post-World War II democracy. *In the Name of Democracy* suggests that historical studies of 'democratic' education can work with feminist theory to reveal the strategies and contextual factors that build fictional, universalizing narratives of 'masculine' citizenship. Such historical assessments can explore how individuals and groups have struggled over spans of time, with successes and failures, for greater equality. The goal for future work in the educational history of gendered 'democracy' should be to explore the full range of differences that underlay the country's social contract for citizenship.⁶³⁴ Once that story is known with all its blemishes, we will be able to share the confidence of one of my subjects who in her eighties still insisted on the value of her profession: "Try teaching... you can really make a difference there."⁶³⁵

⁶²⁶ Arnot and Dillabough, "Feminist Politics and Democratic Values in Education," 174. My use of illusions and fictions comes from Walkerdine and Lucey, *Democracy in the Kitchen*.

⁶²⁷ Henry Giroux, *Postmodernism, feminism and cultural politics* (New York: SUNY, 1991), as cited by Arnot and Dillabough, "Feminist Politics and Democratic Values in Education," 179.

⁶²⁸ Ibid. See, also, Dillabough, "Gender Politics and conceptions of the modern teacher"; Fraser and Nicholson, "Social criticism without philosophy."

⁶²⁹ Prentice and Theobald, "The Historiography of Women Teachers," 24.

⁶³⁰ Danylewycz and Prentice, "The Evolution of the Sexual Division of Labour in Teaching: A Nineteenth-Century Ontario and Quebec Case Study"; Marta Danylewycz and Alison Prentice, "Teachers, Gender and Bureaucratizing School Systems in Nineteenth-Century Montreal and Toronto."

⁶³¹ John Porter, *The vertical mosaic: an analysis of social class and power in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968). Porter's seminal text did not address gender.

⁶³² Chantal Mouffe, "Feminism, citizenship and radical democratic politics," in *Feminists Theorize the Political*, ed. J. Butler and J. Scott (New York: Routledge, 1992).

⁶³³ Arnot and Dillabough, "Feminist Politics and Democratic Values in Education," 185.

⁶³⁴ While this study has been limited, given the time period, to examining primarily white, middle-class women teachers, Canadian educational historians need to build upon contemporary studies to explore the role of other marginalized groups of women educators, particularly racial 'minority' teachers in twentieth-century citizenship debates. See, for example, See Annette Henry, *Taking Back Control: African Canadian Women Teachers' Lives and Practices* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998).

⁶³⁵ Interview with Beverley Hurst.

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Appendix I - Biographical Sketches of Interviewees

(Dates provided are approximate.)

TORONTO WOMEN TEACHERS

Muriel Fraser (pseudonym)

Muriel was born in 1919. At the time, her family lived in New Brunswick, due to her father's position as a professor at Mount Allison University. The family moved to Ontario when Muriel was 12 years of age because her father began to teach at the University of Western Ontario. Her mother was a graduate of medicine from the University of Toronto and worked as an anaesthetist and hospital administrator, or volunteered in the field. The family was of an Irish heritage, above average income, and attended the Methodist Church, which later became The United Church of Canada. Muriel graduated with her undergraduate degree from the University of Western Ontario in 1941 at the age of 22. After her Ontario College of Education training in 1941, she obtained a teaching position for French and German at a Toronto secondary school. In the late 1940s and early 50s, Muriel studied French at the Sorbonne, and completed her Master of Arts at university in the United States. Muriel eventually became the head of the languages department. She remained at her first teaching position until 1968, at which time she worked as a French consultant with the Board. She retired from that position and teaching in late 1970s. Muriel did not marry nor did she have children.

Marion Hayes (pseudonym)

Born in 1921 and raised in Ontario, Marion was part of a cattle farming family. Her father was a cattle farmer until his death in 1927, when Marion was just six years old. Marion's mother was a teacher before marriage, and after the death of her husband. As such, the family, which included Marion's younger brother and sister, had only a modest income. The family was of Scottish, Irish and English ancestry. After graduating from high school in 1940, Marion completed her Bachelor of Arts Degree in history, with minors in political science and economics. She taught history and English following her graduation in 1944, and obtained her teacher training during the 1944 and 1945 summer sessions at the Ontario College of Education. Marion had teaching positions in the late 1940s and early 50s in rural areas just outside of Toronto. She began teaching in a Metropolitan Toronto area school in 1952 and retired from that school in the early 1980s. Marion did not seek a promotion beyond the classroom during her career. She did not marry nor did she have children.

Beverley Hurst (pseudonym)

Beverley was born in Ontario during the year 1919. Growing up in a rural area, she and her family were of middle to upper socio-economic status. The family was of Catholic faith, with an Irish heritage. Beverley's father worked as an elementary teacher for a brief amount of time early in his working years, and was a civil servant. Her mother was a public school teacher prior to marriage. Beverley was the oldest of three sisters. She graduated from high school at the age of 17 and subsequently attended the University of Toronto for her undergraduate degree which she completed in 1940. She completed her Ontario College of

Education training in 1941, specializing in modern languages. Teaching mostly German, French, with some Latin classes, Beverley began her career in the 1940s at schools in the eastern regions of Ontario. From 1944 to 1977, she taught at two Toronto secondary schools. During that time, Beverley periodically studied in France, and studied many summers in Quebec. She obtained a promotion to the head of the languages department at the Toronto school in which she taught. Beverley did not marry nor have children. She retired from the education system in the late 1970s.

Melanie Kilburn (pseudonym)

Born in 1928 and raised in Ottawa, Melanie was the youngest of four girls and a boy. Both of her parents graduated from Queen's University. Her father owned a local store and eventually a patent firm. Her mother was a musician and kept the books for their store. Relative to the area, the family was upper socio-economic in status. Melanie was from Scottish heritage and her family regularly attended The United Church of Canada. Like her parents, Melanie entered Queen's University at the age of 18 and majored in history, politics, and English. She graduated in 1949. Melanie worked for the next two years as a secretary while living with her sister in Toronto. At the same time, she undertook graduate studies at the University of Toronto. In the 1951-1952 year, Melanie enrolled in the Ontario College of Education. Subsequently, she was qualified to teach history, English and Physical Education. She would enrol in two summer courses to obtain her specialist qualification in Physical Education. Melanie began and ended her classroom teaching career at a Toronto secondary school from 1953 to 1957. At the end of this period Melanie married and gave birth to two sons. The family had moved to Quebec at that point, and she worked as an

inspector of student teachers for an elementary school. The family moved back to the Toronto area in 1980.

Elizabeth MacKay (pseudonym)

Elizabeth was born in 1915 and raised in northern Ontario. She was the youngest of four children, with two older sisters and an older brother. The majority of her family were involved in education. Her father was a teacher and principal of a Normal School, her mother a piano teacher before marriage, and her two sisters briefly employed as teachers. Elizabeth defined her background as German and English. Her family was middle class socio-economic in status and heavily involved in The United Church of Canada. Elizabeth graduated from high school at the age of 18 in 1933. She achieved her diploma from the Margaret Eaton School of Health and Education in Toronto after 2 years of study from 1933 to 1935. Elizabeth moved to Atlantic Canada and taught Physical Education from 1935 to 1937 at a private school for girls. She completed her undergraduate degree in science and music from Mount Allison University in 1941. Following her degree, Elizabeth enrolled in the Ontario College of Education from 1942 to 1943 and completed half the year before taking on a teaching position at a southern Ontario secondary school. She then taught in a Toronto school for 34 years, from 1943 to 1977. She taught primarily Physical Education, with some classes in English. She did not obtain an administrative position during her career. Elizabeth did not marry nor did she have children. In the mid-1970s she officially retired from teaching.

Phoebe McKenzie (pseudonym)

Born in 1914, Phoebe lived in eastern Ontario throughout her childhood. Her father was the owner of a local store, and her mother a milliner prior to marriage. She has one younger sister by six years. Phoebe's family was of English, Irish and Dutch heritage. Relative to others in the area, her family was quite prosperous. She attended the University of Toronto, Victoria College in 1932. She majored in English and history at the University. After graduating in 1936, she completed her year of teacher training at the Ontario College of Education in 1937. She obtained teaching positions in both the Scarborough and Brockville region during the late 1930s. Phoebe was married in 1940 at the age of 25. In the early 1940s she taught at a Toronto secondary school, with time off from teaching in the later part of the decade to have two children. She began teaching again at a different Toronto school in 1951 and left that school when she retired in the late 1970s. Her husband taught at that same school throughout the 1950s, and passed away in 1992. Phoebe was a classroom teacher, and did not accept an administrative position, throughout her career.

Beth Merle (pseudonym)

Beth was born in southern Ontario in 1923. Her father worked for General Motors, and her mother worked as a lamp shade maker prior to marriage. She had one sister who was 3 years younger. The family was politically conservative, with an above average income for the area. Her family background was English and Scottish. Beth began her undergraduate degree in 1943 at the University of Toronto, residing at University College. At the age of 24, she graduated from University. In 1947, she attended the Ontario College of Education.

Beth taught at a number of secondary schools throughout the late 1940s and 1950s, including those in the areas of Oshawa, Etobicoke and Toronto. While she taught classes in Spanish and English, her primary teaching field was French. Beth was a department head for modern languages. In the mid-1950s, Beth studied at the Sorbonne in France. She taught summer courses for teachers in training, and, later in her career, took a position with the Ministry to develop curriculum. Beth did not marry nor did she have children. She retired in the early 1980s.

Karen Phillips (pseudonym)

Karen was born in 1919 in northern Ontario. Her father was the supervisor of the local post office and her mother was a full-time housewife. Karen did not have any siblings. Of Gaelic ancestry, her family was middle-class in socio-economic status and members of The United Church of Canada. Karen completed her undergraduate degree at the University of Toronto from 1938 to 1942. She majored in English and minored in languages. Karen would continue her schooling throughout her teaching by completing an M.A. and Ph.D. Following her undergraduate degree, she enrolled in the Ontario College of Education. Karen obtained her first job in a Toronto secondary school in 1943. She was married in 1947, which was her last year at that school. Karen did not have children. She began a new teaching position at a Toronto secondary school during the following school year and remained there until 1963. She was the head of the English department at that school, and left to join the Board as part of the language studies division. She worked with the Board until her retirement in the mid-1980s.

Fran Thompson (pseudonym)

Fran was born in Delaware in 1934, and moved to Toronto, Ontario at the age of 5. Her immediate family consisted of her father, who ran warehouses, her mother, who was a dress seller prior to marriage, and a sister who was 5 years her senior. A conservative family, Fran's parents were heavily involved in the Episcopalian Church and The United Church of Canada. The family was upper class in socio-economic status. Fran attended Smith College in Massachusetts in approximately 1951, when she was 17 years of age. After graduating with a major in English literature in 1955, she completed her honours year in history at the University of Toronto. She would later obtain her Master of Arts in 1957 and her Doctor of Philosophy in the 1960s. Fran's first teaching job was with a private school in Toronto from 1956 to 1957. In 1958, she obtained her teacher training at the Ontario College of Education in order to acquire a job with the public secondary school system in Toronto. She taught in the system until the mid-1960s. After marrying in 1960, her teaching career was temporary placed on hold while she had two sons. She ended her teaching career at the secondary level in the 1960s, but continued teaching at the University level for decades.

June West (pseudonym)

June was born in 1928 in southern Ontario. She moved to Toronto at the age of 2 or 3 years old. June resided permanently in Toronto, living in a middle socio-economic neighbourhood. Her father worked as a small trade businessman and financially supported June and her younger brothers. The family was of Scottish, Irish and English ancestry. They attended the local United Church of Canada. In the fall of 1946, June entered the

University of Toronto's Victoria College. She graduated in 1950, and then attended the Ontario College of Education. Graduating in the spring of 1951, at the age of 23, June obtained her first job at a Toronto secondary school. She stayed at that school until 1954. She taught primarily history, English and Physical Education. June continued to teach in the Toronto area, but switched to a different school where she worked from 1954 until 1963. She would continue to be a classroom teacher in two more Toronto area secondary schools throughout the 1960s and into the early 1970s. In the early 1970s, June completed her Master of Arts degree and accepted a position with the Ministry of Education. She retired from the education system in the late 1970s. June did not marry nor did she have children.

VANCOUVER WOMEN TEACHERS

Claire Anderson (pseudonym)

In 1920, Claire was born in California. She moved with her family to Vancouver around 1928. Her father started a family business in printing, while her mother, who worked at the Edmonton Press prior to marriage, was a homemaker. They were respectively of Scottish and Irish ancestry. Her family, consisting of two brothers and one sister, attended Baptist churches. Claire later became a part of The United Church of Canada. She graduated from grade 12 at a Vancouver secondary school in 1939. Over the next couple of years Claire would finish her senior matriculation, take night courses, coach sports for teaching experience, and work odd jobs in order to attend Normal School in Vancouver. Her first teaching position in 1942, which lasted a year, was at a rural elementary school. She would

subsequently teach at another rural school and at a technical high school just outside Vancouver. In 1948, Claire got a physical education teaching position at a Vancouver secondary school and she would stay at that school until retirement in the early 1980s. During those years, Claire's mother died and her father lived with her from 1955 until his passing in 1966. Claire did not marry nor did she have children.

Sophie Canning (pseudonym)

Sophie was born in 1927 and grew up around the Vancouver area. Her father was a construction worker and her mother assisted with the book-keeping at the construction company. Sophie's ancestry is British and Dutch. She is a self-identified lesbian, who has been in a relationship for over twenty years. She graduated from a Vancouver high school and then played sports professionally to pay for her way through the Bachelor of Physical Education program at the University of British Columbia. After graduating from university in 1949, Sophie attended Normal School for one year, but immediately obtained her first position as a physical education teacher at the secondary level in a Vancouver secondary school. She would leave that school after a decade and begin a new position at another Vancouver secondary school in 1960. She left secondary teaching in 1966 to pursue heading up a specialist program at a Vancouver elementary school and teaching courses at the university level. She retired from teaching in the mid-1970s to pursue other interests.

Sadie Chow (pseudonym)

In 1929, Sadie was born in the interior of British Columbia. Her father emigrated from China to work for the Canadian Pacific Railway and later mined gold and farmed. Her mother, who was also Chinese, was a homemaker, until Sadie's father died in 1945 and she sold vegetables to local stores. Sadie was one of thirteen children in her family. After graduating high school, she moved to Vancouver in 1947 to enrol at the University of British Columbia in the School of Home Economics. She left university within two years to find employment. She accepted a teaching position in the interior region on a temporary certificate for two years before returning to university and graduating in 1952. Sadie would complete summer school courses for teacher training over the next three years while working as a teacher in and around her home town. Upon an interim position as a home economics teacher on Vancouver Island, Sadie obtained a job in 1956 at a Vancouver secondary school, where she would stay until 1963. During that period, she would be married and have her first child. Her husband ran a restaurant in Vancouver. Subsequently, Sadie would have another child and teach home economics at least two other Vancouver secondary schools, including the position of head of department at one of the schools. She would eventually return to the first secondary school at which she taught and retire from there in the mid-1980s.

Catherine Darby (pseudonym)

An only child, Catherine was born in 1919 in Manitoba. Her family was English and middle-class. Her father worked as an engineer and her mother worked as a homemaker.

Catherine graduated from secondary school and university in the late 1930s. Following her undergraduate degree, she would move to Vancouver and attended the University of British Columbia in 1942-1943 for her teacher training. Her teaching areas were science, math and home economics. She worked at a secondary school just outside of Vancouver for a number of years. In 1947, Catherine began teaching at a Vancouver secondary school. She would stay at that school for thirteen years. Catherine then taught for three years at another Vancouver secondary school. Catherine transferred for a third and final time to another school in the area, at which she obtained the position of department head. She retired in the late 1970s. Catherine did not marry nor did she have children.

Alma Erickson (pseudonym)

Alma was born in 1918 Saskatchewan to a Swedish mother and father. She had two brothers. Alma's father worked many jobs, including the Swedish army, farming on the Prairies and then as an engineer on fishing boats in British Columbia. Her mother did not work outside of the home. Alma graduated from a Vancouver secondary school in 1936 and enrolled at the University of British Columbia to study maths and sciences. She graduated in 1940 and continued her teacher training for another year at the university. Alma's first four years of employment were during wartime in rural communities, where she taught a variety of subjects and age levels. She married in 1944 and stopped teaching. Alma moved for a short time period with her husband, who worked as an engineer, to Manitoba. Alma and her husband returned to Vancouver, where she worked as a substitute teacher at many secondary schools. She also briefly worked for a private school in the area during 1947. Alma gave birth to a son in 1948 and a daughter in 1952. With the illness of her husband, Alma

returned to full-time teaching in 1957 until her retirement in the late 1970s. She taught math and sciences at two Vancouver secondary schools over that period.

Grace Logan (pseudonym)

The sole child of a Scottish family, Grace was born in 1919 in Alberta. Her family was Methodist and then became part of The United Church with church union in 1925. Her family was working-class, with her mother working as a homemaker and her father taking on various paid employment, including military service. Grace's family moved to Vancouver before she completed elementary school. She graduated from a Vancouver secondary school in 1936 and completed senior matriculation from a different school in the area the following year. Grace attended the University of British Columbia from 1937-1941, and majored in Latin, which was her primary teaching subject. She took her education training from the university in the following year and continued summer school courses to obtain her Bachelor of Education some years later. Her first teaching jobs, from 1942-1945, were in rural communities teaching elementary and secondary students a variety of subjects. She then returned to Vancouver where she taught French for two years to men who had returned from war. In 1947, Grace became a languages teacher at technical school in Vancouver. She retired from the head of department position of that school in the late 1960s. She did not marry nor did she have children.

Jessie Russell (pseudonym)

Jessie was born on Vancouver Island in 1924. She grew up and graduated high school in that area. Her mother, of English background, was one generation of many who were teachers. Her father, of Scottish background, worked in coal mines and, once the family moved to Vancouver, worked for the city. Jessie attended Normal School in Victoria for her teacher training in the 1943-44 school year. She would spend the following three years attending summer school to obtain her specialist certificate in physical education. Over those years, she taught junior high school students in Vancouver and elementary students in areas just outside the city. From 1948 to 1954, Jessie left teaching to be married and had three children. She would return to teaching for a few years as an elementary teacher and then a physical education consultant with the Vancouver School Board. In 1957, Jessie started teaching physical education at a Vancouver secondary school. She would join another Vancouver secondary school staff in the late 1960s, from which she retired in the late 1980s.

Abigail Sears (pseudonym)

In 1922, Abigail was born on Vancouver Island. Her parents were both English. Her father worked as a logger and her mother worked on the farm on which they lived. She graduated from high school in that area, and then went to the University of British Columbia for one year. During that time her father has passed away and Abigail needed to raise money for more university. She attended Normal School in Vancouver the following year. Her first job, which lasted one year, was at the elementary level in a rural mining town. For the 1943-

44 school year, Abigail obtained a position at a Vancouver secondary school. That same year she married a man in the Navy. Soon after marrying, she became pregnant with her first of four children. Abigail left teaching once pregnant, but continued to take summer school courses in Victoria in order to receive a permanent elementary certificate. She returned to teaching, but as a physical education, English and guidance teacher at a Vancouver secondary school. She would remain at that secondary school from 1958-1971, leaving to work at two other secondary schools in the area, and acting as an area counsellor for elementary schools until her retirement in 1980. During that period, she was promoted to head of department and received a Master's degree at a university in the United States. Upon retirement from the Vancouver School Board, Abigail dedicated her time to teaching at the University of British Columbia until the mid-1990s.

Ellen Stewart (pseudonym)

Ellen was born in a city an hour outside of Vancouver in 1924, but was raised with her sisters and brothers in Vancouver. Her father ran a logging business and her mother was a homemaker. Ellen is of Irish and Scottish descent, with family ties to Roman Catholic and Methodist churches. Her father passed away in 1938. Upon graduation from a Vancouver secondary school, Ellen attended the University of British Columbia from 1942-43 until 1946-47, where she took courses in history, art and English. She went for a year of teacher training, followed by three years of summer courses to get her Bachelor of Education. Ellen accepted a secondary teaching position in a school on Vancouver Island for one year and then filled a position at a Vancouver secondary school from 1949-1955. She taught physical education, English and social studies. For the following six years, Ellen worked in three

more secondary schools in Vancouver, one of which appointed her head of department for a year. In the early 1960s she retired from full-time teaching after marrying. Her husband worked in the food distribution industry and they did not have any children. Ellen accepted supply positions over the next decade.

Donna Weber (pseudonym)

Donna was born in Vancouver in the year 1929 to a father of German descent and a mother of English and Irish heritage. Donna is the oldest of three children in the family. Her parents were both in the paid labour market, her mother worked as a teacher and her father worked for the British Columbia Electric Railway. Her mother insisted the family attend the Anglican Church regularly, but Donna would leave organized religion later in life. She graduated from a Vancouver secondary school in 1947. She obtained both her Bachelor in Physical Education and her teaching training at the University of British Columbia from 1947 to 1952. Donna immediately received a position at a Vancouver secondary school teaching physical education and a course title Effective Living. Donna left secondary teaching after four years to pursue her Master of Arts at a university in the United States. Upon completing this degree, she taught physical education at the University of British Columbia until her retirement in the mid-1990s. Donna received her Doctor of Philosophy from a Canadian university during her time teaching at the post-secondary level. She did not marry nor did she have children.

Appendix II – Contact Letter to Interviewees

Ph.D. Dissertation Research: *In the Name of Democracy: The Work of Women Teachers in Toronto and Vancouver, 1945-1960*

Dear _____,

I appreciate your willingness to consider providing your memories as a secondary school teacher in Vancouver during the post-WWII period.

As you know from my letter for participants, I am a graduate student at the University of British Columbia working towards my Doctorate of Philosophy in the field of Educational Studies. My dissertation research seeks to examine the role of secondary school women teachers in the formation of 'democracy' for post-WWII Canadian education. In order to understand the personal and collective experiences of women teachers from this period, my project centers on the collection and analysis of oral histories from women who taught in Toronto or Vancouver secondary schools for at least 2 years anytime from 1945-1960.

The purpose for this study is not only to document the often neglected histories of women teachers, but to understand how women teachers were both the agents of democracy (i.e. concepts of equality) and the embodiment of post-war gender norms. More specifically, the main questions explored in the research are: How did ideals of democratic teaching function for women teachers whose capacity for authority was questioned in the context of post-

WWII Canada? How did women teachers resolve their public duty as agents for citizenship with their femininity, which was often idealized as essentially home-based?

Some of the topics I will discuss through the interview process will include your decision to become a teacher, teacher education, workload, daily responsibilities, interactions with students, career goals, philosophies of education, work atmosphere, relationship with colleagues and administrators, labour relations, your part in curriculum development, instructional methods, and professional development. The interviews conducted are not meant to provide a singular vision of post-war education. Instead, it is my sincere hope that each woman's personal and unique interpretation of this point in educational history will be present. As a result, some questions of a more personal nature may be discussed, such as your family background, the age you became a teacher, where you resided, whether or not you married, if you had children, and external hobbies.

Each interview will take approximately two hours at a location and time of your choosing. Out of necessity for the writing process, each interview will be digitally recorded and transcribed by me. You will be given a pseudonym to protect your anonymity. Recordings and transcriptions will be kept in a locked cabinet and in a password protected computer, with access to the data restricted to my supervisor and myself. You will have the opportunity to read the dissertation upon completion. While this research is for the completion of a doctoral dissertation, the material may be used for future publications that stem from the study.

Appendix III – Consent Form

Title of Study: In the Name of Democracy: The Work of Women Teachers in Toronto and Vancouver, 1945-1960

Principal Investigator: Dr. Veronica Strong-Boag

Co-Investigator: Kristina Llewellyn, Ph.D. Candidate

PURPOSE:

This research study seeks to examine the role of women secondary school teachers in Toronto and Vancouver, between 1945 and 1960. The purpose for this study is not only to document the often neglected histories of women teachers, but to understand how women teachers were both the agents of democracy and the embodiment of post-war gender norms. You have been invited to participate in this study because your oral history can assist in exploring the following questions: How did ideals of democratic teaching function for women teachers whose capacity for authority was questioned in the context of post-WWII Canada? How did women teachers resolve their public duty as agents for citizenship with their femininity, which was often idealized as essentially home-based? This study is being conducted by Kristina R. Llewellyn for her dissertation in completion of a Ph.D. in the Department of Educational Studies at the University of British Columbia.

CONSENT FOR ARCHIVING INTERVIEW MATERIAL (OPTIONAL):

Your signature below indicates that you volunteer to have your interview recording and transcript archived in a public depository upon completion of the study. Before submitting your interview recording and transcript to a public depository, names of people and locations that could undermine your pseudonym will be erased.

Subject Signature

Date

Printed Name of the Subject

Appendix IV – Interview Guide

(Each interview varied within a conversation format.)

Interviewee: _____

Date: _____

Location: _____

Re-explain Goals of Research: _____

Explain Ethics of Recording and Participation: _____

Consent Form: _____

Check Equipment: _____

Questions from Participant: _____

FAMILY BACKGROUND

- Where were you born and where did you grow up?
- What was your family like in childhood?
- What did your parents do for a living?
- Did you consider yourself upper, middle or working class?
- Was your family religious?
- What is your racial/ethnic background?

- Do you have a particularly special memory of your childhood?
- How would you describe your high school days?

EDUCATION/TRAINING

- Did you go to university and what was your major?
- Why did you decide to become a teacher?
- What kind of teachers did you have?
- Was there a type of teacher you wanted to model or reject?
- What kind of teacher did you want to be?
- What was your teacher training like?
- Do you remember lessons about how you should look and act?
- Why did you decide to become a high school teacher?
- Was it mostly men going into high school?
- Were you particularly strong in one subject or another?
- Can you remember one professor who stood out from your training?

HOME LIFE / IMMEDIATE FAMILY

- Were you married or single?
- What was your husband's or partner's career?
- Did you have children?
- Did you have responsibility for other family members?

- Were you a wife and mother while teaching?
- How did you balance work with the role of wife and mother?
- How did responsibility at home impact your teaching career?
- Did you have a group of women to support you?
- Where did the family reside?
- Were there any major changes to your family life during the post-war period?
- Were there special events that shaped your life in the post-war period?
- What were your non-teaching hobbies and activities?

SUMMARY OF CAREER

- Would you provide a brief overview of your different teaching positions?
- Why did you work at these different schools?
- What were your various positions in each school?
- Were you promoted to different positions?
- Did you stop your career in teaching at any point?
- Did you have other careers or jobs?
- When did you decide to retire and why?
- Where did you teach during the post-war period?
- What were your teaching positions in the post-war period?
- What was your goal as a teacher at that time?
- Did your goals or philosophy of teaching change during your career?
- Is there a specific memory that you have of post-war teaching?

POST-WAR PERIOD REFLECTIONS

- What do you think generally about the post-war period?
- Do you remember T.V. shows, music, celebrities or fashions?
- What was it like politically (conservative or new opportunities)?
- What about economically (prosperous or unsteady time)?
- Was there great fear about the atomic bomb or great hope after war?
- How did the war change people's lives?
- How did the war change education?

TYPICAL WORK DAY / RESPONSIBILITIES

- Would you describe a typical working day in the post-war period?
- What were the expectations of you as a teacher?
- Did you have time for class preparation?
- What did you like least about teaching at that time?
- What did you like most about teaching at that time?
- Were you responsible for extra-curricular activities?
- Were you responsible for planning curriculum?
- Were you responsible for any professional development activities?
- Were the expectations of women different from men teachers?
- Did you feel like it was a hectic schedule and why?
- Who made sure you met expectations?

- Who were you accountable to in the system?

TEACHING METHODS

- Did you decide what you would teach in the classroom?
- Were there government guidelines that you followed?
- Did you find government regulations helpful or restrictive?
- Do you remember a favourite lesson that you taught?
- Did you ever teach something 'radical' or against the 'norm'?
- How would a typical lesson go in your class?
- What kind of materials did you use in your lessons?
- Did the school have lots of resources to help teachers?
- What kind of assignments would you give?
- Did you get one on one time with students?
- How did you manage the class as a whole?
- Did you have a 'teachable moment' where you reached a certain student?
- How do you think student perceived you?
- How were your teaching practices different from other teachers?
- What did it mean for you to be a professional teacher?

EDUCATIONAL TRENDS / VALUE

- Was education valued in the post-war period?

- If so, why do you think education was considered important post-war (trends)?
- Do you think that the school had poor public relations?
- Do you remember public relations by the Board or the BCTF?
- What were political or education officials' goals for secondary schools?
- Was education funded enough?
- Were school buildings expanding or changing?
- Do you remember government commissions or specific policies for secondary schools?
- What were the major changes to secondary school in the period?
- What were students like then?
- Were there class, racial or other conflicts amongst students?
- Were teachers valued?
- Do you think teachers were supposed to be role-models?
- How were women role-models differently from men?
- Were there enough teachers and opportunities for teachers?
- Did teachers have a political voice?
- Did you hear about communist teachers?
- Do you recall controversies about teachers holding public office?

OWNERSHIP / DECISION-MAKING

- Would you describe the atmosphere of your school(s)?
- How were important decisions made in the school?
- Did you think the school was democratic?

- Was democratic education important during the period?
- Did you have input about policy or curriculum or initiatives?
- Did you have a choice of what courses you would teach?
- What big events took place in the school?
- What was the role of the principal?
- What was the role of department head?
- What was the role of the inspector (were you supervised)?
- What was the relationship like between administrators and teachers?
- Were most administrators men? Did that ever pose a problem?
- Were there women administrators? What was the difference?
- Did you ever want to be an administrator?
- What would your course of action be if a problem arose in the classroom?
- What would you do if you have a problem with a principal?
- Did teachers relate to trustees and Board members?
- Would you appeal to the Federation if there were problems?
- What kind of problems did teachers relate to the Federation?
- Were you involved with the BCTF?
- What was the relationship between teachers and parents?
- Do you remember working with the PTA?
- What was the relationship among teachers (collegial)?
- Did teachers talk amongst themselves to share information?
- Did teachers gossip?
- How was communication in the school?

- How was communication between the school and the community?
- How did students perceive school (student council)?

GENDER AND EQUITY ISSUES

- Do you remember any specific gender issues of the period?
- Were you paid the same as men?
- Did you have the same opportunities for promotion?
- Was there a difference between men and women's pensions?
- Did women have the same responsibilities as men?
- What about the same authority or powers in the school?
- Were there conflicts between men and women teachers?
- Do you remember gender issues in the Federation?
- Were men teachers represented the same as women teachers?
- Were women teachers politically active?
- Can you describe the kind of labour action that took place?
- Were women teachers highly involved in the community?
- Do you think women were considered to be as professional as men?
- What were women teachers' greatest contributions to the school?
- Do you have any other memories of teaching you want to share?

Additional Information to Share: _____

Questions about Interview: _____

Materials from Teaching Days (photos or lesson plans): _____

Check Equipment Again: _____

Research Context Notes:



Certificate of Approval

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR Strong-Boag, V.	DEPARTMENT Educational Studies	NUMBER B04-0712
INSTITUTION(S) WHERE RESEARCH WILL BE CARRIED OUT UBC Campus ,		
CO-INVESTIGATORS: Llewellyn, Kristina, Educational Studies		
SPONSORING AGENCIES Social Sciences & Humanities Research Council		
TITLE: In the Name of Democracy? The Work of Women Teachers in Toronto and Vancouver 1945-1960		
APPROVAL DATE NOV - 4 2004	TERM (YEARS) 1	DOCUMENTS INCLUDED IN THIS APPROVAL: Oct. 30, 2004, Consent form / Sept. 10, 2004, Advertisement / Contact letter / Questionnaire
CERTIFICATION: <p>The protocol describing the above-named project has been reviewed by the Committee and the experimental procedures were found to be acceptable on ethical grounds for research involving human subjects.</p> <p><i>Approval of the Behavioural Research Ethics Board by one of the following:</i> Dr. James Frankish, Chair, Dr. Cay Holbrook, Associate Chair, Dr. Susan Rowley, Associate Chair Dr. Anita Hubley, Associate Chair</p> <p>This Certificate of Approval is valid for the above term provided there is no change in the experimental procedures</p>		