

Including Women: The Establishment and Integration of
Canadian Women's History into Toronto Ontario Classrooms
1968-1993

by

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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Theory and Policy Studies in Education
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
University of Toronto

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Abstract

Social movement activism throughout the 1960s and 1970s provided space for feminist concerns in a variety of arenas. Women's movement activism and women's scholarship in history challenged the ways in which women's experiences had been marginalized or omitted in school history programs and curricula. Women's organizations developed and broadened networks, created and published resources, and lobbied governments and institutions. Their widespread activism spilled into a range of educational circles and influenced history teachers in altering curricula to include women in course materials. Advocating for women, on a curricular or professional development level, however, was complicated because of entrenched neo-liberal systems in place within education institutions. Although the Ontario Ministry of Education and the Toronto Board of Education demonstrated clear support for a wide range of gender equity-

based initiatives, they committed to implementing a 'piecemeal' approach to curricular change. The fundamental work to include women in history curricula relied heavily on grassroots networks that allowed for women's experiences to leak into classrooms, and were responsible for bringing women's voices into the history curricula. This study explores the initiatives of the Toronto Board of Education from 1968-1993, with particular analysis of women's committees, teacher/librarians in resource centers, Affirmative Action representatives, individual teachers and administrators. Within the broader public sphere, the contributions of concerned parents, activists, small independent publishers, educational reformers, political leaders and women's history organizations lent their voices to ideas about how the inclusion of women in history curricula should take shape in Toronto schools. Ministry gender equity policies and history course guidelines provided incremental and therefore politically safe responses to educational change. The Toronto Board's "add-on" approach to including women in course examinations avoided instituting major "top-down" curricular change, which kept the integration of women's history within classrooms on the periphery of most course work. The substantive grassroots activism and the commitment of women's organizations and individual teachers, however, allowed women's history to flourish within individual classrooms in Toronto and demonstrates the ways in which "bottom-up" initiatives can be a powerful force in curricular change.

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Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgments.....	iv
Table of Contents	vi
Chapter 1	
"The Times They are 'A- Changin':" Social Change, Women's History and Curriculum Reform in the 1960s and 1970s	
Introduction	1
Historiographies.....	20
Chapter 2	
"Women's Unique Place?": Ontario Curriculum Policies and History	
Education	44
Chapter 3	
"Strategies for Change:" The Toronto Board of Education's Actions and Initiatives	83
Chapter 4	
A Separate Sphere: The Toronto Board of Education's Women's History Resource Materials	121
Chapter 5	
In Their Own Words: Positioning the Work of History Teachers in Toronto	159
Chapter 6	
"It takes a team:" Grassroots Organizations and Educational Communities Influencing Curricular Change.....	202
Conclusion	249
Appendix.....	258
Bibliography	260

Chapter 1

The Times They are 'A-Changin': Social Change, Women's History and Curriculum Reform in the 1960s and 1970s

Come gather 'round people
Wherever you roam
And admit that the waters
Around you have grown
And accept it that soon
You'll be drenched to the bone
If your time to you is worth savin'
Then you better start swimmin' or you'll sink like a stone
For the times they are a-changin'¹

Introduction

The opening lines of the now famous 1964 Bob Dylan song, "The Times They are A-Changin'," reflect the hope and expectations that social movements activism of the decade would usher in a changed world, which would shed post-war conservatism, prejudice and inequalities and open the possibility for greater freedoms and social justice. Dylan ends this song with the words "The order is rapidly fadin' "--suggesting a new political and economic order. He wrote the song as a kind of anthem for the times, reaching out to the youth movements to rally for change. He was not alone. That same year, Martin Luther King Jr. gave his "I have a Dream" speech on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial during the march on Washington for jobs and freedom and Simon and Garfunkel released their powerful anti-establishment song, "The Sounds

¹ Bob Dylan, *The Times They are A-Changin'* album was released by Columbia Records in 1964 and reached gold status. This quote is from the opening verse. [http://www. bobbydylan.com](http://www.bobdylan.com)

of Silence."² The folk rock music of Joan Baez, Pete Seeger, Bob Dylan and others, contained powerful social justice lyrics in their songs- reflective of the social movement activism of the period. Bob Dylan's "Blowin' in the Wind", Barry McGuire's "Eve of Destruction" and John Lennon's "Give Peace a Chance" were protest songs over the Vietnam War and the immediate dangers of nuclear war.³ Joan Baez ended the decade by singing "We Shall Overcome" at the 1969 Woodstock Music Festival to half a million people, of what would become an iconic representation of the decade.⁴

Social movements that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s supported "New Left" political ideologies and developed organizations to mobilize resources outside state systems, in the hopes of redistributing wealth and creating equal opportunity. Independent organizations fought for the removal of discriminatory policies that affected individuals or groups.⁵ The Gay Rights movement, the Civil Rights movement and the Women's movement all gained ground during these two decades, some of which was fueled by public protests.⁶

² Simon and Garfunkel, *The Sound of Silence* album was released by Columbia Record in 1965 and became the number one single in America that year. <http://www.simonandgarfunkel.com>. Canadian musicians such as Buffy Saint-Marie (*Universal Soldier*), The Who (*American Woman*), Gordon Lightfoot (*Sit Down Young Stranger*), Joni Mitchell (*The Fiddle and the Drum*) and others, also wrote anti-war protest songs during the 1960s and 1970s.

³ John C. McWilliams, *The 1960s Cultural Revolution* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000) see the chapter: "Sex, Drugs, Rock 'N'Roll," 16-21.

⁴ McWilliams, *The 1960s Cultural Revolution*, 74-75. The Woodstock festival included performers Joan Baez, The Who, Arlo Guthrie, Canned Heat, Jimmy Hendrix, the Grateful Dead, Jefferson Airplane, Janis Joplin, The Moody Blues and Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young. McWilliams notes that despite the limited security and supplies, almost no police protection and fierce thunderstorms, only three deaths were reported: two from drug overdoses and a third from a tractor accident. In honour of the festival, Joni Mitchell wrote the song "Woodstock" which was performed in 1969. On the effect of rock music on youth culture see Andrew August, "Gender and 1960s Youth Culture: The Rolling Stones and the New Woman," *Contemporary British History*, 23 no.1 (March 2009): 79-100.

⁵ Simon Hall, "Protest Movements in the 1970s: The Long 1960s," *Journal of Contemporary History* 43, no.4 (2008): 655-672. Brown versus the Board of Education argued that segregated schools in the United States were "inherently unconstitutional". Schools were mandated by the court to bus children to schools outside of their local districts, which Hall notes was extremely controversial. The term "New Left" was created to make a distinction between the socialist movements that took place earlier in the 20th century (Old left).

⁶ There is evidence that the government was also pro-active on a number of issues: redistributive progressive taxes such as income tax, spending on health and welfare measures, and on arts and culture. Some of these were the result of protests, but many of these came from policy-led initiatives following the Depression and post-war. See Bryan Palmer, *Canada's 1960s* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2009) and Robert Brenner, *The Economics of Global Turbulence, 1945-2005* (London: Verso, 2006).

The growth and militancy of grassroots organizations challenged traditional state systems. As Dominique Clément argues, legal, political, social and cultural shifts became part of the expectations of the time. Clément notes, "Education programs, women's centres, gay pride parades, civil disobedience and a multitude of other forms of activism forced Canadians to confront new ideas about equality."⁷ Doug Owsram notes that the "turmoil" of the 1960s and early 1970s were influenced by what had become a clear "crisis in Western social and political institutions" which, through a series of events, had undermined its credibility. He adds that citizens remained loyal during the Cold War creating a "relatively closed ideological system" that resulted in a "black and white imagery of the East versus the West." He adds, however, that doubts about the Cold War "in turn encouraged doubts about the vast military arsenal that had been assembled in the name of anti-communism.... A dissenting segment of the population challenged the moral certainties that had been part of the Cold War rhetoric."⁸ Historian Bryan Palmer agrees. He notes that global polarizations of power were "configured as they were around the colonization of the world's resources and the menace of nuclear arms, which threatened humanity. They made inevitable revolutionary movements of opposition."⁹ Social change and political action would only take place as a result of public protest movements and a redistribution of power. Palmer notes that "The New Left wanted a new and self-directing order" as the old power systems had failed to address domestic and international issues, and people felt alienated.¹⁰

Michael Maurice Dufresne suggests that the threat of nuclear war was central to student activism in Canada. He argues that the historical experience of Canadian students was different than that of American students, who were focused on the struggle for civil rights for Blacks. The "awakening" of Canadian students, he notes, was stimulated by the Diefenbaker government's decision to acquire nuclear missiles. Peace groups opposed to the 'Bomarc B' nuclear missile

⁷ Dominique Clément, *Canada's Rights Revolution: Social Movements and Social Change, 1937-1982* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), 30-35.

⁸ Doug Owsram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 164-165.

⁹ Bryan Palmer, "New Left Liberations: The Poetics, Praxis and Politics of Youth Radicalism", in M. Athena Palaeologu, ed., *The Sixties in Canada: A Turbulent and Creative Decade* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 2009), 73.

¹⁰ Palmer, "New left Liberations," 73.

purchase from the United States formed organizations in the early 1960s such as the Canadian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CCDN), the Toronto Committee for Disarmament and the Canadian Voice of Women for Peace (VOW), which engaged in student activism.¹¹ Dufresne suggests that the Canadian peace movement of the early 1960s provided students with a "legitimate area of political activity" with demonstrations providing a tool for their activism and the impetus for the "multi-issued" student movements in the mid to late 1960s.¹²

Social movements drew heavily on public tactics such as sit-ins, demonstrations, public protests, rallies and marches. *Greenpeace*, a Canadian organization formed in 1971 by activists who campaigned aggressively on environmental issues, for example, represents the kind of social movement activism of the period.¹³ The organization evolved from an ad hoc citizen's group, called the "Don't Make a Wave Committee" that challenged state systems through militant demonstrations that brought world-wide attention to the effects of industrial pollution. In support of their work, one underground newspaper columnist noted,

We can end our surrender to this death-oriented government and industry by massive non-acceptance of the "values" and non-cooperation with their structures ('defence', consumer economy, co-opting mass media ...). Or we can devote our bodies and our time working cooperatively to meet our real needs ... The present system threatens our survival now and, if not detoxified, will destroy us. This system cannot be reformed by trying to operate within its rules. We must accept the responsibility for creating new institutions - political, cultural, economic - which encourage people to live creatively and in harmony with the environment.¹⁴

A few key events gave support to the emergence of social movements in Canada during the 1960s and early 1970s. The passing of the Canadian Bill of Rights in 1960 gave Canadians

¹¹ Michael Dufresne, "Let's Not Be Cremated Equal: The Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament," in M. Athena Palaeologu, ed., *The Sixties in Canada: A Turbulent and Creative Decade*, 9-10.

¹² Dufresne, "Let's Not Be Cremated Equal," 10. Dufresne adds that this experience "facilitated the acceptance of a more radical and holistic criticism of Canadian society that would lead to students questioning everything from the nature of the university to the legitimacy of parliamentary democracy."

¹³ www.greenpeace.org The website notes: "In 1971, a small group of activists set sail from Vancouver in a fishing boat they named Greenpeace. Their destination was Amchitka where the United States was set to detonate a nuclear bomb. The activists feared the underground explosion, the third on the island, would trigger devastating earthquakes and tsunamis. Amchitka was also the last refuge for 3,000 endangered sea otters, and home to bald eagles, peregrine falcons and other wildlife. The activists hoped to halt the controversial test with their presence and failing that, bear witness to the event."

¹⁴ www.greenpeace.org

rights under the law to freedom of speech, religion and assembly.¹⁵ In an act of Canadian nationalism, Canada constituted a new Canadian flag (1965) and held Centennial celebrations in Montreal at Expo '67.¹⁶ Canadians seemed poised to move in new and independent directions that would weaken their ties to Britain. Beginning in 1968 under the leadership of Pierre Elliot Trudeau, the governing liberal party began making substantial change to Canadian society. Trudeau's "Just Society", his unconventional style, charismatic character, and new approach to politics offered hope to many on the Left.¹⁷ Canada's passage of the Official Languages Act and Multicultural Policy initiated changes to immigration policies and parts of the criminal code. This active time period also saw the publication of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in 1970.¹⁸ Issues of separatism also emerged with the development of the Parti Quebecois, under the leadership of René Lévesque. A wave of New Left politics was prevalent on student university campuses, supported by expanding labour union activism and the women's movement. Human rights activism seeped into all areas of engagement. The New Left, supportive of Marxist theories and critical of corporate hegemony, played a predominant role in arguing for fundamental institutional and social change. Their activism came together in the

¹⁵ Canadian Bill of Rights, 1960, c.44 section 1 (a) notes, "the right of the individual to life, liberty, security of the person and enjoyment of property; (b) the right of the individual to equality before the law and the protection of the law; (c) freedom of religion; (d) freedom of speech; (e) freedom of assembly and association; (f) freedom of the press." (www.justice.gc.ca).

¹⁶ The Expo'67 program, "Man and His World," included a woman's hospitality exhibit, "Woman and Her World." Information from the Women's exhibit notes, "The Hospitality Pavilion provides a centre for women and their families on a convenient site close to Place d'Accueil entrance gate. Its theme is Woman and Her World. Attractively situated, it has a spacious main lobby leading to a comfortable lounge, rooms for receiving important visitors and an assembly hall. In the assembly hall exciting programs are presented: fashion shows, instant theatre and special handicraft demonstrations such as Eskimo carving. The pavilion is the headquarters for International Hospitality. This project, planned by women throughout Canada, provides an opportunity for members of women's organizations and their families, or visitors from foreign countries, to meet Canadians in Montréal and other parts of Canada. A Hospitality Hostess is on duty at all times to help arrange such meetings." (See: http://expo67.ncf.ca/expo_67_hospitalitypavilion_p1.html) (website accessed July, 2012).

¹⁷ Pierre Elliot Trudeau, *Memoirs* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1993), 87. Trudeau noted that he based his campaign to win the Liberal party leadership on the theme of a *Just Society*. He added, "Achieving such a society would require prompting equality of opportunity and giving the most help to those who were the most disadvantaged." "Trudeaumania" swept the country as many youth believed Trudeau's "hip" approach to government would generate change.

¹⁸ Government of Canada, "Official Languages Act," 1971, "Multicultural Policy," 1971 and Act, 1988, and the "Immigration Act," 1978, were all based on a number of white and green papers. The implementation in 1962 to the points system changed immigration policy. Divorce and birth control was removed from the Criminal Code in 1969.

development of the socialist New Democratic Party (NDP) and the more radical Waffle party.¹⁹ As a more extreme Left element of the New Democratic party, the Waffle, lead by James Laxer and Mel Watkins, gathered support for the far Left. John Bullen writes that "The Waffle hoped to transform the NDP into a radical agent that would spearhead the struggle for an independent socialist Canada."²⁰

The New Left found support from labour unions and radical labour newspapers and magazines. Radical student groups exploded across the country, groups like The Internationalists, SUPA, The Trotskyites, Maoists, Marxists and other radical groups produced a strong Left movement that saw recurring activism on university campuses. University students read both Marx and Mao, joined Left- thinking Consciousness-Raising groups, wrote and published in local newspapers such as *The Nation* and *Canadian Forum* and protested with placards, buttons and marches on the streets of cities across Canada.²¹ The New Left revolutionary activism was most evident in the province of Quebec, with the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ) taking radical action to end "colonial exploitation." These struggles were tied to workers' rights, issue of unemployment and language rights: leftist narratives were directly linked to radical social movements.²²

¹⁹ The New Democratic Party (NDP), a Federal social democratic political party in Canada was founded in Ottawa in 1961, under the leadership of Tommy Douglas. It evolved from a merger of the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). (<http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com>).

²⁰ John Bullen, "The Ontario Waffle and the Struggle for an Independent Socialist Canada: Conflict within the NDP," *Canadian Historical Review*, 64, no. 2 (1983), 188. For further discussion see also, Robert Hackett's, "Pie in the Sky: A History of the Ontario Waffle," *Canadian Dimension*, Oct. /Nov. 1980 and Desmond Morton's NDP: *Social Democracy in Canada* (Toronto: S. Stevens, 1977).

²¹ Bryan Palmer, *Canada's 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 249. Palmer notes, "The slogans of the time were a uniquely dualistic mix of Mao's materialism and anarcho-surrealistic graffiti of a metaphorical Parisian Left Bank." For a full discussion of group activism, radical organizations and other Left activities, see chapter 8: "Radicalism, Revolution and Red Power." The Canadian Forum, a left-wing literary, cultural and political publication, was founded in 1920 at the University of Toronto as a forum for political and cultural ideas.

²² See: Pierre Vallières's, *Nègres blancs d'Amérique* (*White Niggers of America*) trans. Joan Pinkham (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971) and Leandre Bergeron's *Petit Manuel d'histoire du Québec* (Québec Editions Québécoises, 1970) both reflected the mood in Québec to liberate French Canadians from oppressive American "imperialist exploiters." For discussion see: Bryan Palmer "Quebec: Revolution Now!" in *Canada's 1960s*; Dennis Smith, *Bleeding Hearts...Bleeding Country: Canada and the Quebec Crisis* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1971); Dan Daniels, ed., *Quebec, Canada and the October Crisis* (Montreal: Black Rose, 1973); William Tetley, *The October Crisis, 1970: An Insider's View* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007).

In a similar fashion, this cultural moment was resonating through the feminist scholarship that was emerging from academic milieus. The growth in feminist scholarship and the introduction of women's studies and women's history courses within the universities was directly tied to the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s.²³ Recent publications provide further support of the strong links between the feminist movement and women's personal and professional lives in the period under study here. Two major Canadian collections include *Minds of Our Own: Inventing Feminist Scholarship and Women's Studies in Canada and Quebec 1966-1976* edited by Wendy Robbins, Meg Luxton, Margrit Eichler and Francine Descarries and a collection by the *Feminist History Society*, entitled *Feminist Journeys* edited by Marguerite Andersen.²⁴ These collections, and others, are proof of the strong relationship that scholars note between feminist activism and feminist scholarship in the 1960-1980 period; the scholarship emphasizes the importance of support networks and demonstrates that feminist scholarship provided new perspectives in a wide range of fields.

²³ Judith Lorber, *Gender Inequality: Feminist Theories and Politics*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 1-4. Lorber defines *Feminism* as "a social movement whose basic goal is equality between women and men." She notes that in the 1970s and 80s many feminists concentrated on "increasing women's legal rights, political representation and entry into professions dominated by men." Other feminists worked to eliminate sexual harassment and sexual violence, others in "changing language, knowledge and history." 1970s second wave feminism stressed the binary framework of male versus female. By the 1980s many feminists were beginning to challenge earlier narratives that situated women in a unified category. Feminist theories and identity politics suggested that women's voices were not unified, instead representing multiple and complex hierarchies that placed gender within other "strands of oppression" such as race, class, ethnicity as central to gender analysis. Lorber argues that feminists that emerged in the 1990s argued that there were many sexes, sexualities and genders. Her book categorizes *Feminism* according to theories: "Liberal, Marxist, Social, Postcolonial and Asian, Radical, Lesbian, Psychoanalytic, Standpoint, Multiracial/Multiethnic, Social Construction, Postmodern and Queer Theory, Studies of Men and Third-Wave Feminisms". Wendy Kohli examines in *Feminism and Educational Research* (New York, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012) the range of understandings and positions feminists have taken over time noting that second wave women's movement contained a political commitment to end oppression which heavily influenced understandings of the term. She notes that by the 1990s, "feminist solidarity politics were no longer persuasive as class, race, ethnicity and sexuality provided for a more complicated, disrupted view of women and women's experiences". (5) See also C. Lesley Biggs, *Gendered Intersections* (Halifax & Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2011).

²⁴ Wendy Robbins, Meg Luxton, Margrit Eichler and Francine Descarries, eds., *Minds of our Own: Inventing Feminist Scholarship and Women's Studies in Canada and Quebec, 1966-76* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2008), 112; Marguerite Andersen, ed., *Feminist Journeys/Voies Féministes* (Ottawa: Feminist History Society, 2010). For a history of feminism in Québec, see: Micheline Dumont, *Feminism à la Québécoise* (Ottawa: Feminist History Society, 2012).

Women's groups, many of which had strong historic ties amongst themselves,²⁵ mobilized thousands of members to pressure governments for greater social, political and economic equity. Historic ties meant that many organizations had networks already in place. The Fédération des femmes du Québec (FFQ), for example, with historic roots in the province, formed a new coalition in 1965 in conjunction with the 25th anniversary of winning the right to vote in Quebec.²⁶ Various women's groups joined together in the 1960s to provide a stronger and more public voice. The committee for the "Strategy for Change" conference held in Toronto in 1972, for example, included established and newly formed women's groups.²⁷ Women expanded and solidified networks throughout the 1960s and 1970s and this helped shape the movement and affected women's personal and professional lives. This political movement also created a shift within history scholarship. Sheila Rowbotham's groundbreaking book, *Hidden from History: 300 Years of Women's Oppression and the Fight against It* demonstrated that women were predominantly absent -- as both authors and subjects -- from historical scholarship.²⁸ The explosion in women's history scholarship within universities, and within broader educational communities, resulted in a wider range of publications. As this study will reveal, however, changes taking place within academic post-secondary institutions to include women's history were not paralleled in history programs in public secondary schools, although committed educators within the public school system worked hard to include women in history courses.

This study is about history curricula, women's history, women's movement activists and their influence on education, as well as the work of the Ontario Ministry of Education and the Toronto Board of Education to respond to the women's movement's demands. It is about the role

²⁵ A number of Canadian women's organizations that developed in the late 19th century or early 20th century were able to maintain and build membership such as The Women's Christian Temperance Union (1874), The National Council of Women (1893), The National Council of Jewish Women (1897), The Canadian Federation of University Women (1919) To see a fuller list: Wendy Robbins et al, *Minds of Our Own*, 2-3.

²⁶ Robbins et al, *Minds of Our Own*, 12-13. The editors note that in 1966 two church based groups, L'union Catholique des femmes rurales and the Cercle d' économie domestique combined to form the Association féminine d'éducation et d'action sociale (AFEAS) Both FFQ and AFEAS supported women's issues in Québec.

²⁷ For details about the *Strategy for Change* Conference see the NAC files at Canadian Women's Movement Archives, University of Ottawa. Wendy Robbins, *Minds of Our Own*, 18-20. Robbins provides examples of women's groups such as The Ontario Women's Abortion Law Repeal Coalition, The New Feminists and the VOW.

²⁸ Sheila Rowbotham, *Hidden from History: 300 years of Women's Oppression and the Fight against It* (London: Pluto Press, 1973).

of school boards in curriculum development, the role of teachers in history classrooms and the ways in which they access resource materials, as well as the ways in which communities impact what takes place in classrooms. Evidence of 1960s activism was central to this research.

Teachers in this study were aware of social movement activism; many were active participants at protests taking place throughout the city, writing letters and taking part in public marches and a number of teachers were active in community and school organizations. They were also involved in projects to develop and disseminate more relevant educational materials, design new courses or support alternative schools. One teacher noted, "At the time, there was so much excitement, no question about that...there were all kinds of people who came together at that point."²⁹ Interested educators in this study were motivated by the spirit and energy of these movements. One educator summed up what many noted in this study,

Everything we talked about had been built within the context of a women's movement, nothing was just done because we worked for the Board of Education or the Ministry – we wanted to be accessible to the population. But we were also working within a feminist movement, so that inspired all our acts, it gave us a direction and a vision.³⁰

Thesis Outline and Chapter Overviews

The fall 1989 edition of *The History and Social Science Teacher* focused on women and teaching women's studies: a first for the journal. Paula Bourne, the guest editor, lamented that even though there was a wealth of resource materials available for teaching about women, very little of the new scholarship or learning materials was finding its way into classrooms.³¹ Until the

²⁹ Teacher S. Interview by author, Toronto: June 13, 2010. This study includes a wide range of educators, some who are identified and some whose names have been left out. I have not included the names of any of the teachers who were interviewed. They have been identified alphabetically for classification purposes. The educators who are named are predominately those who had an administrative role in the education system and/or had published materials-which provided the basis for much of this study. The majority of the educators in this study worked for the Ontario Ministry of Education or the Toronto Board of Education during the time of this study 1968-1993. This study also includes a wide range of educational communities that were in some capacity linked with women's history resources used in classrooms, such as women's history organizations and independent publishers.

³⁰ Teacher G. Interview by author, Toronto: April 9, 2010.

³¹ Christopher Moore, ed., *History and Social Science Teacher* 25, no. 1 (Fall, 1989), 5. The magazine was published, 1974-1990. There were a number of government reports in the late 1980s that recognized failures in Affirmative Action outcomes, for example, *The Status of Women and Employment Equity in Ontario School Board's Report to the Legislature by the Minister of Education*, 1989 which noted that the government recognized the lack of

1970s, the Ontario history curriculum had been dominated by male, political, industrial and military narratives: the textbooks celebrated Canada's British heritage and inculcated respect for constitutional law and citizenship.³² Although the Canadian Studies movement and the focus on social history altered history education and lessened the impact of this British discourse in the 1960s and 1970s, women remained largely marginalized in history curricula. Scholars and practitioners alike argued that students were, as a result, deprived of viable historical female role models while conventional – and hierarchical -- historical discourses were sustained. The public activism of the 1960s and 1970s women's movement helped draw attention to demands for what was termed the greater "validation" of women's experiences and feminist scholars and women's organizations pressed school boards to include women in course materials.³³ Women's groups and feminist presses proliferated across Canada, and their work influenced teachers to alter school curricula.³⁴

progress in gender equity within school boards in Ontario, and "were developing more specific goals, targets and timetables" as part of a stronger focus on accountability."

³² See: Mary Sodonis, *Discourse and Politics of Canadian History Curriculum Documents Used in Ontario Secondary Schools 1945-2004* (Toronto, University of Toronto, Ed. D Thesis 2005). Sodonis argues that Canadian history curriculum documents were highly political, sanctioning certain moral and ideological stances and constructing a vision of the ideal citizen that students were expected to emulate. See for example, *Canada-A Nation* written by A.R.M. Lower (Toronto: Longmans & Co.1948). See also D. Morton, "Canadian History Teaching in Canada," in Ruth Sandwell, ed., *To the Past: History Education, Public Memory and Citizenship in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006). Morton notes, "Public education was a 19th century invention, designed to create loyal, dutiful citizens and history was its sharpest blade." (26). As well, in 1970 a Canadian textbook study examined national themes of importance to Canadians: women were totally absent. See: *Canadian History Textbooks: A Comparative Study by Marcel Trudel and Geneviève Jain* (Studies of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1970). A 1989 OISE textbook study found only small changes. See: Beth Light, Pat Staton and Paula Bourne, "Sex-equity Content in History Textbooks," *The History and Social Science Teacher*, 25, no. 1 (Fall, 1989).

³³ This study uses the term "women's movement" to specifically refer to the "second wave" women's movement that began in the 1960s. A number of scholars provide definitions for the "women's movement." The editors of *Minds of Our Own* argue "a movement is by definition plural and diverse. The women's movement is transhistorical, inter and transnational, large scale and amorphous and comprised of individuals, groups and organizations with the general goals of promoting change to improve women's situation." (See Robbins et al, *Minds of Our Own*, 37). Wendy Kohli argues that although the history of feminism is often described in terms of first, second and third "wave movements," it is not a term that all historians support, noting that many scholars see the continuity of narratives over time. (See: Wendy Kohli, ed., *Feminisms and Educational Research*, 23-32)

³⁴ Canadian Women's Educational Press, later known as Women's Press (WP) was Canada's oldest English-language feminist publisher, founded under collective ownership in 1972. (Files are currently held at the Canadian Women's Movement Archives (CWMA) University of Ottawa).

Influenced by wider egalitarian, pro-feminist currents influential throughout western society and supported by women's committees and organizations in the 1960s and 1970s, education reformers were influential in ensuring that history curricula in Ontario secondary schools included women. Set in the context of the diverse fields of the history of education, curriculum development, Canadian women's history and a rich and recent body of work on the history of social and political activism in Canada and Toronto in the 60s and 70s, this dissertation traces the attempts of historians, educators, women's organizations, activist groups and small publishers to include women as active historical players in history courses in secondary schools. Reformers of various kinds saw the inclusion of women in history courses as a way of furthering broader social changes related to women and equality that had been part of both the feminist movement, and other movements focused on increasing equality in society.

This study assesses to what extent reforms in history curricula met the early objectives of the various reformers and focuses on the active participants in the development and inclusion of materials about women. It argues that education reformers were instrumental in including women in history classrooms but that subsequent curricular reforms fell short of meeting the goals of the early educational reformers. In examining the history of history curricula development, this study documents the number of feminist educators who challenged this educational gap and who were actively engaged in bringing about change. This study therefore seeks to find answers to why it was that some women at this particular time and place came to believe that equality for women generally, and their inclusion in the history curriculum in particular, were goals worth working toward--and why they chose to work towards ensuring that the new scholarship in women's history became integrated into school history programs.

In seeking to trace the development of curriculum to include women, this study draws on a wide range of sources – curriculum documents, Ministry correspondence, private collections and oral history- to uncover the complex layers embedded in school structures, teacher training and pedagogy, educational reform and the multi-layered relationship between parents, governments and teachers in their shared responsibility of educating students. As a result, this study opens a number of doors for further research: explorations of issues of equity in subject curricula, further examinations of the relationships between subject curricula and teacher pedagogy and the role of broader social and political movements on educational reform.

Debates over history curricula in Canada during the 1960s and 1970s were influenced by social movement activism and issues of equality.³⁵ Social movement activism spilled over into educational reform in general, and into history education reform more particularly, and most particularly, into a kind of history educational reform that declared that gender inequality in the larger society could be remedied by including women in the history curriculum. In other words, to examine the study of why/how women were included into history curriculum in schools is to also examine the intersections between social and feminist activism and education.

There are six chapters in this study. Chapter One provides a brief overview of the 1960s decade with some observations about the overall social activism that centred on making systemic change and the parallel focus in Canada on re-defining a Canadian identity. The National History project and the Canadian Studies Foundation, edged on by the views of George Grant, Northrop Frye and Hilda Neatby³⁶ argued that history studies had lost its intellectual basis. Curriculum developers, such as A. B. Hodgetts, John Porter and George Martell argued that curriculum left little opportunity for critical thinking and discussions surrounding identity.³⁷ The focus on identity was further supported by changes taking place within curriculum in Ontario through the introduction of the "Hall-Dennis Report" and by social advocates who publically challenged inequalities within Canadian society. Situated within 1960s debates about individual rights and identity, the women's movement publically challenged the treatment of women within

³⁵ This study uses both the terms equality and equity. It is difficult to make a clear distinction between the two terms. The Oxford Dictionary defines *equality* as the state of being equal, especially in status, rights, or opportunities: an organization aiming to promote racial equality (<http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/equality>) and the term *equity* as the quality of being fair and impartial: equity of treatment. (<https://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/equity>). (websites accessed July, 2012) . Lorna Marsden, *Canadian Women and the Struggle for Equality: The Road to Gender Equality Since 1867* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2012) examines the constitutional and legal ways in which these terms have been used in Canada. She notes, "Throughout the history of the Dominion of Canada, the terms *equality* or *equal* or *equity* have been used to express the relationship between men and women in society." She quotes Judge Rosalie Abella in her explanation of The Charter, Sections 15 and 28, which dealt with equality rights. Judge Abella stated, "Equality is, at the very least, freedom from adverse discrimination." (17).

³⁶ See: George Grant, *Lament for a Nation: the Defeat of Canadian Nationalism* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1965); Northrop Frye, ed., *Design for Living* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962); Hilda Neatby, *So Little for the Mind: An Indictment of Canadian Education* (Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1953).

³⁷ See: A.B. Hodgetts, *What Culture? What Heritage? A Study of Civic Education in Canada* (Toronto: OISE, 1968); John Porter, "Social Change and the Aims and Problems of Education in Canada," *McGill Journal of Education*, I no.2 (Fall, 1966): 125-130; George Martell, ed., *The Politics of the Canadian Public School* (Toronto: James Lewis and Samuel, 1974).

all aspects of society. From the 1960s onward a growing number of feminists argued for the inclusion of women as an equal part of society, and feminist scholars argued that women were a central part of studies of the 'human condition.' Reflecting on the situation of gender inequality within larger contexts of inequality that were being decried by a vast array of social activist groups, many of these feminist academics were also social activists. By the 1970s, history scholarship explicitly reached out to include a number of contemporary concerns.³⁸ This first chapter examines the interplay of social activism and educational reform in changing curricula and schools in the 1960s and 70s and the impact these changes had on history teaching in Toronto. This chapter demonstrates that the integration of women's history within classrooms was driven by a number of factors: the expanding scholarship in women's history, a changing curriculum focus, less restrictive course option policies, the interest of teachers with a strong drive for social justice and a variety of feminist networks and organizations.

The Second Chapter examines how social movement activism affected women, governments and educators. Public discussions centred on educational goals, the function of schools, pedagogy, equity and curriculum development. Feminist activists joined organizations, developed networks and lobbied governments and institutions against regulations. The Ontario Ministry of Education, followed by the Toronto Board of Education, responded by taking initial steps to address "Sex-role stereotyping" in schools and curriculum.³⁹ At the same time, the 1970s

³⁸ Feminist historians, such as Gerda Lerner, political theorists such as Susan Brown, and sociologists such as Mary O'Brien argued that gender inequities existed and were damaging to society, questioning traditional political, economic and social landscapes in the process. Feminist educators, such as Alison Prentice and Elizabeth Smyth offered detailed examinations of what they argued were the gendered politics of educational policy. See: Angela Miles, *Feminism in Canada: From Pressure to Politics* (Montreal: Black Rose, 1982); Jeri Dawn Wine, *School Sex-role Socialization* (Toronto: Group for Research on Women, OISE, 1978), Mary O'Brien, "Feminism and the Politics of Education," *Interchange*, 17 no. 2 (1986): 91-105; Alison Prentice's, *Children and Schools in 19th Century Canada* (Ottawa: Museum of Man, 1979); Ruby Heap, Wyn Millar, and Elizabeth Smyth, *Learning to Practise: Professional Education in Historical and Contemporary Perspective* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2005); Ruby Heap and Alison Prentice, eds., *Gender and Education in Ontario* (Toronto: Scholar's Press, 1991).

³⁹ The term "Sex-role stereotyping" was used to refer to the behaviours, interests and roles assigned to individuals or groups on the basis of sex. This term was replaced in the 1980s with gender equity. Government documents during the 1960s and 70s used this term to refer to discriminatory practices related to gender. This study uses the terms, Sex-role stereotyping, gender equity and women's studies to refer to specific issues related to women. Historically women' studies referred only to studies related to women. Gender studies apply critical thought to the conceptual categories of women, gender, and sexuality. The shift to gender from women studies has been much remarked upon by scholars. See Mary Evans, "The Problem of Gender for Women's Studies," *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 13, 5, 1990: 457-462. Evans claims it's a shift away from talking about women's subordination to

saw the implementation of the credit system which made secondary school education more accessible, allowing students more options. The greater flexibility provided space for more diverse course studies, but made only limited space for women's history in schools.⁴⁰

The Third and Fourth Chapters provide considerable evidence to suggest that attempts to include women into the secondary school history curricula in Toronto emerged out of links between researchers, educators, feminists, teachers and the public through venues such as conferences and professional activities. These broadly based communities built up a momentum that, by the 1970s and 1980s, resulted in pressure on schools and school boards to respond. Public activism, coupled with support from local feminist teachers, resulted in the Toronto Board starting a series of reforms that reflected more generalized concerns with inequality that had percolated through society. The Third and Fourth Chapters examine specifically how the Toronto Board of Education responded to demands for gender equity and the subsequent impact this had on history teaching. Major projects, committees work, newsletters, conferences, learning resources and promotions reflected two decades of action as the Toronto Board engaged employees in a wide range of committees and initiatives to address Ministry equity policies.

Chapter Five examines the role that individual teachers working in Toronto schools played in their attempts to alter history curricula to include more women. This chapter incorporates evidence from thirty-nine history teachers, educators and scholars who were interviewed specifically for this study and demonstrates the ways in which individual teachers made – and defended – independent decisions to stray from what they termed the “traditional” treatment of women within the formal history curriculum. These teachers made independent decisions to add women to the teaching of history in their classrooms. Toronto teachers were influenced by a number of factors, both professional and personal, and a school board that provided substantial support through the establishment of women's committees that were

differences between the sexes. See also Judith Butler, and Elizabeth Weed, eds., *The Question of Gender: Joan W. Scott's Critical Feminism* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2011).

⁴⁰ This study examines the former Toronto Board of Education (Toronto Board). Toronto schools were established and expanded in the 19th century as Ontario was the first province to legislate compulsory attendance (The Common School Act, 1871). The Toronto Board increased its number of schools throughout the 20th century. At the time of this study the school board had approx. 166 schools. In 1998, The Toronto Board amalgamated with the six schools boards that were part of Metropolitan Toronto to form the Toronto District School Board (TDSB). The term, "course examinations" is sometimes used to refer to course syllabi or course studies.

extremely active and influential. The interviews reflect in what ways secondary school women history teachers in Toronto, during 1968-1993, incorporated women into their history teaching, and what that can tell us about the history of social and educational reform in Ontario. A wide range of educators were consulted for this study, some of whom are identified and some of whom are anonymous. Educators who are identified were either administrators or had publications that referenced their educational work. This is not a quantitative study: data was not collected in order to assess particular patterns or categorize teachers into types. Materials were collected in order to reflect a particular place at a particular time and to get a sense of how women's movement activism and scholarship in women's history has influenced history education.

Finally, Chapter Six documents how curriculum change was the result of dedicated and purposeful work carried out by special interest groups who deeply believed that changes within the education system were essential components of broader social amelioration, from the local to the international level. For example, women's organizations, such as the Ontario Women's History Network (OWHN) and the Federation of Women's Teachers Association of Ontario (FWTAO) lobbied for change through their attendance at local school board meetings, through posters, pamphlets and conferences, through publications and through networking. Although driven by common concerns about gender inequality, women's committees and organizations focused on local issues and ways in which to make local change. Independent publishers responded to these two enterprises – the recovery of working-class history and women's history - with publications on Canadian working-class history that included women.⁴¹ The results were a wealth of resource materials on working women's experiences. Women's groups and feminist presses proliferated across Canada and their work provides some insight into the ways in which the grassroots activism of the 1970s and 1980s influenced school curricula.

This study makes a contribution to two major fields of history: women's history in Canada, and the history of curriculum in Ontario, specifically the history of women's history curricula. As a study of women's history in Canada, it seeks to uncover the ways in which

⁴¹ See: Greg Kealey and Ian McKay, *A Guide to Working Class History* (Summerhill, Mass: New England Free Press, 1974); Greg Kealey, *Working Class Toronto at the Turn of the Century* (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1974); J. Acton et al. al, *Women at Work, Ontario, 1850-1930* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1974).

second wave women's movement activism, scholarship in women's history, and grassroots women's organizations collaborated to alter curricula in school classrooms. Changes that took place in the 1960s prompted educational reforms that supported social, progressive doctrines focused on child-centred learning and issues of social justice.⁴² Early Canadian feminist scholars such as Alison Prentice, Joan Sangster, Joy Parr, Veronica Strong-Boag, Mary O'Brien, Angela Miles and Dorothy Smith brought together the fields of women's studies and education. The feminist scholarship that followed was substantive, encompassing multiple aspects of schooling and curricula that examined more closely the particular educational experiences of diverse women and girls.⁴³

Scholars have examined the inequalities embedded in educational systems: examining the hierarchies in the social structures of school boards and in school procedures; the gendered relations between men and women teachers and in teacher practice; and the gendered divisions of curricula and school programs.⁴⁴ Feminist scholars have raised questions about relations of

⁴² See: Ken Osborne, "Teaching Canadian History: A Century of Debate," in Penney Clark, *New Possibilities for the Past: Shaping History Education in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 55-81.

⁴³ This is a small sampling of the extensive scholarship: Alison Prentice. *The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977); A. Prentice, *The History of Women and Education in Canada* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1992); Marta Danylewycz and Alison Prentice, "Teachers Work: Changing Patterns and Perceptions in the Emerging School Systems of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Central Canada," *Labour/Le travail* 17 (Spring, 1986): 59-82; Jeri Dawn Wine, *School Sex-role Socialization: Female Children's Rights* (Toronto: Group for Research on Women, OISE, 1978); Angela Miles and Geraldine Finn, eds., *Feminism in Canada: From Pressure to Politics* (Montreal : Black Rose Books, 1982.); Joy Parr, ed., *Childhood and Family in Canadian History* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982); Jane Errington, "Ladies and Schoolmistresses: Educating Women in early Nineteenth Century Upper Canada," *Historical Studies in Education* 6, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 71-96; Ruby Heap and Alison Prentice, *Gender and Education in Ontario* (Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press, 1991); Frieda Forman and Mary O'Brien et al, *Feminism and Education: A Canadian Perspective* (Toronto: OISE, 1990); Joan Sangster, *Earning Respect: The Lives of Working Women in Small Town Ontario, 1920-1960* (Toronto: UofT Press, 1995); Jean Barman, et al, *Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia* (Calgary: Detselig, 1995); Michele Dumont, *Girls Schooling in Quebec, 1639-1960* (Ottawa, CHA, 1990); Janet Guildford. "Separate Spheres: The Feminization of Public School Teaching in Nova Scotia, 1838-1880," *Acadiensis* 22 no.1 (Autumn 1992): 44-65; Afua Cooper "Black Women and Work in the Nineteenth Century Canada West: Black Woman Teacher Mary Bibb:" in *'We're Rooted Here and They Can't Pull Us Up.': Essays in African Canadian Women's History* coordinated by Peggy Bristow et al., (Toronto: UofT Press, 1994); J.R. Miller. ' *Shingwauk's Vision': A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: UofT Press, 1996).

⁴⁴ This is a small sampling of the extensive scholarship: Joy Parr and M. Rosenfeld, eds., *Gender and History in Canada* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1996); R. Heap and A. Prentice, eds. *Gender and Education in Ontario* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1991); *Toward Gender Equity in the Classroom* (Albany, NY: Suny Press.1994); R. Sanders, "Gender Equity in the Classroom: An Arena for Correspondence," *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 28, no.3/4 (Fall, 2000); Ann Clark and Elaine Millard, *Gender in the Secondary Curriculum* (New York: Routledge, 1998); T.

power, the production and dissemination of knowledge, and access to higher education. Building on the insights of feminist historical scholarship, this study fills a much needed gap in that it not only recognizes gender inequalities in schools and in curricula, as revealed by scholars such as Ruby Heap, Alison Prentice, Helen Lenskyj, Rebecca Coulter, Dorothy Smith, Elizabeth Smyth, Mona Gleason and Jane Gaskell, to name a few, but it also reflects on how educational reformers worked to address gender inequities in history course examinations.⁴⁵

This study is uniquely set apart from others, in that it investigates teacher practice, and explores the linkages between women's history curriculum development and the reality of classroom practices. The majority of educators included in this study were educated and began their teaching careers in the 1950s and 1960s in Toronto, and their teaching practices are embedded in this history. Their background in 1960s and early 1970s social movement activism played a part in their commitment to social justice, equity and systemic change. Left on their own to implement school board equity policy directives into course studies, these teachers were also well equipped to expand their networks, beyond the classroom, into broader academic and activist communities, in order to access additional resource materials for their classrooms.

This study also looks at changes to history curricula that began in the late 1960s to examine in what ways women's activism affected "official" curriculum documents and

Frawley, "Gender Bias in the Classroom: Current Controversies and Implications for Teachers in Childhood Education," 81 (2005); A. McLaren and J. Gaskell, "Now You See It, Now You Don't: Gender as an Issue in School Science" in *Gender informs Curriculum: From Enrichment to Transformation* (Toronto: OISE Press, 1995); K. Hanson, "Does all mean all? Education for Girls and Women," *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 28 no. 3/4 (Fall, 2000), 249; J. Blackmore, J. and J. Kenway, "Changing Schools, Teachers, and Curriculum: But what about the girls?" in D. Corson, ed., *Discourse and Power in Educational Organizations* (Toronto: OISE Press, 1995); M. Wells, "From Margin to Centre: Interventions supporting Gender Equity in the Toronto Board of Education," *Women's Studies International Forum*, 19 no.4 (1996), 371-38.

⁴⁴ For course subject areas see: R. Heap and A. Prentice, eds., *Gender and Education in Ontario: An Historical Reader* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1991); A. McLaren, and J. Gaskell, "Now you see it, now you don't: Gender as an Issue in School Science," *Gender informs Curriculum: From Enrichment to Transformation*. (Toronto: OISE Press, 1995); C. Morton, "Whistle Daughter, Whistle and you Shall have a Man" Sexism in Children's Song Materials," *Feminism and Education: A Canadian Perspective* 2 (1994); Helen Lenskyj, "Training for True Womanhood: Physical Education for Girls in Ontario Schools, 1890-1920," *Historical Studies in Education* (Fall, 1990); C. Reynolds, "Hegemony and Hierarchy: Becoming a Teacher in Toronto, 1930-1980," *Historical Studies in Education*, 2 no. 1 (1995): 95-118; Sharon Anne Cook, Lorna R. McLean, and Kate O'Rourke, *Framing Our Past : Canadian Women's History in the Twentieth Century* (Montreal : McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001); D. Gerin-Lajoie, "The Issue of Diversity in the Canadian Educational Context and What Next: Official Discourse and School Reality," *Educators Discourses on Student Diversity in Canada: Context, Policy and Practice* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 2006).

textbooks. The curricula debates of the 1960s and 1970s bear some resemblance to earlier curricula debates in that questions of childhood, citizenship, nationhood and gender occupy the narratives of educational reformers. In this regard, this study contributes to the growing field of the history of history education. Historically, history education in schools has spurred public and academic debates about what and how history should be taught in schools. The term "History Wars", used to describe these debates, has taken on a global dimension, reflected most recently in an edited volume of essays by international authors entitled *History Wars and the Classroom: Global Perspectives*.⁴⁶ Recent debates have resonated strongly in Canada as evident in a number of current publications such as the collection of essays by well-known Canadian history educators entitled, *New Possibilities for the Past: Shaping History Education in Canada*.⁴⁷ This dissertation adds to the historical underpinnings of these debates as it reflects on earlier debates initiated by feminist academics and reformers in the 1960s about why history curriculum did not include women and why that mattered. The topic 'women in the history curriculum' became a politicized issue because traditional school history courses did not include women in course guidelines or textbooks. This omission, so troubling to a range of feminists and educators at the time, became part of broader discussions by feminist educators about the inequities contained in all subject curricula. Some of these concerns were addressed by a number of social historians, who emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, and published on a broader range of historical narratives.

⁴⁶ Tony Taylor and Robert Guyver, eds., *History Wars and the Classroom: Global Perspectives* (A volume in the Studies of History Education: Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2012) This publication includes scholars from Argentina, Australia, Canada, Germany, Japan, New Zealand, Russia, South Africa, The UK and the U.S. Ruth Sandwell, University of Toronto, wrote the Canadian essay, "We Were Allowed to Disagree, Because We Couldn't Agree on Anything": Seventeen Voices in Canadian Debates over History Education". According to Taylor, the term "history wars" was "first coined in public debates by U.S. historians Edward Linenthal and Tom Engelhardt" in their 1996 edited collection *History Wars: the Enola Gay and Other Battles*, xi

⁴⁷ National and international history education debates reflect on *what* history should be taught (content) and *how* it should be taught (pedagogy). Ruth Sandwell examines these debates in *To the Past: History Education, Public Memory and Citizenship in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), introduction. She asks, "Whose history counts? What people, events and issues get to be included in history classrooms? And who decides these things?" Furthermore, Sandwell asks, if it is possible to teach history in a more "sensitive, critical, interactive and disciplined way?" See also: Penney Clark, ed., *New Possibilities For the Past: Shaping History Education in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011) This collection of essay includes articles by Margaret Conrad, Ken Osborne, Jocelyn Letourneau, Stephane Levesque, Peter Seixas, Amy von Heyking, Ruth Sandwell, Alan Sears and Penney Clark. See also Jocelyn Letourneau, *A History for the Future: Rewriting Memory and Identity in Quebec Today* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004); Desmond Morton, "Is History Another Word for Experience? Morton's Confessions," *The Canadian Historical Review* 92 no.4 (Dec. 2011).

As historians of education such as Margaret Conrad, Ken Osborne and Penney Clark have argued, Canadian educational reformers throughout the 1970s demanded more inclusive curricula that encompassed multiple narratives, a demand that included women.⁴⁸ By exploring the work of educational reformers to include women, this study adds to debates about the purpose or role of history curricula.⁴⁹ This study looks at why, prior to 1970s, it was deemed acceptable for governments, textbook publishers and educators to continually omit or marginalize women from historical examinations in schools and, in the process, why it was so difficult for reformers to ensure that women were included; thus this study engages with the contentious question about what kind of history should be taught in schools.⁵⁰

Finally, this project adds to oral history studies by including interviews of educators who, because of their beliefs in the equality of women generally, and women's inclusion in the history curriculum in particular, sought curricular change. Beginning in the 1970s, and largely in response to women's activism, the government of Ontario developed "sex-equity policies" for school boards and supported women's initiatives through school board women's committees. In order to establish who was instrumental in activating change, this study collected and analyzed oral histories from history educators, some of whom took part in these initiatives. Educators responded to calls for the greater inclusion of women in the curriculum through their work as individual history teachers, as members of women's organizations, as participants in the school board women's committees, as curriculum writers and publishers, and as students and administrators. Their work was a central part of affecting long term change. Scholars such as

⁴⁸ For extensive discussions about this period in history curricula see: Margaret Conrad, "A Brief Survey of Canadian Historiography" and Ken Osborne, "Teaching Canadian History: A Century of Debate", both in Penney Clark, ed., *New Possibilities for the Past* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011).

⁴⁹ Questions concerning the relationship between history, citizenship, civics, and social studies are embedded in debates about the role of history in schools. See: Penney Clark, ed., *New Possibilities For the Past* and Ruth Sandwell, *To the Past*. Alan Reid, Judith Gill and Alan Sears, *Globalization, the Nation-state and the Citizen: Dilemmas and Directions for Civics and Citizenship Education* (New York: Routledge, 2010); Alan Sears, *Retooling the Mind Factory: Education in a Lean State* (Aurora: Garamond Press, 2003); R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, *How Schools Worked: Public Education in English Canada, 1900-1940* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012).

⁵⁰ Ken Osborne, "Teaching Canadian History: A Century of Debate" and Alan Sears, "Historical Thinking and Citizenship Education: It Is Time to End the War" both in Penney Clark, ed., *New Possibilities for the Past*. Osborne and Sears engage in examinations about the interchange of the terms citizenship, civics and history. Osborne argues that these terms are "inextricably connected."

Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai, Susan Armitage, Nancy Janovicek and Joan Sangster have noted that incorporating oral history into research work provides opportunities to uncover alternative perspectives as well as to connect with those directly or indirectly linked to the research.⁵¹

One of the biggest challenges for feminist educators was to bring the growing and substantive women's history scholarship into the history courses taught in secondary schools. Oral history as a methodology can provide further insight into individual experiences omitted or marginalized from formal archival documents and records. The thirty-nine interviews in this study help provide further understanding into the ways in which some teachers responded to gender imbalanced history curricula and how this translated into specialized teaching practices, evaluation methods, and the acquisition and use of women's history materials. The interviews provide another lens into the ways in which history teachers, concerned with what they perceived as gaps in curricular content, found ways of making their mark on the content and process of history teaching and learning in their classrooms.⁵² This study begins with a brief examination of the historiographical changes taking place by the late 1960s and into the 1970s to help situate this work.

Historiography of Canadian Women's History as it Relates to Education

An outpouring of scholarship in women's history resulted in a number of scholars who examined women and education. Except for a few prominent British Queens, the experiences of Canadian women had been absent from nation-building narratives that embraced the successes of elite and public men. Scholars, such as Gerda Lerner noted that, "history as a profession spoke in the voice of exclusion, in which small elite of trained male intellectuals interpreted the past in its

⁵¹ See: Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai, eds., *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History* (New York: Routledge, 1991); Susan H. Armitage, eds., *Women's Oral History: the Frontiers Reader* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002); Nancy Janovicek, "Oral History and Ethical Practice Towards Effective Policies and Procedures," *Journal of Academic Ethics* 4: (2006), 1-4; Joan Sangster, "Telling Our Stories: Feminist Debates and the Use of Oral History," *Women's History Review*, 3 no. 1 (1994), 5- 28; Caroline Daley, "He would Know, but I just have a Feeling": Gender and Oral History," *Women's History Review*, 7 no. 3 (1998), 343-359.

⁵² See: Nina Bascia. Unpublished manuscript: *How Teachers Change the Curriculum: Case Studies of Teachers' Work to Shape Teaching and Learning Beyond Their Own Classrooms* (OISE/UT, Fall 2009).

own image and in its own voice."⁵³ Women were absent from history because early history curricula recognized only public, political and economic events, derived from historical documents found in public archives and records, published personal papers and resources produced by the state. But as Sylvia Van Kirk's ground breaking 1980 work *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870* noted, women were not absent from the history of economic development.⁵⁴ Feminist scholarship throughout the 1980s exposed the limitations of traditional history curricula and provided scholarship that challenged traditional norms. They argued that women played an essential role in nation-building narratives. The work of feminist scholars to expose the narratives about women was clearly one of the essential forces for changes in history curricula in schools and is explored in this study.

The growth in social history and the Canadian studies movement began in 1960s. Social historians gained a prominent place in helping shape new historical examinations. Greater numbers of historians broadened examinations to include women, children, the family and household, grassroots organizations, unions and the working-class.⁵⁵ Margaret Conrad notes that until the 1960s brought a shift to what could be used as a basis for historical scholarship, "historians argued that the discipline of history should be restricted to archival sources and therefore literate people."⁵⁶ This left out the study of Aboriginal societies, minorities and

⁵³ Gerda Lerner, *Living with History/ Making Social Change* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 36.

⁵⁴ See for example, Adele Perry, "Women, Gender and Empire," in *Canada and the British Empire*, ed. Phillip Buckner (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Katie Pickles and Myra Rutherdale, eds., *Contact Zones: Aboriginal and Settler Women in Canada's Colonial Past* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2005); Mary-Ellen Kelm and Lorna Townsend, *In the Days of Our Grandmothers : A Reader in Aboriginal Women's History in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006); Christine Miller, Patricia Marie Chuchryk and National Symposium on Aboriginal Women of Canada, *Women of the First Nations: Power, Wisdom, and Strength*, Manitoba Studies in Native History (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1996); Sarah Carter and Patricia McCormack, eds., *Recollection: Lives of Aboriginal Women of the Canadian Northwest and Borderlands* (Edmonton: AB:AU Press, 2011).

⁵⁵ Race and culture, like labour and class, were part of the discourse for social historians. *The Social History of Canada* series (University of Toronto Press) and the *Canadian Social History* series (McClelland & Stewart) were both launched in the early 1970s. See early studies related to schooling: Janice Acton et al, *Women at Work: Ontario, 1850-1930* (Toronto: CWEP, 1974) and S.M. Trofimenkoff and A. Prentice, ed., *The Neglected Majority* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977); Joy Parr, ed, *Childhood and Family in Canadian History* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1982).

⁵⁶ Margaret Conrad, "A Brief Survey of Canadian Historiography" and Ken Osborne, "Teaching Canadian History: A Century of Debate", both in Penney Clark, ed., *New Possibilities for the Past* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011).

women, all of whom were not typically found in public narratives.⁵⁷ Narratives of the working class established a more prominent place in academia, with the pioneering work of a number of scholars such as David Bercuson, Donald Avery, Desmond Morton, Greg Kealey and Bryan Palmer,⁵⁸ and British and American feminist historians such as Sheila Rowbowtham, Gerda Lerner, Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, Joan Sangster, Veronica Strong-Boag, Linda Kealey and Joy Parr.⁵⁹ Conrad points to significant shifts in Canadian historiography during the 1960s and 1970s when "the academic study of history underwent a sea change." She notes that historians focused on the "new social history" by "exploring Canada's limited identities" of region, class and ethnicity," which included women and racialized minorities.⁶⁰ Conrad argues that it was this context that resulted in a new depth of analysis and new historical texts. A number of Canadian journals and book series launched in the late 1960s and early 1970s reveal the scope and depth of interest in Canadian social history.⁶¹ But as Chad Gaffield has argued, the growth in history research during the 60s, taking place in universities across the country, was not paralleled in

⁵⁷ Current research exams how archives can be employed to access multiple voices, see: Nupur Chaudhuri et al, eds., *Contesting Archives: Finding Women in the Sources* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010).

⁵⁸ The list of publications is extensive. A few examples include W.J.C. Cherwinski and Greg.S. Kealey, eds., *Lectures in Canadian Labour and Working-Class History* (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1985); G. S. Kealey, "Labour and Working-class History in Canada: Prospects in the 1980s," *Labour/Le Travail* 7 (1981): 67-98; David Bercuson, "Through the Looking Glass of Culture: An Essay on the New Labour History and Working-class Culture in Recent Canadian Historical Writing," *Labour/Le Travail* 7 (1981): 96-112; Bryan Palmer, *A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Worker and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1880-1914* (Montreal, 1979); G. S. Kealey, *Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism, 1867-1892* (Toronto, 1980); Terry Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929* (Toronto, 1974); Michael J. Piva, *The Condition of the Working Class in Toronto, 1900-1921* (Ottawa, 1979); Bettina Bradbury, "The Family Economy and Work in an Industrializing City: Montreal in the 1870s," *Historical Papers*, 14 no.1 (1979):71-96; G. S. Kealey, ed. *Canada Investigates Industrialism* (Toronto, 1973); Michael Cross, *The Decline and Fall of a Good Idea; CCF-NDP Manifestoes, 1932 to 1969* (Toronto, New Hogtown Press, 1974); M. Cross and G.S. Kealey, eds., *The Consolidation of Capitalism, 1896-1929* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1983). Canadian social historians were influenced by the work of British social historian E.P. Thompson (*The Making of the English Working Class*, 1964) and the History Workshop Movement, founded by British historian Raphael Samuel.

⁵⁹ See: Joy Parr, "Case Records as Sources for Social History," *Archivaria* no. 4 (Spring 1977): 122-36; Alison Prentice and Susan Trofimenkoff, eds., *The Neglected Majority* vol.1. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1977); Veronica Strong-Boag, "Raising Clio's Consciousness: Women's History and Archives in Canada," *Archivaria* no. 6 (summer 1978): 70-82; Linda Kealey, *A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1979).

⁶⁰ Margaret Conrad, "A Brief Survey of Canadian Historiography", in P. Clark, ed., *New Possibilities for the Past* (UBC Press, 2011), 42-43.

⁶¹ To name a few, The University of Toronto Social History of Canada series, *Labour/Le Travail*; The McClelland and Stewart Canadian Social History series; *Historical Studies in Education*; *Atlantis*; *Social History/Histoire Sociale* and *Acadiensis*.

schools. He argues that this created contradictions that fuelled future debates about history education.⁶² Veronica Strong-Boag also argued that women's history "has been fortunate in finding- in the 'new social history'-an ally in the reconstruction of historical scholarship in this country."⁶³ She adds that women's history and social history "tackled critical variables long under-rated in conventional accounts. Both identify sex and class as crucial to the understanding of historical development. Neither interpretation can stand alone."⁶⁴

The inclusion of gender as an important category for historical work raised new questions and resulted in re-examinations of history curricula. A number of history teachers in this study noted the inclusion of women in history studies through the lens of working-class history. History curricula had been grounded in concepts of citizenship and focused on political and military leaders, lawmakers and industrial giants who helped shape the national polity.⁶⁵ Social and labour historians challenged standard interpretations of the past and focused on the experiences of working-class and marginalized groups of people.⁶⁶ One teacher in this study stated, "I would say that I approached history as social history. It was about dealing with groups that were marginalized in history and marginalized in the texts. I spent as much time focusing on labour, and the family, and the poor working-class as I did talking about women."⁶⁷ The impact of social history on the writing of educational history in Canada began with collections such as Donald Wilson's *Canadian Education: A History* in 1970,⁶⁸ which Paul Axelrod notes provided

⁶² Chad Gaffield, "Blossoming of Canadian Historical Research," in Ruth Sandwell, ed., *To the Past* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 89. Gaffield notes that "while historians and students in universities were increasingly focused on Canada's past, their counterparts in schools were paying less attention to historical topics."

⁶³ Veronica Strong-Boag, "Raising Clio's Consciousness: Women's History and Archives in Canada," *Archivaria*, no.6 (summer, 1978), 70.

⁶⁴ Strong-Boag, "Raising Clio's Consciousness," 71.

⁶⁵ See: Harold Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930); A.L. Burt. *The Romance of Canada: A New History* (Toronto: Gage, 1937).

⁶⁶ Some key works include, Linda Kealey. *A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada 1880-1920s* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1979); Alison Prentice. *The School Promoters: Education and Social Change in Mid-Nineteenth Century Ontario* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977); Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur Trade Society in Western Canada, 1700-1850* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1980).

⁶⁷ Teacher K. Interview by author, Toronto: November 30, 2009.

⁶⁸ J. Donald Wilson, Robert Stamp and Louis-Philippe Audet, eds., *Canadian Education: A History* (Scarborough, ON, 1970). The collection aimed to expand historical research by studying the links between educational change and

a "bridge" to the new educational historiography,⁶⁹ as the authors noted that educational history needed to be regarded as social history. Feminist scholars examined educational institutions, the experiences of women teachers, of girls in schools, and of curriculum and school programs.

An outpouring of scholarship in social history with a feminist perspective resulted in a number of bibliographies, beginning with Veronica Strong-Boag and Beth Light's *True Daughters of the North*.⁷⁰ Strong-Boag wrote several articles that discussed the "burgeoning" scholarship that had emerged from feminist research.⁷¹ The history of women's work was explored in early collections such as *Women at Work: Ontario, 1850-1930* and *The Neglected Majority* by Trofimenkoff and Prentice.⁷² Throughout the 1980s scholarship expanded with the publication of collected articles such as Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman, eds, *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History* and Alison Prentice et al, *Canadian Women: A History*, which were used in university history courses.⁷³ As this study reveals, these

the social order. The book is an anthology. See also A.B. MacKillip, *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979); Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid, *Youth, University and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).

⁶⁹ Paul Axelrod, "Historical Writing and Canadian Education from the 1970s-1990s," *History of Education Quarterly*, 36, no.1, (1996): 19-38.

⁷⁰ Veronica Strong-Boag and Beth Light, *True Daughters of the North: Canadian Women History: An Annotated Bibliography* (Toronto: OISE Press, 1980). Also see Moira Armour, *Canadian Women in History: a Chronology* (Toronto: Green Dragon Press, 1990).

⁷¹ Veronica Strong-Boag, "Raising Clio Consciousness: Women's History and Archives in Canada," *Archivaria*, 6, (Summer, 1978): 70-82. In this article Strong-Boag reflects on the "new history," stating that women's history has been "fortunate in finding in the 'new social history'— particularly historians studying labour and committed to recovering the past 'from the bottom up'— an ally in the reconstruction of historical scholarship in this country." Feminist scholars asked how relations of gender, class, race and ethnicity had shaped the process of creating national narratives. See also: Colin Coates and Cecilia Morgan, *Heroines and History: Representations of Madeleine de Verchères and Laura Secord* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).

⁷² Janice Acton et al. al, *Women at Work, Ontario, 1850-1930* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1974); Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice, eds., *The Neglected Majority* (Toronto: McClelland, 1977).

⁷³ Feminist social historians examined issues that related to immigration, labour and race. Major work in this field cannot all be listed here. I will cite a few central studies. Joan Sangster, *Earning Respect: The Lives of Working Women in Small Town Ontario, 1920-1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995); Paula Bourne, ed. *Women's Paid and Unpaid Work: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Toronto: Hogtown Press, 1985); Joan Sangster. *The Diversity of Women in Ontario, 1945-1980* and in *Earning Respect: the Lives of Working Women in Small Town Ontario* (Toronto: UofT Press, 1995); Kathryn McPherson, *A Round the Clock Job: A Selected Bibliography on Women's Work at Home in Canada* (Ottawa: SSHRC, 1983); Marilyn Barber, "The Women Ontario Welcomed: Immigrant Domestic for Ontario Homes, 1870-1930," *Ontario History* 72 no. 3 (1980): 148-72; *Immigrant Domestic Servants in Canada*: Booklet 16 (Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, 1984);

texts, especially those which focused on working-class women, found their way into history course studies. Furthermore, a number of teachers in this study were enrolled in women's studies and women's history courses; there they were exposed to this new scholarship, which they were able to bring back to their classrooms. One teacher noted,

Through the 1980s I was doing graduate work and I was teaching. The work I was doing for my MA thesis was about immigration and urban nativism and the PhD thesis was about eugenics essentially. So in my Master's course work, and resources, I did lots of social history and feminist analysis of history and so that percolated into my teaching and it ended up in the classroom.⁷⁴

Teachers would have also found scholarship which addressed the gendered history of their profession. Alison Prentice's pioneering work, *The Feminization of Teaching in British North America and Canada 1848-1875*, published in 1975,⁷⁵ examined public school women's teaching experiences and pointed to the major challenges faced by female teachers in both their private and their professional lives.⁷⁶ As Prentice notes, the study explained "two related phenomena: the movement of women into state school teaching in large numbers in the nineteenth century; and women's apparent subordination and exploitation in the occupation."⁷⁷ Furthermore, feminist scholars examined the limitations placed on women who tried to enter the established academic world of Canadian history.⁷⁸ These studies focused on the experiences and

Varpu Lindstrom-Best, *Defiant Sisters: A Social History of Finnish Immigrant Women in Canada* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1988); Veronica Strong-Boag & Anita Clair Fellman, *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, 1st ed. (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1986); Alison Prentice, et al, *Canadian Women: A History*, 1st ed. (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988); M. Epp, F. Iacovetta, and F. Swyripa, ed., *Sisters or Strangers? Immigrant, Ethnic, and Racialized Women in Canadian History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

⁷⁴ Teacher K. Interview by author, Toronto: November 30, 2009.

⁷⁵ Alison Prentice, "The Feminization of Teaching in British North America and Canada 1848-1875" in Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Prentice, eds., *The Neglected Majority* (Toronto, 1977), 49-65.

⁷⁶ Alison Prentice, Susan Laskin and Beth Light, "Studying the History of Occupation: Quantitative Sources on Canadian Teachers in the 19th Century" in *The Neglected Majority*. Prentice argues that the increase in female workers into the profession had economic advantages for the state. She notes, "Prejudice is also overcome by the fundamental fact that women teachers cost less."

⁷⁷ Alison Prentice, "Multiple Realities: the History of Women Teachers in Canada" in *Feminism and Education: A Canadian Perspective* edited by Frieda Forman et al. (OISE: CWSE, 1990).

⁷⁸ For scholarship in Higher Education see: Paul Axelrod, "Higher Education in Canada and the United States: Exploring the Roots of Difference," *Historical Studies in Education* 7 no. 2 (Fall, 1995): 141-76; Judith Fingard, "College Career and Community: Dalhousie Coeds, 1881-1921" in *Youth, University and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education* edited by P. Axelrod and J. Reids (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's

challenges faced by female academics and teachers, the restrictions imposed on immigrant and native women, university women and the gendered divisions of labour.⁷⁹

Scholars also wrote about the ways in which school systems controlled and directed the learning and working opportunities for female students and women teachers. Alison Prentice, Jane Errington, Angela Miles, Jeri Dawn Wine, Mary O'Brien, to name only a few, noted how schools systems were embedded with deep historical gender inequities.⁸⁰ Jane Gaskell and Arlene Tigar McLaren's edited collection of essays examined women's access to knowledge in

University Press, 1989); Chad Gaffield, Lynn Marks and Susan Laskin, "Student Populations and Graduate Careers: Queen's University 1895-1900" in *Youth, University and Canadian Society*; Margaret Gillett, *"We Walked Very Warily": A History of Women at McGill* (Montreal: Eden Press Women's Publications, 1981); A.B. McKillop, *Matters of Mind: The University in Ontario, 1791-1951* (Toronto: UofT Press, 1994); Hilda Neatby, *Queen's University: And Not to Yield, 1841-1917* vol.1 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1978); Anne Rochon Ford, *A Path Not Strewn with Roses* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985). Veronica Strong-Boag, "Feminism Constrained: The Graduates of Canada's Medical Schools for Women" in *Not an Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada 1880-1920* edited by Linda Kealey (Toronto: Women's Press, 1979); Peter Waite, *The Lives of Dalhousie University* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1994).

⁷⁹ See: Jean Barman, Neil Sutherland and J. Donald Wilson eds., *Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia* (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1995); Michele Dumont, *Girls Schooling in Quebec, 1639-1960* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1990); Harry Smaller, "Teachers and Schools in Early Ontario," *Ontario History* 85/4, Dec.1993): 291-308; Joy Parr, "introduction" in *Childhood and Family in Canadian History*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982); Marta Danylewycz, *Taking the Veil: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood and Spinsterhood in Quebec, 1840-1920* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1987); Marta Danylewycz and Alison Prentice, "Teachers Work: Changing Patterns and Perceptions in the Emerging School Systems of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Canada," *Labour/Le travail* 17, (Spring, 1986): 59-82; Janet Guildford, "Separate Spheres": The Feminization of Public School Teaching in Nova Scotia, 1838-1880," *Acadiensis* 22, no. 1, (Autumn 1992): 44-65; Alison Prentice, "Like Friendly Atoms in Chemistry? Women and Men at Normal School in Mid-Nineteenth Century Toronto," *Old Ontario: Essays in Honour of J.M.S. Careless* edited by David Keane and Colin Read (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1990); Johanna Selles, *Methodists and Women's Education in Ontario, 1836-1925* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996); Afua Cooper, "Black Women and Work in the Nineteenth Century Canada West: Black Woman Teacher Mary Bibb" in *'We're Rooted Here and they can't Pull Us Up': Essays in African Canadian Women's history*, edited by Peggy Bristow (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994); J.R. Miller, *'Shingwauk's Vision': A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996) and *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989); Jane Errington, *Wives and Mothers, Schoolmistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada, 1790-1840* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).

⁸⁰ Alison Prentice, *The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-nineteenth Century Upper Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977); A. Prentice, *The History of Women and Education in Canada* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1992); Jeri Dawn Wine, *School Sex- role Socialization: Female Children's Rights* (Toronto: Group for Research on Women, OISE, 1978); Angela R. Miles and Geraldine Finn, eds., *Feminism in Canada: From Pressure to Politics* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1982.); Jane Errington, "Ladies and Schoolmistresses: Educating Women in early Nineteenth Century Upper Canada," *Historical Studies in Education* 6, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 71-96.

academies and in educational curriculum.⁸¹ The essays argued that gender issues were historically constructed and embedded in patriarchal societies.⁸² This study is deeply indebted to their scholarship, although it differs from their conclusions. The teachers involved with this study truly believed that the school system was a transformative place, and that curricular change would happen because they were deeply committed to it. These teachers did not see themselves as victims of a patriarchal structure and believed that as professionals, curricular change would take place because of the work they did and the investment they had in their classrooms. These teachers saw their teaching as an extension of their agency.

Elizabeth Smyth and Paula Bourne's edited collection, *Women Teaching, Women Learning*, revealed issues of discrimination as well as economic constraints within education systems.⁸³ Other scholars explored issues of gender stereotyping in schools: the ways in which girls were underrepresented in school textbooks and segregation in specific subject curricula.⁸⁴ Helen Lenskyj's work "*Training for True Womanhood: Physical Education for Girls in Ontario*

⁸¹ Jane Gaskell and Arlene Tigar McLaren, *Women and Education: A Canadian Perspective* (Calgary: Detselig Ltd, 1987), introduction. See also Jane Gaskell, Arlene McLaren and Myra Novogrodsky, *Claiming an Education: Feminism and Canadian Schools* (Toronto: Our Schools/Our Selves, 1989).

⁸² See Mary O'Brien, "Political ideology and Patriarchal Education," in Frieda Forman, et al, eds., *Feminism and Education: A Canadian Perspective* (CWSE, OISE: Toronto, 1990): 11-13.

⁸³ Elizabeth M. Smyth and Paula Bourne, eds. *Women Teaching, Women Learning: Historical Perspectives*, (Toronto: Inanna Publications & Education, 2006). This collection honours the work of Alison Prentice. The introduction states the essays "focus on the complex interplay of women and education, with education broadly conceptualized as occurring at home, at school, and in the community." See: A. Prentice, "Bluestockings, Feminists, or Women Workers? A Preliminary look at Women's Employment at the University of Toronto," *Journal of the Canadian History Association* vol.2 (1991):231-61. Prentice notes that gender inequities were present on all levels in public schools and in the universities. She argues that women of exceptional skill and intellect were often overlooked due to their sex. For many years, the Canadian state paid little attention to these inequities and focused on maintaining the domestic role of women. See also: Mary O'Brien, "Feminism and the Politics of Education", *Interchange*, vol. 17, no. 2 (summer, 1986): 91-105; Mary O'Brien, "Political Ideology" in Frieda Forman, et al, eds., *Feminism and Education* (CWSE, OISE: Toronto, 1990): 11-13.

⁸⁴ There was significant scholarship in this area throughout the 1980s and 1990s. A few examples are provided here. J. Streitmatter, *Toward Gender Equity in the Classroom* (Albany, NY: Suny Press, 1994); A. McLaren & J. Gaskell, "Now you see it, now you don't: Gender as an Issue in School Science" in *Gender informs curriculum: From Enrichment to Transformation* (Toronto: OISE Press, 1995); Marg Wells, "From Margin to Centre: Interventions Supporting Gender Equity in the Toronto Board of Education," *Women's Studies International Forum* (19:4, 1994): 371-38; J. Blackmore and J. Kenway, "Changing Schools, Teachers and Curriculum: But what about the Girls?" in D. Corson, ed., *Discourse and Power in Educational organizations* (Toronto: OISE Press, 1995), K. Wheeler, *How Schools can Stop Shortchanging Girls: Gender Equity Strategies* (Wellesley: Centre for Research on Women, 1993); Myra and David Sadker, *Failing at Fairness: How American's Schools Cheat Girls* (New York: C. Scribners, 1994); *Raising Young Voices* (BC Ministry of Women's Equality, 1994); Jo Sanders, *What is Gender Equity? A Trainers Guide* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1991).

*Schools, 1890-1920*⁸⁵ for example, examined the gender inequities of girls in physical education programs and noted that physical education and sport programs in school were "sites of training in sex-appropriate behaviour."⁸⁶ Further research revealed that women in different parts of the country had different experiences.⁸⁷

The gendered divisions within education systems were historically entrenched. This may have played a role in the resistance to curriculum change. These historians of education demonstrated that the very notion of education is gender prescribed; education for women has historically been an education for a particular social role. Therefore, to characterize the struggle for equitable curriculum as a battle between those who opposed gender equity and those who supported it simplifies the issues and the history. One cannot analyze educational systems without understanding that historically education served to demarcate areas of gender exclusion, and was never intended to promote inclusion. In other words, the inequalities so prevalent in school systems and school curriculum are fundamentally a reflection of what takes place within society. As my interviews with teachers demonstrate, liberal education systems, although supportive of eliminating fundamental inequities of racism, sexism and class never addressed the essential role that inequality played as a major component of the system.

⁸⁵ Helen Lenskyj, "Training for True Womanhood": Physical Education for Girls in Ontario Schools, 1890-1920," *Historical Studies in Education* (Fall, 1990). See also: M. Ann Hall and Dorothy Richardson, *Fair Ball: Towards Sex Equity in Canadian Sport* (Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1982).

⁸⁶ Lenskyj, 4. Lenskyj argues that gender lines existed across the curriculum, in fields like mathematics and science. In Alison Prentice's *Laying Siege to the History Professoriate* she notes that at the OEA meeting in 1881 the director spoke of the danger of "filling girls heads with mathematics so that she is unable to make her own garments or into the mysteries of baking a loaf of bread." Programs in schools were designed to reinforce gender biases. Girls were to avoid "noisy and offensive" activities while team sports and heavy physical activity encouraged the development of boys to men. See: Jean Barman and Mona Gleason, eds., *Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia* (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 2003). There is extensive research on the role of the Medical Officers in schools. See Mary-Ellen Kelm, *Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in British Columbia, 1900-1950* (Vancouver, UBC Press, 1998). Barnum notes the ways schools reproduce dominant class interests, manifested along issues of race and gender.

⁸⁷ Alison Prentice, Beth Light and Marta Danylewycz, "The Evolution of the Sexual Division of Labour in Teaching: A Nineteenth Century Ontario and Quebec Case Study," *Historie sociale/social history* 16, (May 1983). Also see: M. Danylewycz and A. Prentice, "Teachers, Gender, and Bureaucratizing School Systems in Nineteenth Century Montreal and Toronto," *Canadian Historical Association* (Spring, 1984). The authors suggest that the Upper Canada experience reveals that parents, rural trustees and teachers were encouraging administrators to take a more active part in the affairs of local schools. See also R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, *How Schools Worked: Public Education in English Canada, 1900-1940* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012).

A number of feminist scholars have demonstrated how schools systems were embedded with deep historical gender inequities.⁸⁸ Mary O'Brien proclaims,

When we speak of feminism and education we are immediately confronted by a contradiction. On the one hand, education is seen as a necessary and important part of action directed towards social transformation. On the other hand, educational systems and school curricula are structured hierarchically and are profoundly conservative: educational institutions are bastions of male supremacy."⁸⁹

This scholarship supports this study; teachers I interviewed reported that they faced major resistance in their work to bring women into history course examinations in schools. The resistance may have stemmed from the long standing precedent that omitted, limited or marginalized women throughout the school system, and did not stem just from a refusal to support gender equity. Second wave feminism also situated women as a "sisterhood;" the discourse at the time framed gender as a binary opposition, men versus women, which underscored the differences, evident in educational institutions.⁹⁰

Ruby Heap and Alison Prentice's anthology *Gender and Education in Ontario: An Historical Reader* focused on the relationship between gender, education and social changes in Ontario;⁹¹ it reflected the growth in the fields of women's history and educational history.⁹²

⁸⁸ Alison Prentice, *The School Promoters* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977); Prentice, *The History of Women and Education in Canada* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1992); Jeri Dawn Wine, *School Sex- role Socialization: Female Children's Rights* (Toronto: Group for Research on Women, OISE, 1978); Angela Miles and Geraldine Finn, eds., *Feminism in Canada* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1982.); Jane Errington, "Ladies and Schoolmistresses" *Historical Studies in Education* 6, no. 1 (Spring 1994) 71-96; Joan Sangster, *Earning Respect: The Lives of Working Women in Small Town Ontario, 1920-1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).

⁸⁹ Mary O'Brien, "Feminism and the Politics of Education," *Interchange*, 17, no. 2 (summer, 1986): 91-105.

⁹⁰ During the 1960s and 1970s liberal feminists claimed that men and women should be treated equally under the law and given the same opportunities and treatment within society. Attention was drawn to the differences between "the sexes," less was paid to divisions within women, especially in terms of race, class, and ethnicity. These multiple voices within the women's movement commanded a stronger presence by the 1980s. See: Judith Lorber, *Gender Inequality: Feminist Theories and Politics*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

⁹¹ Ruby Heap and Alison Prentice, *Gender and Education in Ontario: An Historical Reader* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1991). With the addition of technical and vocational programs, secondary school curriculum was expanded to included gender specific agendas, offered to address the need for a trade workforce. Boys and girls were separated; girls were directed into domestic science courses and boys into technical trades. See: Jean Barman and Mona Gleason, eds. *Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia* (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 2003); R. D. Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).

These studies and others suggested that gender segregation in the school curriculum promoted notions of “women's work” and female specific skills that helped solidify gender differences in the work place.⁹³ Elizabeth Smyth's work examined private girl's colleges noting that changes in curriculum that took place during the 1870s and 1880s brought into question the "appropriate curriculum for young women."⁹⁴ Feminist scholars such as Alison Prentice, Marta Danylewycz, Ruby Heap and Susan Gelman noted that secondary schools in Ontario were designed to prepare young men for the professions, while girls' secondary education was centred on domestic and household training for their future roles as wives and mothers. ⁹⁵ Girls were often not enrolled in academic subjects such as mathematics and science and advanced level courses in history or English.

Ruby Heap and Alison Prentice further divulged the restrictive environment in which women experienced education as both students and as professionals in the teaching field.⁹⁶

⁹² This is also explored in Ruby Heap's study on vocational schools and Marta Danylewycz study of domestic science programs. See: M.Danylewycz, "Domestic Science Education in Ontario 1900-1940" and R. Heap "Schooling Women for Home or for Work? Vocational Education for Women in Ontario in the Early Twentieth Century: The Case of the Toronto Technical High School 1892-1920" both in *Gender and Education in Ontario*.

⁹³ See: Nancy M. Sheehan, "Women and Education in Alberta: the Rhetoric and the Reality" in Nick Kach and Kas Mazurek, eds., *Exploring Our Educational Past* (Calgary: Detselig Ltd 1992).

⁹⁴ Elizabeth Smyth, "A Noble Proof of Excellence the Culture and Curriculum of a Nineteenth Century Ontario Convent" in *Gender and Education in Ontario* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1991): 273-293; E. Smyth, "Developing the Powers of a Youthful Mind: The Evolution of Education for Young Women at St. Joseph's Academy in Toronto," *Canadian Catholic Historical Studies* 60, (1993):103-124 and 289. Smyth writes that the curriculum at St. Joseph's Academy, a reflection of the standard convent-academy, was originally designed to train girls for marriage or the religious life. It evolved to include business studies, music and art, skill development that allowed students credentials for economic independence. School reformers such as Edward Lee Thorndike argued that education provided a "scientific means for social improvement." See George Tomkins, *A Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum* (Vancouver: Pacific Education Press, 2008): 61-63. Tomkins notes that Ryerson established readers and school libraries in the mid 19th century with catalogues of approved books. Readers were purchased from Ireland, Scotland, England and the United States. Readers mostly focused on patriotic and moral education.

⁹⁵ Marta Danylewycz, "Domestic Science Education in Ontario, 1900-1940", in R. Heap and A. Prentice, ed., *Gender and Education in Ontario* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1991), 131. Danylewycz notes, "Gender-specific programs of practical education denied girls the opportunity to discover talents and develop interests that went against notions of femininity, thus barring their entry to the male dominated occupations. Danylewycz argues that domestic science education was the product of the social and familial concerns of turn of the century middle and upper class women as seen through the work of Adelaide Hoodless and Massey Treble.

⁹⁶ Rebecca Coulter, "Getting Things Done: Donald J. Dickie and Leadership through Practice" in *Women Teaching, Women Learning* edited by Elizabeth Smith and Paula Bourne. Smith and Bourne divide their study into themes: women as teachers, regulating women in the emerging fields of social work, teaching and medicine, and women's public lives. The first section includes an essay by Rebecca Coulter who examines the progressive

Susan Gelman noted the links between the feminization of high schools with the increase in female teachers and the subsequent decrease in the respect given to the teaching profession.⁹⁷ Women enrolled in academic programs in the first half of the twentieth century were denied the academic support to obtain positions in graduate schools or placements in universities. Alison Prentice's essay *Laying Siege to the History Professoriate* focused on female historians as undergraduates, graduates and faculty, at six universities, before 1950.⁹⁸ She argues that heads of history departments were always concerned that too much female input within the program would undermine its status.⁹⁹ Both Prentice's pioneering work on women in higher education and, more recently, the work of Donald Wright, demonstrates that the history profession created clear barriers between the work of male professionals and what women historians did as "amateurs". Wright notes "boundary work was very much a gendered process as male historians eager to enhance and to defend their status, authority and privileged access to the academic labour market, excluded women."¹⁰⁰ Some universities barred women from historical societies, leaving them to make their own professional links. This put women historians at a disadvantage for being hired to teach history.¹⁰¹ This historical scholarship that speaks to the gendered nature

educational career of Donalda Dickie. See also: Katherine Arnup, *Education for Motherhood: Advice for Mothers in Twentieth Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994).

⁹⁷ Susan Gelman, "The Feminization of the High School: Women Secondary School Teachers in Toronto: 1871-1930" in *Gender and Education in Ontario*, 73-105.

⁹⁸ Alison Prentice, "Laying Siege to the History Professoriate", in *Creating Historical Memory* edited by Beverly Boutilier and Alison Prentice (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 197-232. This essay documents how women were prevented from sharing the professional field. Prentice notes "neither the first generation of professional historians nor their mid-century successors could imagine women participating in the new professionalism."

⁹⁹ See: Rebecca Priegert Coulter, "Getting Things Done: Donalda J. Dickie and Leadership Through Practice", *Canadian Journal of Education* 28: 4, (2005): 669-699 and M. Hayden, M. ed., *So Much to Do, So Little Time: The Writings of Hilda Neatby* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1983).

¹⁰⁰ Donald Wright, *The Professionalization of History in English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 97

¹⁰¹ One of the first books published to study residential schools in Canada was Cecilia Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1988). See also: Michele Dumont-Johnson, *Girls Schooling in Quebec, 1639-1960* (Ottawa: CHA, 1990) and *Les Religieuses Sont Elles Feministes* (Montréal: Bellarman, 1995); Marta Dalyniewicz, *Taking the Veil: an Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood and Spinsterhood in Quebec 1840-1920* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987); Jean Barman and Neil Sutherland, *Children. Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia* (Calgary: Detsilig Enterprises, 2003); Jean Barman and Marie Battiste, *First Nations Education in Canada* (UBC Press, 1995). Scholars have also examined the challenges faced by Black teachers and students. See, Peggy Bristow, *We're Rooted Here and They*

of the professionalization of history reflects the lived experience of many of the teachers I interviewed for this study, who spoke about being marginalized as students pursuing their history degrees.

By the 1990s, scholarship in women's history in Canada had expanded, as reflected in the appearance of new bibliographies. In *Changing Women, Changing History: A Bibliography of the History of Women in Canada*,¹⁰² Canadian feminist historians expanded scholarship in a wide range of areas; they wrote about the interplay of race, gender and class and thus broadened the general discourse in Canadian history. Joan Sangster in her collection of essays, *Through Feminist Eyes* suggests that writing on women and gender has been "intimately connected to, and stimulated by, movements of social change, most notably (but not only) the women's movement" and that women's studies have both "sustained and been sustained by women's history and has created a space for interdisciplinary dialogue."¹⁰³

The overall interplay between "sex equity" policies and women's history inclusion in various curricula in Ontario education was slowly taking shape, as educators became aware of the need to address holes in the curriculum and social history provided an appropriate lens. History educator Sharon Cook notes a historical "moment" when "both the first wave of women's history as a sub-set of social history in Canada aligned with much interest in this province about equity issues."¹⁰⁴ That historical 'moment' was real: the teachers in this study spoke at length about the spirit of the time, when they felt they were affecting great change within the classroom. Fundamentally, however, integrating women was not a priority for governments or mainstream publishers and most history departments were also reluctant to change. While these structures

Can't Pull Us Up: Essays in African Canadian Women's History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994); Afua Cooper, *Black Teachers in Canada West, 1850-1870: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto, MA Thesis, 1991).

¹⁰² Diana Pedersen, *Changing Women, Changing History: A Bibliography of the History of Women in Canada* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press 1996) Pedersen acknowledged the growth in Canadian women's history and argued that interest in the field had been demonstrated by the growth in conferences, electronic networking and publications. She points to the Canadian Committee on Women's history (CCWH); the largest subgroup of the Canadian Historical Association. (CHA) and the establishment of awards such as the Hilda Neatby Prize, which began in 1986, and which recognizes the best articles in Canadian women's history.

¹⁰³ Joan Sangster, *Through Feminist Eyes* (Edmonton: AU Press, 2011) 2-3. Sangster adds, that the subject area of women's history "increasingly gained acceptance and moved closer to the centre of the historical profession."

¹⁰⁴ Sharon Anne Cook, Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa. Email Interview by author: Dec. 21, 2009.

hampered the overall impact of new scholarship, teacher practice reveals another story. Teachers who were interested in including women in their history courses actively networked outside the school for supplementary resources and were in contact with feminists in various communities and through membership in women's organizations.

The impact of all this scholarship was substantial, playing a key role in the development and expansion of university women's studies departments and women's history courses. However, as later chapters will reveal, women's studies courses in public schools appeared as isolated and stand-alone courses at only a scattering of schools, and a course in the history of Canadian women did not officially appear in Ontario.

Historiography of Canadian Curriculum Reform and its Links to Women's History Scholarship

Battles over curriculum are not new. Questions about content, pedagogy and resource materials have been contentious throughout the history of education in Canada. Curriculum theorists have long argued that school curriculum must be understood in terms of its broad social context. It is a product of a wide range of ideological perspectives: regional and national; economic, social and political pressures as well as subject to the influence of educational scholars. George S. Tomkins, in his influential study of the history of Canadian curriculum, draws on noted scholarship in a variety of fields to reflect on the fluctuation between "stability and change" in Canadian curricula over the past one hundred and fifty years.¹⁰⁵ Tomkins argues that "cultural conflict" and "cultural survival" are basic characteristics of Canadian social and educational history. In seeking to promote socialization in order to support religious, social, and cultural norms, school promoters battled over cultural survival in order to argue for a particular group or regional identity. Tomkins notes, "Cultural conflict in Canadian education had characteristically been curricular conflict. In few nations had the course of study prescribed for

¹⁰⁵ George S. Tomkins, *Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum* (Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 2008 edition).

schools engendered more conflict in the wider society."¹⁰⁶ Throughout the 19th and 20th century, these two themes, he argues, dominated and defined educational policy, as various groups fought to preserve minority rights against the dominant Protestant Christian and British patriotic norms. Tomkins argues that cultural conflicts inherent in Canadian education can be understood through examinations of the curriculum conflicts that focused on debates over what schools should teach, over the objectives and aims of curricula content, and over the resources that should be used in the classroom. In other words, shifts in curriculum have tended to reflect social, political and economic changes that took place in Canada and battles for cultural survival. The changes to curricula that began in the late 1960s with the Hall-Dennis Report were part of a long history of curriculum reforms in the province. Using Tomkins' idea that curricula is linked to the larger cultural sphere, this study builds on that foundational premise in order to argue that the cultural conflicts that were at play in the larger social sphere in the 1960s and 1970s were present in the classroom.

History curricula and textbooks in Canada valued studies in British and European history and Canadian national narratives that celebrated the achievements of commerce and statehood.¹⁰⁷ Ken Osborne notes that history was taught "as the authoritative story of what happened in the past...in the belief that this would promote patriotism and national pride."¹⁰⁸ Margaret Conrad notes that the rise of nationalism in the 19th century "inspired an unprecedented interest in the past".¹⁰⁹ Nationalist themes, many of which focused on Canadian

¹⁰⁶ Tomkins, *Common Countenance*, 3. The theme of cultural survival is also present in a wide range of scholarship. For Cultural survival and conflicts related to language and religious rights see, Margaret Atwood's, *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature* (Concord, ON: House of Anansi Press, 1972); J. K. Conway, "Culture and National identity" in G. Milburn & J. Herbert, eds, *National Consciousness and the Curriculum: The Canadian Case* (Toronto: OISE, 1974), 71–81; Jocelyn Letourneau, *A History for the Future: Rewriting Memory and Identity in Québec* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004).

¹⁰⁷ See: Margaret Conrad, "A Brief Survey of Canadian Historiography," in P. Clark, *New Possibilities for the Past*, 41. Conrad notes in her historiography, that after confederation, academic historians shifted their focus from Canada's links to British imperialism to North American relations and the "geographic, demographic and economic forces underlying continental ties." This national focus cultivated the "Frontier thesis" and "Laurentian thesis" by historians Harold Innis, Arthur Lower and Donald Creighton.

¹⁰⁸ Ken Osborne, "Teaching Canadian History: A Decade of Debate," in P. Clarke, *New Possibilities for the Past*, 57. Osborne notes "Curricula and textbooks portrayed Canada as a work in progress whose continuing development depended on the commitment of historically informed citizens."

¹⁰⁹ Conrad, *New Possibilities for the Past*, 38-40. Conrad notes François-Xavier Garneau's, *Historie du Canada* and others who wrote the grand histories of Canada.

economic history and geography, shaped school history textbooks until the 1960s.¹¹⁰ Duncan McArthur's book *History of Canada for High Schools* celebrated the geographical structure of the country which "had greatly influenced the course of Canadian development." *Canada-a Nation*, written by A.R.M. Lower, also noted the essential relationship between Canadian economic history and geography. Lower wrote,

Our strong and confident nation of to-day is very different from the feeble infant of Confederation days. It was a combination of north and west with technical invention that made modern Canada: of timber, minerals, pulp and paper with wheat and meat; of hydro-electricity with the chemistry which showed how to extract metal from complex ores and paper from spruce trees. In 1900 these developments were just beginning; the country was standing on the threshold of its future.¹¹¹

School promoters in the 19th century embraced scientific progressivism and advocated for publicly funded schools that would address the needs of an emerging industrial society. Children were sorted into grades and classes that employed a common curriculum through the use of uniform texts.¹¹² Paul Axelrod argues, "Canada confronted the challenges that change unleashed. While encouraging 'progress' society's middle class leaders sought ways of protecting themselves from its most unpalatable consequences and schools were seen as instruments of both order and stability."¹¹³ The role of public schools changed by the 1920s to address increases in urbanization and industrialization; this further supported a gendered structure of curricula. Tomkins notes that by the mid-1920s vocational education schools had been accepted as a "legitimate function of secondary schooling in most provinces (and) Ontario led the way, enrolling half of all vocational students throughout Canada."¹¹⁴ Part of the reason for this change came from the large federal and provincial grants, part of the post-war Technical

¹¹⁰ See: Harold Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada and Cod Fisheries*. Arthur Lower's, economic thesis, see: *Colony to Nation: A History of Canada*, (Toronto, Longmans, Green, 1st ed. 1946) Donald Creighton's Laurentian thesis, see: *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1850*, (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1937).

¹¹¹ A. R. M. Lower, *Canada-A Nation: And How it Came to Be* (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1948), 377

¹¹² George Tomkins, *Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum*, 98-99. Tomkins notes that Thorndike represents the conservative side of progressivism a "pedagogical scientist" who believed that education was a means of social improvement. Dewey represented the liberal side of American progressivism.

¹¹³ Paul Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling: Education in Canada, 1800-1914* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1999), 42.

¹¹⁴ Tomkins, *Common Countenance*, 153

Education Act.¹¹⁵ Curriculum in Ontario was divided between students who took the academic stream and those enrolled in the vocational stream.¹¹⁶ As feminist scholars have noted, many girls were channeled into domestic science curricula and commercial training.¹¹⁷ Robert Stamp suggests that despite 1920s initiatives "the regular studies of the day" changed little as most schools maintained traditional academic programs.¹¹⁸

History education throughout this period continued to support national narratives, although it was being broadsided by those who argued for local or regional histories and child-centred learning theories. Both Margaret Conrad and Ken Osborne noted that nation-building narratives always had its critics as narratives were difficult to maintain in a country that supported strong regional histories, and teachers often focused on local and contemporary issues.¹¹⁹ Some of the rejection of national political and economic narratives came from education reformers who, influenced by theories of Dewey and Froebel, argued for child-centred focus.¹²⁰ Osborne and Conrad and other scholars noted that the spread of progressive ideas in history education, those advocated by Fred Morrow Fling and Mary Sheldon Barnes who believed that students of history should actively engage in research through examinations of

¹¹⁵ Tomkins, *Common Countenance*, 102 and 118. "Technical Education Act" (1919)

¹¹⁶ Discussions over what constituted a proper education were popular in public newspapers and magazines during the post-war period. For example, an article in *The Canadian Home Journal* (December, 1944) "Is Education Out-Of-Date? Yes!" noted that youth conferences held across the country were examining topics about "what kind of education youth wants and needs." Students wanted schools to provide "proper training for the future," guide them to a vocation, prepare them to be good citizens, and provide them with adequate skills to obtain jobs.

¹¹⁷ A number of scholars note that domestic science programs were supported by women's organizations who lobbied school boards and universities for programs. See: Gail Cuthbert Brandt et al, *Canadian Women: A History* (Toronto: Nelson, 3rd edition, 2011), 344-348. Not all parents supported streaming girls into domestic science. Nancy Jackson and Jane Gaskell argue that the increase in commercial education, business and vocational schools in Ontario during this period had a major effect on female students as a large portion of the curriculum was directed towards female students to develop clerical skills in order that they might address labour market demands.

¹¹⁸ Robert Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 117. Stamp adds, "The 1920s provided no differently than earlier periods; despite alarming drop-out rates."

¹¹⁹ See articles by Conrad and Osborne in *New Possibilities for the Past*.

¹²⁰ The term "child-centred" was a discourse about education and early schooling, during the 1930-50s. The discussion began with the founder of the kindergarten, Friedrich Froebel, in the 1930s, and was taken up by John Dewey. See for example, John Dewey, *The School and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943). Dewey argued against pre-determined state curriculum and noted that students thrive in an environment where they are allowed to experiment and interact with the curriculum.

primary documents and offered new ideas in the teaching of history in schools.¹²¹ Tomkins suggests that progressive ideas in education, however, had a limited impact on curriculum in the first half of the 20th century because of "ingrained conservatism,"¹²² and the presence of mandatory provincial exams.¹²³ Robert Stamp agrees, arguing that most Ontario high school teachers "felt more comfortable serving the demands of traditional scholarship than responding to new social challenges."¹²⁴ Osborne also agrees, arguing that history curricula in Ontario continued to support traditional narratives, taught and organized within "chronological and descriptive narratives."¹²⁵ Although, the late 1950s and early 1960s saw an expansion of schools, programs and courses in Ontario, with the development of adult education programs and new course offerings,¹²⁶ Robert Stamp argues that despite progressive changes, high schools

¹²¹ See: Fred Morrow Fling, *The Writing of History: an Introduction to Historical Method* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920); Mary Sheldon Barnes, *Studies in Historical Method* (Boston: Heath, 1904); Ken Osborne, "Teaching Canadian History: A Century of Debate" in P. Clark, *New Possibilities for the Past*.

¹²² Tomkins, *Common Countenance*, 190.

¹²³ Tomkins, *Common Countenance*, 132. Tomkins notes that "patriotism and morality remained central aims during the era of New Education."

¹²⁴ J. Donald Wilson, Robert Stamp and Louis-Philippe Audet, *Canadian Education: A History* (Scarborough, ON. : Prentice-Hall, 1970), 119.

¹²⁵ Ken Osborne, "Teaching Canadian History", 58. Osborne notes, "Chronologies typically focused on four principal axes: European exploration and settlement, pre-confederation, and constitutional developments, confederation and the development of responsible government and the building of Canada after 1867. See also George Tomkins, *Common Countenance*, 206-207. In his examination of history and social studies curriculum in Ontario, Tomkins notes that members of the University of Toronto history department prepared a report for the National Council of Education in 1923 arguing that moral instruction take place in literature examinations and that history "not be used as a medium for patriotism." The report stated that history students needed a more realistic and "objective" view of the world. For a more comprehensive examination, see: Ken Osborne, "Teaching Canadian History," Margaret Conrad, "A Brief Survey of Canadian Historiography," Desmond Morton, "Canadian History Teaching in Canada" in P. Clark, ed., *New Possibilities for the Past*. Historian Isabel Skelton objected to the male biases of nation building narratives, Mary McCullum argued that narratives supported the status quo. Scientists, feminists, labourers, immigrants, and French Canadians noted the ways in which nation building narratives excluded many Canadians and threatened their identity. A number of scholars have explored alternative ways in which history course studies might be presented, one that is not chronological and descriptive; one that is multi-voiced, as opposed to descriptive, and one that engages students in critical thinking skills. See: Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg, *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History* (New York: New York University Press, 2000).

¹²⁶ In 1967, 1,800,000 Ontario children attended over 5,700 schools, totaling more than 65,000 classrooms, taught by 75,000 teachers (including roughly 10,000 persons performing administrative and supervisory jobs in education) In the same year the primary-secondary school enrolment represented 26.1 per cent, or over one-quarter of the population, in contrast to 16.3 per cent, or less than one-sixth, in 1948 (Hall-Dennis Report, 1968).

remained quite traditional.¹²⁷ He notes that many teachers taught by "taking textbook in hand and proceeding carefully through it, chapter by chapter, from September to June."¹²⁸ This remained standard history teaching throughout the decade. In order to enter university, students in Ontario had to pass Grade 13 Departmental exams. Stamp adds that the curriculum focused on these exams as early as Grade 9. He confirms, "From the September of his[sic] grade 9 year, no student was allowed to forget that the entire academic program was designed to prepare him[sic] to write those dreaded "Departmentals."¹²⁹ The dichotomy between reformers pressing for curricula change and traditionalists, who were content to maintain the status quo, came to the fore in the 1960s as social movement activists impressed their demands increasingly on the school system.

This dichotomy can be understood by examining the process to achieve gender equity in schools. Education scholar C. E Phillips sagely noted in his 1957 book *The Development of Education in Canada*, the history of education in Canada is largely "a record of a struggle to achieve parity for everyone" within a system where the "aspirations of everyone" is up against the "resistance of those who sought to maintain the superiority of forms advantageous to the group with which they identified themselves."¹³⁰ Interestingly, he states this at the beginning of a chapter on the history of girls and women's education, which might suggest he was already aware that new efforts to achieve gender equity would be difficult to implement. Phillips noted the ways in which limited educational opportunities for girls had been orchestrated by the government to maintain societal practices. Looking at this history as a historical document itself, it becomes clear that Phillips was aware that change was taking place. He asserts that by the late 1950s girls had obtained access to "nearly all" educational institutions and courses. Clearly new thoughts about the role of women and girls in society were beginning to influence educational

¹²⁷ Robert Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 196-197*. Stamp notes that most teachers in Ontario went through a year of teacher preparation at the College of Education and many stayed in one school for their entire teaching career.

¹²⁸ Stamp, 196. Stamp notes that schoolwork was routine and focused on homework, memorization and frequent testing. He adds, "Shakespeare plays, the causes of the French Revolution, irregular verbs, inclined planes, quadratic equations-all seemed to exist in a vacuum, divorced from the outside world." (197) The Hope Commission, released Dec.1950, reflected the conservatism of the post-war period.

¹²⁹ Stamp, 197. Stamp noted that approximately 75% of the total student body in Ontario secondary schools in 1955 was enrolled in general or academic programs. Students' success rested on the Departmental exams.

¹³⁰ C.E. Phillips, *The Development of Education in Canada* (Toronto: W.J. Gage and Co. Ltd, 1957), 375.

institutions. Historically, public educational opportunities for girls in Canada had been highly restricted by governments who argued that women's "proper sphere" was in the home, which meant that there was little reason for the state to invest in women's education. The two world wars changed this and by the 1950s and 1960s, women's employment had expanded to a wide range of fields. Viewed in this way, the 1960s became a period of real transition, between the traditional and restricted view of women as unsuited for professional training and a new perspective that supported equal opportunity. The increase in women's scholarship, in feminist theory and activism, certainly heighten the urgency for educational change. The 1960s brought in a new Premier, a new Ministry of Education and saw greater demands by a wide range of reformers, which resulted in change to curricula in Ontario schools.¹³¹ Some teachers in this study were torn between support for child-centred education, which reappeared in the 1960s, and the pressure to continue to deliver traditional history course studies. Having been exposed to a predominantly Socratic pedagogical method as students, several teachers in this study found the shift to more student-centred curricula difficult to deliver.

The 1960s brought a wide range of public criticism and dissatisfaction that schools no longer addressed the needs of a changing society.¹³² The early 60s saw the introduction of the federal government's "Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act", which was designed to provide economic stimuli. The Ontario government, like other provinces accepted large federal government grants to expand and construct new "institutes of technology and trade schools."¹³³ The "Reorganized Programme" (also known as the Robarts Plan), was introduced in 1962 and created three "equal-status" branches within secondary schools in Ontario, called Arts

¹³¹ Premier Leslie Frost (1949-61) succeeded Harry Nixon and George Drew (1943- 49). John Robarts succeeded W.J. Dunlop as Minister of Education and became Premier (1961-1971) followed by Bill Davis (1971-1985), David Peterson (1985-1990) and Bob Rae (1990-1995). (<http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com>). (accessed July, 2012)

¹³² A number of educators called for the "deschooling" of society. In the 1960s and 1970s, parents demanded alternative schools, flexibility in teacher pedagogy and course selection. Some of these concepts developed in the 1950s by organizations such as the Canadian Research Committee on Practical Education (CRCPE), "Your Child Leaves School (1951). Throughout the 20th century a number of educators, including A.S. Neill, Bertrand Russell, R.G. Collingwood, Everett Reimer, Ivan Illich, and Paulo Friere advocated for a replacement of the institutional structure of schools. See: Ivan Illich, *Deschooling Society* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971); Ian Winchester, "Whatever Happened to DeSchooling Society?" *The Journal of Educational Thought* 40 no.1 (Spring, 2006), 1-4.

¹³³ Robert Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 203, Stamp notes that Ontario Premier Frost convinced the federal government to pay 75% of the estimated \$15 provincial costs. See also R.D. Gidney, *From Hope to Harris*.

and Science, Business and Commerce and Science, Technology and Trade.¹³⁴ A variety of programs provided support for students to remain in school until grade 12. The program seemed to work as enrollment increased and more students graduated.

Simultaneously, as Ontario was supporting vocationalism and the expansion of options for those students interested in trade and technology, another force pushed for the expansion of students' intellectual opportunities. The 1962 report of the joint committee of the Toronto Board of Education and the University of Toronto entitled *Design of Living* focused on the provision of more options for students to pursue professional careers. Sweeping changes took place to eliminate provincial departmental exams, allow for greater student course options and increase teacher training. The 1968 "Hall-Dennis Report," released by the Provincial Committee on "Aims and Objectives in Education in Ontario", resonated with many parents and many educators as its main focus centred on the belief that systems of education should revolve around individual student needs. Schools, the report stated, "should be built for human beings interested in learning," and, "viewed as a place of personal growth and development based on a learning process of self-discovery."¹³⁵ The report recommended individualized programmes of instruction, the de-emphasis of "competition in the classroom and rote learning."¹³⁶ Curricula were to provide a greater variety of learning opportunities for students.

Tompkins adds, "In its emphasis on a greater socializing role for schools, Hall-Dennis was in the spirit of American progressivism of the 1920s, with the significant and characteristic Canadian difference that progressive ideology was enshrined in an official government document."¹³⁷ Teachers were required to "guide each child along his [sic] own critically

¹³⁴ Stamp, 204. See also George Tompkins, who notes that reorganization was to address the high drop-out rate by providing more options for students to stay in school.

¹³⁵ Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario, *Living and Learning: The Report of the ... Committee*. (Toronto: Published for the Committee by the Newton Pub. Co., 1968) The Report can be found online: <http://www.connexions.org/CxLibrary/Docs/CX5636-HallDennis2.htm>. The report was divided into several areas: the characteristics of childhood, cultural environment, the learning program, the learning environment, the teacher, and organization for education.

¹³⁶ From The Report (cited above). The Committee stated that "the child should not be treated as an isolated entity, but educated for life in a society which respects his [sic] individuality."

¹³⁷ Tompkins, *Common Countenance*, 276.

determined path". The report spent a great deal of attention on how to best "modernize" the curriculum, recognizing that new technologies and societal demands had shifted away from traditional curricula.¹³⁸ The report suggested an abolition or alteration of the graded system, the use of individual timetables for senior students, a move to broaden core subjects to include "multidisciplinary learning opportunities" and a focus on Canadian studies.¹³⁹ But the report did not provide detailed curriculum guidelines, appealing to teacher professionalism to implement recommended changes. This, however, proved difficult and the report was widely criticized.¹⁴⁰ Despite this, the central tenet of the report provided support for teacher autonomy. This was well supported by some teachers in this study who, throughout their careers, rejected school board interference in their ability to deliver curriculum. When Affirmative Action policies were implemented within the Toronto School Board, many teachers felt that their autonomy to deliver curriculum was being challenged. The "Hall-Dennis Report" reaffirmed the fact that teachers had flexibility because they were addressing individual student needs: perhaps this opened up the potential for teachers to see Affirmative Action as limiting their ability to teach tailored content.

¹³⁸ From The Report (cited above). "The modern curriculum must be flexible, not only by providing options for pupils with different interests at more senior levels, but by providing learning experiences to meet the needs of individual young people at every level." The Report attained almost mythic status, was cited in many educational journals and formed the foundation for new schools such as ALPHA Alternative school in Toronto (see: <http://alphaschool.ca/hall-dennis-in-depth/>).

¹³⁹ From The Report (cited above). In efforts to create a more multidisciplinary or interdisciplinary approach to curriculum, history lost its former status. It is not that the study of history was removed from the curriculum but rather subsumed into a wider exploration of subject areas. The results were devastating to the enrollment of history in schools. The report noted, "Simply to teach more history is not the answer. Instead, areas of study should be extended in variety to permit students to probe the many problems of past and present that have a bearing upon social conditions. Wherever possible, students should be exposed to historical evidence rather than points of view and, through free discussion and research, be permitted to seek answers and conclusions that may be at variance with established points of view. From their early years, pupils should be encouraged to reach beyond the confines of history textbooks and conventional courses of study to explore a multitude of resource materials in their search for understanding; such an exploration should include approaches to learning that develop not only an awareness of civic and historical issues but also a skill in research and a habit of inquiry that will serve the student in his future role as a citizen." For a fuller discussion see: Geoffrey Milburn, *"Ring Some Alarm Bells in Ontario": Reactions to the Report of The Royal Commission on Learning* (London, ON: Althouse Press, 1996) and R.D. Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools* (Toronto: UofT Press, 1999).

¹⁴⁰ See: James Daly, *Education or Molasses? A Critical look at the Hall-Dennis Report* (Ancaster: Cromlech Press, 1969) and Brian Crittenden, *Means & Ends in Education: Comments on Living and Learning* (Toronto: Hunter Rose, 1969).

On the other hand, for other teachers, such policies were a welcome invasion because they were already doing this kind of work in their classrooms.¹⁴¹

Concerns about Canadian identity were quite dominant during this period; the Report supported the implementation of Canadian studies into curricula, the recognition of the National History Project, and concerns over using American materials in Canadian classes. A number of scholars have examined the educational demands for a National History project; they have been critical of the dismal state of history teaching.¹⁴² With new scholarship taking place in Canadian women's history, the focus on Canadian studies helped provide space for women's history in school curriculum. Sociologist William Carroll links the development and focus on Canadian studies to social movement activism. He notes, "In English Canada, the intellectual forces that collected together to press for "Canadianization" in the late 1960s and that consolidated into the field of Canadian studies...were themselves part of a social movement opposing the continentalizing impact of Americanization."¹⁴³ Historians have argued convincingly that the focus on Canadian identity in the 1960s brought forth a unique scholarship in Canadian history. Social historians, many with ties to the political Left, examined the past through the inequities of class, region, gender, race and identity. Collective responses to social justice issues, such as those espoused by the women's movement or those espoused by Quebec separatists, were tied to ideas about the meaning of being Canadian, and the ways in which political and economic hegemonic structures had spurred social movement activism. Collective resistance to state domination or economic hegemonic systems was central to social movement activism; feminist scholars such as Smith, Armstrong, Luxton and O'Brien argued that the women's movement mobilized to make major systemic change.¹⁴⁴ The shift to social history in the 1960s, the impact

¹⁴¹ Affirmative Action policies at the Toronto Board were developed to address job inequities and discriminatory practices based on race, class or gender. Women's Committees were focused on developing women's resources for teachers and students and to provide opportunities to acknowledge women's experiences and share resources.

¹⁴² See: A.B. Hodgetts, *What Culture? What Heritage? A Study of Civic Education in Canada* (Toronto: OISE, 1968). See also Tompkins, *Common Countenance*, 303. Formed out of the National Project, the focus on Canadian Studies resulted in changes to school curriculum.

¹⁴³ William K. Carroll, *Organizing Dissent: Contemporary Social Movements in Theory and Practice* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1992), 2.

¹⁴⁴ See: Frieda Forman, Mary O'Brien, eds. *Feminism and Education*, vol.1 (CWSE, 1987) and Paula Bourne et al, eds., vol. 2 (1990); Gail Kellough, "Pro-Choice Politics and Postmodernist Theory" in William Carroll, ed.,

of social movement activism and the focus on Canadian studies all played a part in providing a space for women as a historical subject in history studies in schools. These aspects of the 1960s provided unique opportunities for women's experiences to appear in history textbooks, in history guidelines and learning resource materials. In summary, this chapter demonstrates that there is a long history of curriculum reform, of scholarship in women's history and education, and the gendered nature of education itself.

Curriculum is driven by continuously changing government policies, but in most cases, teachers will have had little input into textbook creation or course materials. In practice, curriculum policies act only as a guideline, as teachers find ways in which to deliver curriculum. Ontario teachers have historically been able to bring a wide range of outside resource materials into their classroom. Ministry guidelines in Ontario act as foundational guides for teachers who make professional decisions concerning the resource materials implemented in their classrooms. This is profoundly different than teaching practices in other parts of the world – including the United States where textbook contracts with schools and compulsory nationwide testing ensure that there is considerably more uniformity in what is taught, and in other countries like France that legislate what is taught --providing a unique opportunity for teachers in Ontario.¹⁴⁵ The following chapter provides further insight into the ways in which professional decision-making can make a difference in the ways in which history is taught in schools.

Organizing Dissent (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1992), 82. Kellough notes, "Although human activity has been constructed from a male standpoint, the narratives themselves have depended upon work undertaken by women but depicted as a universal resource devoid of human agency." Kellough argues that women have never really been excluded from master narratives as "the narratives themselves have depended on the work undertaken from women." He adds that to engage in any political, economic or social examination of the past is to include the experiences of women, even if they seem invisible. See also Bonnie Smith, *The Gender of History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).

¹⁴⁵ See: Tony Taylor and Robert Guyver, eds., *History Wars and the Classroom: Global Perspectives* (Studies in the History of Education series, Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2012).

Chapter 2

"Women's unique place?": Ontario Curriculum Policies and History

At the height of the feminist movement in the late 60s and 70s, we were like a snowball rolling down a steep hill, gathering momentum, flinging new ideas into the air at reckless speed. Sexual harassment, glass ceiling, marital rape, no means no, the "click" safe touch, children's rights, Ms., bra burning, consciousness raising, primary caregiver, the personal is political, pay equity--none of these concepts had existed before the women's movement, and all of a sudden the new phrases were on every civilized person's tongue.¹⁴⁶

Social movement activism throughout the 1960s and 1970s provided a space for feminist concerns in a variety of arenas: within academia, within larger communities, and within public spheres. Feminist activists joined organizations, developed networks and lobbied governments and institutions against regulations that restricted women's lives.¹⁴⁷ In order to make systemic change, women's organizations implemented the same 60s tactics that were employed by other groups: organizing protests and rallies and lobbying governments. Women in Canada responded in increasing numbers to the inequities embedded within the workplace and at home. Many feminists abandoned mainstream political parties and organizations (trade unions for example) as they were unable to alter their colleagues' sexist and racist behaviour. Their activism, predominantly in women's committees and organizations, was instrumental in arguing for and obtaining change.

¹⁴⁶ Michele Landsberg, *Writing the Revolution* (Ottawa: Feminist History Society, 2011), 35. Landsberg, a Toronto feminist newspaper columnist, notes that when she began her Toronto Star column in 1978, one of the first columns she wrote invited women to "raise their sagging consciousness."

¹⁴⁷ Dominique Clément, *Canada's Rights Revolution: Social Movements and Social Change, 1937-1982* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), 30. Clément notes, "The women's movement expanded exponentially;" producing dozens of women's centres across the country.

Feminist activists established women's organizations, broadened networks and lobbied local governments. This chapter deals with this social activism's effect on various women, governments and educators and explores the multi-layered responses from these different groups. Although it was clear that the Ontario Ministry of Education had an agenda to implement steps to address Sex-role stereotyping in schools; interpreting the curricula and working to include women was carried out by individual teachers. Links between feminist scholars and educators were buttressed by the fact that governmental policies were so vague that interpretations were diverse and far-reaching. At the central core of this study is a well-spring of feminist activism and a predominant belief by most educators in the educational system's potential for change.

Historical Overview of Feminist Communities

A number of women in Canada were active within a wide range of feminist communities. This was evident as well on a global scale as women around the world organized themselves.¹⁴⁸ Women formed the Feminist Party of Canada, wrote extensively in newspapers, magazines and books, formed "Consciousness-Raising" groups and lobbied a broad scope of institutions. *The Political Economy of Women's Liberation*, written in 1969 by Margaret Benston at Simon Fraser University, argued for a revolutionary transformation of society to end women's oppression.¹⁴⁹ Bryan Palmer notes that Benston's article "fused Marxism and feminism, and, in a few pages, crystallized understandings that had been circulating in a nascent New Left women's movement in Canada...and reverberating around the world."¹⁵⁰ Dozens of feminist groups, aimed at making political and social change, formed discussion groups, founded women's organizations and published independent magazines.

In Canada, journalists, such as Michelle Landsberg, used newspaper columns to advocate for women's rights and gender inequities. Landsberg's feminist activism provided a space for a constellation of social issues which were also women's issues: advocating for childcare

¹⁴⁸ See, Lee Ann Banaszak, ed., *The U.S. Women's Movement in Global Perspective* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006); Peggy Antrobus, *The Global Women's Movement: Origins, Issues and Strategies* (London: Zed Books, 2004).

¹⁴⁹ Margaret Benston, "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation," *Monthly Review* 21 (September, 1969).

¹⁵⁰ Bryan Palmer, *Canada's 1960s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 298.

programs, abortion, rape crisis centres, shelters and educational reform.¹⁵¹ Feminist publishing ventures sprang up across the country and produced dozens of community-based, often radical newspapers, journals and books. The number of publications in both Canada and the United States was substantial and included, *The Velvet Fist*, *The Other Woman*, *We are Women* by the Toronto chapter of *Bread and Roses*, *Pioneers of Women's Liberation*, *Women for Political Action*, *The Pedestal*,¹⁵² *The Feminine Mystique*, *Ms Magazine*, and *Chatelaine*, as well as a wide range of community papers.¹⁵³ Feminist educators, having experienced first-hand issues of sexism in universities and in the workplace, welcomed the publications, which also helped mobilize support for the women's movement.¹⁵⁴

The Canadian Federation of University Women (CFUW) formed the "Committee for Equality for Women in Canada" (CEW) in 1966 and called on the federal government to establish a Royal Commission on the Status of Women (RCSW).¹⁵⁵ Other groups, many of which grew out of leftist socialist political activism, formed like-thinking organizations such as "The Toronto Women's Liberation Movement," "The New Feminists," "The Feminist Action

¹⁵¹ See: Michelle Landsberg, *Writing the Revolution*. This book includes columns from Landsberg's 25 years at the *Globe & Mail*.

¹⁵² *The Velvet Fist* (Toronto Women's Caucus); *We are Women*; Joyce Cowley, *Pioneers in Women's Liberation* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1971), *The Pedestal* (B.C. Women's Caucus newspaper 1975-), *The Other Woman*, 1972. All pamphlets and newspapers held at OISE/UT WERC collection.

¹⁵³ Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (London: Gollancz, 1963). In his book *1968: The Year that Rocked the World* (New York: Random House, 2004), 309-310, Mark Kurlansky notes that Betty Friedan was a graduate of Smith College, class of 1942. At the beginning of the 1960s she surveyed her class and found that most women regretted not using their education in a more meaningful way. She helped form the National Organization for Women (NOW). In his book *Canada's 1960s* (Toronto: UofT Press, 2009), 299, Bryan Palmer notes that most of the Student Union for Peace Activists (SUPA) women had read Friedan's book. The McGill Student Society published an underground Birth Control Handbook in 1968, which became a bestseller across North America, thousands were circulated across the country and the Vancouver Women's Caucus organized an "Abortion Caravan" in 1970 that saw hundreds of women travel across the country to Ottawa to demand rights to their own bodies.

¹⁵⁴ See Meg Luxton, "Women's Studies: Oppression and Liberation in the University" and Linda Briskin, "Socialist Feminist and Activist Educator" both in Wendy Robbins et al. eds., *Minds of our Own* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2008).

¹⁵⁵ For a detailed chronology see: Lorna Marsden, *Canadian Women & the Struggle for Equality* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2012) From 1967-70 Prime Minister Pearson's government established the RCSW chaired by Florence Bird with Monique Bégin as executive secretary.

League," "The Women's Caucus" and "Women's Press."¹⁵⁶ The 1970 report from the RCSW chaired by Florence Bird noted women's subordinate place in Canadian society. It contained numerous recommendations to strengthen women's position in Canada.¹⁵⁷ Concerned that these recommendations would not be implemented, the National Ad Hoc Committee on the Status of Women was formed in 1971. Led by Laura Sabia, the committee held a conference in Toronto, which was attended by a number of women's groups.¹⁵⁸ The Toronto Women's Caucus met regularly and produced an in-house publication, *The Velvet Fist*.¹⁵⁹ In Canada, feminists mobilized on a number of issues: abortion, poverty, violence and education. Women's groups often combined their tactics by working within and against state systems: the history of the Federation of Women's Teachers Associations of Ontario is an example.¹⁶⁰ Women wanted to be informed and demanded a place in discussions and decisions over all aspects of Canadian society.¹⁶¹ Scholar Nancy Adamson notes that the grassroots women's liberation movement was

¹⁵⁶ Nancy Adamson, "Feminists, Libbers, Lefties and Radicals: The Emergence of the Women's Liberation Movement" in Joy Parr, ed. *A Diversity of Women*, 255. See: vowpeace.org. Canadian Voice of Women for Peace (website: vowpeace.org/cms/About.aspx 2010) Lotta Dempsey, a journalist at the Toronto Star asked women to write to her if they were willing to "do something" about the issue of nuclear testing and the danger of nuclear war. Hundreds of women replied. Four of the women, Jo Davis, Dorothy Henderson, Helen Tucker and Beth Touzel met with Lotta Dempsey and formed VOW. Thousands of women soon joined, becoming part of a network of women peace activists." The VOW website notes "Established in 1960, VOW is a non-partisan NGO comprised of a network of diverse women with consultative status at the United Nations ECOSOC". VOW partnered with CUCND, Britain's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and American Committee for the Sane Nuclear Policy, to stop the arms race.

¹⁵⁷ Report on the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1970) See also the NAC files at Canadian Women's Movement Archives, University of Ottawa.

¹⁵⁸ During the conference, held in 1972, they worked at strategies to lobby the government for legislative changes and also ways to raise public awareness about women's issues. "Ad Hoc" was dropped from the name, in 1972, to The National Action Committee on the Status of Women.

¹⁵⁹ Judy Rebick, *Ten Thousand Roses: The Making of a Feminist Revolution* (Toronto: Penguin, 2005), 10-11. Rebick discusses the decision by the Toronto Women's Liberation Movement (TWLM) in 1969 to stage a demonstration and interrupt the Miss Canada beauty pageant.

¹⁶⁰ See; Mary Labatt, *Always a Journey: A History of the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario 1918-1993* (Toronto: FWTAO, 1993). The FWTAO independently developed curriculum about women and then supported curriculum change through the hiring of a professional development staff.

¹⁶¹ Nancy Adamson, *Feminist Organizing For Change: the Contemporary Women's Movement in Canada* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 1988), 5. Adamson notes that "liberal" feminists focused on working within state systems to implement change and "radical" left-wing feminists worked to change the system, arguing that government policies contained and re-directed the movement. One of the challenges facing those committed to the women's movement was whether to work within or out of established systems, referred to as patriarchal. In this collection, Linda Briskin refers to the "struggle between two poles of attraction-disengagement and mainstreaming."

"activist, optimistic and externally focused. Feminists talked about, wrote about, made speeches about, demonstrated about, and had meetings about everything."¹⁶²

The widespread activism spilled into educational circles and influenced a number of women teachers to take radical social action to their professional lives as educators. This cultural moment reverberated through classrooms, as many of the women who took part in these activities, read this literature and attended events were teachers. One teacher noted, "I think that with all of these original ideas and exciting new initiatives a lot of things had to come together-- it's as if the planets were in a certain position and had to come together and that's what happened in 1975 for women-- and there was just a lot of excitement and support."¹⁶³ Social movement activism also drew teachers into broader communities where they engaged in multi-generational networks. Frieda Forman, who was a teacher at the Ontario College of Art during the 1970s, noted the ways in which social change permeated education. She remarks,

When you have a revolutionary matrix you can introduce things, because of that, so many things were possible that would not have been possible before. You had both a local change and transformation within the college itself...taking place during a period of great social transformation. And those worked and enhanced each other enormously.¹⁶⁴

However, the plurality of visions for implementing change meant that the women's movement moved in different directions. Nancy Adamson, Linda Briskin and Margaret McPhail note in their book *Feminist Organizing for Change*, that the women's movement in Canada had two origins: the first was, the product of women who had long established links to organizations such as the Canadian Federation of University Women and the YMCA, and the other came from women who had initiated grassroots community-based organizations.¹⁶⁵ The first group included professional women who operated within traditional institutions and "wanted more opportunities within them" and the second group placed a stronger emphasis on collective organizing and consciousness-raising, reaching out to women within their communities.

¹⁶² Adamson, *Feminist Organizing For Change*, 5.

¹⁶³ Teacher Q. Interview by author, Ontario: November 12, 2009.

¹⁶⁴ Frieda Forman. Interview by author, Toronto: April 9, 2010. Forman noted, "For us, everything was alive."

¹⁶⁵ Adamson, *Feminist Organizing For Change*, 29.

Adamson notes that liberal feminists focused on working within state systems to implement change and "radical" left-wing feminists worked to radically change the system, arguing that government policies contained and re-directed the movement. One of the challenges facing those committed to the women's movement was whether to work within or out of established state patriarchal systems.¹⁶⁶

As professional women who worked within a state institution, teachers were encouraged to work within the system in order to implement change, but they were also influenced by feminist networks that provided support for their work. This study reveals teachers and administrators held strong beliefs in the state school system to support feminist educators in their work to create space for diverse voices and actions. Myra Novogrodsky, Co-ordinator of the Toronto Board Equity Department noted, "What's remarkable was how much cooperation I had and how well resourced the education system was prior to the Harris years. We could try things out-make some mistakes-analyze what we were doing-pick up the pieces and move on. I worked there at an amazingly privileged time."¹⁶⁷ In other words the system was both restrictive and flexible. What's clear from this study is that most teachers did not see themselves as radicals: they did not necessarily oppose the system, but rather operated from within it-working towards change. Novogrodsky and others had faith in the transformative potential of the time and in the school board's intentions.

Women's organizations and school board women's committees that emerged at this time in Toronto mobilized people and resources to improve curricula, but the relationships between these women's groups and within schools were often rife with disagreement about direction and vision. In their efforts to insert women as a way of furthering broader social change, ones that for a time were supported by school board sex-equity policies, teachers still faced entrenched understandings of gender and subject departments with clearly defined course expectations.

¹⁶⁶ Patriarchal is defined here as a historical term to represent the legal, political and economic privileges and authority of men and the ways in which this became embedded in state institutions. In education, men were featured in the textbooks, held administrative and political positions. A number of scholars have examined the term noting ways in which the term has come to mean different things. In this reference it refers specifically to the institutional patriarchy that often resulted in gender bias and discrimination and the privileging of men in state school systems. See: Frieda Forman et al, *Feminism and Education: a Canadian Perspective*. (Toronto: CWSE/OISE, 1990)

¹⁶⁷ Myra Novogrodsky. Interview by author, Toronto: October 28, 2009.

Women's activism was often splintered. This was evident, for example, in the *Toronto Women's Liberation* organization that eventually split into two: one faction called for more radical action ("The New Feminists"), and argued that all politicians ("Trudeau or Trotsky") were the same in their responses to women, while a second group continued to support the state Liberal agenda (Status of Women).¹⁶⁸ In Canada, the movement was directed and driven more fully by the RCSW report, the subsequent recommendations and direct state funding.¹⁶⁹

Liberal feminist educators who worked within schools, sought curricula change from within. Dr. Lorna Marsden, former Liberal Senator, professor and former President of York University noted the importance of state support.

The Royal Commission (RCSW) came out of many organizations such as The Federation of University Women and the National Council of Women. I am sure there were many generations of women/people who were talking about it but now it was official. Recommendations by the RCSW meant something could be done about it....¹⁷⁰

A number of feminists felt this way: that the links between state and the movement were essential for real and meaningful outcomes. This perspective drove the women's committees and Affirmative Action initiatives in the school boards.¹⁷¹ However, as this study shows, although Canada's liberal state education system passed Affirmative Action and sex-equity policies, it failed at making the kind of systemic change that would alter existing practices, thus making real change difficult to achieve. The social movement activism of the 1960s and early 1970s may have been too difficult to maintain as state systems, such as schools, were only willing to

¹⁶⁸ Adamson, *Feminist Organizing for Change*, 179. The New Feminists argued for foundational change and saw the shift away from the activism of the 1960s and the broad based acceptance of the government as a way to circumvent and distort the real issues.

¹⁶⁹ Jeri Dawn Wine and Janice L. Ristock, eds., *Women and Social Change: Feminist Activism in Canada* (Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1991). Linda Briskin notes that the movement distinguished between institutionalized or mainstream face of feminism and grassroots organizing.

¹⁷⁰ Lorna Marsden. Interview by author, Toronto: September, 2009. For a fuller account see, Marsden's recently published book *Canadian Women and the Struggle for Equality* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2012) that examines the Canadian government's involvement in supporting women's rights.

¹⁷¹ Linda Briskin, "Feminists Practice," in *Women and Social Change*, 34. Others felt it directed and eroded the original objectives. Linda Briskin argues, "Institutionalization does not render an issue invisible. Once taken up-by the state-the issue is reshaped and reconstituted, its continuing public presence creating a new, and sometimes more difficult task for feminists." Briskin gives the example of Bill 54 (Ontario 1987) which she argues was a "watered down form of equity value legislation."

implement limited change.¹⁷² In the short run, social movement activism did play a part in addressing systemic inequities. In the long run, inequities embedded in institutional practices continued to challenge state policies.

The challenge for many women's organizations was in finding ways to put into practice government equity policies. In education, the Ontario Ministry, followed by local school boards, responded by developing sex-equity policies in the 1970s but this did not necessarily translate into major systemic change. Significant challenges to implement school board policies rested on altering teacher practice. Teachers faced the challenges of how to alter behaviours, attitudes and practices within schools and subject departments once legislation was officially implemented. Major change rested on the work of dedicated individuals--their outreach and commitment was substantial--but it required significant dedication and energy which was difficult to initiate and to maintain.¹⁷³ Scholars have acknowledged the depth of women's commitment and activism, especially in the development of education communities. Women gathered during and after work: to develop women's resources and new women's studies courses, access materials, open women's resource centres, write and publish newsletters. Wendy Robbins notes, while the women's liberation movement was international, "its organizational forms were typically small and local."¹⁷⁴ An examination of feminist activism in the city of Toronto provides some insight.

Toronto 1970s Feminist Activism

The Toronto region provided opportunities for a broad range of networking nationally. Only recently have books been published that recognize the Toronto scene as a center for feminist activity. Some of this work has taken the form of biographies, wherein individuals

¹⁷² Myrna Kostash, *Long Way Home: The Story of the Sixties* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1980), 274. Kostash notes "Let us emphasize not the ways in which the ruling class prevailed but the ways in which its hegemony was circumscribed."

¹⁷³ Anne Bishop, Ann Manicom and Mary Morrissey, "Feminist Academics and Community Activists Working Together," in *Women and Social Change*, 305. Bishop notes, "Many activist women were faced with the drain of a triple day-work, home, and community work."

¹⁷⁴ Wendy Robbins et al, eds. *Minds of Our Own* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2008), 14.

reflect on their personal experiences in the city.¹⁷⁵ Toronto had an active and diverse feminist community in the 1970s. There were dozens of feminist groups including *The Feminist Fist*, *Bread and Roses* and *The Toronto Women's Liberation Group*, and the city published a number of feminist newspapers.¹⁷⁶ Feminists in Toronto, like "sisters" in other parts of the country, supported abortion clinics, ran daycares, shelters, crisis centres and bookstores.¹⁷⁷ A monumental number of books, newspapers, pamphlets, journals, booklets, art, music and films celebrated the unique voices of women and challenged the status quo.

The arts scene was extremely active as feminists embraced all areas of society, and celebrated women's contributions. Frieda Forman offered the first women's studies course and produced the OCA's first women's art show. She notes in an interview for this study the mood of the times, "The course [that I taught] was a reading course. It was a very open environment because it was pass or fail; there were no grades. I read to them, I brought films; I did everything I could to bring the reality of the women's movement [to the classroom], which was very young at that time."¹⁷⁸

Activist educators, parents and community members in Toronto demanded educational reform, a greater voice in school board policies, and options for alternative schools. *The Toronto Community Schools Newspaper*, for example, published 1971-1974, by the "Community School Workshop of Toronto" represented the voice of activist parents, students, teachers and concerned citizens who developed links for shared dialogue and action plans. The membership was drawn from across the city and included teachers. The editor noted,

¹⁷⁵ See for example, Michele Landsberg, *Writing the Revolution* (Ottawa: Feminist History Society, 2011); Wendy Robbins et al, eds. *Minds of Our Own* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2008)

¹⁷⁶ To name only a few: *The Velvet Fist* (Toronto Women's Caucus); *Bread and Roses*, *Toronto Women's Liberation Group*, *The New Feminists*, *Fireweed*, *The Other Woman* and *Broadside*. The significant number of feminist newspapers and pamphlets reflects the wide ranging work of women's groups to alter the political agenda of mainstream society. (OISE: WERC collection). See also Nancy Adamson et al, *Feminists Organizing for Change* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1988), 46-51.

¹⁷⁷ Dr. Henry Morgentaler had a clinic in Toronto on Harbord Street, next to the Women's Bookstore, which was a cooperative. The Women's Place and the Toronto Crisis Centre were also founded by women's groups. The Campus Community Day Care Centre was the product of feminist activism. See: Heather Jon Maroney and Meg Luxton, eds., *Feminism and Political Economy: Women's Work, Women's Struggles* (Toronto: Methuen, 1987).

¹⁷⁸ Frieda Forman. Interview by author, Toronto: April 9, 2010.

The enrichment of our educational system through a process of decentralization of decision making, the creation of a system in which all elements of the school community take an effective part in determining educational policy and engaging in the educational process and the use of the community as a learning environment.¹⁷⁹

They shared a belief with other community groups in Toronto: the school and community-based approach would enhance their ability to make systemic change. One of the first papers comments on a need to "educate parents, teachers and students to speak up, to analyze critically and manipulate their own environment,"¹⁸⁰ and demanded that local Trustees respond to their requests. Other community papers such as *NOW Magazine* and *This Magazine is About Schools* focused on the issues facing working-class and immigrant communities, making the links to school systems.¹⁸¹

Concerns over traditional content- based and teacher- directed approaches to curriculum were challenged by parents and educators. Feminist educators were able to turn to a variety of interconnected community networks. Myra Novogrodsky, who was a Toronto feminist, community activist and educator, noted in this study the ways in which women networked. When developing materials for women's studies she comments,

Where did I get the materials? Everywhere! I had a good relationship with the women's bookstore, women's press and groups in Toronto, some of the organizations in the US that were developing new materials about women in California. Lots of materials! It was the beginning of a robust feminist publishing. I bought novels with women as central characters-things to teach- research-and course work materials.¹⁸²

As this quotation demonstrates, there was a wealth of materials available to teachers. Furthermore, it demonstrates that feminist educators were open-minded about what resource materials could be used in history studies and their potential in the classroom. Pedagogically,

¹⁷⁹ Myra Novogrodsky, private collection. Bound book: *Community Schools* 1971-1974.

¹⁸⁰ Myra Novogrodsky, private collection. *Community Schools*, 1971.

¹⁸¹ Toronto's independent weekly - *NOW Magazine* - was launched Thursday, September 10, 1981 as the city's alternative voice (see: www.nowtoronto.com) *This Magazine* is one of Canada's longest-published alternative journals. The website notes "Founded by a gang of school activists in 1966, and originally called *This Magazine is About Schools*, the modern-day *This Magazine* focuses on Canadian politics, pop culture and the arts, but in keeping with its radical roots never pulls punches." (see: this.org)

¹⁸² Myra Novogrodsky. Interview by author, Toronto: October 28, 2009.

feminist educators were equal opportunists. The Toronto scene was echoed in communities and school boards across the country, reflective of the national and international intellectual currents and activism of the time.¹⁸³ The women's movement activism in Toronto laid the foundation for institutional changes, but divisions within the movement's direction and challenges within established systems made progress difficult, often exposing groups to anti-feminist campaigns.¹⁸⁴ Despite the constant challenge to find common ground, Toronto women's groups and feminist activists played a role in shaping political, economic and social policies, especially in relation to education. Ontario teachers had the task of delivering curriculum, which provided real opportunities for implementing new narratives and perspectives. Educational reformers advocated for more equitable courses of study and the inclusion of women. A brief examination of Ontario curriculum initiatives that took place during this period will help explain some of the challenges social movement activists and educational reformers faced in making systemic change in schools and curricula.

Overview of Curriculum Changes Taking Place in Ontario 1960s and 1970s

Social movement activism permeated the discussions taking place over educational goals, the function of schools, pedagogy and curriculum development. Academics, educators and concerned citizens were pressing for an expanded curriculum. Paul Axelrod argues that the intensive campaigns on university campuses that began in the 1960s and focused on social equity. The response in the humanities and social sciences was a "bewildering range of courses"

¹⁸³ Women's movement activism was pan-Canadian. The Vancouver Women's Caucus, organized in 1968, published *The Pedestal* from 1969 to 1973. The Montréal Women's Liberation Movement was founded in 1969, the Front de libération des femmes du Québec published a feminist manifesto in 1970, and the Centre des femmes edited the first French-language radical feminist periodical, *Québécoises deboutte!* (1971-75) The Vancouver Women's Collective published extensively with support with educational materials from the B.C. Teachers Federation. In Québec, L'association provinciale des enseignantes et enseignants du Québec. See: Meg Luxton, "Feminism as a Class Act: Working-Class Feminism and the Women's Movement in Canada," *Labour/Le Travail* (Fall 2001):63-88. International movements, too many to list here, also influenced Canadians.

¹⁸⁴ To view many of the separate narratives and perspectives, see Jeri Dawn Wine and Janice Ristock, ed., *Women and Social Change: Feminist Activism in Canada* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Co.1991) Anti-feminist campaigns were viewed through mainstream media. See Karen Dubinsky, "Lament for a "patriarchy lost?" *Anti-feminism, Anti-abortion and R.E.A.L. Women in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women, 1985); Angela Howard and Sasha Ranaé Adams Tarrant, eds., *Reaction to the Modern Women's Movement, 1963 to the Present* (New York: Garland, 1997).

in which students could choose to obtain a degree. It was during this period that universities and the public school system paralleled each other by expanding traditional disciplines to include new areas of studies such as communities, women's studies, urban studies, cultural studies and multicultural studies. Axelrod suggests that, like the public schools, this new curricula reform was later viewed, in the 1980s and 1990s, as a fragmentation and dilution of a traditional liberal education.¹⁸⁵ Osborne notes that the social, political and cultural revolutions taking place across Canada brought debates about the role of history curricula to the fore. He argues that by the 1960s educators began to question nation-building narratives that reflected only "white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant, Political and Constitutional history." The focus on alternative narratives, such as women, workers, minorities and "ordinary" people quickly became part of the new history curricula in schools. Osborne notes, "Whatever the case, in the 1960s and 1970s, it seemed to be an open question whether history was a teachable subject in schools."¹⁸⁶

Ontario's Ministry of Education and local school boards were engaged in curricular changes that were also a response to societal demands. School boards responded with more services, larger numbers of school administrators and support staff as well as more varied programs.¹⁸⁷ The 1970s made secondary school education more accessible, providing a growing population with more options and more school alternatives. This affected all subject disciplines. Historians such as American Edwin Fenton argued for a new history which would broaden the study of history and embrace an interdisciplinary approach to curriculum.¹⁸⁸ However, in Canada the process of curriculum change pitted the study of history against the broad focus of social studies. A number of government Ministries of Education across Canada took steps to

¹⁸⁵ Paul Axelrod, *Values in Conflict: The University, the Marketplace and the Trials of Liberal Education*, (Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002) Axelrod notes that the move away from the curricula expansions of the 1960s and 70s was led by schools such as Allan Bloom whose best-selling book, *The Closing of the American Mind* (1987) "deplored the specialization, fragmentation and politicization of the curricula, especially the incursion into universities of "identity" politics, based on the divisive issues of gender and race."

¹⁸⁶ Ken Osborne, "Teaching Canadian History: A Century of Debate" in P. Clark, ed., *New Possibilities for the Past* (UBC Press, 2011), 64-68.

¹⁸⁷ V.K. Gilbert, *Let Each Become An Account of the Implementation of the Credit Diploma in the Secondary Schools of Ontario* (Toronto: Governing Council Univ. of Toronto, 1972), 2-4.

¹⁸⁸ See Edwin Fenton, *Teaching the New Social Studies in Secondary Schools: An Inductive Approach* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966); Edwin Fenton also published a series of films on historical inquiry.

reshape history into more interdisciplinary social studies.¹⁸⁹ As Osborne further notes, "The move from history to social studies was part of a wider trend that tied history more directly than ever to a present-oriented education for citizenship."¹⁹⁰ According to teachers in this study, the ability to link historical examinations to the present made history studies appear more relevant. In the fight to maintain student interest, this was widely accepted as a necessary part of good pedagogy. In Ontario, High School Circular No. 1, (H.S.1, 1962-1963) included a four year program and students could choose new social science options such as Man [sic] and Society, World Politics, Theatre Arts, Creative Writing and Geology.¹⁹¹ School boards looked for ways to provide greater flexibility in course selection and in grading and school board reports drew attention to options for "individual development."¹⁹² The shift had an impact on history teachers who were faced with a number of new challenges including accessing new resource materials and redesign course outlines for course studies.

Public demands for accountability over curricula materials grew. In 1972, the Ontario "Interministerial Textbook Committee" produced a report for the Ministry, a study that was initiated in 1965, by then Minister of Education William Davis. This report responded to complaints to the Human Rights Commission by "concerned citizens and organizations" over

¹⁸⁹ See Penney Clark, ed., *New Possibilities for the Past*, introduction; Roland Case and P. Clark *The Canadian Anthology of Social Studies* (Vancouver, BC: Pacific Educational Press, 2, 2008); Ken Osborne, "Teaching Canadian History," 64-68; Carla Peck and Ken den Heyer, eds., *The Canadian Social Studies Journal*.

¹⁹⁰ Ken Osborne, "Teaching Canadian History", 66. Osborne explains the influence of Jerome Bruner's, *The Process of Education*, 1960 on curricula change across Canada. Other educators were also influenced by the work of Jean Piaget. Citizenship education provided a major focus in the post-war period. See: Lorna McLean, "There is No Magic whereby such Qualities will be Acquired at the Voting Age:" Teachers, Curriculum, Pedagogy and Citizenship, *Historical Studies in Education* (Fall 2010):39-58; Alan Reid, Judith Gill and Alan Sears, *Globalization, the Nation-state and the Citizen: Dilemmas and Directions for Civics and Citizenship Education*. (New York: Routledge, 2010).

¹⁹¹ Gilbert, *Let Each Become*, 6-7. Gilbert notes that few teachers understood what was involved in a "Man and Society" course. He adds, "probably meant Margaret Mead and *Coming of Age in Samoa* to most."

¹⁹² Individual needs and personal growth was a focus of school boards across the country. See: *Issues and Choices Report* (Dept. of Education, Saskatchewan, 1973), *A Choice of Futures* (Commission of Educational Planning, Alberta 1972) and the *Hall-Dennis Report* (Ontario, 1968). Total enrolment increased steadily throughout the post-war period, the highest increase taking place between 1960-1965, when Ontario secondary schools saw an almost 60% increase to enrolment and between 1965-1970 the increase was close to 35%. (Statistics Canada: Section W). See also Edwin Fenton, *The Relationship of Citizenship Education to Values Education* (Philadelphia: Research for Better Schools, 1977).

prejudice and distortions in school textbooks.¹⁹³ This document indicated that Canada, having followed the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, had established Human Rights legislation that recognized the role of education in preserving human rights.¹⁹⁴ The chairman [sic] of the Ontario Human Rights Commission, Dr. Daniel Hill, and one of its members, Dr. Lita-Rose Betcherman, who also was a former Director of the Women's Bureau in the Ministry of Labour, saw a formidable link between human rights laws, women and school curricula. The committee recommended that books and materials used in schools be free of bias and prejudice.¹⁹⁵ This resulted in textbook and course guideline reform. However, teachers were gathering a wide range of supplementary materials and using them in their classrooms, much of which went unreported. This could range from newly developed equity materials to outdated resources, some of which might be seen as anti-feminist.

Steps to address human rights were further evident in Ontario with an Order-in-Council June 10, 1965 to establish a provincial committee on "Aims and Objectives of Education in schools in Ontario."¹⁹⁶ Later referred to as the "Hall Dennis Report," the report was made public in May, 1968. It was hailed by many as a significant step forward in education, as it came out strongly in support of a child-centred philosophy of education.¹⁹⁷ At a conference held in 1969 to examine the newly released "Living and Learning" policy document, the Ontario Minister of Education, William Davis, noted the report's emphasis on individual learning. He stated, "We

¹⁹³ Deputy Minister of Education, *Ontario Interministerial Textbook Committee Report* (Toronto, 1972).

¹⁹⁴ *Interministerial Textbook Committee Report*, no.4. The report quoted Article 26, section 2 of the legislation which stated that "education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms", thus enabling individuals to attain their "full potential".

¹⁹⁵ *Interministerial Textbook Committee Report*, no. 4, 8-12. The recommendations stated that government of Ontario "intends to see that the "spirit of the Human Rights Code is expressed in the school textbooks of the province", and that "acceptable content" included accurate materials that reflect a scholarly and "contemporary relevance". Many parents felt that course materials did not reflect the changing demographics; therefore the committee also recommended that textbooks include names that better represented "our multicultural society and people with various economic and racial backgrounds." The report also recognized that girls and women had been absent, or presented in a stereotypical manner in textbooks, and suggested the undertaking of a major report to identify and assess Sex-role stereotyping in all textbooks used in Ontario schools.

¹⁹⁶ Ontario. Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario, *Living and Learning: The Report*. (Toronto Published for the Committee by the Newton Pub. Co., 1968) Justice E.M. Hall was Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada and L.A. Dennis was an elementary teacher.

¹⁹⁷ *Living and Learning: The Report*, 51.

must ...not lose sight of the fact that we're dealing with individual children and students and that the human approach is still the single most important aspect of what we're attempting to do with education today." Davis acknowledged that the impetus for the new policy came from public advocacy when he noted, "The constructive advice coming from many segments of our society today," and adding that, "The taxpayers in particular have a certain message....and we can't accomplish the many things that need to be done without the support of the general public."¹⁹⁸ Education in the humanities seemed more firmly based within a liberal, individual, rights-based view of education.

To understand the ways in which educators responded to curricula changes in Ontario, it is valuable to examine the Ontario Association for Curriculum Development (OACD) annual Toronto conferences. The OACD manifested many of these changes, and provides a useful case study of how government organizations responded to curricula change. The conference reports provide insight into the major concerns in education and the ways in which curricula altered direction. Keynote speakers at each conference provided updates on educational movements and trends; their talks provide a historical lens in which we can view educational expectations and challenges addressed during this transition period.

The OACD themes for the years 1964-1969 focused on changes taking place as a result of social movement activism and the shifts in curriculum focus. With departmental exams eliminated in 1967, the Ontario curriculum was free to focus on the development of critical thinking skills that involved research, observation and communication. Documents from the 1968 conference, for example, entitled "Reconciliation of Means and Ends in Education"¹⁹⁹ note that Lloyd Dennis, spoke about a student-oriented philosophy.²⁰⁰ By adopting this report, educators at the conference recognized that the Department of Education had cut traditional reins with former curricula policies and had developed new expectations that teachers support

¹⁹⁸ OISE, *Rethinking Education*: The proceedings of a Committee on the report of the provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of education in the Schools of Ontario, April 17-19, 1969, 10.

¹⁹⁹ Lloyd Dennis was co-chair of the provincial committee on Aims and Objectives. Ontario Association for Curriculum Development, "Reconciliation of Means and Ends in Education," 1968. Wees asked, "How can you train a child to fit into a society that's changing month by month, even day by day?"

²⁰⁰ Ontario Association for Curriculum Development Annual Report (OACD), 1968, 10.

curriculum development within their own subject areas.²⁰¹ Walter Pitman, President of the Ontario Education Association, noted that the most important aspect of the "Hall-Dennis Report" had been to provide "new horizons" in educational activity.²⁰² The spirit of "human rights" was clearly evident in his speech and in many of the conference workshops that focused on the ways in which schools could better reflect societal changes and provide students with the skills to address the future. In examining the "models of history" one Toronto teachers group noted, "History should be approached via the rise and fall of ideas, via social institutions, via culture and the arts- to open up the narratives and inquiry,"²⁰³ thus reflecting a broader approach to history studies. The 1969 OACD conference documents indicate the continued focus on human rights, as workshops explored ways to "humanize" schools and learning.²⁰⁴ Groups supported increasing the teacher's active role in curriculum development.²⁰⁵ What is clear from these late 1960s curricula conferences was that the educators had become aware that schools and curricula had to change to better reflect a wide range of narratives and address individual student needs. The methods of implementation, however, were less clear.

The changes to curriculum had a disastrous affect on history course enrolment in Ontario as the increased course options and the expansion of the social sciences meant students were no longer attracted to traditional history courses. The shift to a new system was accomplished through a new form of school organization known as the "individualized system" or the "credit

²⁰¹ OACD Report, 11-14. Walter Pittman noted, "It must be expected that curriculum will become far more the interaction of teachers and pupils and parents as more individuals will take part in the development of a meaningful curriculum." adding, "indeed so often in the past, curriculum has been simply a means of lining up students-facts for examination purposes which allow the teacher the opportunity of giving a standing to each child. This interpretation of curriculum is surely dead. Let us make sure it is securely buried."

²⁰² OACD Report, 1968, 14.

²⁰³ OACD Report, 1968, 76.

²⁰⁴ OACD 1969, introduction. The report focused on four themes: human relations and the system, human relations and the school, human relations in the course of learning and human relations in the course of learning about children.

²⁰⁵ OACD, 1969, 25. One conference workshop group noted, "Teachers should look upon themselves as curriculum designers; that they do have the expertise to work in curriculum design."

system.”²⁰⁶ First offered as an option in Ministry Circular for 1969-1970, then made mandatory by the 1972-1973 year, these courses were offered in the schools under four broad areas- Communications, Social and Environmental Studies, Pure and Applied Sciences and the Arts.”²⁰⁷ The grouping of subjects in these four areas could be done in a variety of ways, to reflect different objectives and approaches.²⁰⁸ The Ontario Department of Education had recommended a plan based on broad areas of study for secondary schools; Minister Thomas Wells pushed for community-school involvement.²⁰⁹ Each Principal tabulated courses for their school under the broad areas of Communications, Arts, Pure and Applied Sciences and Social Sciences. The diploma requirements were that of 27 credits which included at least one course from each of the four areas in the first two years of high schools and at least one further credit in each in the following years, with 15 to be taken after that in the last years.²¹⁰ History teachers in this study were thus forced to develop new pedagogical methods as well as seek new curriculum resource materials in order to compete in the credit system.

As expected, the new plan placed history into a broader category of social sciences; teachers voiced a desire to do away with traditional textbook lists which they felt limited them to outdated materials.²¹¹ The shift provided an impetus for discussions over the development of history course materials. The critics of former history curricula were initially pleased to see this shift, as they felt dominant nation building narratives and mandatory provincial exams had made history “boring”. A number of reports before the late 60s had already recognized the flaws in

²⁰⁶ Ministry of Education, H.S.1 Studies: OISE, 1974. First introduced in 1969, the Ministry Circular H.S.1 was mandatory by the 1972-73 school year. See also: V.K. Gilbert, *Let Each Become: An Account of the Implementation of the Credit Diploma in the Secondary Schools of Ontario* (Toronto: Governing Council Univ. of Toronto, 1972).

²⁰⁷ ON Department of Education, "Recommendation and Information for Secondary Schools Organization Leading to Certificates and Diplomas", Circular HS1, 1972/73, 6

²⁰⁸ W.G. Fleming, *The Individualized System: Findings from Five Studies* (OISE, 1974).

²⁰⁹ Canadian Education Association, *Education in Transition: A Capsule Review 1960-1975* (Toronto, 1975), 18. Wells noted that "the local school should serve as a catalyst towards developing a community identity and community sense of involvement."

²¹⁰ Ontario Department of Education, *Circular HS1*, 1972/73. See also Ontario Dept. of Education, *Recommendations and Information for Secondary School Organization Leading to Certificates and Diplomas*, 1972/73.

²¹¹ OACD, 1970, 24. Teachers at the OACD conference remarked that traditional textbooks "were dead" and that Circular 14 only "perpetuated the existing system."

teacher directed pedagogy that focused on the memorization of facts.²¹² The curricula shift to respond to social movement demands for greater attention to individual needs and a broader recognition of diversity also incorporated new reflections about Canadian identities. New scholarship that focused on individuals, ideologies and identities, including women, inspired curricula development in the Social Sciences and Humanities.²¹³

The Ontario Association for Curriculum Development conference themes also focused on the issue of Canadian identity. Educators advocated for a broader range of learning materials such as "jackdaws," films, and primary materials.²¹⁴ Committee groups suggested establishing stronger links between local museums, libraries and schools.²¹⁵ The focus on civic engagement and national identity was widespread within government and educational institutions during this period. *The National History Project*, launched in 1965, was initiated under this shift, as was The *Canadian Studies Foundation*, (CSF) with the objective of teaching young Canadians about Canada. A. B. Hodgetts' report about the *National History Project*, published in cooperation with OISE in 1968, was the result of a two-year fact-finding investigation into the teaching of Canadian history, social studies and civics in the elementary and secondary schools of all ten provinces.²¹⁶ It was a highly critical study lambasting the state of history teaching as a collection of dry facts that were unrelated, with little real meaning to students in classrooms. He noted, "The rote learning of facts is short lived; facts, like tools, need to be used to develop

²¹² Ken Osborne covers the period in "Why We Need to Teach and Study History", in Ruth Sandwell, ed., *To the Past*, 103-131. Osborne notes the investigations into history education by historians George Grant, Donald Creighton, Hilda Neatby and W. L. Morton who criticized history educational reforms.

²¹³ Margaret Conrad, "A Brief Survey of Canadian Historiography", in P. Clark, ed., *New Possibilities for the Past*, 42-43. Conrad reflects on the Canadian historiography during the 1960s and 1970s when "the academic study of history underwent a sea of change." She notes that historians focused on the "new social history" by "exploring Canada's limited identities" of region, class and ethnicity," which included women and racialized minorities.

²¹⁴ OACD Report, 1970, 1-2

²¹⁵ The Toronto Board of Education supported a Museum Department and did significant outreach with museums in Toronto. For further information see: Toronto Historical Board 1970s Annual Reports (Toronto Archives: Library).

²¹⁶ A. B. Hodgetts's, *What Culture? What Heritage: A Study of Civic Education in Canada* (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1969), 5.

concepts."²¹⁷ The report criticized history educators who overemphasized constitutional and political developments and neglected to relate events of the past to current concerns.

Released at the same time as the "Hall-Dennis Report," Hodgett's report added fuel to the debate that schools were not engaging students in meaningful discussions in order to become active citizens. Hodgett's established links with The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, (OISE) which played a major role in the publication of the report as a joint venture with the National History Project. This resulted in the "Feasibility and Planning Study for a Canadian Studies Program" report and eventually a Canadian Studies Foundation, incorporated in 1970.²¹⁸ George Tomkins notes that the Foundation focused on professional development to improve the teaching and learning of Canadian studies. This view, he notes "anticipated the new recognition of the central role of the teacher in innovation" and focused on the "seeding" or supplementing of existing curricula, in preference to developing totally new curricula.²¹⁹ Tomkins adds that the basic aim of the foundation was to develop "new opportunities for communication among teachers and students, both intra- and inter-regionally."²²⁰ He also notes that the focus was on a "teacher-centred strategy", as opposed to a "top down" strategy. Teacher-centred strategies were consistent with the trend in Ontario to decentralize curriculum and provide additional flexibility for teachers. By the 1970s, two clear agendas were at the forefront of education policy and curriculum initiatives: a focus on Canadian identity and a focus on human rights and individual freedoms. Osborne notes that by the 1970s the question increasingly became, "not how many

²¹⁷ Hodgetts, *What Culture? What Heritage*, 26. Hodgett's adds "Canadian history in our schools is a shadowy, subdued unrealistic version of what actually happened--a bland consensus story, told without the controversy that is an inherent part of history." (24).

²¹⁸ George S. Tomkins, "The Canada Studies Foundation: A Canadian Approach to Curriculum Intervention," *Canadian Journal of Education* 2, no. 1 (1977): 5-15. Tomkins notes that the basic aim of the foundation "was to develop new opportunities for communication among teachers and students, both intra- and interregionally. This aim was to be achieved by a teacher-centred strategy, as opposed to the "top down" strategies. The teacher-centred strategy was consistent with the trend towards decentralization being promoted by most provincial departments of education by 1970, encouraged by teachers' federations.

²¹⁹ George S. Tomkins, "The Canada Studies Foundation," *Canadian Journal of Education*, 10. Tomkins notes that "at the peak of its first-phase project activity, the Foundation was sponsoring upwards of 50 teacher teams in all 10 provinces." By the end of 1975, "other forms of dissemination such as regional and national conferences and workshops had directly exposed some 4000 teachers across Canada to many and varied ideas and processes in Canadian Studies."

²²⁰ Tomkins, "The Canada Studies Foundation", 11.

historical facts students knew or how patriotic they felt, but what the study of history could do for their intellectual development."²²¹

What is evident from the Ontario curriculum conferences, the new Ontario curriculum policies, and the Canadian Studies Foundation initiatives, is that curricula policies, responding to social pressure, moved away from rigid homogenous approaches to learning to support flexible, innovative, teacher and student-directed learning. Most teachers in this study welcomed the opportunity to incorporate new learning approaches. This period brought greater recognition of all narratives, which supported broader resource examinations in order to access and document alternative narratives, and this was supported by a number of educators. Public demands were key to initiating change. The Canadian Education Association published a report in 1975 entitled "Education in Transition", which suggested that education systems in Canada had shifted to respond to social, economic and political changes taking place in Canada and worldwide. The report noted an increase in public involvement and public opinion concerning education systems. Citizen groups had not only become more interested, they noted, but were now "more vocal" as parents, teachers, students and communities expected to participate in discussions and decisions in local schools.²²² Public school boards were required to address provincial human rights codes that prohibited discrimination based on race, class and gender, through the development of Affirmative Action and Equal Opportunity policies in schools as well as in curricula. However, although it was clear on all sides that greater equity and a more diverse curricula was to become the new norm, it was less clear how curricula would address an overwhelming number of omissions in historical narratives. It was also not clear what steps would be needed to reframe textbooks and course materials to reflect new narratives and perspectives.

Government Steps to Address the Omission of Women in Curricula

While there is general agreement about the long term results of the social activism of the 1960s, such as the implementation in Canada of "rights" legislation, historians do not agree on

²²¹ Osborne, "Teaching Canadian History: A Decade of Debate," 67.

²²² Canadian Education Association, *Education in Transition: A Capsule Review, 1960-1975* (Toronto, 1975) 6-7.

what "went wrong" with the implementation of many of the initiatives that began in those decades. Paul Axelrod examines the important influence of university student reformers in the 60s and 70s to demand relevant courses within the Social Science and Humanities departments that reflected current societal concerns. He adds that students argued that liberal education "should contribute to social progress, particularly to the achievement of greater social equality."²²³ Axelrod notes that liberal education and the expansion of courses to include women, diverse cultures and racial groups came under attack during the 1980s as some scholars criticized what they saw the "politicization" of the curriculum.²²⁴ The debates found their way into discussions over the value of an expanded history curricula; this was taken up in Canada by scholars such as Jack Granatstein, Michael Bliss, Desmond Morton, Michael Ignatieff and others who argued over the purpose of history education in schools and the impact of the shift away from traditional history trajectories.²²⁵ Those who advocated for a more traditional framework in history studies continued to do so throughout this period, however, they faced rising opposition.²²⁶ It seems that discussions over the inclusion of women's studies or women's history became entangled within broader discussions about the long term value of an expanded liberal arts education. Chad Gaffield examines the ways in which new scholarship in history, which included women and racial minorities, under attack for fragmenting established historical understandings. New scholarship in women's history fought hard to find space within established

²²³ Paul Axelrod, *Values in Conflict: The University, the Marketplace, and the Trails of Liberal Education* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 28.

²²⁴ Axelrod, 27-33. Axelrod cites Allan Bloom's, *The Closing of the American Mind* as an example of those who argued that academic divisiveness had been caused by what he called "identity" politics and based course option decisions on gender and race. Axelrod adds that counter to Bloom's perspective were scholars such as Lawrence Levine, who challenged this position in his book, *The Opening of the American Mind* where he argues that "it was precisely the fields of social history, multiculturalism and women's studies that introduced students to traditionally marginalized peoples and to invisible worlds, thus strengthening liberal education by pushing back the frontiers of knowledge."

²²⁵ See Desmond Morton and Chad Gaffield articles in Ruth Sandwell, *To the Past* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006)

²²⁶ For a discussion see: J.L. Granatstein, *Who killed Canadian History?* 1st ed. (Toronto: HarperCollins Publishers, 1998).

curricula and debates about course options causing conflicts between groups of historians and history educators.²²⁷

The particular ways in which governments responded to new scholarship in women's studies also played a role in the lack of implementation of new materials into established programs. The Ontario government initiated four major responses to feminist demands for more equality in society. These constituted an early and fairly effective response that at the time held considerable promise for wide-scale, systemic social change for those in education and other sectors in society. In these early responses we can, with the advantages of hindsight, also now see the seeds of the provincial government's failure to fulfill that promise, as the state response did not challenge its own established hegemonic structures and routed feminist demands through established government bureaucracies.²²⁸

As we have seen, an important response was the establishment of the RSWC, which called for the creation of a Status of Women Council as a permanent body with a national scope and function.²²⁹ Similar organizations were recommended at the provincial level. The federal government also established a Minister Responsible for the Status of Women and named Robert Andreas, a male, to the position. In fact the first four ministers were all male.²³⁰ Ontario reviewed the recommendations of the Royal Commission and in 1973 produced a Green paper on women, entitled "Equal Opportunity for Women: A plan for Action", endorsing the need for a

²²⁷ Chad Gaffield, "Blossoming of Canadian Historical Research" in Ruth Sandwell, ed. *To the Past*, 88-102. See also papers and reports from the "Women's Studies in Canada: Research, Publishing and Teaching" Conference, *Canadian Women's Studies Journal*, 6, no.3, 1985.

²²⁸ Newspapers were filled with articles that suggested women's movements demands were dangerous and damaging. Many women faced harassment. See: Lois Sweet, "Many men can't accept our equality," *The Toronto Star*, Oct. 24, 1986. Sweet explores the manuscript written by Sheila McIntyre, a law professor at Queen's University, who wrote about the harassments she faced as a new faculty member noting references to strong women as lesbians, feminist events removed from bulletin boards and male students challenging her competence.

²²⁹ Status of Women Report: *Recommendations for New Government Structures for Women* (Ontario Status of Women, June 1982: Department Descriptions, 10.

²³⁰ Government of Canada, Status of Women Ministers included Robert Andreas (1971-74); Marc Lalonde (1974-79); David MacDonald (1979-80); Lloyd Axworthy (1980-81). The first woman Minister was Judy Erola (1981-84).

provincial Status of Women Council.²³¹ The document included specific sections on education: focusing on guidance and counseling, as well as other school related issues. The office of the Coordinator of the Women's programs provided support services to the Minister. The director of the office had Deputy Minister Status and co-ordinated programs relating to women across federal departments. The establishment of an office addressed the demands for action-the appointment of part-time staff created inevitable limitations.

The Women's Bureau of Ontario was established earlier in 1963 within the Ministry of Labour and acted "to improve the status of women in the workforce through research and public education and by preparing studies and policy recommendations relating to both legislation and enforcement for government consideration."²³² Historian Joan Sangster notes that the Tory government aimed to reach out to women voters and offered the Women's Bureau as a response to women's organizing and the increased participation of women in the workforce. She argues that the creation of the Women's Bureau was central to the government because employment policy was "absolutely crucial to government claims to be promoting gender equality."²³³ The Women's Bureau had three major program areas: an Affirmative Action Counseling Service, a Community Outreach, and Research and Information. Sangster's examination of the Women's Bureau reveals that, although it was not initially set up to make alterations to already existing sexual divisions of labour, the Bureau eventually produced the *Women's Equal Employment Opportunity Act* (WEEO) in 1970. This Act, which addressed gender discrimination in employment actively promoted "anti-discrimination initiatives based on equal rights concepts of employment equity." That same year, the Ontario government established the provincial Royal Commission on the Status of Women, modeled on the federal government committee. Sangster notes,

The WEEO Act was conceived within a paradigm of "equal opportunity not equality of outcome"; this emphasis on individual rights and the integration of women into the

²³¹ Ontario Secretariat for Social Development, *Equal Opportunity for Women in Ontario: A Plan for Action*, (Toronto: Provincial Secretariat for Social Development, 1973), Status of Women Report, 11. The Council had a budget of \$155,000 and was staffed by three part time civil servants.

²³² Joan Sangster, "Women Workers, Employment Policy and the State: the Establishment of the Ontario Women's Bureau, 1963-1970," *Labour/Le Travail*, 36 (Fall, 1995): 119-145 Sangster explores the formation and work of the Women's Bureau, which she argues was created as a response to win support from the growing female workforce and not set up to make major alterations to the existing sexual division of labour.

²³³ Sangster, "Women Workers," 119-45.

existing workforce did reinforce a liberal and limiting view of economic and social change. The government was not interested in fundamentally challenging the sexual division of labour in the workplace or the broader structural relations of wage labour, indeed, the bill contained significant loopholes to soften the negative economic implications for small, and to a lesser extent, large employers. In some ways, the bill simply reflected emerging political and economic realities.²³⁴

This tension between competing visions of what equality meant, as discussed earlier, played out in the actions of teachers at a classroom level. For some teachers this meant providing their students with the same opportunities; others challenged the embedded bias in resources and subject disciplines, as well as the systemic inequality in the school system itself. The Equal Opportunity and Affirmative Action Unit of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Skills Development worked closely with the Ontario Women's Directorate (OWD) to develop policies, short term and long term strategies, and coordinate programs and initiatives to work towards achieving equal opportunity in Ontario schools.

The Ontario government's second step involved plans for action and conferences and publications to publicly recognize the work of the Women's Bureau and Women's Directorate (OWD). In 1979, the government published a report entitled "Today and Tomorrow" that assessed the progress of equal opportunity policy initiatives implemented between 1973 and 1978.²³⁵ The OWD, which reported to the Minister Responsible for Women's Issues was then established to "coordinate the development and communication of programs and policies for women..", and included educational policies. Headed by an Assistant Deputy Minister, the OWD reported to the minister responsible for women's issues. The organization coordinated the development of policies and programs "with the aim of social and economic equality for women in the province of Ontario."²³⁶ The Directorate assumed the responsibility for the Ontario

²³⁴ Sangster, "Women Workers", 143.

²³⁵ Government of Ontario, *Ontario Report: Today and Tomorrow* (Toronto, August 15, 1979). The *Canadian Plan of Action* was the federal government's response to the United Nations World Plan in 1975. It reviewed the policies and implementation initiatives the Ontario government had taken in response to the Canadian plan.

²³⁶ Council of Ministers of Education Canada, *Women's Issues in Education in Canada: A Survey of Policies and Practices at the Elementary and Secondary Level*, 1987, 24.

Women's Bureau (founded in 1963), the Women's Crown Employees Office (founded in 1974) and the Ontario Status of Women Council (1974).²³⁷

The United Nations had designated 1975 as *International Women's Year* and 1975-1985 the *Decade for Women* in order to recognize the important contributions women had made to the development of nations and to also promote economic, social and political equality between men and women.²³⁸ An international United Nations-sponsored conference was held in Mexico City, and produced: "The World Plan of Action." The plan contained guidelines for each nation to follow over the next decade 1975-1985. In the fall of 1977, the Canadian government undertook the preparation of a "Canadian Plan of Action," which contained an educational component.²³⁹ In April 1978 the Ontario Cabinet requested that a report be prepared that detailed provincial strategies, targets and priorities to address the Canadian Plan and an Inter-Ministerial Committee was established to prepare the document.²⁴⁰ The following year an "Advisory Council on Equal Opportunity for Women" was established and chaired by the Director of the Women's Bureau. Council members representing business and labour advised the Minister of Labour on the best methods to promote Affirmative Action for women. In addition to formal government structures which existed for women, many ministries and agencies provided services for women, such as the employment branch of the Ministry of Labour, which investigated equal pay cases, community services, women on welfare and childcare. The Minister of Education "provided

²³⁷ Council of Ministers of Education Canada, 24-25. The Equal Opportunity and Affirmative Action Unit in the Ministry of Education served not only the Ministry of Education but also the Ministry of Colleges and Universities, the Ministry of Skills development and worked with the OWD.

²³⁸ Angela Miles, "Women Challenge to Adult Education", in Forman et al, eds., *Feminism and Education*, 268. Miles notes that "The activities of the United Nations Decade for Women from 1975-1985, in particular the three international conferences which marked it opening, midway and closing years, played a large role in initialing vibrant international networks of exchange, affirmation and learning among women activists sand educators that continued to develop." See also the journal, *Voices Rising: A Bulletin About Women and Popular Education*.

²³⁹ Ontario, "Today and Tomorrow," August 15, 1979, introduction.

²⁴⁰ Ontario, "Today and Tomorrow," 1. The Interministerial Committee was given the mandate to assess progress in improving the Status of Women in Ontario since 1973, when the government published the green paper on Equal Opportunity for Women in Ontario (another plan for action) and they were to outline future policies regarding women. The committee was chaired by the Director of the Women's Bureau of the Ministry of Labour.

services to women through the development of bias free curricula."²⁴¹ This provides evidence that the government responded to women's demands through traditional governmental structures.

The Ontario government made frequent declarations about women's new role in public documents. One government report noted that the "role of women in our society has shifted dramatically. Their full participation in all aspects of our society will continue to grow, especially in non-traditional fields." Published in 1982, this report stated "projections recently published by the Federal Ministry of Employment and Immigration predict that by the year 2000 equality of male and female in the workforce will be achieved."²⁴² The report also noted the responsibility of schools to provide "similar educational opportunities for both sexes and offer role models to compliment and reinforce school programs."²⁴³

The third step involved making change to educational systems; this included policy changes, educational conferences and curricular government publications. The Ontario Ministry of Education Affirmative Action policies evolved throughout the 1970s; first as a series of official memoranda and letters requesting school boards to establish voluntary programs and improve the status of women within their boards, and then through the official appointment of individuals and committees.²⁴⁴ In 1973 the Ontario government created a seventeen member council to address the "advancement of women" within the province. Laura Sabia was the committee chair and noted that "equal opportunities, equal responsibilities and choices-these were our goals."²⁴⁵ In 1974, the Ministry, along with other Ontario ministries in the public

²⁴¹ Status of Women Report: *Recommendations for New Government Structures for Women* (OSW, June 1982, Department Descriptions, 10-13.

²⁴² Ontario Ministry of Education, *Secondary Education Review Project Report*, May 1981, 2.

²⁴³ Ontario Ministry, *Secondary Education Review Project*, 6.

²⁴⁴ Ontario Ministry of Education, *The Status of Women and Affirmative Action/Employment equity in Ontario School Boards-Report to the Legislature*, History of the AA program, Dec. 1986, 18-20.

²⁴⁵ Ontario Status of Women Council, Annual Report: year ending 1974, 7. Laura Sabia was the first president of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women Canada.

sector, introduced an Affirmative Action program for women. Statistics show however that many of these steps had only limited outcomes.²⁴⁶

In terms of curricula, a number of research studies took place throughout the 1970s to address issues of Sex-role stereotyping in textbooks and learning resource materials, such as the report produced by the "Ad Hoc Committee Respecting the Status of Women in the North York System", 1975, that revealed substantial Sex-role stereotyping in course materials.²⁴⁷ To address these results, government agencies organized a conference to "assist educators in the ongoing task of developing a learning environment that is free from Sex-role stereotyping of males and females and a curriculum that accurately depicts the roles of women."²⁴⁸ The "Sex-role Stereotyping and Women's Studies" Conference was held at Queen's Park in 1978 and was jointly sponsored by the Ontario Ministry of Education and the Toronto Board of Education.²⁴⁹ The introduction to the report notes that the conference and resource guide for teachers will provide "Units" of instruction for teachers to use within their course studies and states that "Each section is complete in itself and flexible enough to be inserted into, or adapted for, course developed from a number of Ministry guidelines," adding, "The responsibility of the selection of units and resources remains at the local level." This language is evidence of how gender equity was thought about: as an add-on. In a few easy steps, by plugging in these "Units," teachers can presumably achieve equity in their classrooms. Although this was presented as a first step, this became the standard for how women's resource materials remained as add-ons.

²⁴⁶ See: 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, (Spring, 1995): 129-145. In 1976 for example 2% of supervisory officers were female and eight years later, in 1984, it had changed only to 4% and, in 1972, 3% of secondary school principals were women and by 1984 it had changed to 5%.²⁴⁶ Throughout the 1980s further initiatives to increase the numbers were implemented.

²⁴⁷ Batcher, Brackstone, Winter, & Wright, *Ad Hoc Committee Respecting the Status of Women in the North York System*, 1975; L. Julien, *Women's Issues in Education in Canada: A Survey of Policies and Practices at the Elementary and Secondary Levels* (Toronto: Council of Ministers of Education, Canada).

²⁴⁸ Ontario Ministry of Education, *Sex-role Stereotyping and Women's Studies: A Resource Guide for Teachers*, 1978, introduction.

²⁴⁹ Ontario Ministry, *Sex-role Stereotyping and Women's Studies*, 2-3. The introduction to the resource booklet, published the following year noted, "It is the policy of the government of Ontario that every child have the opportunity to develop as completely as possible in the direction of his or her talents and needs." Later in the document noting, "Individuals in all spheres of society are questioning a system which holds up as ideal the adjustment of the individual to an existing sex role at the expense of maximum realization of individual potential."

A resource guide, its cover printed in pink, was also developed from the conference workshops and published the following year. It contained stand-alone units and individual lesson ideas for each of the subject areas and also provided overall guidance for implementation within schools, a bibliography and contacts.²⁵⁰ The suggested units were meant to be "inserted" into already established course examinations. The resource guide reaffirmed the central role of the teacher in implementing Ministry policies by noting, "The degree to which teachers will be successful in creating an educational environment free from sex stereotypes will be determined by their willingness to analyze it and affect changes where these are considered necessary."²⁵¹ The resource guide provided numerous strategies for implementation and recommended resource lists, leaving the bulk of the work to educators.

The success of the conference and the follow-up resource guide is not well known, although several teachers in this study acknowledged that they were aware of government initiatives. One could argue that by making this conference optional and by promoting it as "women's" issues, the Ministry had clearly chosen to set gender equity apart from mainstream curricula. By supporting the concept of "inserting" prepared "Units" within subject curricula and based on local approval, schools boards allowed educators the option to opt out: many of them did. The results were therefore local and included only minor changes to curricula materials. The government's intentions in addressing curricula change was, right from the beginning, to set women apart from the main curricula by allowing for stand-alone units and opportunities for supplementary additions. By developing independent units, schools boards demonstrated a response to feminist demands without making major overhauls to the curricula. The intention was to provide supplementary materials, not to create new textbooks.

By the 1980s the Ministry took further steps to address gender equity by placing a greater emphasis on opening doors for women to accept positions of responsibility. A conference held in March, 1984 and entitled, "Focus on Leadership: Affirmative Action in Schools," established a government "incentive fund" to "encourage school boards to develop and implement Affirmative

²⁵⁰ Ontario Ministry, *Sex-role Stereotyping and Women's Studies: A Resource Guide*, 1978.

²⁵¹ Ministry, *Sex-role Stereotyping Resource Guide*, 1978, 5.

Action programs for female employees."²⁵² Not all school boards followed. The Toronto Board of Education was progressive in developing policies for its schools.²⁵³ The introduction to the 1986 Status of Women Report noted that the Ontario Ministry of Education was "dedicated to the principle of equal opportunity for women both within the Ministry and all levels of the educational systems."²⁵⁴ These conferences were presented to the public as confirmation that school boards were doing their job in addressing systemic inequities. The output from the Ministry of Education around issues of Affirmative Action was substantial, and school boards ensured that parents received updates on a regular basis through newsletters and school pamphlets.²⁵⁵ Equal opportunity meant opening more doors for individuals. It was certainly an important first step, but it also was limited in its outcomes. Just because female students had more course options or women teachers had more opportunities to become principals did not necessarily mean that systemic inequities were addressed.

By the fall of 1985 all publicly funded school boards were required to submit an annual report on Affirmative Action for women employees to the Minister of Education.²⁵⁶ The Ontario Ministry of Education choose to address gender inequities within schools by attacking

²⁵² Ontario Ministry of Education, *Status of Women and Affirmative Action/Employment Equity in Ontario School Boards: Report to the Legislature*, 1986, 18.

²⁵³ Ontario Ministry, *Status of Women*, 46. The Toronto Board developed a tracking process that followed women throughout their employment with the board, established sexual harassment and non-sexists communication policies, and equal opportunity policies.

²⁵⁴ Ontario Ministry, *Status of Women: Report to the Legislature*, 1986, introduction.

²⁵⁵ The Toronto Board of Education Archives (TBE Archives) now known as the "Sesquicentennial Museum and Archives of the Toronto District School Board." TBE Archives File: Depts.: Equal Opportunity Office (EOO)-Affirmative Action: Affirmative Action Newsletters- District School Board.

²⁵⁶ TBE Archives File/ Depts.: EOO-Affirmative Action: Affirmative Action Newsletters, 23. The same year, the government introduced a Green paper on pay equity which included an examination of educational institutions; universities, colleges and school boards. The Affirmative Action Incentive Fund (AAIF) for schools boards was made available in 1985 and continued to provide funding until 1989. Funds allowed school boards to hire Affirmative Action coordinators. TBE Archives/ Equal Opportunity Office-Affirmative Action-1990-EOO Newsletters also reveal an ongoing interest and reporting on pay equity. Ministry of Education Memorandum no 111: (Date of issue: Feb 2, 1990), "Employment Equity for Women in School Boards," indicated that by 1989 the Board released information on Affirmative Action pay equity. Minister Chris Ward, announced (March 30, 1989) that "All school boards will be required to develop and put in place employment equity policies with respect to the employment and promotion of women. In light of this requirement, it is expected that each board will develop and implement an employment equity program that includes strategies to increase the representation of women in certain occupational categories to 50% or more by the year 2000." School boards were required to submit to the Ministry of Education details of their employment equity policies and programs and provide annual progress reports.

inappropriate behaviour and biased curricula, as opposed to developing strategies for a major systemic change. The Ministry of Education continued to expand school board policies on guidance and counseling services, family studies and industrial arts in schools, and adapted guidelines for evaluating texts and resource materials on "bias and discriminatory stereotypes based on sex".²⁵⁷ All curriculum documents, policy circulars, guidelines and resources and support documents were rewritten or revised to reflect the Ministry's "growing commitment to the philosophy of sex-equity permeating all aspects of the schools' curriculum, policies, teaching methods and materials, and assessment procedures as well as attitudes and expectations of its staff and all of its interaction with students, parents and community."²⁵⁸ The Ontario Ministry of Education published a wide range of support documents to assist teachers in translating policies into classroom practice. Documents included *Changing Roles in a Changing World: A Resource Guide Focusing on the Female Student*; *Girls and Women in Society: A Resource List*; *Sex Role Stereotyping and Women's Studies: A Resource Guide*; *Sex-role Stereotyping: Incidence and Implications for Guidance and Counseling of Students*; and *Sex Equity in Elementary Education: Bridging the Gap*.²⁵⁹ Individual subjects were examined and Ministry materials were designed to reflect a policy of non-sexist language.²⁶⁰ All textbooks listed on the Ministry's Circular 14 (approved texts for schools in Ontario) were to be examined for sexist language and Sex-role stereotyping.²⁶¹ For feminist activists the focus on individuals diminished group advocacy for gender equity.

²⁵⁷ TBE Archives/ EOO-Affirmative Action Newsletters, 25.

²⁵⁸ TBE Archives/ EOO-Affirmative Action Newsletters, 23.

²⁵⁹ Ministry of Education, Ontario, *Changing Roles in a Changing World: A Resource Guide Focusing on the Female Student* (Toronto: The Ministry, 1976); Ministry of Education, *Girls and Women in Society: Resource List*. (Toronto: Ministry of Education, 1977); Ministry of Education, *Sex-role Stereotyping and Women's Studies* (Toronto: Ministry of Education, 1978); J.R. Bruce Cassie and R.G. Ragsdale, *Sex-role Stereotyping: Incidence and Implications for Guidance and Counseling of Students* (Toronto: Ministry of Education, 1980?); Women's Studies, Curriculum and Staff Development Services, Board of Education for the City of North York: *Sex-equity in Elementary Education: Bridging the Gap*. (North York, ON, 1984).

²⁶⁰ See: Janet Ferguson, *Who Turns the Wheel: Proceedings of a Workshop on the Science Education of Women in Canada* / sponsored by the Science and Education Committee of the Science Council of Canada (Ottawa: Science Council of Canada, 1982); Lorna F. Wiggan et al. *Mathematics, the Invisible Filter: A Report on Math Avoidance, Math Anxiety, and Career Choices* (TBE, Mathematics Department, Toronto: 1983) Resource packages included "The Science Education of Women in Canada."

²⁶¹ See: Ontario Ministry of Education, *One Step at a Time: Educational and Career Explorations* (Toronto, 1984). The Ministry published a booklet providing information on alternative career options for girls. An earlier document

The fourth government step involved the publication of government support documents and curriculum packages for teachers. Two policies, "The Formative Years" (1975) and "Circular H.S.1" (1979-81), recognized the need to include the experiences and contributions of women accurately within subject curricula.²⁶² In order to assist in the implementation of these policies, the Ontario government developed a number of support documents. *Changing Roles in a Changing World: A Resource Guide Focusing on the Female Student*, published by the Ontario Ministry of Education in 1975, noted that teachers faced the challenge of exploring new "trends" by coming to terms with the changes through and examination of attitudes towards the changing roles of women in society.²⁶³ The document discussed the changes taking place within society and the ways in which legislation had responded to ensure greater equity in the workplace. It raised practical and philosophical questions about the educational opportunities available for female students and focused on the responsibility of the individual teacher. The document contained a list of resources. *Girls and Women in Society: A Resource List* by the Ontario Ministry of Education, 1977, was a further response and provided additional resource materials. The document noted, "This resource list stems from a growing concern that recognition be given in the curriculum to the roles of girls and women in Canadian society and the world at large, and to the contributions they have made to society in general."²⁶⁴ The list of "non-sexist" learning resource materials in this collection received financial support from the Ministry of Education, the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario, and Teachers' Federations. Some materials were in French. The list included books, and audio-visual materials such as films. Although it was a limited list of resource materials, it reveals steps taken at that time to include scholarship in the field of women's studies and women's history.

The resource lists and publications in the 1970s were a hands-on response to address curricula demands by teachers. There was, however, limited directed follow-up by the Ministry

published by the Ontario Status of Women, *About Face: Towards a Positive Image of Women in Textbooks* was also distributed to all elementary schools in 1975. For example, Family studies courses included references to wife assault and job discrimination and guidance guidelines documented career planning and course options for girls.

²⁶² Ontario Government Report: "Today and Tomorrow," August, 15, 1979, 14.

²⁶³ Ontario, "Today and Tomorrow," introduction.

²⁶⁴ Ontario Ministry of Education, *Girls and Women in Society: A Resource List* (1977), 1. The resource guide was created to provide practical suggestions, units of study and resource lists for classrooms. The document was also translated into French and entitled, *Filles et femmes dans la Societe*, 1977.

and individual teachers were expected to follow the initial lead presented by the government. The problem was that few teachers were aware of the documents and only a few interested teachers took further action. Many teachers noted they included women's narratives when it felt right. One teacher asserts,

Materials about women just gradually got into history teaching—it seemed to be accomplished in the sense that it wasn't ever a crisis. I included women when examining the Industrial Revolution and of course the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. I used material from the Commission. In the 1980s we used material about race and so I included women in the Underground Railroad.²⁶⁵

Teachers interviewed for this study indicated they were aware of overall Affirmative Action initiatives but felt that inclusion of women's materials was somewhat optional and, as well, were faced with adapting numerous board policies.²⁶⁶ Multicultural education, for example, involved policies that recognized and supported "cultural diversity."²⁶⁷ The interviews revealed that because teachers lived in diverse communities in the city of Toronto, multicultural education often seemed more pressing to them. One teacher who was part of a school board writing team in the 70s noted the wide support for materials to address the growing number of "visible minorities" in the Toronto school board. The teacher acknowledged,

The school [where I was a teacher] was changing by then. We were getting a larger number of visible minority kids in the classrooms. People didn't see girls as a minority in the same way that they saw Blacks. I would say at the school, race trumped gender every time, and you would identify people more, if you were talking about groups of students,

²⁶⁵ Teacher E. Interview by author, Toronto: December 15, 2009.

²⁶⁶ See: Tim McCaskell, *Race to Equity: Disrupting Educational Inequality* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2005), 22. McCaskell argues that small changes were taken to remove blatant discriminatory practices and resource materials as other concerns took priority. "Unlike community concerns about multiculturalism and racism, much of the impetus for dealing with women's issues came from within the institution." Also see: The Toronto Board of Education, *We Are All Immigrants to This Place: a look at the Toronto school system in terms of governance and multiculturalism*. (Oct.1976). Dozens of ethnic newspapers and events throughout the city supported the needs of various communities and the Toronto Board followed with policies, first for "New Canadians" and then for Multiculturalism. A survey taken in 1962 found that 15% of public school population was non-English speaking, 31.

²⁶⁷ The Toronto Board, *We Are All Immigrants to This Place*, 54. A provincial seminar was held in October 1975 to focus on the role of education in supporting multiculturalism. The report stated, "It is an education in which cultural diversity is seen and used as a valuable resource to enrich the lives of all." Resources were developed and implemented in history courses. See: Booklets: Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1975.

on the basis of their ethnic, cultural, or racial background than you would on their gender. I probably even tended to see it more that way too.²⁶⁸

This teacher and others noted the challenges in negotiating through the wide range of equity expectations placed on them during this period by the school board. The Ministry of Education encouraged school boards to develop and implement equity policy criteria to govern the creation of curriculum guidelines and the selection of instructional materials resources to "reflect the realities of multi-racial/multicultural society and to demonstrate a commitment to equity."²⁶⁹ These policies might have provided an additional window in which to include women in the curriculum, but many teachers found little integration between policies; competing issues often caused tensions between teachers and programs. One educator asserted,

I don't think they're entirely separate issues, [multiculturalism and gender equity] but they were treated as separate things and I'm not sure that they should have been—[we were] looking at stereotyping people. But it was almost as if, 'Ok, let's do multiculturalism now, let's do antiracism now, and not look at what we've learned and realize all the issues there for women were/are there as well in those other issues.' For a lot of people I think multiculturalism and antiracism were much more legitimate issues than dealing with women's issues and that's too bad.²⁷⁰

Teachers were left to the task of integrating policies with little support or guidance. Teachers in Toronto schools faced a wide variety of challenges that came with teaching in a large urban centre such as issues of class, cultural diversity and multiple languages. School board policies tried to address many of these challenges but the overlap of policies and lack of hands-on support often left teachers scrambling for resources and implementation tools.²⁷¹ Myra Novogrodsky, in her efforts as Affirmative Action Coordinator Programs (Women's Studies), provided substantial support and worked with communities to develop Affirmative Action materials that supported women, labour issues as well as multiculturalism--but it proved to be a major task.²⁷²

²⁶⁸ Teacher U. Interview by author, Toronto: September 16, 2010.

²⁶⁹ See: Ministry of Education, *The Formative Years*, 1975. This quote from "The Development of a Policy on Race and Ethnocultural Equity": A Report of the Provincial Advisory Committee on Race Relations, Sept. 1987, 11.

²⁷⁰ Teacher S. Interview by author, Toronto: June 13, 2010

²⁷¹ See: Ethne Erskine-Cullen and Anne Marie Sinclair, "Preparing Teachers for Urban Schools: A View from the Field," *Journal of Educational Administration and Foundations*, 6, no.1 (1996).

²⁷² Myra Novogrodsky. Interview by author, Toronto: October 28, 2009. See also: Tim McCaskell, *Race To Equity: Disrupting Educational Inequality* (Toronto: Between the Lines Press, 2005); Paul Carr and Thomas Klassen,

Competing initiatives were part of the issues facing feminist advocates to bring women's materials into the history curricula; the other concern was the ways in which the issues related to gender inequity were heavily weighted on issues related to job equity. The focus on the lack of women in positions of responsibility was central to Ministry and school board initiatives.²⁷³ Affirmative Action forces, developed throughout the 1970s and 1980s set a precedent with concerns over equal employment opportunities and equal pay.²⁷⁴ Feminist activists and scholars, however, remained focused on changing curriculum: addressing concerns over the omission and marginalization of women in learning resource materials and demanding further board attention. Government policies, action plans and resource documents kickstarted the process of addressing gender inequities within schools and curricula but did so by setting low expectations and placing the responsibility predominantly on teachers. The school system focused on individual needs and broadening choice to reflect diverse student needs but retained traditional frameworks, thus explaining why Aboriginal narratives, women's narratives and those of minorities only received isolated placements within the new curricula. The governmental steps had an impact in initiating change and certainly highlighted women's studies and the need to address the omission of women in the curriculum. Governments addressed social movement demands by creating opportunities, and this was an important first step; however, there was limited regulated follow through and this narrowed the possibilities for gender equity curricula.

"Institutional Barriers to the Implementation of Antiracist Education: A Case Study of the Secondary System in a Large, Urban School Board, *Journal of Educational Administration and Foundations*, 12, no. 1 (1999).

²⁷³ See: Government of Ontario, "Today and Tomorrow" (Toronto, 1979). The Equal Opportunity and Affirmative Action Unit in the Ministry served the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Colleges and Universities, the Ministry of Skills Development and worked with the Ontario Women's Directorate.

²⁷⁴ See for example, Toronto Board of Education, March 17, 1977: *Report of the Task Force on Affirmative Action*. In the *Provincial Affirmative Action Report of 1985* noted that as of May, 1985, women were 20.4% and men 79.6% in position of vice-principal and principals comprised of women at 9.6% and men at 90.4%. Janet Louise Sheffield notes in her examination of Affirmative Action policies that "at this rate it would take another 80 years for women to represent even 50% of principals in the province." She attributes this slow response to the fact that Ontario initially made employment equity voluntary, choosing instead to encourage employers to adapt to government employment policies. A number of optional programs were developed in the 1970s which Sheffield argues had little impact on the composition of the public workforce. The Ontario government altered the policies to introduce mandatory measures in 1988 with the Pay Equity Act that required all public sector employees, including those working for school boards to establish pay equity plans by January 1990. For a full discussion on Affirmative Action see Janet Louise Sheffield, "From Barriers to Bridges: Selected Aspects of an Affirmative Action Policy of One Board of Education 1970-1990" (University of Toronto M.A. Thesis 1992); See also FWTAO Reports (1990).

Feminist theorists have analyzed the ways in which state systems responded to the women's movement demands, noting the ways in which a focus on the individual confirmed established social dominance based on gender. This provides an understanding of how state-based change has been interpreted within academia. Anne Phillips argues that democratic systems focused less on group representation and more on the idea of the ideal citizen,²⁷⁵ which helped to maintain established social hierarchies.²⁷⁶ Phillips notes that abstract individualism imposes a unitary conception of human needs and concerns as society is structured around "systemic inequalities and recurrent exclusions."²⁷⁷ Phillips suggests that the "needs" of women, for example, became defined as a "special case" by state education systems.²⁷⁸ To address the real demands of the women's movement would require a considerable analysis of institutional frameworks that restricted or marginalized women. Phillips' idea of the "special case" echoes the Ontario government's decision to create special "Units" to "include" women in the curriculum. Resources distributed by the Ontario government in the 70s demonstrate the ways in which including women in the curriculum was viewed in this way. The first Ministry Resource Guide, for example, noted "It is hoped that all teachers will find it [the guide] useful in the complicated task of developing a curriculum suited to the needs of both male and female students."²⁷⁹ This study demonstrates the government's failure to provide appropriate integration of women; women's "Units" functioned as tokenistic add-ons that did not result in a holistic, fully integrated history curriculum.

Carole Pateman equates "individual" with masculinity embedded liberal notions related to sex and property. Capitalist systems supported male freedoms that included the subjugation of

²⁷⁵ Anne Phillips, "Democracy and Difference: Some Problems for Feminist Theory" in Will Kymlicka, ed., *The Rights of Minority Cultures*. (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1995), 290.

²⁷⁶ Phillips, "Democracy and Difference", 293. Phillips notes that since the French Revolution the principal of representation according to estates (distribution of power by group divisions) to the concept of universal suffrage this elimination of group definitions. She adds, "Democracy in this sense has been viewed as a challenge to special interest groups."

²⁷⁷ Phillips, "Democracy and Difference", 298

²⁷⁸ Phillips, "Democracy and Difference", 293. Phillips adds, "Ethnic differences are subsumed under the "problem of ethnic minorities". She notes, "the dominance of the norm is so powerful that it obscures the startlingly fact that most people lie outside its borders."

²⁷⁹ Ontario, *Sex-role Stereotyping and Women's Studies*, 1979, introduction

women.²⁸⁰ Pateman's arguments underlie a key issue in this study: the Ministry and the school boards as liberal state institutions, reflected in policies such as the Hall Dennis Report, demonstrated that the state supported equal opportunity for all individual students. However, providing all individuals equal opportunities is not equality. The distinction between the individual and the collective is further explored by a number of scholars such as Mary O'Brien, Catherine McKinnon and Mary Hawkesworth. Liberal states have historically supported individual freedom and economic rights. O'Brien notes, "Liberalism has progressively substituted the notion of equality of opportunity for the putatively unattainable equality of worldly condition. Education is the structure in which all children are said to start equal. After that, they are on their own, and the state has done its duty."²⁸¹ Rebecca Coulter notes the ways in which a greater focus on individualism throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s resulted in changes to government sex-equity policies. She notes, "The emphasis on 'self-reliance' and rampant individualism threatened any systemic or structural interpretation of gender-equity policies." Coulter gives as an example of the ways in which sex-equity policies in the secondary school program of studies in Ontario were replaced in the 1990s with anti-discrimination statements that avoided references to gender.²⁸²

Susan Russell argues that social hierarchies existed in schools because they mirror male-dominated, capitalist systems and she adds that "schools contribute to the social reproduction of class and gender" and do so through the social organization of the school, advice from guidance counselors and administrators, through teacher-student interactions and through the content

²⁸⁰ Carole Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory* (Cambridge University Press, 1970).

²⁸¹ Mary O'Brien, "Feminism and the Politics of Education," *Interchange*, 17, no. 2 (summer, 1986): 91-105. See also Mary Hawkesworth, "The Affirmative Action Debate and Conflicting Conceptions of Individuality," *Women's Studies International Forum*, 7, no.5 (1984): 335-347; Meg Luxton et al, *Feminism and Political Economy* (Toronto: Methuen, 1987); Geraldine Pratt, *Working Feminism* (Philadelphia: Temple University, 2004).

²⁸² Rebecca Coulter, "Gender Equity in Schooling: Linking Research and Policy," *Canadian Journal of Education*, 21, no. 4 (1996): 433-452. Coulter is referring here to the Ontario Ministry of Education and Training, 1996. The shift was already taking place by the late 1980s. In an article written by Myra Novogrodsky and Margaret Wells, two Toronto teachers, "Chicks and Hunks" Teenagers and Sex-equity" in the fall, 1989 edition of *The History and Social Science Teacher*, the authors note the ways in which Toronto schools had shifted from celebrating "Women's Day" to celebrating "Gender Relations Day." They noted that students were more comfortable around the "language of equality" than they were around "feminist language."

presented in the curriculum.²⁸³ If schools contribute to the social reproduction of gender divisions, then adequately addressing issues of gender means dismantling long established structures of power hierarchies tied to larger state economic outcomes. This might explain why changes to curriculum focused on individual women and stand-alone units, rather than fundamental curricula change. But schools needed to demonstrate concern for gender inequities to maintain the myth of schools as the "great equalizers" of a liberal society, and therefore steps had to be taken to address the gender imbalances. In her book *Teaching Community: A Pedagogy of Hope*, bell hooks argues that capitalist systems adapt and maintain an interest in the diversity of individuals as a way to expand markets; schools play a part in maintaining market-based capitalism.²⁸⁴

Chapter Conclusion

These examples and others demonstrate that state institutions implemented policies that officially made discriminatory practices unacceptable, while at the same time they kept differences intact and shifted the responsibility for change to those individuals working within state systems. As Russell argues, schools, as representative of the state, seek to maintain stability through support of existing hierarchal systems and thus replicate the status quo. The feminist movement was certainly a catalyst in transforming systems of education to address blatant discriminatory practices. Angela Miles notes that women's activism was central to making women visible and valuable to the world. Feminists, she argues "consciously structure their practice to maximize personal transformation as both means and end of a struggle which explicitly refuses the separation of process and product and means and end."²⁸⁵ In other words, women needed to find alternative systems that affirmed their own value and vision; one that

²⁸³ Susan Russell, "The Hidden Curriculum of School" in Meg Luxton et al, eds., *Feminism and Political Economy Women's Work, Women's Struggles* (Toronto: Methuen, 1987), 230.

²⁸⁴ bell hooks, *Teaching Community: A Pedagogy of Hope* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

²⁸⁵ Angela Miles, "Women's Challenge," in *Feminism Perspectives*, 252.

reflected their own experiences and practices. But with state institutions pushing back, it was difficult for reformers to make major systemic change.

Academic scholarship continued to bring gender inequities in curriculum to the attention of teachers and the public. History, a subject steeped in male experiences was targeted by feminist scholars who had been researching, writing and publishing throughout this period. Government steps indicate an effort to address societal demands and the social activism of the period, but also reveal a safe and non-invasive form of curricula reform. Their concept of change centred on individual student needs and broadening historical examinations in order to include more disciplines and make the past more 'relevant'. However, steps on how to ensure school historical examinations were more inclusive were unclear. Further work by teachers, communities and feminist scholars was required to initiate real change.

Under the guise of celebrating women's 'unique place' within the curriculum, the Ministry of Education in Ontario failed to provide the steps for real integration. While it was mandated by the United Nations, and there was social pressure to comply with equity policies, their actions were never sustained beyond the required initial responses. However, the women's committees on the Toronto Board of Education, as the next chapter discusses, took on the colossal task of trying to expand and broaden the Ministry's initiatives of the late 1970s.²⁸⁶ Their job would prove to be substantial, as committees and feminist educators took on the enormous task of educating teachers, parents, administrators and students to accept women's studies and gender equity in their schools and course examinations. The biggest challenge would be to change

²⁸⁶ Myra Novogrodsky: private collection, "Developing a Non-Sexist School Environment," Toronto Board 1986 Booklet, published by Novogrodsky when she was Co-coordinator of Women's Studies and Labour Studies. This booklet notes some of the expectations of Women's Studies representatives in each school: "Supporting staff to develop an awareness of sex bias learning resource materials and become more aware of sexist bias, initiate PD activities, discourage the use of sexist language in classrooms, offer evenings for parents on sex role stereotyping, promote women's studies across the curriculum, encourage students to participate in all school activities and engage in leadership roles, develop awareness of career options, design projects and units of study to examine women's issues, introduce learning activities for both sexes, disuses issues of family violence, equal pay, women and poverty, allocate classroom jobs equitably, make sure attention is given to male and female students equally, provide information and resources, encourage the staff and students to use the Toronto Board Women and Labour Studies Resource Room, keep staff, students and parents informed of events relating to women's studies and issues in the community, encourage school librarians to display non-sexist books and develop appropriate collections of materials on women's issues, attend PD sessions and staff development sessions on Women's Studies and Affirmative Action."

prevailing attitudes and to deal with the slow reduction of school board support directed specifically to women's studies and women's issues.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁷ TBE Archives/ Folder: Committees: Women's Liaison: Minutes of meeting: WLC Monday Feb 13, 1984 Item 1 Guest speaker: T. Gordon, Assistant Superintendent, Curriculum and Program drew the committee's attention to a publication called "The Working Women's Guide to Office Survival" and suggested that people involved in business education use the book as a classroom resource. He noted that the presence of Sex-role stereotyping or its elimination in learning materials and resources was "not recognized by a majority of educators." Adding, "A significant number of educators were unaware of the availability of learning materials and resources to replace those containing Sex-role stereotyped content." A work group was formed called ASCOT (Alerting students on career opportunities tomorrow) to investigate methods to publicize the imbalance and alert guidance teachers. Members of the Women's Liaison Committee were concerned about the Curriculum Review that had eliminated the position of Co-ordinator of Women's Studies. They noted a failure in communication, and argued for funds to be set aside for curriculum development in the area of women's studies.

Chapter 3

"Strategies for Change": The Toronto Board of Education's Actions and Initiatives

The study of women is futurist in many ways, and, as such, cannot be ignored; the presently disadvantaged majority will not cease in their quest for equality of opportunity--changes will continue to take place and students should be educated for those changes²⁸⁸

Dozens of feminist groups founded organizations throughout the city of Toronto, especially during the years 1963-1973. The city's thriving arts community served as a space for women's voices. Feminist materials were plentiful and accessible. "Consciousness Raising" groups were a common part of most city events and many organizations published locally produced newsletters and pamphlets.²⁸⁹ Women's studies grew out of this environment of inquiry, writing, discussion and publication. One feminist noted, "Everywhere you went people were exchanging material, reading newspapers, speaking with scholars, attending readings: we

²⁸⁸ Patricia Kincaid, "The Long Term Effects of Women's Studies," *School Guidance Worker*, 31, no. 1 (Sept. /Oct. 1975): 25-27.

²⁸⁹ "Consciousness-Raising" (CR) was common to all feminist organizations and seen as a way to provide open dialogue and consensus. See: Margrit Eichler, *Sitting between Two Chairs and Loving It: Reflections of Feminist Sociologist* (paper OISE/UT, 1986), 3. In describing her beginnings in feminist research Eichler states, "In 1968, I joined a CR group while I was a graduate student and pregnant. I was interested in the issues that confronted women.... My husband and I were on scholarship and we could not pay for babysitters... This was one of the issues we discussed in my CR groups-and we came up with a practical solution. We created a baby cooperative. In our Consciousness-Raising group we discussed all the important issues of the time." See: *The Velvet Fist* (Toronto Women's Caucus); *We are Women*; Joyce Cowley, *Pioneers in Women's Liberation* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1971); *Women for Political Action*. All pamphlets in OISE/UT WERC collection.

were living in a period of revolutionary feminism."²⁹⁰ As we saw in the previous chapter, the women's movement had an active place in Toronto, which extended into educational arenas during the 1970s. Many groups embraced New Left political activism in the city, forming *The Toronto Women's Liberation Movement*, *The New Feminists*, *The Feminist Action League*, *The Women's Caucus* and *Women's Press*, to name only a few.²⁹¹ Toronto chapters of the *Canadian Voice of Women for Peace* (VOW) responded to the potential threat of nuclear war and nuclear testing.²⁹² As noted earlier, the 1970 report from the Royal Commission on the Status of Women contained recommendations to strengthen women's position in Canada.²⁹³ The Toronto "Strategy for Change" conference was attended by a number of local women's groups.²⁹⁴ The Toronto Women's Caucus met regularly and published *The Velvet Fist*.²⁹⁵ Women wanted to be connected, organizing support for a wide range of local women's events, shows and issues. Toronto was a vibrant city of arts and culture and provided a wide range of opportunities for women to form networks.

The Toronto Board of Education therefore provides an important lens through which to analyze the effects of the women's movement on education, as it was the largest board in the province and was situated in a city where there was a large and active feminist community. Education reformers in Toronto, influenced and supported by a wide range of feminist organizations, tried to insert women into the curriculum because they believed that this would create greater gender equality within society more generally. The substantial work being done on an individual basis to affect change in the classroom is a crucial and an often underexplored part

²⁹⁰ Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (London: Gollancz, 1963) Betty Friedan was a graduate of Smith College, class of 1942. She helped form the National Organization for Women (NOW) and influenced Canadian women's movement activism.

²⁹¹ Nancy Adamson, "Feminists, Libbers, Lefties and Radicals: The Emergence of the Women's Liberation Movement" in Joy Parr, ed. *A Diversity of Women* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 255.

²⁹² Canadian Voices of Women for Peace (VOW) See website: vowpeace.org/cms/About.aspx (2010)

²⁹³ Report on the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1970) See also the NAC files at Canadian Women's Movement Archives, University of Ottawa.

²⁹⁴ During the conference, held in 1972, they worked at strategies to lobby the government for legislative changes and also ways to raise public awareness about women's issues. "Ad Hoc" was dropped from the name, in 1972, to The National Action Committee on the Status of Women.

²⁹⁵ Judy Rebick, *Ten Thousand Roses: The Making of a Feminist Revolution*, 10-11.

of the history of the women's movement. When given options, some history teachers chose not to opt out and instead decided to change history curricula in their own classrooms. These educators had an impact on their students, their subject departments, and their communities- including the ways in which they were able to alter the course of curricula development and impact the ways in which students think critically about the world, and in the case of history, the past. If attempts to include more women into the history curriculum were part of a wider movement of social activism, evidence for this can be found in the various women's committees within the Toronto Board of Education, who argued that school boards were responsible to provide materials to support gender equality. As Linda Briskin notes in her reflections of the women's movement, "I remember the early discussions about how women's studies would be the educational arm of the women's movement"²⁹⁶ and Thelma McCormack adds that women's studies "would be a measure of academic freedom."²⁹⁷ The link between women's activism and women's studies was clearly there.

This chapter explores two overall aspects of developments within the Toronto Board of Education between the 1968-1993 period. The work of the school board to implement progressive social movement ideas through the development of initiatives and opportunities for students and staff as well as the work of the Toronto Board's women's committees to support teachers who saw their work within classrooms as a means to infuse social justice beliefs are examined in this chapter. My focus is on curricula development and support and, specifically, the inclusion of women as historical subjects in the history curriculum. I investigate how board initiatives directly or indirectly affected teacher pedagogy, teacher professional development and access to learning resources. The work of the school board to affect change was confined to the work of the women's committees, and feminist educators who already had an interest and were already active in promoting women. Change took place from within and reflected the work of teachers and educators who were interested in educational reform.

²⁹⁶ Linda Briskin, "Socialist Feminist and Activist Educator," in Wendy Robbins et al., eds., *Minds of Our Own*, 297-303. Briskin adds, "I continue to believe that women's studies can offer a vehicle to promote not only consciousness, but also activism. In fact, I have argued that women's agency should be central to the vision for women's studies in the twenty-first century."

²⁹⁷ *Canadian Woman Studies*, 6 no.3 (Summer/Fall, 1985).

The Toronto Board provided both a supportive and a restrictive environment in which to advocate for change. This chapter provides further evidence to support the work of scholars who argue that state institutions were embedded in systems of power and were reluctant to change.²⁹⁸ The "entrenched sexism," as Deborah Gorham argues, meant that minor changes that took place within state institutions also left numerous ways in which women's experiences were also undermined. Gorham notes, "The establishment of women's studies degree programs may have looked like solid recognition, but often it served to disguise our continued marginalization and dampen the power of our initial demands."²⁹⁹ This quotation reflects the paradoxical nature of the creation of women-specific courses or programs, often once women have been isolated, be it in educational units, or academic departments, it reinforces a separateness that could ultimately make them expendable. Wendy Brown recognizes this paradox as well when she asks "Can the same juridical discourse obscure and articulate social inequality, serve as an instrument of entrenching inequality and as a means of redressing it?"³⁰⁰ In other words, do the mechanisms that have entrenched socioeconomic inequality in neo-liberal institutions such as schools and within capitalist societies also act as a barrier to state initiatives that seek to provide opportunities for greater equality?

Scholars have suggested that modern Western feminism was constructed within accepted understandings of liberal individualism in which women had been marginalized or excluded. Mary O'Brien notes that liberalism regards the state "as an organizational device to maintain stability" and she adds that a liberal ideology of education, although "posited as an affirmation of

²⁹⁸ See for example, Sheila Rowbotham, *Hidden from History: 300 Years of Women's Oppression and the Fight Against it* (London: Pluto Press, 1977); Nancy Adamson and Linda Briskin, *Feminist Organizing for Change* (Toronto: Oxford Univ. Press, 1988); Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University, 1988) and more recently *Women's Studies on the Edge* (Duke University, 2008) Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986) and *Living with History/Making Social Change* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 2009).

²⁹⁹ Deborah Gorham, "Transforming the Academy and the World," in *Minds of Our Own*, 120-125. See also Mary O'Brien, "Feminism and the Politics of Education," *Interchange*, 17, no. 2 (summer, 1986): 91-105. O'Brien noted that educational systems and school curricula were structured hierarchical, profoundly conservative, and "bastions of male supremacy and ruling class power."

³⁰⁰ Wendy Brown, "The Impossibility of Women's Studies," *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*, 9.3 (Fall, 1997). Brown argues "forms of power that produce gender or class are themselves saturated with that production" "...We are not simply oppressed but produced through these discourses, a production that is historically complex, contingent, and occurs through formations that do not honor analytically distinct identity categories."

individual freedom" has, in practice, continued to be "highly sensitive to the workforce and the ideological needs of a capitalist mode of production."³⁰¹ Academic institutions, such as school boards, may espouse universal liberalism and support for individual freedoms but they also contain entrenched inequities. The women's movement challenged liberal state systems' failure to recognize women equally and this further challenged the very core of what the institutions represented.

Geraldine Pratt asserts, "We need to worry about the ways that contextualized geographies work in relation to each other to create conditions for 'double positions' taken in the name of universal norms. Often these 'doubled positions' emerge because there are competing universalisms at stake (women's equality versus economic liberalism)."³⁰² This "double position" is apparent when examining the history of the Toronto Board of Education's response to women's activism in the 1970s. As a liberal state institution, the Toronto Board had to respond to the blatant discriminatory practices that violated labour laws and human rights legislation. It also had to establish clear Affirmative Action plans in order to support provincial legislation requirements. The implementation of programs or changes to curricula were decided and enacted by the Toronto Board because of the pressing needs to comply with state legislation. This chapter examines the Toronto Board's responses to the legislative demands to include women in course studies and suggests that the board's decisions reflect the broader issues and difficult choices embedded within the women's movement. The Toronto Board advocated for equity, but by virtue of its position as a state institution, issues of equity were still marginalized.

Toronto Board of Education: A "Progressive" School Board

Having taken initial steps to address the women's movement's activism through a series of governmental policies, provincial conferences, and the establishment of women's committees,

³⁰¹ Mary O'Brien, "Feminism and the Politics of Education," *Interchange*, 17, no. 2 (summer, 1986): 91-105 See also Ruth Pierson, "The History of Women and Paid Work" in Paula Bourne, ed., *Women's Paid and Unpaid Work: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1985).

³⁰² Geraldine Pratt, *Working Feminism* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004), 90. Pratt, a professor of human geography, notes that 'double positions' are often part of universal liberal norms, such as Canada supporting sexual harassment legislation while accepting the rights of US or Canadian firms to operate outside these norms of other contexts (example *maquiladors*). Inconsistencies and contradictions are often overlooked or undetected.

the Ontario Ministry of Education left follow-up steps to individual school boards. As the Ministry had not fully developed any strategies to ensure the implementation of resource materials about women into history curricula, it was incumbent upon each school board to provide access to resource materials about women to support teachers through professional development days and/or learning resource libraries. The Toronto Board of Education took on this responsibility in a proactive way by providing support for the development of women's committees, women's outreach programs and collaboration with educators to develop and disseminate learning resource materials for the humanities and social sciences and provides a case study for this chapter.

The Toronto Board was viewed as “progressive” by many educators working within and outside of the board. Individual teachers in this study used the term “progressive” to mean that the school board leaned towards the political Left, was open to a range of new initiatives, and provided teachers with networks of support and resources in order to implement a wide range of liberal educational ideas.³⁰³ The majority of trustees on the Toronto school board were Left-leaning supporters and a large number were women. Fiona Nelson, a leading force for women's rights, was first elected to the Toronto Board in 1969 and remained in her position until the mid-1970s.³⁰⁴ In his examination of the history of the Toronto Board equity initiatives, Tim McCaskell suggests the progressive reputation of the school board began in the late 1960s when a new batch of progressive trustees, actively engaged within communities, were elected in order to implement change. He notes

In the elections of late 1969, reformers became a significant voice at the Toronto Board of Education for the first time. The genie was out of the bottle. The days when trustees were expected to do little were over. Unlike most of their predecessors, these new reform trustees ...were in close contact with schools and well acquainted with local school and parent communities....Progressive trustees could carry concerns forward to formal board

³⁰³ Teacher N. Interview by author, Toronto: October 13, 2009. This teacher notes "The Toronto Board was a head of its time. It had lots of money. It had two Coordinators, two History and two Social Sciences...People open to new ideas-people who wanted to work on things had an opportunity." What she is stressing is that the Board provided numerous avenues of support for those interested.

³⁰⁴ For details about the work of NDP Trustees at the Toronto Board of Education see: Marie Hammond, *Sexual Equity for the Schools: Women's Studies and Affirmative Action at the Toronto Board in the 1970's* (M.A. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1990) and Tim McCaskell, *Race To Equity: Disrupting Educational Inequity* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2005).

committees. Under the influence of the reformers, the Board began to experiment with real democracy."³⁰⁵

The Board's "progressivism" relates to its liberal mindedness, support for social movement activism and willingness to respond to public concerns. The Toronto Board was situated in one of the most culturally and ethnically diverse cities in Canada and as such, one might argue, had little option than to demonstrate progressive initiatives that supported the changes taking place within local school communities. But it is important for this study to differentiate between the term progressive to mean liberal minded, and progressivism as a more wide-ranging force. Although the school board itself may have offered a wide range of broad minded options for progressive minded educators, it did not necessarily enforce many of these initiatives-choosing instead to provide opportunities to those educators seeking them. Teachers in the school board and parents in the community were made aware of new policies, new resource options and educational opportunities but teachers acted independently: the Toronto Board did not act as curriculum police. Individual teachers delivered curriculum based on pedagogical decisions of their own and those based on a variety of influences and ideas. Debates about 'progressive' versus 'traditional' pedagogy, examined in Chapter One, continued to be disputed throughout this period and teachers, even in a "progressive" school board, could choose not to deliver curriculum in a "progressive" manner.

As Ministry equity policies provided limited direction to guide boards on the specific steps to integrate women into course studies, the Toronto Board initiated a number of specific programs to address the inequities facing girls and women in its school board. It also addressed the development of curriculum materials and authorized the purchase of resources. These overall initiatives reflected the Board's approach to gender inequity: address human resources issues and address curriculum resources. The Board focused on three specific areas: the formation and development of women's committees; the support of feminist educators' work in developing and purchasing Board resource materials; and, outreach initiatives which helped support feminist networks and provide opportunities for curricular development. Although Board initiatives were often situated within different branches of the school board, this chapter, and the next, will

³⁰⁵ Tim McCaskell, *Race To Equity* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2005), 3

illustrate there was enough in common to suggest a clear Board response in addressing women's issues in Toronto.

Many Toronto Board teachers were active in local women's groups who argued that Sex-role stereotyping, the lack of strong female role-models and narratives about women were factors contributing to women's inequality.³⁰⁶ The Toronto Board had a long history of parental involvement which had resulted in the opening of a number of alternative schools in the city. These were schools in which parents were directly engaged in decisions about the school and the curricula.³⁰⁷ Many parents in the city core were active in their local communities, working with local schools to advocate for more democratic programs and environments. Parents in Toronto attended Toronto Board meetings and volunteered at their local schools, sitting on parent councils and advocating for greater equity and social justice. *The Toronto Community Schools Newspaper*, for example, published between 1971-1974, represented a group of parents, students, teachers and other community members who were concerned about the quality of education in Toronto and who believed that a community paper would provide an important communication link for shared dialogue and action plans within their communities and beyond. Similar to others during the 1970s, the paper contained articles about current issues in education and provided important updates on legislative changes in education; many of the articles examined issues related to gender, race and class in the city.

A number of Toronto parents supported the establishment of alternative schools. In the first edition of the paper, for example, "Parents for a Hall-Dennis School" opened an alternative school, MAGU, in North York.³⁰⁸ In January 1972, MAGU was featured in the Ontario education journal, *New Dimensions*, which noted the schools designation as an "ungraded

³⁰⁶ During the 1970s several research studies were conducted. See: Ad Hoc Committee Respecting the Status of Women in the North York System, 1975; Elaine Batcher, Alison Winter, Vicki Wright, *The More Things Change--the More they Stay the Same* (Toronto: Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario, 1987) Conference on Sex-role Stereotyping and Women's Studies and Report (Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Education, 1978)

³⁰⁷ Toronto Alternative schools included *Alpha*, *Seed*, *Contact*, *Downtown* and *Quest*, to name a few.

³⁰⁸ Myra Novogrodsky: private collection. *Toronto Community School Newspaper* was published 1971-1974. MAGU stood for Multi Aged Group Unit and was an open concept school. The community newspapers are in a bound book with no page numbers. It is a collection of the *Community School* newspaper and other documents/articles related to community news from this period.

experimental project." Most adults at the school were volunteers and students learned through discovery and experimentation. Defined as a "free school" MAGU, like other alternative schools in Toronto, allowed children to choose activities and work collaboratively with little competition.³⁰⁹ The city supported a large number of community advocacy groups whose concerns about schools and education in general were widely published through local papers.³¹⁰ The Board funded events, workshops and publications that included the work of well-known scholars within various fields such as sociology, curriculum, philosophy, race relations and noting these initiatives through public newsletters and media releases.³¹¹ Parents, students, teachers, union leaders, trustees and others were prominent at various times as school activists to ensure that children's needs were being addressed.³¹²

This Magazine is About Schools, a local community paper, advocated that schools should reflect changes taking place in the city as it grew in diversity and size. *NOW*, another large local paper, examined the specific needs of working-class and immigrant communities.³¹³ The active parental community and expanding ethnic communities began to have a more powerful public voice over curricula in schools. Educators and parents demanded a more inclusive curriculum that better reflected the changing demographics and growing population in Toronto. The Toronto School Board therefore faced major expectations from the city teachers, parents and educators who demanded that schools reflect a greater diversity in programming and curricula, address both immigrant and "inner-city" children's needs, provide alternative schools or programs to better reflect specific student needs, and reflect social moment concerns over race, class, gender, peace and the environment. Feminist educators, many of whom were parents, who worked for

³⁰⁹ *Toronto Community School Newspaper* collection, "Ontario Education New Dimension," January 1972, 8-9. This article notes, schools were set up as a three year project by the North York school board.

³¹⁰ Toronto, as the largest immigrant reception city in Canada, supported a significant immigrant student population. Between 1971-1986, close to 30% of all immigrant arrivals to Canada were children. Dozens of studies, reports, booklets and papers reviewing and assessing best practices in educational programs were published for Ontario during this period. (see: 1986 Census of Canada).

³¹¹ Toronto had a population of approximately 2 million in the 1970s. The Toronto Board had approx. 166 schools. (see: StatsCanada).

³¹² For a history of parent/ school community activism see: Kari Dehli, *Parent Activism and School Reform in Toronto*. (Toronto: OISE, October 1994).

³¹³ See: NowToronto.com

the Toronto Board sought support to improve opportunities and conditions for girls and women in schools. Their activism was instrumental in pushing for Affirmative Action, women's studies, and the development of curricula materials. However, education reformers were often restricted in their activism due to board hierarchies and a constantly shifting political and economic environment.

By the mid 1970s public awareness of gender, class and race issues were growing, with research studies advocating for 'non-sexist' materials for classrooms.³¹⁴ Feminist posters and ads were prominent throughout public institutions in Toronto and at public events.³¹⁵ In the mass effort to develop new perspectives, women's educational materials evolved, supported by work taking place within universities.³¹⁶ The growth in research in women's studies and women's history helped support decisions by university institutions to establish women's studies programs.³¹⁷ Many Toronto teachers took women's studies courses in either undergraduate or part-time masters' degrees, thus exposing themselves to new scholarship in the field.

³¹⁴ TBE Archives/File: Dept. of EOO-Affirmative Action to 1979 (volume 1 no.2, Dec.1981) noted a province wide computer listing of Resources and Teaching aids as well as program development and in-serve training. The Ontario Ministry of Education suggested a broad program that incorporated change on a number of levels, for example, incorporating "Consciousness-Raising" sessions (see: *Challenging the Double Standard FWTAO and Sex Role Stereotyping and Women's Studies*, Ontario Ministry of Education), the use of non-sexist textbooks, and "non-stereotyped same-sex models" in curriculum units, integrating mixed boy-girl group activities, and developing strategies for men and women to "engage in equal opportunities."

³¹⁵ Frieda Forman. Interview by author, Toronto: April 1 2010 at OISE/UT Forman notes that posters showed girls they could be jet pilots, which didn't necessarily translate into changes in career choices for girls. That, she suggests, required more directed and substantial intervention.

³¹⁶ Forman. Interview by author, Toronto: April 1 2010 at OISE/UT. Forman worked in the early 1970s at the OCA and developed a course called "Women and Art." She organized a women's art show in 1972. Photographer Pam Harris's record of the event eventually became part of the Women's Kit, distributed to schools across the province. At the show, Forman states, "everything was in bloom-all interconnected. There were films, Three-dimensional art, music and a paper maché giant bowl of wool with giant knitting needles." Later in the formation of the CWSE, Forman adds, women brought newsletters, films, photography, poetry, literature and art. It was out of this collection that two things emerged: a Learning Centre for educators to access women's resources, and a wider reflection of what constituted women's narratives. This was a template for educational materials during the 1970s and 80s, one that embraced a multimedia, multi-layered understanding of women.

³¹⁷ A Report published in 1989 from the Council of Ontario Universities, "Women's Studies Programmes in Ontario Universities" indicated that since the publication of the RCSW report in 1970, the proportion of women attaining undergraduate degrees at Canadian universities had increased from 40% to 53%. The report also noted that although the percentage of female university students had increased, the number of women faculty had not changed at the same rate, moving from 13% of full time faculty in 1970 to 18% by 1987. (see: The Committee on the Status of Women, *Women's Studies Programmes in Ontario Universities*) The University of Toronto had one of the first programs in Women Studies in Canada, part of the curriculum in 1971-1972, when Jill Ker Conway and Natalie

Toronto Board of Education: Women's Committees

The first area in which the Toronto Board placed its focus was in the development and support of board women's committees, responding to pressure from activists within the city. One teacher noted, "We [feminist educators] would spend a lot of time getting together and talking about what we could do and this was the early feminist movement-it was the times-a lot of us had been to Consciousness-Raising groups."³¹⁸ The influence of feminist educators was central in pushing the Board to take action. Myra Novogrodsky notes that the decisions by the Toronto Board often involved a compromise between what educators wanted and what the school board could accommodate. She notes,

The position I had in 1984 was Assistant Co-ordinator of Social Studies with the special responsibility of Women's Studies and Labour Studies- within the curriculum division. Because of the political pressure to create a Women's Studies position there was a decision made to locate it within the Social Studies department...[T]his was an uncomfortable location for Women's and Labour Studies as it was to have a cross-curricular focus, but it was a political compromise.³¹⁹

This quotation illustrates the political nature of how women's studies was placed within an established educational structure: women's studies, by being shunted into social science, was reflective of the isolationist conceptualization of where to place women in the curriculum. Furthermore, it divorced women's studies from the discipline of history. Trained women historians often taught social science courses, as history courses were viewed as the purview of male teachers only.

Zemon Davis offered HIS348H: "The History of Women" at the same time that a teaching collective developed the first introductory interdisciplinary course. Conway discusses the development of feminist inquiry at Uof T in her autobiography, *True North: A Memoir* (Toronto: A.A. Knopf Canada, 1994). Natalie Davis. Interview by author: Toronto: Feb. 8, 2010. Davis notes "I wanted the students to have primary materials and went to every library and rare bookstore in Toronto." See also Kay Armitage, "Blood on the Chapel Floor: Adventures in Women's Studies," *Minds of Our Own*, M. Eichler, F. Descarries, M. Luxton, W. Robbins, eds. (Wilfred Laurier Press, 2008). York University offered a "Women in Canada Course" in the Department of Social Science, Atkinson College, in the 1970s, and explored ways in which to expand scholarship in women's studies-offering a four year degree in Women's Studies in 1983-84.

³¹⁸ Teacher Q. Interview by author, Ontario, November 12, 2009.

³¹⁹ Myra Novogrodsky. Interview by author, Toronto: October 28, 2009.

Toronto Board committees focused on a number of key areas identified as central to leveling the gender inequalities standard within the school board. The areas included four major spheres of Affirmative Action. The first encompassed expanding job opportunities and positions of responsibility for women working for the school board; the second established new Sex-role stereotype standards for curricula materials that resulted in a re-examination of learning resources used in classrooms and schools; the third area included restructuring school activities, such as sports and guidance, that had forced gender specific options for students and staff; the fourth involved developing resources in order to deliver curriculum that was more gender equitable. All of these areas were presented through an elaborate form of Toronto Board networking that focused on reaching out to the Board's community. One of the major forms of networking involved regular women's newsletters that were sent to all school board employees.

The Toronto Board's women's committees published a number of weekly and monthly newsletters that kept employees- staff, teachers and students- informed of changes to policies, upcoming events, opportunities and issues of relevance. Speakers within the community were featured and educators and board employees were made aware of departments to contact for further information, access to resource materials and for support. The flyers and newsletters were central in bringing the board community together and demonstrated the Toronto Board objectives. The newsletters reveal this broad community focus, endorsing the promotion of women, recruitment, curriculum and daycare.

Affirmative Action kits were also developed and in-school workshops ensured that schools were informed and accountable for Affirmative Action practices.³²⁰ Affirmative Action was initially part of a broader aim to provide greater opportunities for women to find leadership

³²⁰ TBE Archives/ File: EAO-Affirmative Action envelope #5: Kit from Awareness Workshops Nov. 1979- This kit was designed by the Affirmative Action Committee and Women's Liaison Committee for workshops to be held in schools for teachers and school employees. Susan Hunter-Harvey (chairman of the AAC) notes in the workshop booklets that each school would be accountable for Affirmative Action and gender equity. She quotes Recommendation #29: "That each school, area, and central teaching and non-teaching department within the Toronto Board, develop its own Affirmative Action Plan" (opening page) and that each school, area and central teaching and non-teaching department "provide a written page outline of their Affirmative Action plans in accordance with board recommendations to the director by October , 1980" and that the Director be responsible to "work with schools to ensure that 45-60 minute workshops be undertaken in each school and board department with assistance of the Awareness Workshop Coordinating Committee before June 1980." The Board felt that materials and ideas would flow from the school board to the schools.

roles, and for women to find equal representation within the curriculum.³²¹ Board employees were inundated with invitations to events, workshops and opportunities to take part in Board activities. Much of this was led by women who held positions within the Toronto Board's executive. Although women had served as school trustees in Toronto before the 1970s, women had not held positions of responsibility until 1973 when the Board elected two women: Judy Jordan as Chair and Fiona Nelson as Vice-Chair. These were the top two positions at the Board; it was the first time in history that women held both positions. Both women took seats on the Board by 1970. These appointments signified the Board's focus on placing women into positions of responsibility. The next two decades focused on increasing the number of women as principals, vice-principals, superintendents and in positions of responsibility on the Board executive.³²² The forerunner to the Status of Women committee came into being on May 4, 1972; it was chaired by Nelson at a Toronto Board of Education meeting when a delegation appeared before the board representing the Ontario Committee on the Status of Women, the Steering Committee of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women and the OSSTF District 15.³²³ At this meeting the Board passed two resolutions: to develop a programme of Affirmative Action selection for qualified women in order to eliminate the imbalance that existed in supervisory positions of the Board, and "to examine the Board's guidance, curriculum, textbooks and ancillary services in the light of sex role stereotyping and advise change."³²⁴

³²¹ TBE Archives/ File: EAO-Affirmative Action envelope #5. 1979. Data included in this file: The number of full time secondary school female principals and vice-principals was 37.8% in 1979. The 'Kit' contained a suggested bibliography with a few of the following titles: Paula Bourne: *Women in Canadian Society*, (OISE 1978), V. D'Oyley, *Black Presence in Multi-Ethnic Canada* (1978), H. Troper: *Native Survival* (OISE 1973), B. Kane. And P. Harris, *The Women's Kit* (OISE 1974) and C. Pasternak: *Breaking the Mould: Lesson Aid Plans* (1977).

³²² TBE Archives/File: Pat Kincaid, "The Long Term Effects of Women's Studies," in *School Guidance Worker*, 31 no. 1 (Fall 1975): 25-27.

³²³ TBE Archives/ File: Dept. EOO-Affirmative Action to 1979: Women's Issues at the Toronto Board of Education 1972. The committee examined Sex-role stereotyping in course curriculum and included suggestions for teacher training. In the archive file there is a set of paperdolls with attached cards that have quotes about women and their importance to a "successful society." It was used as a Board display and donated to the archive from Moira Armour. Cards quote Anti-discrimination provisions in the Human Rights Act. For example, one card notes, "Every individual should have an equal opportunity with other individuals to make for himself or herself the life that he or she is able and wishes to have, consistent with his or her duties and obligations as a member of society, without being hindered in, or prevented from doing so by discriminatory practices." (Status of Women, Canada, 1977).

³²⁴ TBE Archives/ File: Equal Opportunity Office-Affirmative Action to 1979. Document entitled: "Women's Issues at the Toronto Board of Education."

A special committee was then formed to address these commitments.³²⁵ In its first two years, the agreement was called *The Special Committee on Selection of Qualified Positions of Responsibility*, (POR) with a mandate to look at matters related to the selection of qualified women for positions of responsibilities. In September 1972 the committee was re-constituted as the *Women's Advisory Committee*, and in November 1976 as the *Women's Liaison Committee*.³²⁶ Over eight years, the committee was created to "consider all matters related to the selection of qualified women for positions of responsibilities;" it included representatives from teachers' federations and organizations such as the Ontario Government's Women's Bureau.³²⁷ The Committee expanded to include employee reps and outside groups. To add yet another layer of complexity, it then divided into two groups: to "investigate hiring and promotion and to study the question of socialization of children." The committees organized Professional Development (PD) days for educators to "examine the problem of Sex-role stereotypes in depth" and made recommendations to endorse the promotion of women and other issues such as the promotion of women, recruitment, and daycare. Finally, the committee prepared a response to the provincial government's green paper, *Equal Opportunity for Women in Ontario*.³²⁸ Workshops and kits were developed to ensure that schools were accountable for Affirmative Action. Affirmative Action was part of a broader aim to provide greater opportunities for women to find leadership roles, and for women to find equal representation within the curriculum, which resulted in numerous materials being published throughout the 1970s and 80s.³²⁹

³²⁵ TBE Archives/ File: Dept. Equal Opportunity Office- Affirmative Action to 1979-Status of Women files.

³²⁶ Private collection. *Education Toronto*-Fact sheets, February 1984.

³²⁷ *Education Toronto*-Fact sheets, February 1984.

³²⁸ TBE Archives/ File: Dept. EOO-Affirmative Action to 1979. Document entitled: "Women's Issues at the Toronto Board of Education."

³²⁹ TBE Archives/ File: EAO-Affirmative Action: Envelope #2 contained lists of TBE conferences during the 1970s and 1980s. "Free to Choose: An evening of Speakers," April 26, 1979, was sponsored by the Women's Studies Department and held at the Education Centre. The conference poster indicates that the conference was such an "overwhelming success" that they were offering another one. Speakers included Marion Colby, Advisor for Centennial College, spoke about "Women in Educational System: The Effect of Stereotyping, Dr. Ouida Wright, Assistant Superintendent Curriculum TBE spoke on "Bias in Learning Materials." Others spoke about women in law, in advertising and battered women. Jan Tennant spoke about women in the news and Abby Hoffman, Executive Officer of the Human Rights Commission, spoke about human rights.

Tim McCaskell notes the additional complexities embedded within the expanding influence of the women's committees. He argues that other board departments "dominated by men" demanded to be part of committee decision making, which caused further complications and power struggles. He notes that when trustee Fiona Nelson left her position on the Status of Women committee to become the Chair of the Toronto Board in 1974 "the resulting vacuum worsened the situation" and much of the earlier work was diverted. However, the new Women's Liaison Committee became "less structured and more open to the public," providing more freedom for the committee and allowing for a greater networking with feminists within the city.³³⁰ The shifting of control of the Women's Liaison Committee may have also reflected the Board's decision to place women's committees outside the dominant power structures within the Board in order to maintain the status quo.

The school board had a vested interest in ensuring the work taking place within committees did not interfere with its fundamental structures and therefore made sure that committee decisions were overseen.³³¹ Feminist scholars have noted that governments supported and encouraged Affirmative Action programs in order to restrict and direct change. Heather Maroney notes in her examination of increased numbers of working-class women that "for governments, Affirmative Action promised a trendy, low-cost legislation; selective promotion of a few both promotes individualism and serves the interest of formally qualified professional and managerial women."³³² Walter Benn Michaels notes that state support of feminism was "what you appeal to when you want to make it sound as if the women of Wall Street and the women of Wall Mart are both victims of sexism." He notes it helps maintain the status quo because these are not just issues of sexism, but issues of economics and maintaining capitalist structures.³³³ bell hooks agrees, when she notes that capitalist systems embrace an

³³⁰ McCaskell, *Race to Equity*, 23-24.

³³¹ Adamson, *Feminist Organizing for Change*, 137.

³³² Heather Maroney and Meg Luxton, eds., "The Politics of the Women's Movement" in *Feminism and Political Economy* (Toronto: Methuen, 1987), 88. See also Dorothy Gillmeister, "The Equal Opportunity Fantasy: A Hard look at Voluntary Affirmative Action," (Status of Women 6, no. 2, 1980).

³³³ Walter Benn Michaels, *The Trouble With Diversity: How We Learned to Love Identity and Ignore Inequality* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2006).

interest "in others" as a way to expand markets and a further way to maintain power in a global marketplace.³³⁴ The directions imposed by the Toronto Board seem to support these positions.

The Status of Women report in 1970s and International Women's year in 1975, however, had a major impact on government agencies. With educators and trustees supportive of feminist initiatives, 1975 proved an opportunity for public celebration; thus a wide range of Toronto Board policies and events were planned. In April 1975 the Toronto Board appointed a Women's Studies Consultant to Curriculum and Program Division. The Women's Advisory Committee took on the responsibility of organizing most of the events and activities, with an initial focus on a conference for high school students held at OISE. The conference, held April of 1975 and entitled "New Directions for Women," used materials from the newly developed "Women's Kit" and a wide range of resources from the women's collection in the library, which reflected feminist scholarship in history and sociology as well as the local Toronto feminist community. The focus was on Sex-role stereotyping and Affirmative Action, with workshops focused on women's experiences.³³⁵ Board committees, newsletters and events focused on the removal of Sex-role stereotyping in schools and learning materials. The Ministry published a report, "Share In on Women's Studies", produced by the Curriculum Department that reflected the Ministry's strategy, noting that "presentations and discussion centred on methods of removing from the educational system discrimination, sexism, and Sex-role stereotyping."³³⁶

Established in April 1976, the Affirmative Action Task Force brought in its report in November of that year. After additional consultation, submissions and revisions, the resolutions in the report were approved by the Toronto Board in March, 1977.³³⁷ The Task Force noted a number of problem areas such as lack of career counseling within the Board, problems related to performance appraisal and management training, and hiring and promotion processes. The two parts of the report that dealt with curriculum addressed sex bias in the language of all Board

³³⁴ bell hooks, *Teaching Community: A Pedagogy of Hope*. (New York: Routledge, 2003), 47.

³³⁵ Patricia Kincaid articles in *Education Dimensions*, 1, no.6 (April 1975).

³³⁶ Kincaid, *Education Dimensions*, 1, no.6.

³³⁷ TBE Archives/File: Equal Opportunity Office Files/ Education Toronto-Fact Sheets, February 1984.

documents and the avoidance of stereotypes.³³⁸ By May 1981 over 150 Affirmative Action Plans had been established, each one designed to meet the special needs of the individual school or Board department; revised plans were established in May 1982. A second Affirmative Action Task Force (renamed the Review Group) was established in January, 1983; its mandate was to make recommendations regarding career development and equal pay of equal value. The final recommendations of the Review Group were reported in 1984. School action plans included the development of objectives to alter curriculum or addressed particular school issues, but were predominately focused on establishing committees in schools, in communicating policies and initiating activities that supported the Affirmative Action programs. Each of the 166 Toronto schools had a Women's Studies representative, some of whom also served as Affirmative Action representatives in the schools. Each school responded differently; their responses depended on individual teacher activism within the school. Schools were expected to develop women's studies action plans but not all schools complied.³³⁹

The escalation and number of Affirmative Action "plans" caused some confusion for educators who were often unclear of Board policy and the implications that policies had on their work. Scholars have examined how Affirmative Action responses often lacked a clear vision, leaving individuals unclear as to the implications. Laura Weintraub notes, "Assumptions about and attitudes towards the meaning of 'Affirmative Action' are by no means uniform, although the concept frequently elicits responses that are not only embedded in misunderstandings and misapprehensions, but also in unarticulated uneasiness about an unaltered work force and transfigured administration."³⁴⁰ This argument extends to the Toronto Board and is further supported by the interviews in this study; teachers responded to policies in different ways, which suggests that there wasn't a clear direction provided by the school board.

³³⁸ TBE Archives/File: Equal Opportunity Office Files Fact sheets.

³³⁹ Myra Novogrodsky, "Generating Women's Studies Programs in the Public Schools," *Canadian Women's Studies*, 6 (3): 34-35, 1985. Novogrodsky outlines the Toronto Board's steps to support women's studies through the use of "human, print and audio visual resource" materials in schools.

³⁴⁰ Laura Weintraub, "Equitable Conceptions and Resistance to Delivery: Employment Equity in the Education Sector" in Frieda Forman et al. eds., *Feminism and Education: A Canadian perspective*, 71. See also Karen Monkman, "Framing Gender, Education and Empowerment," *Research in Comparative and International Education*, 6 no.1 (2011), 1-13.

Others have argued that altering attitudes and behaviours required much more than government policies as Affirmative Action was often highly divisive. Dominique Clément noted in his examination of the British Columbia Civil Liberties Association (BCCLA) that ideas of developing programs to favour particular groups in order to counter discrimination did not conform to the 'groups' concept of civil liberties. Clément notes that in this case "Affirmative Action expanded the concept of rights beyond what most civil liberties advocates...were willing to accept."³⁴¹ In some respects, this highly divisive policy approach to women, which involved siphoning women into groups and committees, or unitization, served to re-entrench inequality and difference. While the Toronto Board and those operating within it may have seen this as progressive, these steps to eliminate discrimination were in some ways re-affirming it.

The Women's Committees' role was to provide the support to implement Affirmative Action policies. The two most important were the Women's Liaison Committee (WLC) and the Status of Women Committee.³⁴² The WLC was to "increase staff, student and public involvement in women's issues and to provide a forum for people to express their concerns about these issues."³⁴³ The committee's responsibilities were "to deal with Affirmative Action and issues such as sexist practices in the schools, Sex-role stereotyping and other issues of concern to women."³⁴⁴ In January 1979 the Toronto Board appointed an Equal Opportunity Advisor and a year later an Equal Opportunity Office was established with two advisors-Affirmative Action and Race Relations-with responsibilities for both race and women's issues. By June, 1984 the board approved reports by the Affirmative Action Review Group which then became policy.³⁴⁵ By 1985 there was a wellspring of board activities: committees, co-ordinators, librarians and

³⁴¹ Dominique Clément, *Canada's Rights Revolution*, 93. See also Clément, "An Exercise in Futility? Regionalism, State Funding and Ideology as Obstacles to the Formation of a National Social Movement Organization in Canada", *BC Studies* no. 146 (summer 2005): 63-91.

³⁴² TBE Archives/File: Equal Opportunity Office, Fact Sheets, February 1984.

³⁴³ TBE Archives/ File: Status of Women Fact Sheets, 1984. The Status of Women Committee was an official sub-committee of the Toronto Board, established "to consider matters relating to women employees of the Board." Its members included four trustees and it reported to the school Program Committee on matters related to curriculum and to the Personal and Organization Committee on matters related to personnel.

³⁴⁴ Myra Novogrodsky, "Generating Women's Studies Programs in the Public Schools," *Canadian Women's Studies*, 6 no. 3 (1985): 34-35.

³⁴⁵ TBE Archives/File: Equal Opportunity Office, Status of Women Fact sheets, 1984. In May 1983 the first interim report was presented to the Status of Women Committee and in Dec. 1983 the second report was presented.

representatives were all engaged in the promotion of women's studies within board schools. But Myra Novogrodsky, at that time the Assistant Co-ordinator of Social Studies for the Toronto Board, notes the difficulty of implementing policies and in presenting Affirmative Action initiatives in particular schools. She recounts,

There was quite a bit of resistance. In staff meetings some people would hold newspapers in front of their faces, making snarky comments-really nasty- oozing hostility. Hostility from some men, but also some women, who were quite happy with their position and it didn't sit well with their world views. I think we did a lot-we were part of a movement- many people were impacted by this work."³⁴⁶

Clearly, the creation of Affirmative Action policies did not necessarily result in teachers embracing the ideas embedded within the policy, and in turn, embracing change within curriculum. As this quotation demonstrates, there was resistance at the day-to-day level which suggests that bringing women into course examinations was probably not taking place. As later chapters will demonstrate, taking on the work of including women met with opposition. With so many issues, it is difficult to evaluate the success of Affirmative Action programs, but clearly the task of the committees to make change was enormous.

The Women's Advisory Committee was divided into two groups: to investigate hiring and promotion and to study the "question of socialization" of children.³⁴⁷ The committee was responsible for inspecting the school system's guidance procedures, curriculum, textbooks, and "other services to avoid the appearance of channeling girls." The Advisory Committee prepared reports and responses to the Ministry of Education, including the provincial government's green paper, *Equal Opportunity for Women in Ontario*.³⁴⁸ In a continued effort to demonstrate "progressivism" the Toronto Board of Education expanded the work of the committees. The Women's Liaison Committee was open to parents, students, employees and taxpayers within the jurisdiction of the Toronto Board of Education. The number of women's committees and the

³⁴⁶ Myra Novogrodsky. Interview by author, Toronto: October 28, 2009.

³⁴⁷ TBE Archives/File: Status of Women Advisory Committee. In 1980 the Status of Women Committee, an official sub-committee of the two standing committees, Personnel and Organization, and School Programs was formed. The former Women's Liaison Committee functioned as a special interest group.

³⁴⁸ TBE Archives/File: Committees: Status of Women folder. January 16, 1986 minutes of meeting. Ontario. Secretariat for Social Development, *Equal Opportunity for Women in Ontario: A Plan for Action* (Toronto: Provincial Secretariat for Social Development, 1973).

placement of committees and committee functions reflect changes taking place in the provincial government but they also reflect the Board's lack of vision on how best to address gender equity issues. The Board was eager to appear to address public demands and demonstrate a commitment to equity but the lack of a clear plan indicates an ongoing question on how best to address change.

The number of committees at the Board was quite staggering. Although not all committees were directly linked to decision making at the Board, they provided a space for specific examinations and provided recommendations for specific subjects and issues. For example, the Health and Fitness Committee, an advisory committee of the Board, dealt with sexism in physical education, the fitness level of students, especially women, and other health-related issues. The Awareness Workshop Co-ordinating Committee was formed to co-ordinate activities relating to the Affirmative Action Report and the Race Relations and Multiculturalism published reports about employment and promotion. The Women' Studies Subject Council was a committee made up of persons interested in teaching or already teaching.³⁴⁹ The committees kept increasing both in size and number. The Teachers Advisory Committee on Sex-role Stereotyping in the Curriculum (TASC) was a committee of teachers who assisted in choosing, previewing and reviewing materials in order to evaluate and ensure the placement of positive and realistic images of women and men. The Committee on Women's Suffrage, a curriculum committee, was made up of elementary and secondary teachers who assisted in providing materials and workshops on the topic of suffrage; a topic incorporated in historical examinations in schools.³⁵⁰

In addition to a variety of committees, the Toronto Board also supported a full time Women's Studies Consultant who dealt with women's studies and Sex-role stereotyping in the curriculum, as well as a Women's Studies Representatives (teachers) from each Toronto school who assisted the Women's Studies Consultant, an Affirmative Action Representative from each school or employment area who assisted the Affirmative Action Advisor. The Board supported

³⁴⁹ TBE Archives/Women Studies File - Committees Relating to Women's Studies, 1980. Representatives of the Ministry of Education sat on some committees, such as the Women Studies Committee.

³⁵⁰ TBE Archives/Women Studies File - Committees Relating to Women's Studies, 1980.

The Organization for Women in Leadership (OWL), a social and professional development organization for women interested in furthering their careers.³⁵¹

The increase in women's committee work during the 1980s, especially in terms of curriculum development, also marked a new direction for the Toronto Board. Greater attention was focused on race equity. Board minutes in the late 1970s indicate recommendations to expand Affirmative Action work to include race as well as gender and to broaden the focus on overall issues of discrimination, noting that Affirmative Action "needed to be seen to accommodate the needs of all the constituencies and be compatible with Human Rights Codes."³⁵² A number of educators found potential problems with this framework as they saw women's issues become less of a priority than race relations.³⁵³ Women's issues and race issues continued to compete for attention as the Board created distinctions between the two. The bifurcation of women's issues from multicultural issues by state policies has been examined by scholars. Jo-Anne Lee and Linda Cardinal note "state policies and programs help to divide issues, groups, and individuals into separate fields for policy treatment."³⁵⁴ But as Myra Novogrodsky notes, "There were also many members of all of the equity-seeking communities who were willing to work together and understood that each category of oppression was both unique and universal."³⁵⁵

The committee work provided an important network for teachers. Many women in this study were active in the women's committees, sharing resources and information with colleagues, attending board committee meetings and events and networking with a wide range of educators as a result of committee contacts. The networks also provided opportunities for professional development. One teacher noted,

³⁵¹ TBE Archives/Women Studies File - Committees Relating to Women's Studies TBE 1980.

³⁵² TBE Archives, Board minutes, Jan. 19, 1978, 50.

³⁵³ For a full discussion see : Marie Hammond, *Sexual Equality for the Schools, Women's Studies and Affirmative Action at the Toronto Board in the 1970's* (MA Thesis, University of Toronto, 1990).

³⁵⁴ Jo-Anne Lee and Linda Cardinal, "Hegemonic Nationalism and the Politics of Feminism and Multiculturalism in Canada," in Veronica Strong-Boag et al, ed, *Painting the Maple: Essays on Race, Gender, and the Construction of Canada* (Vancouver: UBC, 1998), 218.

³⁵⁵ Myra Novogrodsky. Interview by author, Toronto: October 28, 2009.

I was very active in the Women's Liaison Committee and on the Status of Women Committee, and the Bias Review in Education Committee. I worked on lots of curriculum documents such as the curriculum documents about classrooms and girls. I did workshops on women and I worked on a lot of projects for the Board. I did summer writing projects. When I started at the Toronto Board in 1974 there were lots of younger teachers and lots of women, so it was a very receptive environment. The Toronto Board was ahead of its time. It had lots of money. People were open to new ideas-people who wanted to work on things had an opportunity. I liked to develop curriculum and was interested in women's issues.³⁵⁶

All topics of interest were explored, which reflects the pioneering nature of their work. The Women's Liaison Committee minutes, for example, reveal discussions and initiatives related to a very wide range of topics. The diversity of the topics, and the application, dedication and leadership of the committee members is a testament to the extraordinary work taking place at the school board during the 1980s. It also suggests that the committee might have been trying to accomplish too much. For example, at one meeting, the committee heard reports concerning guidance department and business representatives' development of Affirmative Action game plans, participation in the Ontario Women's Directorates Open Doors program, they committed to cosponsor the "Invisible Filter" Conference, followed up work in updating and monitoring board course selections for girls, supported schools in keeping statistics on extra-curricular activities of girls and held Affirmative Action workshops in schools. It also asked for updates on the committee's work for themes such as computers and girls, activities related to fitness and self-defense (a series of Wen-do courses were available around the city), and changes to the curriculum especially in physical education, guidance, social studies, math and sciences."³⁵⁷ A

³⁵⁶ Teacher N: Interview by author, Toronto: April 8, 2010.

³⁵⁷ TBE Archives: File/ Committees: Women's Liaison Minutes from June 11, 1984. The minutes indicate that copies of a handbook for Canadian women called "It's Your Turn" from the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women had been distributed to schools. It was also noted that the OSSTF pamphlet called "Women in Canada-We will Achieve our Goals" (1985) was also available for teachers. The Women's Liaison Committee (WLC) examined a wide range of areas in which they felt girls were disadvantaged and held events and workshops. Across the Board there was a re-examination of the ways in which girls and women were left out of school activities. This was examined in the subject areas of sciences and math and computer technology. Committees were formed to examine the issues, provide statistics, and report on solutions; then directives were suggested and schools were informed. For example, in the minutes from WLC dated Dec. 12, 1983, the biggest item for discussion was "Computer education for women and girls." There was concern that many young women were not enrolling in computer science courses, an area which they felt would have profound affect employment chances. Discussion followed about the hiring of female computer science teachers, and guidance counseling girls towards the importance of computers. "The Mind as Well as the Hand," a report by the Technical Education Work group, concerning technical and technological education in Board schools was framed around issues related to the use of

WLC year- end report indicated that the committee addressed the following issues: non-traditional jobs within the Board, lack of courses in Women's Studies, support for the Public School Athletic Association (PSAA) regarding the participation of girls on boys teams, support for "Your Horizons in Mathematics and Science Conference", equal pay for equal work, computer education for women and girls, Formation of Reference committees for Women's Studies and Affirmative Action, speakers lists for Affirmative Action, Globe and Mail-protest ads for pornographic videos, meetings with Guidance Departments concerning issues affecting counseling of girls, policies for the purchase of materials for school libraries, and the implementation of non-sexist titles in all directories.³⁵⁸

These examples demonstrate the depth and breadth of the committee's work. The work of the committees was clearly substantial, and meant to provide opportunities for Board employees. How influential this work was in altering curricula still depended on individual teachers. In her examination of the ways in which state policies interacted with school organizations in the hiring of women principals, Cecilia Reynolds noted that "despite state rules, other rules of control within the school organization merely adapted to such political pressures and ensured that very little overall change in women's place in the teacher hierarchy would occur."³⁵⁹ In other words, this flurry of committee activity did not necessarily translate into course curriculum.

In summary, the dozens of women's committees, beginning in 1972 with the development of the WLC, and expanding through the 1980s with the enormous work of the Affirmative Action and Women and Labour Studies Committees formed the basis for what would become major equity initiatives in the 1990s and the development of a Toronto Board Equity Department. The work of the committees was instrumental to future work in equity, but the decision to place a wide range of issues and topics onto the women's committees created, in

terminology to support girls in computer programs. As well, A WLC report entitled "Equal Opportunity for Females in Fitness and Sport" was the result of a survey on gender equity in sports and fitness in Toronto schools.

³⁵⁸ TBE Archives/File: Committees: Women's Liaison/ Year End Report: Issues Addressed This Year (1984).

³⁵⁹ 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* vol. 20, no. 2 (Spring, 1995), 129-145. See also Nelly Stromquist, "Sex-Equity Legislation in Education: The State as Promoter of Women's Rights," *Review of Educational Research* (Winter 63, 1993): 379-407, who notes the difficulty of linking legislation with women's positions and relations within education.

many ways, an almost impossible task and limited the overall impact of committee work on curricula. By marginalizing the work of these committees and making the outcomes optional in schools, one has to question the Board's original decision to organize and continue to support women's committees in a way that tended to undermine the work of the committee members, which may have impacted the long term goals of gender equity. If the goal of feminist education reformers was equal representation as employees and in curricula, then steps should have been taken to eliminate gender distinctions, when in fact the Board seemed determined to make the distinctions stronger. Mary O'Brien notes, "The goal of feminist education is the abolition of gender as an oppressive cultural reality. Education and labour must be "sexless" in this sense....An integrative curriculum must abolish gender, a socio-historical category which has really only marginally to do with sexuality."³⁶⁰ Situating women's committees outside the main structure of the Board may have provided opportunities for women to celebrate and share women's knowledge and experiences, but it also kept that work separate. Interested teachers therefore had to take steps to address this omission through the implementation of stand-alone courses.

Development of Women's Studies Stand-alone Courses and Ministry Guidelines

In the mid-1970s discussions began at the Toronto Board of the possibly of introducing women's studies courses and the development of resources for those teachers who taught stand-alone courses. Individual teachers within the board did not wait for board approval and, with the support of school principals, students and parents, offered stand-alone women's studies courses at their schools. These locally developed courses were viewed as "extra," they were not taken seriously by all teachers and were unique to each school. Since the Board did not officially provide support, teachers were left to create syllabi and develop resources on their own. The *Share In On Women's Studies* report recognized this potential when it noted that women's studies "might not be taken seriously" by various school departments. It further suggested that it would be better if subject departments found ways to recognize outstanding individual women to provide overviews of the important roles that women have played. The focus on "great" women

³⁶⁰ Mary O'Brien, "Political ideology and Patriarchal Education" in *Feminism and Education*, 23.

did support the overall focus of "great" men within curricula examinations, but it also demonstrates the overall approach to altering the curricula, which was largely to add women within the existing framework. As noted earlier, this was similar to the ways in which other Affirmative Action policies were implemented. In response to demands for more women principals, for example, Cecilia Reynolds noted that government response was "to develop strategic rules admitting only a limited number of women to such roles as the principalship without significantly altering the overall 'place' afforded to most women or men in the organization."³⁶¹ In an effort therefore to create a unique space for the study of women, many educators turned to the creation of a women's studies and women's history courses.

Pat Kincaid, who was hired in 1975 to a full time position for the Toronto Board as a Women's Studies Consultant, notes "I applied to the Board office because of issues of discrimination, the omission of women in so many parts of the curriculum was crucial."³⁶² Kincaid singles out the work of feminist educators to try and implement a women's studies course for the school board which had already been used as a way to create space for women's history. She noted the work of Sheila Roy, Ontario Ministry Education Officer, who was first Affirmative Action Coordinator and then Director of Curriculum for the province and who was instrumental in producing learning materials as well as advocating for women's studies courses. Kincaid also acknowledged key individuals such as Dr. Lorna Marsden and the Ontario Teachers' Federations. When I asked Kincaid what the general response was to board initiatives to bring women's studies and learning resources into schools she stated, "It made people nervous." She then added that feminist educators,

gently tried to insert women's history, everything about women, into the curriculum, because the heavy handed approach was not going to work. For the Ministry to immediately change its policies, well, it happened, but it happened gradually. *The Formative Years* document was pretty upfront: Thou shalt not stereotype. These are the pieces from Sheila Roy and Betty Stephenson and Tom Wells- he was very supportive. They played a very important part.³⁶³

³⁶¹ 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 (Spring, 1995): 129-145

³⁶² Dr. Patricia Kincaid. Interview by author, Toronto: June 13, 2010.

³⁶³ Kincaid. Interview by author, Toronto, June 13, 2010.

The focus seems to have been to eliminate the 'bad parts' and to do it in a way that was forceful but not too offensive. Kincaid was given a budget and immediately began to expand the school boards resources about women.

I went to a conference in Atlanta on equity issues, and there were things happening in the U.S. So we were able to get material like *Free to be You and Me* by Marlo Thomas, the whole kit. We were able to buy lots of materials, one year for the schools, because there seemed to be an excess of funds at the Board. At the end of the financial year I got a call saying we have this much money, can I spend it in two hours? I would say Yes, and just phone up Fitzhenry & Whiteside or the Women's Bookstore. We did a series, "Women in Canadian Life"- Linda Dranoff Silver did one and Abbey Hoffman did another.³⁶⁴

The last minute distribution of funds suggests limited planning. Kincaid adds that she felt the Toronto school board understood the importance of publically supporting the integrating women into curriculum. She notes that it was "good publicity for the Toronto Board to do work in this area, maybe just to move things ahead a little and it was obviously going to be advertised provincially. The Toronto Board was ahead of everyone else with women's issues."³⁶⁵

Perhaps Kincaid is suggesting that the Ministry had hoped the school boards would use the Toronto Board as a model. The plan was clear: the Ministry had done its part to develop policies and provide funding. School boards were to develop initiatives and teachers were to put initiatives into practice. Kincaid noted in an article on the importance of women's studies that "One of the goals of Women's Studies was that the inclusion of such courses would eventually become the norm in education, and not a fashionable exception."³⁶⁶ This is a curious approach to the creation of a separate women's studies strand, but consistent with Ministry and Toronto Board approaches. Kincaid is recognizing the importance of kick starting a way to include women in the curricula, and women's studies seemed the best first step, but the link between establishing separate women's studies courses or resource materials and curricula integration are less clear. This might explain why integration was not fully achieved. Like other liberal

³⁶⁴ Kincaid, Interview by author. See also: Fitzhenry & Whiteside who published a series of books about women in Canadian life, for example, Linda Silver Dranoff, *Women in Canadian Law*. (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1977); Jean Cochrane, Abby Hoffman, Patricia Kincaid, *Women in Canadian Sports*. (Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1977); Jean Cochrane, *Women in Canadian Politics*, (Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1977).

³⁶⁵ Kincaid. Interview by author, Toronto, June 13, 2010.

³⁶⁶ Kincaid, "Long Term Effects of Women's Studies," *School Guidance Worker*, 31.1 (1975), 25-27.

educators at the Board, and Sheila Roy at the Ontario Ministry of Education, Kincaid believed in changing attitudes but one might argue the initiatives they developed provided further support for leaving women's narratives as separate and optional. Evidence of that can be seen in the fact that the stand-alone courses were, for the most part, gone, and the materials were not rescued for other courses. When the teachers left their school, the courses ended: few courses had any sustainability.

In response to Provincial Policy Review, which the Central Ontario region of the Ministry of Education presented to the Toronto Board Director in 1981, the Board declared curriculum implementation a major priority for the year 1982.³⁶⁷ The Board was to review all subjects in the curriculum and create ongoing curriculum plans for each school. The report required curriculum development days (PD days) as well as staff seminars. Within the report it is stated that schools were to review their school policies in respect to bias in the curriculum, Sex-role stereotyping and Affirmative Action. It added that schools had to arrange for staff seminars to "deal with these matters" and include a review of all existing textbooks and curriculum materials with respect to bias. Each subject area had to develop a program statement which included a focus, content, materials, methods and evaluation. This was provided to the principal and for family of schools and parents to view. A "Guideline for Women's Studies" programs and "Family Studies" programs were developed by the Board for the intermediate and senior grades 9-13.³⁶⁸ The Board prepared a small book for teachers to act as a guide and resource "from which to formulate instructional objectives." The book provided a general description of a suggested program for a women's studies course, which could include the development of a "critical awareness" of the role of women in society as well as a study of the "role of women in the past, an understanding of socialization processes in the home, in school, in society at large,

³⁶⁷ TBE Archives/File: The Curriculum Implementation Plan, September 1982 to September 1985. This plan included the creation of a senior curriculum council and the new position of Associate Director: Program. This also led to the development of a "family of schools" concept where local schools, staff and the community worked together. The report states that it was avoiding centrally standardized designed programs which are "teacher-proof" with "uniform materials teaching methods and standardized tests as this has not often produced good results."

³⁶⁸ TBE Archives/ File: History Collection Guidelines for Observing the Women's Studies Program and Family Studies Program: Intermediate and Senior Divisions grades 9-13, 1982.

and their relationship to the perpetuation of sexism."³⁶⁹ The suggested examination provided categories that underscored traditional notions of the role of women.³⁷⁰

"Guidelines for Observing the History Program: As a Resource for Curriculum Implementation" also published in 1982, suggested a range of goals for teachers in women's studies. Goals included being aware of issues related to women in society and spending time developing units with women in one specific area of work. It also suggested teachers attend courses, conferences and workshops, bring in guest speakers and organize career day sessions. It also advocated the integration of women's studies with another subject; the use of audio-visual and school board resources, student interaction during sessions, evaluation of students' written and oral language and of student participation; and the involvement of students in research. Principals were to provide support for teachers, expand available resource materials and ensure that "boys and girls participate in women's studies programs."³⁷¹ One might question how integration is possible when women's studies and women's history are relegated to particular speakers, special days or special events.

The Ministry also published a Resource guide entitled "Sex-role Stereotyping and Women's Studies," to provide support for teachers for the development of individual units on women. Suggested units of study were provided and included a variety of topics such as women

³⁶⁹ TBE Archives: Guidelines for Observing the Women's Studies Program and Family Studies Program: Intermediate and Senior Divisions grades 9-13, History Collection 1982, 2.

³⁷⁰ Feminist historiography made radical breakthroughs in redefining gender and patriarchies. See for example, Terry Crowley, ed., *Clio's Craft: A Primer of Historical Methods* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitmann, 1988); Gerda Lerner in "*The Creation of Patriarchy*" (1986); Trofimenkoff and Prentice, eds., *The Neglected Majority* (Toronto: McClelland, 1977); Geraldine Finn and Angela Miles, *Feminism in Canada* (Toronto: Black Rose, 1982); Gerda Lerner, *Living with History/Making Social Change* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009); Judith Lorber, *Gender Inequality: Feminist Theories and Politics* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2010); C. Lesley Biggs, *Gender Intersections* (Halifax: Fernwood Press, 2011).

³⁷¹ TBE Archives/ File: "Guidelines for Observing the History Program: As a Resource for Curriculum Implementation." This guideline included "Growth goals for Teachers that included "Learning environments, Classrooms that contain a variety of appropriate current resources, Activities tailored to meet individual needs, Opportunities for research using appropriate materials, Program and Curriculum, Suitable opportunities for the development of skills appropriate to the subject, Evaluation opportunities for students to evaluate their own growth and behavior." (No resources were listed). "Growth goals for Principals" included "Ensuring that the History program meets expectations regarding course planning as outlined in the Ministry guidelines, and that staff in-service programs in history meet teacher needs." (VII-96) (No resources are listed). For the course in Women's Studies, the following resources were listed: Ontario Ministry Resources: *Sex-role Stereotyping and Women's studies 1978*, *Girls and Women in Society Resource list 1976*, and *Changing Roles in a Changing World, 1975*.

and law, women in the past, women in the arts, technological and science education, family relationships, advertising, Sex-role stereotyping, communication and the school environment.³⁷² Each unit contained suggested research background materials, lesson suggestions and full bibliographies. The resource materials were created in conjunction with the launching of a women's conference on curricula and schools. In discussing the first women's studies conference and resource guide, Kincaid notes, "Sheila Roy was in charge. She was originally an Education Officer and then Affirmative Action Coordinator and then was Director of Curriculum for the province. She was instrumental in getting this together. The province paid for this, probably because there was such a drive to get materials for the curriculum."³⁷³

Most courses taught under the umbrella of "women's studies" included examinations of "women in the past and present". The guideline book noted, "One of the major aims of women's studies was to alert students to the expanding and changing roles of women and men in today's society by analyzing changing values which, in turn, initiate changes in the traditional roles and representations of both sexes."³⁷⁴ Women's studies, in this approach, could become part of any subject or the bridge that linked one subject to another. The guidelines for women's studies courses also suggested that the emphasis be placed specifically "on units which promoted the achievements and contributions of women in the building of this nation."³⁷⁵ The focus on "great" women, pioneer women, and the suffragists were common themes for women's studies/history curriculum units.³⁷⁶

³⁷² The Ontario Ministry of Education Resource Guide *Sex-role Stereotyping and Women's Studies: A Resource Guide for Teachers*. Feminist historiography made radical breakthroughs in redefining gender and patriarchies.

³⁷³ Patricia Kincaid. Interview by author, June 13, 2010.

³⁷⁴ Kincaid, "Long Term Effects," 3. For example: performing arts, women's studies, social studies, mathematics, and science.

³⁷⁵ Kincaid, "Long Term Effects", 4.

³⁷⁶ Myra Novogrodsky. Interview with author, Toronto: October 29, 2009. Novogrodsky noted that Suffrage was a major focus for educators. First introduced in the 1970s, curriculum on suffrage was officially published by the Toronto Board in the 80s. A special unit on women's suffrage was developed in the mid 80s for grade 8 students as part of the social studies program. This paper argues that separating exceptional women from the main narrative leaves women further marginalized. This is examined by a number of scholars who look at minority groups and see parallels. See for example, Owen Thomas, "Cultural Tourism, Commemorative Plaques, and African-Canadian Historiography: Challenging Historical Marginality," *Histoire sociale / Social History*, 29: no. 58 (1996) Owen examines the danger of taking the celebrated man or woman, in Canada's Black community, out of historical examinations. He notes, "Although this approach gave a more central place to Black voices, its focus upon

A wide range of organizations recognized and supported the work taking place at the Board to develop resources about women for specific subject courses. For example, The Ontario Secondary School Teachers Federation (OSSTF) magazine *Forum* featured women in their spring 1981 journal, the first for the magazine. Margaret Wilson, president of OSSTF, noted in her editorial the need to increase the number of women in positions of responsibility and featured articles on sexual harassment, new developments in curriculum and career changes for women. Gail Posen and Joyce Peterson, both active in women's committees at the Toronto Board wrote an article for the magazine entitled "The power to change" which focused on changes to the Business curriculum to redress the shortcomings in the curriculum for girls in their training in clerical or secretarial work. At this time, the Toronto Board Education Centre, area offices, and all schools were asked to demonstrate their commitment to Affirmative Action by setting down their plans for curricula change.³⁷⁷ The Toronto Board had approved the release of two teachers to rewrite the business curriculum. The importance of demonstrating that the school board was addressing blatant inequities within the curriculum was evident but the emphasis on revamping the secretarial curriculum was questionable and, I would argue, somewhat safe for the school board. The female labour force had increased and computers were beginning to impact clerical work. Although the change was meant to highlight analytical skills and strengthen communication skills, it also focused on ways to improve the working conditions for the students, who were overwhelming female, instead of discovering ways in which to work towards integrating male students into clerical or secretarial studies.

These were not necessarily bold steps by the Toronto Board, rather they suggest the Board chose to continue to support traditional notions of gendered notions of curricula and provide an acceptable path for Affirmative Action. Members of the school board re-wrote parts the clerical and secretarial business courses to remove blatant discriminatory material but did not

exceptional individuals still marginalized Black society as a whole. To a large degree, these exceptional people are viewed in a vacuum, separate from the rest of the Black community."

³⁷⁷ TBE Archives: Affirmative Action/ Files: Examples of Affirmative Action activities in schools. Examples included eliminating sexist jokes and remarks. Many schools and the Education centre as well were offering Wen-Do Self Defense courses. Women who had been promoted were published in Affirmative Action newsletters under the column "Women on the Move." Gail Posen. Interview by author, Feb. 25, 2010. Posen was instrumental in developing materials and advocating for girls/women and technology at the Toronto Board. See: "New Technology and the Education of Female Students" in Frieda Forman, *Feminism and Education: A Canadian Perspective*. (Toronto, OISE, 1990: 311-349.

go as far as to develop a plan to overhaul the business curriculum to better reflect gender equity that the feminist movement was advocating. In fact, Affirmative Action was a legal concern for the board, especially with active and powerful teachers unions; the school board faced issues from all areas.³⁷⁸ In 1982, for example, the Board hired the law firm, Shibley, Righton and McCutcheon, to respond to the policy and guidelines for dealing with sexual harassment that had been proposed by the women's committee. The firm reviewed the policy, and provisions of the revised Ontario Human Rights Code as well as collective agreements of the Board and the Education Act and the Students Right and Responsibilities handbook.³⁷⁹ Their report acknowledged that the school board had a basic duty and responsibility to students "to provide for their health, safety and comfort and well-being while the students are in attendance at school."³⁸⁰ They made a number of suggestions concerning Board policies.³⁸¹ The report noted,

Affirmative Action must continue to be interpreted as the advancement and promotion of women. It is not a neutral approach. Because women in the Toronto Board are disadvantaged in almost every category, this special program is essential if equal opportunity for women and men is to be achieved in the long run.³⁸²

The focus reiterated the Board's position: to find all areas within the school board and within schools where women were "disadvantaged" and "even out" the playing field. There was no shortage of materials on combating bias and stereotyping in curriculum. "Bias and Stereotyping Report-Phase Two" addressed some of the following issues: multiculturalism, Sex-role

³⁷⁸ See Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario (FWTAO), Affirmative Action Reports. Toronto: 1975-1985: FWTAO Newsletters / Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario. Toronto, 1982-FWTAO Status of Women Committee work, See: Carolyn Burwell et al, *Challenging the Double Standard*. (Toronto: FWTAO, 1978).

³⁷⁹ TBE Archives/ File: Committees/ Status of Women Files: Package dated June 15, 1982. "Report by Shibley, Righton and McCutcheon (Barristers and Solicitors)," 1982.

³⁸⁰ TBE Archives/ File: Committees/ Status of Women File: Package dated June 15, 1982. "Report by Shibley, Righton and McCutcheon," 1982, 2.

³⁸¹ TBE Archives/File: Committees/ Status of Women File: Package dated 1982. Equal Opportunity Office/ Affirmative Action Report, of 1977. The outline of the report was presented to the Board in April 16, 1984. The study recognized the following: importance of Professional Development and staff awareness, conference and workshops, communication and n house liaison, an examination of personal policies and development of co-operative projects.

³⁸² TBE Archives/File: Committees/ Status of Women File: Package dated 1982, 4.

stereotyping and women's studies and "Race, Religion and Culture in Ontario schools".³⁸³

Areas of particular concern were: computer services, accounting, administrative services, and the secretaries association.

Despite Board initiatives, schools were slow to respond. The Toronto Board took further steps by drafting a sexual harassment policy, adopted non-sexist language manuals, and provided funding for schools to purchase non-sexist instructional material for libraries and fitness programs. By 1988, the Board had approved two full time positions: an Affirmative Action Advisor, and a Race Relations Advisor.³⁸⁴ An Equal Opportunity Office of the Toronto Board of Education was eventually established in 1991.³⁸⁵ Annual events brought together Affirmative Action activists within the Board. Although these initiatives provided important steps in supporting equity, events continued to attract the same participants, predominantly feminist teachers who sought shared communities. One has to question the Board's decision to continue to offer separate women's events, which may have acted as a reinforcement of women's separate spheres.

The decision to keep women's issues, curriculum and events separate remained consistent throughout this period, supported further by the allowance of individual stand-alone women's studies courses. Interested teachers approached school principals, where the option of adding a course was discussed with school department leaders and parents. Teachers were required to create a syllabus and obtain course resource materials. The majority of these courses had women's history units within the course outlines and was often the only space where women's history was examined. Many of these courses grew out of women's studies and women's history units that had been developed by Board consultants and interested teachers, influenced by

³⁸³ TBE Archives/Document: Bias and Stereotyping: Part of CIP Phase II 86/89. This report suggests the book: *Teaching Prejudice* as well as *Whose Culture? Whose Heritage?* And a collection of articles in an anthology by Mallea/Young which also included David Pratt's article entitled "The Social Role of School Textbooks in Canada" published in 1975. See also Ontario Ministry of Education, *Race, Religion, and Culture in Ontario School Materials* (Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Education, 1980).

³⁸⁴ TBE Archives/File: Duplicates: Depts.-Equal Opportunities. Fact sheets from the EOO-Affirmative Action.

³⁸⁵ TBE Archives/File: Duplicates: Depts.-EOO-Affirmative Action, dated 1991-1992. Each year the Toronto Board held a workshop for teachers who had been Affirmative Action Representatives for their schools and held an annual conference on women's issues.

feminist academics and made available from Board women's consultants. For example, an article in the Toronto Women's News dated December 1981 noted that grade seven and eight students at Gabrielle Roy School in Toronto and the school librarian, Women's Studies Consultant Pat Kincaid, along with interested teachers, had together designed a five month course about women that was presented in the library once a week. The article begins, "Students at Gabrielle Roy School were a bit skeptical about a unit on Women's Studies, however, by the time we had finished moving from a historical look at women to a look at roles in our schools today, the students eagerly launched into presentations."³⁸⁶ The article also noted that "the historical perspectives gave reason to the present day quest for changes in the ways society views women." The course involved a number of films and various readings. The "final phase" of the course consisted of "mini-lectures" on various careers given by parents and other invited guests."³⁸⁷ This isolated approach to women's studies and women's history was quite common throughout Toronto schools. Most women's studies courses in schools combined historical examinations with current women's issues, used films and other forms of media, and involved inviting speakers. Scholar Mary O'Brien would argue that decisions to address women's issues through the separation of women's studies, work and initiatives were executed deliberately by school boards who were mandated to address equity concerns but committed to the maintenance of existing systems. She notes, "Education as a mode of social control is dedicated to the justification of the present by the past, and this all forms of patriarchal education, irrespective of their political labels and differences, are in terms of gender, radically conservative."³⁸⁸ The Board's ongoing decision to present women's narratives as separate from men's, as operating within a gender-prescribed sphere, served to re-enforce patriarchal social systems within the curricula, albeit cloaked in the name of 'equity' thus strengthening the existing status quo.

Teachers responded to student and parent requests to add women to course materials. Several schools in Toronto had Women and Society courses. "Women and Society"- a full grade 12 credit- was one of the first women's studies courses, implemented in North Toronto

³⁸⁶ TBE Archives/File: Toronto Women's Education News (TWEN) vol.1 no.2 (Dec.1981).

³⁸⁷ TBE Archives/ File: TWEN. The article notes that the course helped students develop a better perspective of themselves, their past as women and girls and their future.

³⁸⁸ Mary O'Brien, "Political Ideology," in *Feminism and Education* (Toronto: CWSE/OISE, 1990), 23.

Collegiate Institute, a school in a middle class community of central Toronto in the summer of 1974. The course outline stated that it "endeavoured to give students insight into both the historical and contemporary scene in Canada."³⁸⁹ The "Women and Society" course was developed in response to the Ministry approved "Man and Society" course. Toronto educator, Margaret Wells, taught a class of predominantly grade 12 girls that were "quite incensed to be examining world history through the lens of man and society," and wanted a course that included their voices. Wells adds that she realized that the Board allowed teachers to add curriculum material but that teaching a social science course that specifically looked at the ways in which women's focus was central to historical narratives allowed her an opportunity "to make a political statement."³⁹⁰ Central High School of Commerce also offered a course beginning in 1975, which was still offered ten years later when the women's committees at the Toronto Board celebrated with an anniversary party in the school library.³⁹¹ Written up in the TWEN newsletter, the article noted,

The school library had been decorated with posters of prominent Canadian women, slogans and newspapers, quotes from the Suffrage period and pictures of other important moments in women's history. There were bulletin board displays and book displays with samples from the library's women's studies collection... All teachers who taught the course were there as well as former and current students. Catherine Smibert (former Principal and originator of the idea of the course) explained why she supported implanting the course in her school, noting the need for young women to raise their expectations and aspirations about their futures. Myrna Mather, Pat Kincaid and Myra Novogrodsky attended and so did former students.³⁹²

³⁸⁹ TBE Archives/File: Patricia Kincaid, "The Long Term Effects of Women's Studies" in *School Guidance Worker*, 25. Kincaid notes, "It is interesting to note that a considerable numbers of students expected sessions of militant women's liberation and were pleasantly surprised by the intellectual content which was presented in an atmosphere relatively free of radical emotionalism. The staff members were prepared for this reaction, since the subject of women is still a very controversial topic, due to a great extent, to the portrayal of women's liberationist in the media."

³⁹⁰ Margaret Wells. Interview by author, Toronto: March 2, 2010.

³⁹¹ TBE Archives, TWEN vol.1, no.1. Two former students were interviewed: Doreen Moor, class of 1976-1977 noted that The Canadian women's course "made me aware of the struggles I would encounter in the workplace." and Edda Kraemer, class of 1982-1983, noted she was "able to identify issues and assist in giving leadership in her workplace."

³⁹² TBE Archives/ File: TWEN vol.5, no.1 (Oct. 1985): 1-2. Catherine Ross, who was teaching the course at the time of the 10th anniversary celebration, explained that the school wanted young women to raise their expectations and aspirations about their futures. Two former students were interviewed: Doreen Moor, class of 1976-1977 noted that The Canadian women's course "made me aware of the struggles I would encounter in the workplace."

Some courses were offered only as night courses. In the minutes from WLC meeting Monday, March 18, 1985, for example, Myra Novogrodsky noted that a proposal had been put together to run a night school course called "Evening Women".³⁹³ The course was held at Monarch Park School and started in September of that year. Another course, entitled "Evolving Women" was a full grade 12 credit offered during the day at Monarch Park Collegiate also in the 1980s. A 1985 copy of the syllabus reveals the collaborative work between interested teachers at Monarch Park School and the Toronto Board women's committees and consultants in preparing the syllabus, one of the few such collaborative attempts.³⁹⁴ The course included several units on the history of Canadian women. "Men and Women in Society" was another course offered by the History Department at West Toronto Secondary School.³⁹⁵ Teachers who taught these courses tended to have public links to feminist activism and had returned to universities campuses where women's studies and women's history were prevalent. Most courses combined investigations of contemporary society and historical examinations,"³⁹⁶ and required that teachers seek resources through board resource centres such as The Women's Resource Centre located at Dundas Public School, with its "extensive collection of books, kits and audio-visual materials of women and women-related topics."³⁹⁷

Clearly opportunities to develop courses were there for interested teachers, but there is little evidence of school board follow-up. Isolating courses in libraries, as night-school options and for female students alone, reinforced the marginalized space given to women's studies and

³⁹³ TBE Archives/ File: Women's Liaison Committee (WLC) meetings: Monday, March 18, 1985. An outline was sent to the Ministry of Education for experimental status as it was the first continuing education course about women. It was noted under "other business" that there was some discussion of the misconception by young women of the goals of feminism. It was suggested that material be prepared which could start with the dictionary definition of feminism and that students be requested to contribute towards the material, through "Youth Ink Newspaper."

³⁹⁴ Mary Card, Private collection. Syllabus February 28, 1985. Mary Card, a Toronto Board teacher taught a course, *Evolving Women*, a grade 12 advanced course, for several years at Monarch Park Collegiate. Teachers who worked on the course document at Monarch Park included Mary Card, Anne Kerr, Thomas Otis and Nancy Slater. Support also came from Consultants from the Toronto Board; Marilyn MacKenzie, John Frenke, Myra Novogrodsky, Gail Posen, Elizabeth Connor and Catherine Ross.

³⁹⁵ TBE Archives/ TWEN, vol.1 no.1 (October 1981). The article in TWEN noted the school " hoped the course will prove successful not only in our school but across the system."

³⁹⁶ TBE Archives/ File: TWEN, vol. 1 no.1.

³⁹⁷ TBE Archives/ File: TWEN, vol.1 no.1. The article also notes the assistance of Frieda Forman of the Women's Resource Centre at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

women's history. One also has to question how these experimental courses, most of which lasted only a few years, were to act as a template for other schools-most of who would have little knowledge of their existence. The introduction of a women's course was viewed as a progressive response to social movement equity demands and as such, it was enough to quell demands by education reformers. However, it also demonstrated the division between traditional mainstream studies and the experiences of women.³⁹⁸

On January 30, 1986, the Toronto Board celebrated the opening of a Women's and Labour Studies Resource Centre at Monarch Park secondary school. The party took place in the resource room which housed a collection of single copies and class sets of books as well as posters, filmstrips, kits, audiotape and vertical files on Women and Labour Studies. It was open for students and staff every Thursday afternoon. There was a circulating collection and a catalogue of holdings.³⁹⁹ Interviews for this study indicate how little traffic the Resource Centre produced. Pat Staton who worked at the Resource Centres, noted that mostly students came to do research at the centres and interested teachers would phone and ask for materials, which she would then forward to their schools. But the Resource Centres never became hubs for the acquisition of resource materials, despite the wide range of materials available.

Chapter Conclusion

In closing, the stand-alone courses and separate units provided an acceptable and approved space for interested teachers to present a study of women. Many curriculum writers noted the importance of including women for all students. Jan Coomber, who wrote a Canadian women's history unit for the grade 10 Canadian History course entitled "The Role of Canadian

³⁹⁸ The work of the Toronto Board to authorize and endorse women's separate course work is in many ways reminiscent of earlier educational initiatives that saw women's courses streamed. The first five decades of the 20th century saw reformers advocating for domestic science programs for girls. See: Marta Danylewycz, "Domestic Science Education in Ontario: 1900-1940," *Gender and Education in Ontario*, 129-149. Danylewycz argues, "The domestic science programs became an effective means of reinforcing the existing sexual division of labour when women seemed to be breaking the barriers against their entry into the workforce and especially into male-dominated occupations." One might draw a parallel here with Ontario schools in the 1970s and 1980s and the debates over the changing nature of what was considered appropriate female education. The concept of separate spheres was reinforced with the establishment of a separate resource centre for women's curricular materials.

³⁹⁹ TBE Archives/ File: TWEN, vol.5 no 3 (March 1986).

Women in the Second World War" notes "To integrate women's history and the feminine perspective into the curriculum can be a liberating experience for both girls and boys."⁴⁰⁰

Teachers who wrote curriculum units or courses accepted the notion that "units" were an acceptable form of integration, recognizing the "omissions" in the curriculum and seeking to develop and share materials.⁴⁰¹ The resources were clearly there and so was some form of support-- all it took was interested teachers. Despite these steps, the Ontario Ministry of Education and the Toronto Board of Education did not officially develop a women's studies or women's history course for credit, but continued instead to support stand-alone courses as a public demonstration of its commitment to gender equity.

A number of teachers in this study, however, indicated that administrative support was essential to the process of offering stand-alone courses. Some teachers had supportive administrators who provided funds for resources and others did not offer courses as they were unable to obtain approval. These teachers also noted the vulnerability of these courses, as they were often dropped because of staff changes or new school board initiatives. This reflects the school board's real position about women's place within the curricula. By placing the responsibility on individual teachers, the Board was removing itself of all real responsibility while maintaining the appearance of being a supportive participant in this process. Rebecca Coulter notes,

Why Sex-role socialization theory remains dominant in education can in part be explained by the fact that it is a form of critique easily accommodated within existing state arrangements and liberal notions of equality of opportunity. It sits very comfortably with a view of the state as a relatively benign institution, and one that is inherently fair. Coupled with this explanation is the force of a common understanding of teaching, an understanding shaped overwhelmingly by educational psychology and its emphasis on the individual.⁴⁰²

⁴⁰⁰ Private Collection: Syllabus: Jan Coomber, *The Role of Canadian Women in the Second World War* (a unit from *Integrating Women's History into Contemporary Canadian History at the grade 10 level*, 1986).

⁴⁰¹ Private Collection. Jan Coomber and Rosemary Evans, *Integrating Women into the History and Contemporary Studies Curricula*, 1985. The authors note, "The following units are designed to correct some omissions from the curriculum as it exists."

⁴⁰² Rebecca Priegert Coulter, "Gender Equity and Schooling: Linking Research and Policy," *Canadian Journal of Education* 21, no. 4 (1996): 433–452.

Most courses ended when the interested teacher left the school or changed course teaching loads, leaving syllabi and resource materials unavailable to others.⁴⁰³ Nevertheless, despite the limited opportunities to implement women's curricular resource materials, the government and the Board continued to develop and share resource materials.

By the end of the 1980s, women's experiences had clearly entered educational narratives. The Ontario Ministry of Education Curriculum guidelines encouraged all school boards to address the issue of sex equity by integrating the study of women into the curriculum.⁴⁰⁴ In order to integrate women into curriculum, the Board developed a series of piecemeal strategies to address the lack of women in course studies. The regular committee meetings, Board and school events, workshops and newsletters provided professional development for interested teachers. Developing stand-alone courses provided the only opportunities for teachers to fully incorporate women's experiences and these were difficult to initiate and to maintain. The Board provided numerous options but they remained supplementary and optional, and for many teachers this was not enough. In an effort to do more than add a unit or story about women, and in their determination to change curriculum, teachers reached out to grassroots organizations, women's groups and other venues where they could access further course materials. This is examined further in the next chapter.

⁴⁰³ TBE Archives/ File: TWEN, vol. 2 no. 4, (Feb.1983) and vol. 4 and 5, (1985). Some schools opted for women's conferences or workshops instead of stand-alone courses. Workshops took place in schools across the city and individual schools created their own gender equity initiatives. For example, Humberside Collegiate had a "Careers of the Eighties" theme day November 3, 1982 which was organized by teachers Anna Clarke, Kathy McConnachie and Carol Overholt. Women's studies conferences were also common and open to both staff and students in the Toronto schools. For example, a conference was held at May 10, 1985 at Kent Public School entitled "The Life After High School: Changing Roles in a Changing World" which saw 250 secondary students and 25 teachers come together to "discuss the issues women are encountering and to explore ways in which women are organizing to solve their problems."

⁴⁰⁴ The Ontario Ministry of Education Curriculum Guideline- Ontario Schools: Intermediate and Senior (OS:IS) Document addressed the issue of sex-equity in the curriculum. This was evident in the History and Contemporary Studies Guidelines. (1985).

Chapter 4

A Separate Sphere: The Toronto Board of Education's Women's History Resource Materials

A spirit of inquiry and competence to find the answers to one's questions are important goals of women's history. We [workshop participants] also agreed, however, that historical inquiry is itself distorted, if the category of women is ignored.⁴⁰⁵

The summer/fall edition of *Canadian Women's Studies* published in 1985 contained reports about the state of Women's studies in Canada and included a selection of papers from the "Women's Studies in Canada: Research, Publishing, and Teaching Conference," held at York University April 1985, as well as a selection of papers and reports from other women's conferences taking place during this period. The editor, Shelagh Wilkinson, noted that the women's conferences had become "a vital and integral part of the discipline."⁴⁰⁶ She recognized the importance of the conference as a forum in which to network, develop projects, and share resources. Myra Novogrodsky gave a paper that focused on the range of resource materials available at the Toronto Board of Education. She noted that teachers looked to a number of places to gather curricular resources about women to include in their course studies. She acknowledged the work of the Toronto Board Women's committees, Affirmative Action representatives and feminist educators in Toronto to develop and provide "human, print and

⁴⁰⁵ The Board of Education for the City of Toronto and The Ministry of Education, Ontario, *Report of Explore and Develop: Integrating the study of Women into the Curriculum: A Working Conference* (Oct. 21-23, 1976). This quote stems from the report provided by the "History: Senior" workshop participants who consisted of history teachers and history scholars.

⁴⁰⁶ Shelagh Wilkinson, ed., *Canadian Women's Studies* 6, no.3, 2 (summer/fall, 1985).

audio visual resources"⁴⁰⁷ to support the integration of women's studies within Toronto schools. As resource materials provided an essential element in the work to bring women's experiences into classroom history course studies, this chapter will outline the various publications, films, texts and historical resources that were made available to teachers who were interested in accessing supplementary materials for their students.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the provincial government funded the development of curricular materials and guides about women. The women working on these documents ensured the work represented the best available resources for teachers. Some excellent examples include, *Changing Roles in a Changing World: A Resource Guide Focusing on the Female Student* by the Ontario Ministry of Education (June 1972) and *Girls and Women in Society: Resource List*, (1977), provided resource lists containing materials about women for teachers in Ontario schools.⁴⁰⁸ Teachers argued there were few resources easily available that provided narratives by or about women and so the Ministry, working with school boards, published resource lists to form a core of learning materials. The Toronto Board also allocated funds to purchase materials for its Education Resource Centre as well as for Board school libraries. Individual teachers could access these resources directly, through their department heads, principals or teacher-librarians.

The resource guides included a number of government materials that contained current publications on non-sexist materials for schools, such as Status of Women materials.⁴⁰⁹ These resource lists helped guide the Toronto Board librarians on available books, kits, audio-visual materials, tapes and films. The guides acknowledge the government's part in addressing the

⁴⁰⁷ Myra Novogrodsky, "Generating Women's Studies Programs in the Public Schools: The Use of Human, Print and Audio-Visual Resources," *Canadian Women's Studies*, 6, no. 3 (summer/fall 1985): 34-35.

⁴⁰⁸ Ontario Ministry of Education, *Changing Roles in a Changing world : A Resource Guide Focusing on the Female Student* (Toronto : Ontario Ministry of Education, 1975-1988); *Girls and Women in Society: Resource List*. (Toronto: Ministry of Education, 1977?); B.C. Department of Education, *Resource Guide for Women's Studies for High School Students* (Victoria: Dept. of Education, 1976?). The Teacher's Federations developed a number of women's studies resource documents for example, OSSTF, *Business Education: A Resource Booklet*. (Toronto: Ontario Secondary Education Commission, 1972). The list of learning resource materials in these collections received financial support from the Ministry of Education, the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario (FWTAO) and various other Teachers' Federations.

⁴⁰⁹ Information Canada, Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1970); Ontario Status of Women Council: Annual Reports, 1974-79 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer).

"special needs of young women" and the "growing concern" that recognition be given in the curriculum to the roles of girls and women in Canadian society and to the contributions they made to society in general.⁴¹⁰ The second compilation of materials was more comprehensive than the first, an indicator of the increased scholarship in the field of women's studies and women's history. Some of the resources listed in the second guide included academic materials such as *Flint and Feather*, the complete poems of E. Pauline Johnson. The Toronto Board Curriculum Department published a Women's Studies Resource in 1977, which was revised several times and which included both Ministry of Education documents and Board of Education resources.⁴¹¹

But in many ways these resource guides did not resonate with teachers or administrators in schools, as women's studies courses were few and the integration of women's materials were not common. Teachers in this study seemed to be aware the Toronto Board had developed resource materials but only a few could recall any specifics, except those teachers who were either part of the development teams or active within women's committees or organizations in the school board. Many women teachers in this study found the committees and resources supportive and networks welcomed, but they also noted that resources were not widely disseminated across schools. Mary O'Brien argued that school board objectives did not support major overhauls of the system, instead offering girls only a "re-arrangement" of options. Although helpful in providing information about curricular materials, the resource guides continued to isolate women's resources; at the very least they demanded that teachers have expertise to understand how these resources could be integrated into course work.

Women's kits and support workshops, however, were very popular forms of curricular development during this period.⁴¹² Writing women "back into history" provided a focus for

⁴¹⁰ Information Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission*. Ontario Status of Women Council: Annual Reports, 1974-79.

⁴¹¹ TBE Archives/ File: Curriculum-Women's Studies, *Women's Studies Toronto Board of Education: Curriculum Department Resources Available*, revised 1979. See also Ontario Ministry of Education, *Girls and Women in Society: Resource List* (Toronto: Ministry of Education, 1977); Rolly Fobert and Patricia Kincaid, *Explore and Develop*, Oct. 21- 23, 1976 (Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Education and Toronto Board of Education, 1977).

⁴¹² TBE Archives/ File: EAO-Affirmative Action envelope #5. Kit from Awareness workshops Nov. 1979. The Awareness Kit contained a suggested Bibliography with some of the following titles: P. Bourne, *Women in*

initiatives to reform Sex-role stereotyping in schools and curriculum and brought current scholarship in history to the attention of history teachers.⁴¹³ "Current Curriculum", an annual report from the Toronto Board Curriculum and Program Division, dated Sept. 1977 included a list of women's studies resources for history: under "kits" they listed "Women at Work in Toronto;" under films, the 1976 film, *Free to Be... You and Me*, and *Women in Canada*. They included a list of kits that contained books, cassettes and teachers guides such as "Women Who Win" and "Women Behind the Bright Lights" as well as the film *The Visible Woman*.⁴¹⁴ One of the most influential resources was "The Women's Kit" and proved to be one of the more well known and integrated resources that contained specific materials about women. The majority of teachers in this study had heard of the Women's Kit, had seen documents from the kit or had implemented materials from the kit. The Women's Kit, a copy of which is in storage at OISE/UT, is a large box filled with primary source materials about and by women and, due to its clear historical significance, is worth examining here.

The Women's Kit

Beginning in the late 1960s, the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education partnered with various groups to develop educational kits. The "boxes", as they were referred to, (except for the women's box, which was called the women's kit) included an Ecology Box, Ten Years One Box, language boxes and the Women's Kit. "The Ten Years One Box", 1968, contained a variety of documents, photos, art, records, filmstrips and slides that focus on the decade of the 1930s. Members of the advisory panel included Canadian historian Ramsay Cook as well as professors

Canadian Society (OISE 1978), V. D'Oyley, *Black Presence in Multi-Ethnic Canada* (1978), H. Troper: *Native Survival* (OISE 1973), B. Kane and P. Harris, *The Women's Kit* (OISE 1974), C. Pasternak, *Breaking the Mould: Lesson Aid Plans* (1977) and A. Wolfgang, *Education of Immigrant Students: Issues and Answers* (1975).

⁴¹³ "Writing Women Back into History" was also the theme of the National Women's History project (NWHM) for 2010. Various states responded by holding special events. The Governor's Office for Women's Initiatives and Outreach (GOWIO) and the Ohio Department of Education (ODE), for example, invited eighth-grade students to "write an essay about a woman who has made –or is making – history. Why the woman is an historic figure."

⁴¹⁴ TBE Archives/ File: "Current Curriculum" from the Curriculum and Program Division, Sept. 1977 The annual report noted in the introduction that the publication was intended "to provide teachers of the TBE with as much information as possible concerning the resources available to them for teaching their courses." Teachers were encouraged to access board recommended resources and/or to contact the Consultants concerning required materials for their classes.

of English and superintendents of curriculum. The "Ten Years: teacher's guidebook begins with a quote from Ezra Pound, "history ain't all slush and babies' pink toes," and continues, "This kit is completely unstructured. The aim is to excite the curiosity and interest of your students to give them some idea of what it felt like during the 1930s." This was reflective of a new approach to history education. The Ecology Box weighed fifty pounds and was filled with textbooks, journals, letters, documents, slides; it was free for the 500 schools that received one in 1972.⁴¹⁵ The Box also contained an original full size parachute, donated from the RCAF. Women were included in the documents. Finally, other "Kits" included "Men and Women in Sports, People at Work in Toronto, Sex-role Stereotyping and Advertising, Women at Work in Toronto." These kits all contained slides, photographs and teacher guides. A wide range of kits followed: some developed through the Department of Curriculum at OISE, some through Ministries of Education, and others through teachers' federations and resource centres.⁴¹⁶

Produced in 1972, "The Women's Kit," the only kit focused completely on the narratives of women, is a giant cardboard box full of materials such as pamphlets, photos, poems, copies of newspaper articles, filmstrips, records and historical documents. The box of materials included roughly 150 items and weighed about twenty pounds. It included a booklet with an inventory of the enclosed materials, introductions about women's history, a bibliography and helpful suggestions for teachers. The introduction to the booklet stated that "history has dismissed what women have done as trivial and unrelated to the real forces that have shaped our past." The intention of the kit was to "foster a new awareness of women's role in society, both past and present, and help people look at new questions." During 1973-1974, 170 of these kits were distributed to high schools and community colleges (mostly in Ontario) for field testing, with an additional twenty kits circulated within another 200 schools and community groups. The kit guide asked the users to use the materials to provide a platform for further research and inquiry.

⁴¹⁵ OISE Library, *The Ecology Box* [kit] (Toronto: OISE Media Group, 1972). *The Ecology Box* was created to support student understanding about ecology and was designed for teachers to use for a three week program which ended in an ecology exhibition. The Atkinson Foundation and Ontario Hydro provided the funding for the 500 boxes.

⁴¹⁶ Kits and boxes of resource materials were popular with teachers in the 1970s and 1980s as curricula support for course work in Ontario. Kits included a wide range of resources, films, photos, slides, written materials and were appealing because the materials were all contained within the box, accompanied with teacher's guides.

History, they suggested, had relied on answering questions that continued to focus on the lives of men. How, they asked, can women gain a sense of their own history?

The Kit was created to bridge the gap between the work taking place in the academic community and the demand for materials for the high school and college level.⁴¹⁷ The Kit addressed the demand for accessible, engaging and diverse materials about Canadian women. In the conclusion, the authors noted that although the Kit will no doubt be "ridiculed and criticized", their hope was that within several years "a Women's Kit" will no longer be necessary."⁴¹⁸ The popularity of the Kit was evident with schools and several participants in this study still had parts of it. Unfortunately the expectations for the Kit as a springboard for greater integration of women's materials never totally materialized, but the Kit did provide an excellent resource of materials for interested teachers.

Toronto Board Outreach: Conferences, Newsletters and Forms of Communication

The Toronto Board of Education was active in its efforts to reach communities interested in women's issues, employing a variety of methods for communication. Conferences in the 1970s were viewed as a kick start for discussions and initiatives related to curricula development concerning women, not as regular venues in which to provide ongoing networking opportunities. Instead the Board focused on providing regular newsletters, produced by women's committees at the school board, and distributed through the schools and board offices. This section of the chapter provides an overview of the two major women's conferences held at the end of the 1970s and the newsletters that served as essential follow-up networking between the Board and teachers in schools. These conferences provided important public displays of the work of the school board committees and served as important public responses to women's movement demands as well as provided resource ideas for teachers. The newsletters provided a way to link

⁴¹⁷ Pamela Harris with Becky Kane and Donna Pothaar, "The Women's Kit," 1-5 (Toronto: OISE, 1973). A copy of the Women's Kit is in storage at the OISE/UT library. Some teachers in this study retained parts of the Kit. The quotes used here were taken directly from the Teacher Guide found within each Kit. Authors of the Kit referred to this gap by stating that "publications about the role of women are 'heavily intellectual' or analytical, geared to the middle class, urban educated North American, often superficial, often full of rhetoric and anger."

⁴¹⁸ The Women's Kit: Teacher's Guide, 4.

initiatives taking place at the Toronto Board with teachers in schools. Since teachers were left to access materials and information about women on their own, then forms of communication were important. Few teachers were accessing resources and information from the internet until the mid-1990s and relied on the materials they received in their school mailboxes or through department leaders. Newsletters played a central role in keeping Toronto Board employees informed and played a significant role as a networking tool for Canadian women educators.

Women scholars had established a number of newsletters which provided important source for current scholarship and some teachers had subscriptions. Publications, such as the *Canadian Newsletter of Research on Women, Resources for Feminist Research (RFR/DRF)*, created in 1972, responded to the growing field of women's studies and women's history and provided a forum for scholars, educators and interested others to connect and stay informed about events, conferences and publications.⁴¹⁹ The *Canadian Women's Studies Journal* was another resource for teachers that provided articles, information and bibliographies, as was *Canadian Woman Studies/les cahiers de la femme*, founded in 1983. Teachers in this study read feminist newsletters and used some of the newsletter articles in their classrooms. Newsletters kept them informed on women's scholarship and publications, and also gave them a chance to publish their own work. A significant number of articles were written by Toronto teachers and educators, and this provided an excellent forum for collaborative work and opportunities for networking between feminist scholars and feminist teachers in Toronto.

⁴¹⁹ *Canadian Newsletter of Research on Women, Resources for Feminist Research/Documentation sur la recherche féministe (RFR/DRF)* was created in 1972 when Margrit Eichler and Marylee Stephenson participated in the first women's studies session of the Learned in Montreal, 1972. Associated with OISE it provided links with other feminist media such as Rites and HERizons. The format included discussion forums, articles, and abstracts of conference proceedings, book reviews and bibliographies. Special themes featured educational issues such as the 1979 edition which included articles by Mary O'Brien, Angela Miles, Sylvia Van Kirk and others who looked at teaching and research. Two special editions looked specifically at Education and were edited by Somer Brodribb. See: Somer Brodribb, "A Valuable Teaching Tool," *Canadian Women's Studies* 6, no.3, 32-33. A significant number of articles were written by Toronto women educators, including special editions dedicated to women's studies in schools such as *Women and Education 1*, edited by Brodribb and O'Brien, focused on concerns of teachers and activists in the educational field. Articles also included the history of women, Sex-role stereotyping in schools, girls sports and science education. Toronto teacher and Board Coordinator, Myra Novogrodsky, wrote "The Use of Human, Print and Audio Visual Resources to Generate Women's Studies Programs in Public Schools," (CWS/CF 6 no. 3 (spring/fall. 1985); CWS/CF 7, no. 3 and no. 4, 1987) which included two volumes devoted to examining Canadian Women's History and "Writing Women into History" which featured articles by prominent Canadian feminist historians, scholars and educators.

A number of newsletters were published specifically by the Toronto Board of Education and reflected the work of various women's committees. These newsletters were sent to schools and made available to staff, teachers and administrators. They kept teachers informed of events, workshops, courses, speakers and learning resources. A number of Toronto Board newsletters focused only on women. Women in Education (WIE), for example, began as a series of newsletters in recognition of International Women's year beginning in 1975 and each newsletter recognized a different prominent Canadian woman. The Toronto Women's Education News (TWEN) was a co-operative publication of the Affirmative Action Office and the Social Studies Department of the Board of Education for the City of Toronto and was published between 1981 and 1986. Organization for Women in Leadership (OWL), which began its newsletter in 1982, provided a forum for women in education to develop leadership skills and network with other professional women.

Women in Education (WIE) provided biographies of prominent female educators and general historical information about the featured time period as well as a list of resources. By focusing on a prominent woman the newsletter supported the approved approach to history education, that which supported examinations of great individuals. In this case the great women were educators. As an introduction to the first newsletter, Gordon Cressy, Chairman of the Toronto Board of Education noted,

In recognition of 1975 as International Women's year, the Toronto Board of Education is sponsoring this series of newsletters on Women in Education. I believe our Board has been reasonably progressive in giving opportunities to women, partly because of an active Women's Committee, now in its third year. It is also clear that the cause of women is one that extends far beyond the limits of one year. I realize that we still have far to go in giving many women the recognition they deserve and I hope this publication helps push us in that direction.⁴²⁰

This quote provides an excellent window into the school board's approach to including women. Cressy notes the Board's work is situated in the women's committees specifically and that this has had a limited outcome. His words are almost apologetic, acknowledging that the school board had been only "reasonably progressive". Given the great strides that were being made in other areas of equity education, particularly in terms of women's increase in positions of

⁴²⁰ Private collection: Women in Education Newsletter (WEN), no. 1, April 3, 1975.

responsibility, there is a definite difference of tone, which might suggest his awareness of the lack of support for gender equity within all areas of education. This remained the Board's primary response to women's movement activism: to present initiatives gradually, which would be less jarring but also less effective.

The Toronto Women's Education News Newsletter (TWEN) produced by Marjorie Schliwa, Myrna Mather, Advisor Affirmative Action, and Pat Kincaid, Women's Studies Consultant, were the key women behind this publication that had at its core objective to outreach more and create greater networks. Myrna Mather and Pat Kincaid worked as a team. Mather was responsible for working on issues and developing programs related to women and employment; she also communicated with Affirmative Action representatives in every school and department in the board. Kincaid's responsibility lay with the development of curriculum that was non-sexist and still "met the needs of girls and young women in a rapidly changing society." She also communicated with Women's Studies Representatives. The newsletter published five issues each year and was sent out to all schools, education centre departments and area offices, as well as interested organizations and community groups. The newsletters published bibliographies of curriculum materials about and by women⁴²¹ and covered a wide range of topics.⁴²² New films and learning resources were regularly featured and announcements about school board events helped provide important networking between Board initiatives and teachers.⁴²³ Articles kept teachers up to date on research and scholarship.⁴²⁴

⁴²¹ TBE Archives/ File: Newsletters: Toronto Women and Education News (TWEN) vol.1, no.1 (October 1981): 1-2. I examined volumes 1-5, 1981-1986.

⁴²² TBE Archives, TWEN, vol. 2, no. 1 (Oct. 1982). The newsletter celebrated the one year anniversary. Patricia Kincaid and Myrna Mather had moved on to new areas. Pat was working in the Curriculum Division as an Administrative Assistant to the Superintendents. The new team consisted of Gail Posen (Affirmative Action Advisor) and Alwena Jones (Co-ordinator of Women's Studies). During 1982-83 they planned to expand to eight issues, up from five a year. Judy Erola, Minister Responsible for the Status of Women, wrote a piece about the importance of Affirmative Action.

⁴²³ TBE Archives, TWEN, vol. 2, no.2 (Nov.1982), 1-2. One newsletter, for example, noted "Curriculum Day" (April 16) where "several women's studies workshops" were presented at Dundas Street Public School. This school temporarily housed the Toronto Board's Women's Studies Resource Centre. The announcement noted that there would be a theatre production and materials about women to use in classrooms.

⁴²⁴ TBE Archives, TWEN, vol. 2 no.2, 1-2. Articles, for example, were written about the reasons girls had math anxiety and ways in which guidance councilors could provide more course options for girls. The newsletters also noted the work of women's committees at the Board and programs such as *Boys for Babies* program which was first offered at Kensington Community public school in the spring of 1982 to give boys skills in infant care.

Organization for Women in Leadership (OWL) was another Toronto Board women's newsletter.⁴²⁵ Jackie Scroggie and Myrna Mather, two administrators for the Board approached the Women's Liaison Committee and had it put on the agenda in fall, 1980. The first dinner was held at the Westbury Hotel in Toronto on May 19, 1981 and featured Dr. Lorna Marsden as keynote speaker. The committee had planned for 200 respondents but instead got 400. The tenth anniversary of the organization, in 1990 was held again at the Westbury Hotel and highlighted ten years of activism.⁴²⁶ One of the most important elements of the organization was the newsletter, which linked members together. However, although newsletters provided a vital forum for networking within the Toronto Board, teachers had to request the newsletters, read them, and then decide to respond; not all teachers made the decision to be connected in that way.

The first women's conference was spearheaded by Toronto Board of Education Women's Studies Consultant Pat Kincaid and Ontario Ministry Education Officer Sheila Roy, and was jointly sponsored by the Ontario Ministry of Education and the Toronto Board of Education in October 1976. The conference entitled "Explore and Develop: Integrating the Study of Women into the Curriculum" published a report of the workshops recommendations that same year.⁴²⁷ Dr. Lorna Marsden was the keynote focused on the school system as a place in which to develop equity. She noted, "Teachers, parents, civic leaders-are concerned with the way in which equity

⁴²⁵ TBE Archives, OWL File/OWL 10th anniversary program: September 26, 1990. The Women's Liaison Committee formed a steering committee, chaired by Jackie Scroggie, to see if a networking group would work well in Toronto, as it had in North York. The steering committee consulted a number of people such as Marie Smibert, a retired principal of Central Commerce School, Margaret Evans, teacher, and the Chief Superintendent of Field Services. The organization got approval by the Director of Education. Dr. Ned Mckeown, who allowed the group to use Board mail and gave them office space. The five women superintendents with the board in 1980 were made Charter Honorary Members. The program notes that the Committee decided to use the name OWL because it would be easy to remember and a symbol of wisdom and learning, noting "The Owl was one of the symbols of Athena-a prominent female figure of classical mythology noted for her intelligence."

⁴²⁶ TBE Archives/ OWL File/OWL 10th anniversary program: September 26, 1990. This program notes the goals of the organization: "to provide an opportunity for women in education to develop career potential and leadership skills; to meet other women in an informal setting; to present interesting speakers and subjects to women in education and to establish a communications network and support system." The 10th anniversary program lists the highlights of each year and includes a spectacular list of notable speakers such as June Callwood, Sheila Copps, Flora MacDonald, Judy Erola, Senator Anne Cools, Alan Borovy, Arlene Perly-Rae and Bob Rae, Rosemary Brown, Chaviva Hosek, Joan Green, to name a few.

⁴²⁷ The Ministry of Education, Ontario and the Board of Education for the City of Toronto, *Explore and Develop: Integrating the Study of Women into the Curriculum: A Working Conference*, October 21- 23, 1976. (MacDonald Block, Queen's Park, Toronto).

can be realized through the great instrument of equalization-the educational system in all its complexity."⁴²⁸ She argued that the goals for equality were too broad and that the situation of women in schools was changing but inequalities still existed. She noted, "Let's realize that action rests with us. A new curriculum must be a workable one in every sense, more than a response to a set of ideals. Everyday awareness is the best route to change."⁴²⁹ The speech confirmed her belief in the central role of the state school system in addressing equity issues; what was also clear was Marsden's support for government policies moving carefully with equity initiatives in efforts to alter prevailing mindsets.

The two and half day conference allowed subject groups to examine and discuss ways in which to include women. Most subject areas were represented at the conference, including history. The Intermediate history group, for example, focused on developing specific units on women, organizing workshops on methods to include women into history curriculum and removing Sex-role stereotyping from history texts. Historian Alison Prentice, assisted by researcher Beth Light, were facilitators for the Senior History group. Their conference report included recommendations that future history guidelines "have as articulated goals the integration of the history of Women and the history of the relations between the sexes into all history courses, and that the Ministry provide workshops to improve teacher-training through professional development."⁴³⁰ The report included a bibliography of current resource materials.

Inviting Prentice, a prominent scholar in Canadian women's history, to take part, was an important public acknowledgement of the field, and a first step in bridging gaps between

⁴²⁸ Rolly Fobert and Patricia Kincaid, *Explore and Develop Report*, Oct. 21- 23, 1976 (Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Education and Toronto Board of Education, 1977). In 1976 Marsden was at the University of Toronto and was also on the National Action Committee on the Status of Women. Her talk title was "Creating a New Role for Women through the Schools."

⁴²⁹ Kincaid, *Explore and Develop*, 5. Dr. Marsden is a university professor who has received a number of awards. She was executive member of the NAC, National policy chair of the Liberal party in 1975 and Vice-President in 1980. In 1984, she was appointed to the Senate. In 1997, she was appointed President and Vice-Chancellor of York University.

⁴³⁰ Kincaid, *Report of Explore and Develop, Senior History 1-6*. The History workshop began by identifying problems and goals and followed with a discussion about whether women's history should remain a separate course or be integrated into the secondary school history courses. They noted that women's history should not be solely the history of great or famous women, arguing for the need "to study the past history of women of all classes, races and creeds." There were suggestions put forth on where, who and how to add women for the history courses offered in the Ontario curriculum: ancient, European and Canadian.

academia and public schools. The report's suggestion to include women in history course guidelines was implemented in the 1980s, but women were only added as one of the expectations for course examinations, similar to expectations to incorporate multicultural narratives. However, the report's more central point, to link the relations between men and women in historical examinations, which argued for full integration, did not take place. The workshop and report would have had a stronger impact if there had been more opportunities for ongoing history education conferences, perhaps to be held at the school board or the universities. However, this did not occur in Toronto.

The 1976 conference and report were followed two and three years later by two additional conferences. The Women's Studies Department of the Toronto Board of Education held a conference in 1978 entitled "Sex-role Stereotyping and Women's Studies" and one in 1979 entitled "Free to Choose: An Evening of Speakers." Held at the Macdonald Block, Queen's Park September 1978, "Sex-role Stereotyping" was co-sponsored with the Ontario Ministry of Education and the Ontario Association Curriculum Development (OACD). The second conference was held at the Education Centre at 155 College Street and was sponsored by the Women's Studies Department. The 1978 conference offered thirty-six workshops held the first day of the conference and a variety of panels and discussion groups on the evening of the first day and the morning of the next day. The first keynote, given by Judge Rosalie Silberman Abella was about the major legal changes in family law that had affected women. Abella encouraged participants to know the law and to accept responsibility to ensure that the law continued to reflect and respect the integrity of the people.⁴³¹ This was the first time that the OACD and the Ministry had jointly sponsored and planned a conference; the report notes that a large number - over 400- teachers and curriculum consultants attended. This large number of participants testifies to the work of the women's committees at the Toronto Board; it also was the product of a strong support relationship between Pat Kincaid and Sheila Roy.

⁴³¹ Ontario Ministry of Education and the Ontario Association for Curriculum Development (OACD) *Report: Sex-role Stereotyping and Women's Studies Conference*, Sept. 28-30, 1978, 5-20. The report includes a full transcript of Judge Abella's speech. Judge Abella was a provincial court judge, family divisions, served on the executive of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women National Council of Canadian Human Rights Foundation, Commissioner, Ontario Human Rights Commission and a number of other legal committees.

John Storey, Director of the provincial Ministry of Education Curriculum Branch, spoke of the provincial Affirmative Action plan and urged the Canadian educational system to take a leadership role in this area. He discussed female staffing and increased positions of responsibility as well as textbook changes, noting that Circular 14 contained specific reference to support the removal of Sex-role stereotyping.⁴³² He added that the Ministry planned to continue to "develop and implement a curriculum and a learning climate conducive to the development of each individual student."⁴³³ Dr. Marsden, the third keynote, spoke about "Sex-role stereotyping in educational materials, methods and programs."⁴³⁴ She added that a review of the Ministry resource guide on Sex-role stereotyping suggested that the Ministry of Education "takes a position of what might be called a position of radical individualism," adding that the provincial documents suggest that the rights of individuals are weighted heavily against the interests of society which is expressed in law and custom. She added,

This implies that within each child there is some potential which can be identified and developed from the constraints of custom and practice found within the society and that it is the duty of the teacher to identify that potential and develop it, or provide the atmosphere for its development.

Marsden further added that those views were consistent with "North American progressivism and the positive evaluation of social mobility, the retardation of the crystallization of class inequities and with the Christian-Judaic ethic which governs our society."⁴³⁵

⁴³² OACD Report, 26-27. Storey noted that changes to curriculum were important "because stereotyping has a social/psychological basis." He commented on changes to Family studies curriculum, physical and health education, and also the Intermediate History curriculum where he added "We have introduced a core unit in grades 7 and 8 on social reform, which includes women's suffrage, so that it will be part of all programs at that level."

⁴³³ OACD Report, 25 Storey noted that both the "Formative Years" document and the H.S.1 policy included references to equal educational opportunity in the province. See: Ontario Ministry of Education, *The Formative Years: Provincial Curriculum Policy for the Primary and Junior Divisions of the Public and Separate Schools of Ontario* (Toronto: Ministry of Education, 1975) and Ontario Ministry of Education, *Report of the Provincial Task Force on H.S. 1: A Summary* (Toronto, 1974).

⁴³⁴ Ontario Ministry, *Sex-role Stereotyping and Women's Studies Resource Guide*, Toronto, 1978), 2. The term *stereotyping* is described in this document as a process which "narrowly defines roles for males and females in our society. The role constraints deny the wide range of human potential based upon, and having undue emphasis on, biological sex." Marsden noted in her speech that the Ontario curriculum guidelines in the primary and junior division "should be conducted so that each child may have the opportunity to develop abilities and aspirations without the limitations imposed by Sex-role stereotypes."

⁴³⁵ Ontario Ministry of Education and the OACD Report, *Sex-role Stereotyping and Women's Studies Conference*, September 28-30, 1978, 5-20.

These quotes demonstrate that right from the first public conferences about integrating women in schools, the focus for many was on the individual. There is nothing in Marsden's speech about making foundational social change. She suggested that removing sexist discriminatory resources and behaviour was consistent with liberal values and customs and that people and social values can change through good education systems. The speech suggested that learning resources be more "realistic" and redefine the roles of women and men. Marsden added, "If beating Sex-role stereotyping into the ground involves facing the facts (and I believe this is the prime criteria with which we must deal) then our curriculum materials must deal squarely with generational change." But she also noted that there might be limits to examinations for Sex-role stereotyping. In her final comments, Marsden stated,

But what are the limits to this? Stereotyping is rampant and one could go stark raving mad dealing with all the issues. The Ministry guidelines, however, suggest some limits. They suggest that the primary concern is with educational, labour force and civic opportunities. This is limited in that it does not deal with religion, the family or several other major institutions, but I regard the limitations as appropriate. So a second major criterion is to concentrate on fitting the facts of talents to the opportunities that could become available in the labour force and community. This involves looking both at what is in the materials as well as what is omitted.⁴³⁶

Such statements reveal a liberal philosophical position held by many educators, who believed in the education system's capacity for change. The liberal focus on the individual in this case used as means in which to recognize the potential of girls, is well-intentioned. Marsden didn't address the larger issues advocated by "radical" socialist feminists: that adding women, within established curricula was not enough, as such actions continued to support male frameworks and patriarchal hegemonic systems. Focusing on the individuals and balancing individual rights against social group demands supported neo-liberal notions of democratic societies. By asking Judge Abella, Mr. Storey and Dr. Marsden to be the keynotes for the three day conference, the province had provided a clear message for school boards: all three speakers represented established liberal perspectives and although they argued for change, they clearly advocated for

⁴³⁶ Ontario Ministry of Education and the OACD Report: *Sex-role Stereotyping and Women's Studies Conference*. The report includes a full transcript of Dr. Marsden's speech, 34. Scholars have examined the ways in which government policies are often at odds with different conceptions of equity based on the religious, familial and localized levels. See for example: Eric Fong, ed. *Inside the Mosaic* (Toronto: UofT Press, 2006).

change within established systems as opposed to radical change.⁴³⁷ The overall educational path was clear: add women to curriculum, increase positions of responsibility and remove discriminatory materials. These were vital steps but do suggest a controlled response that incorporated little risk to established state systems.

The 1979 conference included speakers Marion Colby, Women's Advisor for Centennial College who spoke about "Women in the Educational System: The Effect of Stereotyping;" Dr. Ouida Wright, Assistant Superintendent Curriculum divisions at the Toronto Board who addressed "Bias in Learning Materials" and a number of prominent women, such as journalist Jan Tennant and Abby Hoffman, Executive Officer of the Human Rights Commission, who spoke on women in law, in advertising, and on violence against women.⁴³⁸ The very public conference provided an opportunity for a number of prominent individual women who had achieved success within their own fields to share their stories. The idea of providing opportunities to hear prominent women continued to be a focus for the Toronto Board's outreach work. The Board's "Speakers Directory" contained lists of names of prominent women in different fields and was distributed to schools. Speakers names and bios were provided and required fees and contact information included.⁴³⁹ The Directory was co-sponsored by the Women's Studies Department and provided lists of individuals "who are leading authorities in their field and who have agreed to respond to invitations to speak to students, teachers and other interested groups within the Ontario education system." It included details about the speaker's experiences, subjects on which they spoke, and their fees and was organized by topic. The introduction to the 1982 directory stated, "The Directory is designed as a link between the school community and the community at large. It is intended to serve as a useful resource aid by drawing together information about speakers on a variety of themes that may enrich school study

⁴³⁷ Judge Rosalie Silberman Abella, Canadian lawyer, and in the 1970s was appointed to the Ontario Family Court; Lorna Marsden was national policy chair, Liberal Party of Canada in 1975, vice-president in 1980, and a Liberal Senator. John Story was appointed to the Ontario Ministry of Education under Premier Bill Davis (Conservative).

⁴³⁸ TBE Archives/ File/Curriculum: Women's Studies folder, envelope #2: Conference: *Free to Choose: An Evening of Speakers* took place April 26, 1979. The conference poster notes that the 1978 conference was such an "overwhelming success" that they were offering another one the next year.

⁴³⁹ TBE Archives: File/ Curriculum-Women's Studies-Envelope #3.Speaker Directory Booklet: The Speakers Directory/Women's Studies Department, Fall 1982.

programs."⁴⁴⁰ Topics included Affirmative Action, career counseling, the arts, violence, law and technology. Many familiar names appeared in the directory.

In addition to the Directory, for several years the Toronto Board held a Women's Speakers Series at its Board offices. The 1980 "Winter Series of Women Speakers" was sponsored by the Women's Studies and Records and Archives Centre and had a number of prominent speakers.⁴⁴¹ Feminist educators made up the majority of the audience and attendance was reflective of the interests within the Board. The Affirmative Action Committee and WLC developed workshops to be held in schools for teachers and made available to all Board employees. Each school, area, and central teaching and non-teaching department within the Toronto Board was mandated to develop its own Affirmative Action plan and schools were offered workshops with the assistance of the "Awareness Workshop Coordinating Committee". The Board expected that materials and ideas would flow from the school board to the schools.⁴⁴²

However, placing women speakers into schools or putting units on women into established curriculum relied on the initiative of interested teachers, which again provided an option for those who weren't concerned to opt-out. An article written in the *Canadian Women's Studies Journal* in 1985, entitled, "The Feminist Curriculum and the New Vocabulary" noted that the curriculum of women's studies had always been markedly issues-oriented. The author, Barbara Latham, argued that units developed on women and placed in sociology, history and business courses were often taught by feminist teachers who added these units but who also had little training in feminist analysis, thus they did not provide the proper context. The author noted "the woman content may exist in no context or a context hostile to feminism and to social change

⁴⁴⁰ TBE Archives: File/ Curriculum-Women's Studies-Envelope #3. Speaker Directory included Margaret Evans, Joan Green and Yvonne Rosenberg (Toronto Board), Kay Sigurjonsson (FWTAO), June Callwood (Journalist/Activist), Sherrill Cheda (Canadian periodical publisher's director), Susan Colley (Coordinator Action Day Care), Judith Finlayson (Journalist), Frieda Foreman (Coordinator Women's Resource Centre OISE), Alwena Jones (Coordinator Women's Studies Department), Susan Lynch (Cross Cultural Community Centre), Mary O'Brien and Judith Posner (OISE); Ceta Ramkhalawansingh (Equal Opportunity Program Toronto). Historians included Gail Brandt, Linda Briskin, Beth Light. A directory for men was not found in the archives.

⁴⁴¹ TBE Archives File/Curriculum Women's Studies-Envelope #3. "The 1980 Winter Series of Women Speakers" booklet included Fiona Nelson, Trustee and chairperson Toronto Board, Maryon Kantaroff, Sculptor, Madeleine Parent, Feminist labour leader, Shelagh Wilkinson, Consultant in Women's Studies and Abby Hoffman, Olympic Athlete and Supervisor of Sports Services, Ministry of Culture and Recreation.

⁴⁴² T.B.E Archives/ File: EAO-AAAction envelope #5. Kit/Awareness workshops, Nov. 1979, 2.

in general."⁴⁴³ In other words, the presence of women's "Units" alone did not guarantee that teachers employed a feminist pedagogy. Offering conference workshops and resources materials were clearly only first steps. In order to properly integrate women within school curricula, teachers required more than an interest. A more extensive follow-up, something that involved course work, joint curricula writing projects, and annual conferences, might have provided the tools for integrating women into curriculum in a more meaningful way.

Educational Films

Finally, teachers in this study indicated that one of the most used history classroom resources were films; it was one of major ways in which women's historical narratives entered history curricula. *Learning to Read Between the Stereotypes* was produced by Moira Armour and Margaret Evans specifically for the Toronto Board. The film raised some fundamental questions about the treatment of sex roles in many of the materials that were in use in schools.⁴⁴⁴ Moira Armour, a Toronto feminist, activist, board employee and film maker, wrote a column for the Toronto Sun where she argued for school boards to recognize women as "ordinary people, rather than as a special group with special interests." She challenged the status quo in which women were relegated to separate women's columns, women's studies departments or women's courses. Films, she argued should not be classified only as women's films, which the school boards continued to do. With Armour as producer and director, the Toronto Board then produced some of its own films, such as *Is Anybody Out There Listening? A Study of Sexism in High Schools*, which was used in social science classes, and *A Woman's Work is Never Done*, a film about working women and issues related to the widening wage gap between men and women.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴³ Barbara Latham, "The Feminist Curriculum and the 'New' Vocabulary," *Canadian Women's Studies Journal*, 6, no.3 (1985), 25-26.

⁴⁴⁴ TBE Archives/ File: Moira Armour: Biography: "Learning to Read between the Stereotypes" Language Study Centre [and] Teaching Aids Dept., Toronto Board of Education, 1974. (*Toronto Star* newspaper article by Catherine Dunphy): When asked when she became a feminist, Moira Armour commented, "I was born one!" It adds, "Hailed as the "Archivist of the Women's Movement," Armour responded, "I'm not the brains behind the movement. I'm the doer, the organizer. I get the halls rented and the flyers printed." Armour was one of the Founders of the NAC, of the Feminist Party of Canada, Women for Political Action and on the Toronto Board Status of Women Committee.

⁴⁴⁵ TBE Archives/ File: M. Armour. Armour's film discussed some of the many examples of sexism that were prevalent in Toronto schools. A flyer for the film, "Is anybody listening?" included discussions and illustrations of

Armour produced a number of films and collaborated with others in the film industry to ensure that a wide range of films were available for teachers.

Studio D, at the National Film Board (NFB) produced dozens of films about women and most of these were available through the Toronto Board resources centre and school libraries. The Studio's original mandate was specifically "to address women's information needs as well as facilitate the framing of women's perspectives through the medium of film and to provide an environment of mutual support"⁴⁴⁶ History and social science teachers were encouraged to use films in their classes and indicated the central role that films played in their course studies. In an article written in *The TWEN*, June 1982, noted that "films were heavily relied on" to introduce the topic of women."⁴⁴⁷ The Women's Studies department gathered "relevant" films, film strips and photographs on women's history to support course work for units on women.

Pat Kincaid, in her role as Consultant in Women's Studies at the Toronto Board, and several teachers at Monarch Park Secondary School had developed a three to four week History Unit on the "Changing Attitudes to the Role of the Sexes," designed for students in the general level grade 10 compulsory Canadian history course. "Make it Happen," a joint film by the Toronto Board and the Ontario Women's Bureau examined the ways in which girls were indoctrinated at early years to be channeled into gender categories. In the fall of 1985, the NFB brought representatives from across the country to Montreal to form an ongoing Education Forum designed to coordinate the programming and marketing of educational films. As a first

guidance materials textbooks, teacher attitudes and subject budget allocations. The film was produced by Moira Armour and Marg Evans. In a *Toronto Sun* article, March 9, 1976, Armour notes that in 1973 full time women workers in Canada "earned an average \$5,527 and men earned \$10,072 and 44% of the adult female population worked outside of the home. A flyer, distributed by the Teaching Aides Department (TBE 1974) noted that Armour's film *Learning to Read Between the Stereotypes* raised fundamental questions about the treatment of Sex-roles in many of the materials used in schools.

⁴⁴⁶ Chris Scherbarth, "Canada's Studio D: A Women's Room with an International Reputation," *Canadian Women's Studies Journal*, 8: no.1 (spring 1987): 24-27. Media accounts of Studio D's history attribute its creation in 1974 to International women's year but NFB management failed to access federal fund. Instead establishing a women's film studio can be attribute to the work of filmmaker Kathleen Shannon who first championed the idea in 1971 when the NFB was producing grassroots films. Shannon was executive producer of the Studio. See, Gail Vanstone, *D is for Daring: The Women Behind the Films of Studio D* (Toronto: Sumach Press, 2007).

⁴⁴⁷ T.B.E. Archives/ File: TWEN, Patrick Douglas, Monarch Park School, "Monarch Park Develops Women's History Unit", TWEN, vol.1 no.5, (June 1982). Some of the Films included in this Unit: *The Visible Women*, *Killing Us Softly* and *Men's Lives*.

step, the Film Board hosted a "Forum on Women's Studies in Secondary Schools" and the following year produced a report. The report noted that the National Film Board had initiated a number of activities to improve communications with educators in Canada. The films designated for educational purposes accounted for over 50% of all film bookings.⁴⁴⁸

A wide range of educators and filmmakers from across the country took part, including educators from Toronto. The report confirmed this study's findings as it noted, "Educators stressed that film and video are among the most frequently used resources in the classroom."⁴⁴⁹ A number of recommendations included suggestions that more women appear in historical examinations and in non-traditional roles. One of the key comments in this report noted that, "Educators stressed that, given the tenuous position of women's studies as a subject and the limited number of courses offered in this area, the only realistic way to influence young people is to produce films that can easily be incorporated into established compulsory subjects."⁴⁵⁰ Subject areas were examined individually. The "Women in History" group recognized the dominance of "his" story and how women's contributions to society had been largely ignored or marginalized in film. They suggested more films that "focus on and exam history from a female point of view" and films showing "contemporary women involved in current events."⁴⁵¹

The substantial number of resources that were developed to include women reflects the colossal work by educators at the time but many of these resources remained on resource/library shelves and did not produce the kinds of results that feminist reformers had hoped. Unless resources had been made a mandatory part of course examinations, these materials always

⁴⁴⁸ National Film Board of Canada, (NFB) *Report on the National Film Board/Educators' Forum on Women's Studies in Secondary School*, Montreal, April 20-22, 1986. Also see: *Beyond the Image: A Guide to Films about Women and Change*, 2nd ed. NFB of Canada in collaboration with the Federal Women's Film Program, 1984; and "Visual Portrayals of Women in Canadian History," Beth Light, prepared for S. Basmajian, NFB, Toronto, 1980.

⁴⁴⁹ NFB, *Report on the National Film Board/Educators' Forum on Women's Studies in Secondary School*, Montreal, April 20-22, 1986, 10.

⁴⁵⁰ NFB, *Report on the National Film Board*, 14.

⁴⁵¹ NFB, *Report*, 17. See also *Herizons*, 10, no. 3 (Summer 1996): 9. The article notes, "Studio D, founded over 20 years ago to develop women's films, has been honoured with more than 75 international and national awards, including a Genie and Two Academy Awards, and produced over 120 films, such as *If You Love This Planet*, *Company of Strangers*, *Forbidden Love* and *Sisters in the Struggle*, produced at Studio D; the only feminist film and video/producer/distributor in the world."

remained optional. The decision to make resource materials about women also suggests that women's experiences within curricula challenged established liberal institutions that supported individualism and universal liberal norms. The women's movement, and the resources that followed, challenged liberal state systems' failure to recognize women. These challenges are further evident in the efforts to alter history curricula to include women as national narratives embodied long established notions of citizenship and nationhood.

History Teaching and History Resources

Although history resources about women were easily available through Board resource centres, teachers noted the pedagogical challenges of integrating new materials and the difficulties in making decisions of "what to leave out" of traditional narratives. Adding women's narratives often meant seeking support from history departments, where established course guidelines provided instructional frameworks. Some teachers found support from published Toronto Board resource guides.⁴⁵² *Changing Roles in a Changing World: A Resource Guide Focusing on the Female Student* (1975) and *Girls and Women in Society: Resource List* (1977) provided the most comprehensive lists available at the time. The list of history and social science learning resource materials in this collection received financial support from the Ontario Ministry of Education and the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario. Some resources included French language materials. The list included books, audio-visual materials, and primary resources. Books and films featured prominent women framed within biographical sketches such as Nellie McClung, Agnes MacPhail and Suzanna Moodie and materials about women in the factories and during the First World War.⁴⁵³ Resources included many

⁴⁵² Teachers in this study stated that they added women's content as an "extra," when possible, but not if it took them away from the required curriculum. Perhaps this is another reason why these resources weren't being used—teachers were not able to think radically enough to locate their lessons within different frameworks.

⁴⁵³ A number of teachers used the *Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women* (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1970) as well as supplementary volumes which incorporated materials to address various issues. *Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada*, vol. 8 was entitled: *Cultural Tradition and Political History of Women in Canada*, 1971. The front cover of the book features outstanding Canadian women such as Lady Aberdeen, Nellie McClung, Agnes Macphail, a 1920s women pilot, factory worker, farm worker, a temperance parade, women army volunteers, Laura Sabia and Yvonne Saunders, a female athlete. There were also a number of

government publications such as the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, which published a series of booklets, the National Council of Women and the Ontario Ministries of Labour, Education, and the Ontario Law Reform Commission and Human Rights Commissions, all which published materials about women for use in history and social science courses.⁴⁵⁴ By the 1980s, a wide range of resources were available that examined women's historical, political, social and economic experiences.⁴⁵⁵ Nancy Adamson et al noted, "Feminists were hungry for reading material, and each new publication was eagerly seized and passed on from friend to friend" and this contributed to the "development of wide-ranging and deeply probing material and analysis."⁴⁵⁶ The number of available materials for teachers was staggering as national and local organizations, both grassroots feminists and institutional feminists, provided accessible materials that documented the experiences of women.

However, these resources remained off the Ministry Circular 14 list of approved texts and were not well known within schools. Publishers who wanted to include women provided a number of book series that were used to enhance historical examinations. One series, for example, "Issues for the Seventies," dealt with current issues. History teachers indicated they

non-Canadian resources available to teachers as well as more materials such as *Clara Barton: Battlefield Nurse* by Peggy Mann (US) or *Emmeline and her Daughters: The Pankhurst Suffragettes* (1971) See also, Cleverdon, *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada* (Toronto: U of T Press, 1950); Grant McEwan, *And Mighty Women Too: Stories of Notable Western Canadian Women* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1975).

⁴⁵⁴ This is a small sampling of the many government resources listed in the guidelines for history/social science courses. The National Council of Women in Canada, *Women of Canada: Their Life and Work* (Ottawa: 1975); Ontario Human Rights Commission, *Human Rights in Employment*; Ontario Law Reform Commission Reports, *Women in the Labour Force Series* (Ontario Ministry of Labour and Toronto: Women's Bureau (1976) ; R. Geoggyroy, *Attitude of Union Workers to Women in Industry* (1971); S. Gwyn, *Women in the Arts in Canada*, (1971); M.W Labarge et al, *Cultural Tradition and Political History of Women in Canada* (1971) and F.D. Lacasse, *Women at Home: The Cost to the Canadian Economy* (1970). The Royal Commission published widely. The Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women also published a number of resources about women including M. Ann Hall and Dorothy Richardson, *Fair Ball: Towards Sex Equality in Canadian Sport* (1982).

⁴⁵⁵ These are a few examples of the many resources listed in the women's studies/history guidelines from the 1970s. See for example, J. Acton et al. eds., *Women and Work, Ontario: 1850-1930* (Toronto: CWP, 1974); M.R. Beard, *Women as a Force in History* (Toronto: Collier Macmillan, 1971); M. L. Benham, *Nellie McClung* (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1975); Therese Casgrain, *A Woman in a Man's World* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972); Catherine Cleverdon, *The Women's Suffrage Movement in Canada* (Toronto: UofT Press, 1973); Carlotta Hecker, *The Indomitable Lady Doctors* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1974); Donna James, *Emily Murphy* (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1977); Beth Light and Alison Prentice, *Recent Publications in the History of Canadian Women: A Bibliography* (The Women in Canadian History Project, OISE, 1976); Janet Ray, *Emily Stowe* (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1977); Linda Kealey, *A Not Unreasonable Claim* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1979).

⁴⁵⁶ Nancy Adamson, *Feminist Organizing for Change*, 54.

often used contemporary issues in their history classes as the topics were engaging.⁴⁵⁷ Many of these books were written by history departments heads and contained short articles by experts in the field of each topic. Many of the "Issues" brought the narratives of women into the dialogue, both because they were included in the discussions and also because these were social topics which affected all people and therefore focused the discussions around policy makers and leaders in industry. Resources such as these were integral in opening the dialogue to women's narratives in sociology, economics, politics, law and history courses.⁴⁵⁸ Materials were created specifically for history courses, many which focused on topics related to labour and social history. One teacher noted,

Until Canadian social history became the primary vehicle for an examination of the Canadian experience, there was very little opportunity for the inclusion of women's history. The studies and the primary foci were on the political, geographic, exploratory, economic and artistic experience of Canada. By the very nature of who did the writing of the history, the university training of history teachers for specialized classrooms and the setting of curriculum and for that matter by the very nature of the major trends in Canadian development, from colony to nation, the story and the study was destined to be a male one.⁴⁵⁹

A wide range of working-class history books included units on Canadian women's history found its way into school history courses. Learning materials also came from other regions of the country. The Vancouver Corrective Collective and B.C. Teacher's Federation published a

⁴⁵⁷ Most of the books were written or edited by Norman Sheffe and all the books were published by Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson. Some include, Sheffe, *Youth Today* (1970), *Student Unrest* (1970), *Poverty* (1970), *Canada's Indians* (1970), *Environmental Quality* (1971), *Housing*, ed. by Ronald Matsushita (1971), High Innis, *Americanization, Regional Disparities and International Involvement* (1972) and Kathleen Keating, *Justice* (1972).

⁴⁵⁸ For example, *Maclean-Hunter Learning Materials* produced a number of resources written by secondary school heads of department and designed for both history and social science classrooms. All the books are published by Toronto: Maclean-Hunter Co. Some of the books include Magder, Beatrice, *The Winnipeg General Strike* (1969, 1972); Alexander Hewlitt, *Conscription* (1972), Stanley Pearl, *The Depression* (1972); Carol Peifer, *The Law* (1972); Jack Bavington, *Cultures in Canada* (1976) and Wayne Sproule, *Work and Leisure* (1978).

⁴⁵⁹ Teacher O. Email Interview by author, Toronto: December 5, 2009. This teacher adds, "I reflect on my university studies. My professors were the great names of Canadian History, Creighton, Careless, Cook, Bliss, Eccles and their view was a male one. Their support from other fields such as politics and economics, Fox and Innis, reflected the testosterone-rich nature of our communal studies. In all of the cases, women were not studied on their own, unless they were able to flourish in the fields indicated above or if there was no other option but to include them under the theme of Madonna or whore."

number of resources for teachers across the country.⁴⁶⁰ The most popular in Toronto classrooms was the 1971 *She Named It Canada: Because That's What It Was Called* and Women's Press' *Never Done: Three Centuries of Women's Work in Canada*. They are brilliant illustrated histories of the lives of Canadian women through stories and illustrations. The books included important bibliographies that provided excellent resource materials for teachers in schools.⁴⁶¹

Toronto history teachers took additional university courses, attended workshops, conferences and shopped in university and women's bookstores-many were interested in social history narratives. Popular books focused on Canadian working-class history and were used in history, women's studies and social science courses. Publications such as Alison Prentice and Susan Mann Trofimenkoff's edited collection of essays entitled *The Neglected Majority*,⁴⁶² Gregory Kealey's, *Working Class Toronto at the Turn of the Century*, Ramsay Cook and Wendy Mitchinson's, *The Proper Sphere: Woman's Place in Canadian Society*, Linda Kealey's, *Not an Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada 1880-1920* and Sylvia Van Kirk's *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society*.⁴⁶³ Some working-class studies materials were designed specifically for use in classrooms. The Toronto Board published a number of resources

⁴⁶⁰ Some of the first materials came out of the BC Teachers Federation (BCTF), pioneer work of educators in BC- Many of these classroom materials could be found in resource centres and libraries in Ontario. Some include, *Famous Canadian Women*, *Early Canadian Women*, *From Captivity to Choice: Native Women in Canadian Literature*. In 1971 the Corrective Collective published *She Named It Canada: Because That's What it was Called*. (Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers). There were copies of this book throughout the Toronto Board of Education. See NFB film discussion in a report on the NFB/Educators Forum on Women's Studies in Secondary Schools. (Montreal, 1986) See also: Gail Vanstone, *D is for Daring* (Toronto: Sumach Press, 2007).

⁴⁶¹ The Corrective Collective, *She Named it Canada: Because That's What it was Called* (Vancouver: B.C Teachers Federation, 1971); *Never Done: Three Centuries of Women's Work in Canada* (Women's Press, 1974)

⁴⁶² Alison Prentice and Susan Mann Trofimenkoff eds. *The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History*: vol. 2. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1985), 7

⁴⁶³ To name a few: Kealey, Greg, *Working Class Toronto at the Turn of the Century* (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1974); Gregory Kealey and Peter Warrian, *Essay's in Canadian Working Class History* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd. 1976); Ramsay Cook and Wendy Mitchinson, eds., *The Proper Sphere: Woman's Place in Canadian Society* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1977); Irving Abella and David Millar, eds., *The Canadian Worker in the Twentieth Century* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1978); Linda Kealy's, ed., *Not an Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada 1880-1920* (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1979); Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society* (Winnipeg: Watson &Dwyer, 1980); Janice Acton et al, *Women at Work: Ontario, 1850-1930* (Toronto: CWEP, 1974); Gregory Kealey and W.J.C. Cherwinski, *Lectures in Canadian Labour and Working Class History* (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1985); Margaret Benston, *The Political Economy of Women's Liberation* (Toronto, New Hogtown Press, 1973). Labour and urban history was featured in *The History and Social Science Teacher*, vol.14, no. 3 (Spring, 1979) where a bibliography of working-class history books and resources were listed, including Janice Acton et al, *Women at Work* (1974).

specifically for history classrooms such as "Labour Studies in the Classroom".⁴⁶⁴ Teachers focused on women and children in factories, the lives of working-class mothers and women's fight to obtain the vote. They supported curriculum expectations as the Ontario Ministry guidelines for Canadian history in Grade 8 and Grade 10 required units on social reform, trade unions and women's suffrage. The senior social science curriculum, in subjects such as Business, Law, Man [sic] and Society utilized labour studies materials. A number of supplementary booklets were published that provided additional materials for labour studies units.⁴⁶⁵

Myra Novogrodsky, the Toronto Board Women's Studies and Labour Studies Coordinator worked to bring both fields together, which was challenging and sometimes difficult. She notes,

When I came back, [to a position at the Toronto Board] I discussed with my Supervisor the possibility of bringing together gender and class-through a labour studies portfolio. Why weren't we dealing with all the equity issues in the same department? And we called a meeting with the major groups at the Board that had an interest in different equity issues-race relations-status of women-native studies advisory board-labour studies committee-as well as some of the federation reps. Every group had been working very hard on their own issues and felt that the other groups would push their issues off the podium. When we created this department we did some hiring. The Equity Studies Centre in the 1990s--those were very different years. In those years we did cross-curricular work-not just with history and social studies-but much more sophisticated analysis of the relationship between the different isms.⁴⁶⁶

Because of the Toronto Board's move to splinter equity issues, there were internal disputes, which hindered the development of equity in the curriculum as a whole. As the teachers I interviewed related, there was a tension between those working on different equity issues. Women's studies content was constantly in competition with other areas that were also deemed to be of 'sub-set' status: Working-class history, Race Relations and Native Studies. This did not

⁴⁶⁴ Toronto Board of Education, *Labour Studies in the Classroom: An Introduction* (Toronto: Typographical Union Local 91, 1984), 1.

⁴⁶⁵ See also: John Battye, David Frank, Greg Kealey and Ian McKay, *A Guide to Working Class History*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1971?) which included materials for both the US and Canada, a full bibliography and a list of publishers and distributors of labour studies resource materials; Steven Langdon, *The Emergence of the Canadian Working Class Movement, 1845-1875* (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1973); Patricia Schulz, *The East York Workers Association: A Response to the Great Depression* (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1975); Greg Kealey, *Working Class Toronto at the Turn of the Century* (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1973).

⁴⁶⁶ Myra Novogrodsky. Interview by author, Toronto: October 28, 2009.

bode well for the engagement of equity issues in the classroom. Despite the challenges, a working-class lens helped provide a window for women's narratives in history studies.

Teachers were also able to access social history materials from the Women's History project at OISE, led by Alison Prentice, who published an Intermediate History Unit in 1977 entitled "Family History: A Method for the Study of Social History." Although developed to support the grade 8 curriculum and specifically the unit on Labour Studies, it was used in secondary schools as a resource document.⁴⁶⁷ Alison Prentice and Beth Light also produced a unit entitled "Canada and the International Women's Movement: A Teaching Unit Developed for the Intermediate History Guidelines."⁴⁶⁸ These resources were available to teachers through board resource centres and teachers in this study indicated they used some of them. It seems fair to say that by the end of the seventies most history teachers in Toronto were aware of the Toronto school board's initiatives to make available resource materials about women for teachers to implement into course teaching. Many stated they incorporated at least one of the resources listed in this chapter; others indicated only an awareness that resources existed.

The Toronto Board "Curriculum Implementation Plan for September 1982 to September 1985" laid out plans for curriculum changes over that three year period.⁴⁶⁹ The Ontario Ministry document had recommended that the Supervisory Officers of the Toronto Board undertake a review and an analysis of existing curriculum implementation procedures.⁴⁷⁰ The new guidelines emphasized four areas: Curriculum implementation, Language guidelines across the curriculum, Teacher performance review programs and the Co-ordination of staff development.

⁴⁶⁷ Beth Light, *Family History: A Method For the Study of Social History* (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education: Women in Canadian History Project/Integrating Women into Canadian History series, February, 1977).

⁴⁶⁸ Alison Prentice and Beth Light, *Canada and the International Women's Movement: A Teaching Unit Developed for the Intermediate History Guidelines*. (Toronto: OISE 1977) Other teaching guides included *Women Have Always Worked: A Historical Overview* and *Never Done: Three Centuries of Women's Work in Canada*, both which came with a Teacher's Guide. *Never Done*, is a scholarly and illustrated history of Canadian women's working lives, which was popular with teachers in Toronto. It contained an outstanding bibliography.

⁴⁶⁹ Ontario Ministry of Education, Curriculum Implementation Plan for September 1982 to September 1985. The impetus for action was the Provincial Policy Review, which the Central Ontario region of the Ministry of Education presented to the Director of Education in 1981.

⁴⁷⁰ Curriculum Implementation Plan, 82-85 (1-1) The new curriculum plan included a review of the implementation of all subjects in the curriculum and the creation of ongoing curriculum plans for each school that included program statements explaining subject examinations and subject integration.

This led to the creation of a Senior Curriculum Council, a new position of Associate Director-Programs and the development of a "family of schools" concept where local schools, staff and the community worked together. The Toronto Board created Curriculum Observation Guides for Secondary schools in each subject area. The humanities guide included History, Geography, and Man [sic] in Society, People in Politics, World Religions, and Economics. Although women are included in a broad sense under equity curriculum initiatives-real equity would again, require further work.

The "Guidelines for Observing the History Program" contained goals for history teachers that suggested the development of a classroom learning environment that contained a variety of appropriate and current resources; activities that were tailored to meet individual needs, and opportunities for research using appropriate materials.⁴⁷¹ The document, however, did not provide suggested resource materials. The report noted that the integration of women's studies with another subjects could be achieved through the use of audio-visual and board resources involving students in research.

One of the key resources to find support during this period, in response to the emphasis placed on audio-visual materials, was a series of materials designed for history classrooms that utilized illustrations and scholarship on Canadian history, called "Canada's Visual History", jointly produced by the National Film Board and the National Museum of Man (now the Museum of Civilization). Ruth Roach Pierson's volume "Canadian Women and the Second World War" was made widely available to Toronto teachers and was used in the mandatory Canadian history courses in Ontario.⁴⁷² After the implementation of new curriculum in the mid-1980s the board produced a follow-up document entitled "Key Directions in Curriculum", to examine how teachers were implementing curriculum.⁴⁷³ Kincaid argued in an article she wrote

⁴⁷¹ TBE Archives/ File: Bias and Stereotyping: Part of CIP Phase II 86/89- Document: Bias and Stereotyping VII-123.

⁴⁷² Ruth Roach Pierson, *Canada's Visual History* vol. 66: "Canadian Women and the Second World War." (NFB and National Museum of Man, 1984). See also, Ken Osborne, "Using the Canada's Visual History Series," *Manitoba History*, no. 8 (Fall, 1984).

⁴⁷³ TBE Archives/File: "Key Directions in Curriculum," November 1984. The report contained a section entitled "Bias and Stereotyping" which asked teachers "Do you think our materials still display bias in their treatment of women? Visible Minorities? Are we helping pupils to think for themselves about popular stereotypes? Do boys and

for the *School Guidance Worker* that there were several stages which were important to the development of women's studies within the Board. She suggested that major challenges in implementing women's narratives were related to attitude and motivation and that actual change would take place only once gender stereotypes were removed within society.⁴⁷⁴ In other words, these were challenges too big for just the school system; schools cannot be expected to be equitable places when society at large is not. Nevertheless, faith in state education as a place in which to develop equity was initially broadly accepted.

Changes to history curricula therefore did not really emanate from the work of the Toronto Board of Education, despite the major work by women's Committees and the easy availability of resource materials. What would prove to be more effective was the ways in which scholarship in women's history slowly became more public. Scholarship in Canadian women's history expanded significantly throughout the 1980s and teachers in this study indicated they owned several resources. Some of these books included Veronica Strong-Boag and Beth Light's, *True Daughters of the North* which provided a solid first resource for history teachers and⁴⁷⁵ *Canadian Women: A History*, edited by Alison Prentice, represented a major scholarship in the history of Canadian women⁴⁷⁶ This book became a standard text for Canadian university history courses and was easily available.⁴⁷⁷ These collections were used in history classrooms for

girls still choose different subjects in schools?" These were interesting questions for the mid 1980s, considering the previous decade of Toronto school board initiatives. Was the government suggesting that progress had been slow?

⁴⁷⁴ Michelle H. Garskof, *Roles Women Play* (Belmont: Cal. Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1971) quoted in Kincaid, "The Long Term Effects of Women's Studies," in *School Guidance Worker*, 31 no.1 (Fall, 1975): 27

⁴⁷⁵ Veronica Strong-Boag and Beth Light, *True Daughters of the North: Canadian Women History: An Annotated Bibliography* (Toronto: OISE Press, 1980). See also Moira Armour, *Canadian Women in History: A Chronology*. (Toronto: Green Dragon Press, 1990); Veronica Strong-Boag, "Raising Clio Consciousness: Women's History and Archives in Canada," *Archivaria*, 6 (summer, 1978): 70-82

⁴⁷⁶ Alison Prentice, et al, eds. *Canadian Women: A History*. (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 1988. reprinted in 1992, 1996, 1998, 2004).

⁴⁷⁷ Micheline Dumont-Johnson, *Québec Women : A History/ L'Histoire des femmes au Québec depuis quatre siècles* (Toronto: Women's Press. 1987) reprinted 1990. Essays included: The Heroic Period; Unsung Heroines; Stability, 1701 - 1832, Family Life; Women Under the Ancien Regime; Upheavals, 1832 - 1900, The Great Commotion; Getting Married, Working Under Another Roof, Contradictions, 1900 - 1940, Modern Women; Pulling Through, Women Workers, Invisible, or Almost, Getting an Education & Organizing, The Impasse, 1940 - 1969 Your Country Needs You, From Bombs to Babies, Contemporary Women, Quiet Feminism, The Explosion, 1969 - 1979, The Turbulent Years and Feminism Ignites. The current edition has sixteen essays that address current scholarship. Topics include widows and orphans in 18th-century Quebec, women and slavery in early Canada,

students working on independent research units.⁴⁷⁸ Some individual schools purchased these books; interested teachers bought copies at bookstores often because they'd use them in university courses.⁴⁷⁹ The grade 13 Canadian history curriculum required an independent research project and this provided one of the central ways in which Toronto history teachers included women's historical narratives. The collections listed above, and others, provided resource materials for senior history students. Several teachers in this study noted that they kept file folders of resource materials about Canadian women for grade 13 student independent research work and sent students to the board resource centre.

A teachers guide "Women as Agents of Change" provided at the Toronto conference in 1987, began by acknowledging that most history studies texts "gloss over or ignore the contributions of women with the result that students may complete their secondary school education having little or no knowledge of the female involvement in history"⁴⁸⁰ The guide suggested adding Mary Wollstonecraft's *The Vindication of the Rights of Women* to school world history examinations. It also suggested examinations of the American women who were leaders in the Abolitionist movement, the Canadian and American women who were instrumental in the suffrage movement and the Famous Five who argued for the Person's case. The guide suggested themes be implemented as "case studies" or "units" within course studies. The guide provided strategies for teaching and biographical sketches with a resource list of suggested books, articles, films, filmstrips, videos, kits and women's organizations to consult.⁴⁸¹ This was an outstanding resource guide for teachers at this time, and expanded resource suggestions from previous guidelines. If made mandatory, it could have made significant change to history curricula in the

aboriginal/non-aboriginal marriage in colonial Canada, housewives in the Great Depression, wartime narratives of Japanese-Canadian women, lesbian bar cultures in the 1950s and 60s.

⁴⁷⁸ Alison Prentice, *Canadian Women: A History* 1st ed. (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988).

⁴⁷⁹ Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg, Man.: Watson & Dwyer, 1980), 5. Alison Prentice and Susan Mann Trofimenkoff eds. *The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History* vol. 2 (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1985), 7. Both studies reflected new narratives in the experiences of Canadian women and were noted favourites with history teachers in Toronto. Prentice wrote in her introduction to *The Neglected Majority* that "the history of women no longer needs defending." She added that women's studies courses and programmes, along with a new direction in historical writing created a new field of scholarship focused on women.

⁴⁸⁰ Ministry of Education, *Sex-role Stereotyping and Women's Studies Conference Report* (Toronto: 1978), 65.

⁴⁸¹ *Sex-role Stereotyping Report*, 65-76.

province. There was, however, limited follow-up by the history departments. Again, interested individual teachers took action but an overall commitment to changing history curricula, although supported in principle by the Toronto Board, did not become practice for history departments in the city.

The Education Centre-Library and Resource Centre- Outreach

As we have seen, the Toronto Board of Education Library and Resource Centre played a role in these developments. One of the main sources for resource materials for history teachers in Toronto, the Library and Resource Centre, had a large staff and a large budget and provided many services to support teachers working for the Toronto Board. These services included library displays, research materials and access to collections of print books, periodicals, pamphlets and newspapers articles and audio-visual materials. The Reference library offered research services for teachers which supported their requests for curriculum support. The Board Resource Centre staff responded to teacher requests by gathering materials and sending them off to schools. They also provided specialized bibliographies and the indexes were "augmented by computer-accessible databases which also indexed materials contained in periodicals. These data bases were part of the libraries' computerized search service, TOBERS." ⁴⁸²

A former Toronto Board of Education Resource librarian noted that the library/resource centre had been originally set up to help teachers, "not necessarily with curriculum, but with their own university studies and development." Therefore she noted that a large portion of the materials were at a university level, but could be used for Grade 13 independent research work. The library and research centre was on the 7th floor of the board offices on 155 College Street and opened in the 1960s. The library was founded by American Leonard Freiser who had a "vision of the perfect library" and who "hired whoever he wanted, it did not matter if they had the proper credentials because it was a time when there was money." The Resource librarian

⁴⁸² TBE Archives/TWEN, vol.2, no. 7 (May 1983), 2-3. This edition explained the ways the Reference library provided services to support Affirmative Action and Women's Studies programs at the TBE. Joy Thomas, Supervisor for the Reference library, wrote the article and explained specifically how the Reference library supported women's issues and content for classrooms. They provided curriculum materials in response to teachers requests for support materials in classrooms where "research librarians could use periodical indexes, specialized bibliographies, the library catalogues, the boards archives and if necessary the library's computerized search service {TOBERS} to gather detailed information."

noted that he set up a specialized program where he installed a phone in each classroom at Runnymede public school where children could use to call the library directly with their questions. The program gradually faded out but could have served as a template for all schools. Teachers called the centre and indicated topics they were researching and the librarian did research and recommended resources. Senior students did the same. They also worked with school librarians. She notes,

The work we did with the librarians was a bit different because they all had vertical files of material in their libraries, and when they got requests from the teachers in the spring, they would send us lists of things they wanted researched over the summer so that they would be ready for the fall. They normally had a good idea of what they would need. They mailed in the lists. We worked on that over the summer. During the year, when the school librarians called us it was usually regarding something that they had not anticipated. A lot of it was for grade 13 independent studies.⁴⁸³

During my interview, I asked if she remembered particular requests for materials about women. She replied, "Not something that I remember. I think women being employed in factories during the war and not wanting to go back [to their homes] was a big topic." And then she added,

We had a lot of women's periodicals. Someone else who worked there would be better at that because I was never particularly interested in that topic. I was never a feminist but a lot of the people were. When the requests came in we would write out the requests and in the morning we would divide them up. So you took what you wanted to cover. The people that were interested in that would take that topic.⁴⁸⁴

Her response was probably typical for Board employees, as the self-defined feminists were clearly identified which set them apart from the others. The Centre usually took two weeks to properly respond to teacher requests but they often did "rush jobs."⁴⁸⁵ She noted that the Centre got more questions on Canadian inventors and Black studies than women.

The Board Resource Centre ordered journals, newspapers, magazines, 'JackDaws', books, and audio-visual materials. Joy Thomas, Supervisor of the Reference library in the early

⁴⁸³ Toronto Board Reference Librarian. Interview by author, Toronto: March 18 2010 at University of Toronto.

⁴⁸⁴ Reference Librarian. Interview by author, Toronto: March 18 2010.

⁴⁸⁵ The interviewee notes that they prided themselves on accessing materials that provided both sides of an argument. She adds "We would find an article that we knew was reliable or one that was biased and then we would complement it with an article that was biased in the other direction." She noted that when topics came up over and over, they made their own bibliography collection-which had the call numbers of the books and a brief annotation.

1980s, wrote an article for the TWEN that explained the library collection. She noted that the Reference library subscribed to approximately 1200 periodicals and sixteen of those were devoted exclusively to women's issues. The periodicals included *Atlantis*, *Association of Women Electors of Metropolitan Toronto Newsletter* (AWEN), the *Canadian Women's Studies Journal* and *Status of Women News*, *Herizons*, *Ms*, *Working Women*, and *Women at Work*. The Reference library also contained 58 indexes to periodical literature. Two of these, "Resources for Feminist Research" and "The Women's Studies Abstracts" were available for researchers. The vertical files in the library covered over 6,000 subjects, many of which included women's issues such as women athletes and women's surnames. The book collection at that Reference library was another major contributor of women's materials for teachers within the Board. The collection included over 400 books on current women's issues such as sexual harassment, minority women in North America, women artists, composers, executives, scientists, housewives pensions, wife abuse and employment discrimination against women. Many of these books were purchased through a special grant initiated by the boards Status of Women Committee in 1980. The library had a large, comprehensive reference section and very expensive reference books that school libraries could not afford.

The Archives of the Toronto Board of Education was another important component of the Reference library's holdings. The books, reports and article holdings preserved in this collection provided original information on topics such as the history of Toronto women teachers. Three library consultants were available to assist school librarians to provide library services in schools: Joan Kerrigan, Library Consultant-secondary schools, Joan McGrath Library Consultant-Elementary schools and Philip Harver-French Language Library consultant. Joy Thomas was their Supervisor.⁴⁸⁶ Jackie Ready, a reference librarian, noted that the Resource centre ordered the *Canadian Historical Review*, *The Beaver*, *Social History/Histoire Sociale*, the *New Yorker*, art magazines, *Chatelaine*, *Evergreen*, several feminist magazines such as *Sign*, *Fireweed*, *Healthsharing* and even *Playboy*.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁶ TBE Archives/ File: TWEN, vol. 2, no. 7 (May 1983).

⁴⁸⁷ Reference Librarian. Interview by author, Toronto: March 18 2010.

In response to demands during the 1980s, the Toronto Board also designated a Women's Resources Centre that was housed in different schools. The Centre was first housed at the Toronto Board central office on College Street, then it moved to Monarch Park Collegiate, a school in the east end of the city, then briefly to Dundas Public School, and then to Ursula Franklin School, an alternative school in the city's west end. The collection is currently housed at The Fran Endicott Centre at Central Technical High School, a school in the centre core of the city. Each time the collection moved, some materials were lost and others were added. By moving the resource centre around the city, the school board clearly hoped to make resources more easily accessible to teachers. The collection exposed the enormous work of the Board's women's committees outreach program and the investment by the school board to purchase and supply teachers with resource materials about women. There was a wide range of materials from early elementary grades to senior level history and social science studies. The collection included an impressive audio-visual collection, documents and posters, an enormous collection of primary documents held in file-cabinets and a major collection of books, magazines and other printed materials. Stamps inside of books and on documents at the Fran Endicott Centre reveal their past: an amalgam of resources centres such as The Women's Studies Department; Toronto Board resource centre; Monarch Park resource centre; Ursula Franklin School; The Fran Endicott Centre; and Central Technical School. Some materials were donated from private collections, the Toronto public library, and the Women's Education Resource Centre (WERC) at OISE. There was also a significant collection of films about women.⁴⁸⁸

Interested teachers could access the school board resources because they had full time staff to respond to teacher's curriculum requests. One teacher noted,

When I was beginning a unit on social history, pre-Civil war America, the old Toronto Board had this service where you could call up the Board Resource library services, and tell them what units I was doing, and they would find resources. They accessed academic journals and had them in folders – all the material for labour, women etc. You could be confident in using the resources knowing they were appropriate.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁸ The Fran Endicott Centre, TDSB, has an online catalogue to view its holdings. <http://tdsbhip.tdsb.on.ca>. When the Women's Resource collection moved to the Fran Endicott centre in the early 2000s, it was placed under an equity designation and monitored by the Equity Department of the Toronto Board.

⁴⁸⁹ Teacher K. Interview by author, Toronto: November 30, 2009.

Toronto teachers found lots of support if they went looking for it. Expected to access teaching resources on their own, they were able to find resources in a wide range of places. One teacher noted,

I got material from the Women's Bookstore and from OISE for the history part from this [women's studies] course. There wasn't a textbook. We had to run articles and the copy machine was my best friend. It was really a course based on what was happening in Toronto. The Board had Fiona Nelson and she was wonderful-strong women totally behind us-with a woman Principal-Trustees-Director. I heard stories about people in other boards having to secretly pass resources and materials around but that was not the case in the Toronto Board. There was always resistance, but you know if some department head made some senseless joke it was dealt with.

The Toronto Board Education centre itself often showcased women. For example, a visiting exhibit about the history of women called "The Widening Sphere: Women in Canada, 1870-1940" contained records from the Public Archives of Canada which depicted the experiences of Canadian women in the late 19th and early 20th century, and was made available for employees to visit during the year 1983.⁴⁹⁰ A number of exhibits about women were featured at the Education centre as evident through the board minutes and newsletters but did not represent an annual project. The Women's Liaison committee sponsored a celebration at the Education centre to commemorate "The Decade of Women 1975-1985, section 15 of the Charter of Rights" and the founding of a collection of materials relating to the history of women. Moira Armour was honoured for her work at the Toronto Board to organize festivals for students and as a filmmaker. A number of other Education centre conferences included, "Conference on the Charter: A Big Success" which was put on by the Equal Opportunity Office and the annual "Expanding Your Horizons" conference that focused on ways to increase girls' awareness of careers in math and science. As well, the Social Studies Department at the Board sponsored performances for students at the centre.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁹⁰ TBE Archives/ File: TWEN Minutes, vol. 3, no.1 (Oct.1983). The exhibit contained letters, diaries and photographs of women from 1890-1940 and provided "a unique opportunity for the study of women who helped shape the history of Canada."

⁴⁹¹ TBE Archives/File: TWEN. These events were described in the TWEN newsletter 5, no.2 (December 1985). Armour joined the board in 1948 and by 1971 she was a founding member of NAC and helped organize the first conference, a founding member of Women for Political Action, the Feminist Party of Canada and the Status of Women Committee at the TBE and VOW. She edited the Status of Women newsletters, was archivist at the Board,

Finally, history resources were also developed specifically by the Toronto Board Curriculum and Program Division and incorporated numerous materials about multiculturalism, and some documents on women's history. Resources included: *The Story of Canada and Canadians, Canada's Original People* (which includes women's rights under the Indian Act), *Women's Suffrage* and *Trade Unions*.⁴⁹² Kits were also created for social studies/history classes, grades 7-12, and included *Bread and Roses: The Struggle of Canadian Working Women*, a kit that contained documents that portray the struggle of Canadian working women through historical perspectives. Filmstrips and cassettes included, *Pioneer Girl: the Diary of a Young Canadian Pioneer* and *Women in Music*. *Women's Studies: A Multi-Media Approach* also included videotapes and a teacher's guide. Resource Books were also available such as *Breaking The Mold*, developed by teachers in BC which provided non-sexist classroom strategies for students. The board also contained annotated bibliography lists of materials about women, including Canadian history documents.⁴⁹³

Numerous queries regarding books in which women had major roles indicated a need for the Women's Studies department to prepare a bibliography of books by and about women. "A Non-Sexist Bibliography", published by the Women's Studies Department, was available for teachers. Most of the resources listed were available in school libraries or at the Board Resource Centre. The bibliography was compiled by a team of writers who researched and reviewed numerous books in which females had significant roles.⁴⁹⁴ Using resources from the Toronto

wrote a column for the Toronto Sun newspapers, and broadcasts for the CBC and Metro Morning. She also produced a number of films for OECA, ROM, Ministry of Education and The Federation of Women's Teachers Association. Her film *Strategy for Change* documents the Status of Women Conference, Toronto, 1972.

⁴⁹² Ontario Ministry of Education, Intermediate Division Curriculum, 1977, Circular 14 and 14A (1983). (Circular H.S.1. 1979-1981).

⁴⁹³ TBE Archives/ File: EOO. Equity Studies Bulletin, September 1994. Developed in the 1980s and revised in 1992, the Speakers Directory listed 400 individuals in the greater Toronto area willing to speak to staff or students on a wide range of gender issues.

⁴⁹⁴ TBE Archives/ File: EOO-Envelope #4 *A Non-Sexist Bibliography* published by the Women's Studies Department. (Fall, 1982). The introduction to the bibliography notes, "Numerous queries regarding books in which women have major roles indicated a need for the women's studies department to prepare a bibliography of books by and about women. This bibliography was compiled by a team of writers who researched and reviewed numerous fictional, biographical and reference books in which females have significant roles." The introduction adds, "The Women's Studies Department recognizes that books which portray both men and women in nurturing roles are important for inclusion in the curriculum. Some books in which men are portrayed as caring and sensitive persons have therefore been included in the elementary section of this bibliography." It further adds, "The writing team

Board resource centres were essential to those teachers wanting to include women's historical narratives. Despite board policies, outdated school history textbooks and learning resources were often not removed.⁴⁹⁵ Replacing textbooks and resource materials was expensive and subject areas competed in each school for limited funds.

A number of teachers in this study indicated they used textbooks that were ten to twenty years old and included blatantly discriminatory material, despite Ministry policies. Individual teachers were called upon to use their own judgement about which sections to exclude. D.C. Wilson noted in a report entitled, "Social Studies: Bias in the Social Studies Curriculum" the ways in which biased materials continued to find a place in classrooms. The report suggested that this "naturally" happened in social studies and history courses, in part because of "the subjective nature of social studies which focuses on the actions of people, both as individuals and as members of a group." The report examined the way classroom materials were often "distorted" and fostered "harmful biases" through a conscious or unconscious distortion of the facts.⁴⁹⁶ Teachers were expected to make appropriate adjustments, to remove blatant discriminatory materials and biased textbooks, and research alternative resources to supplement history teaching. The Board resources centres provided more appropriate and current materials and counted on teachers to use their professional judgement when delivering curricula.

In the 1990s major changes took place within the government and within the Toronto Board of Education that set the earlier period apart. The Toronto Board established an Equity Studies Centre in 1991 with a team that worked with the Curriculum and Program Division of the Toronto Board and as well in schools to implement Board equity policies and programs. The Centre worked closely with the Equal Opportunity Office to co-ordinate equity policies and programs and provided information to students and staff about equity initiatives within the Toronto Board of education and in the wider community. Four student program workers were

compiled this bibliography to meet the special aim of helping teachers ensure there is a good representation in classrooms and programs of acceptable books by and about females. If this aim is achieved, teachers will have contributed greatly to the elimination of Sex-role stereotyping and sexual bias from the curriculum."

⁴⁹⁵ TBE Archives/ File: Dept. EOO-Affirmative Action to 1979. As early as 1979 the Toronto Board announced it would support the Ministry's Bias Statements on textbooks and course materials especially as they relate to the status of women.

⁴⁹⁶ TBE Archives/ File: Curriculum-Social Studies Folder 3. 1982. D.C. Wilson, *Teaching Canadian Issues in a Public Context* (OISE) I think this document may be dated 1984-85.

cross appointed to the Equal Opportunity Office and the Equity Studies Centre.⁴⁹⁷ The Equity Office published a regular Bulletin that provided opportunities for networking between teachers, staff, the Toronto Board and students; Bulletins featured Board equity initiatives such as leadership camps, student retreats and equity programs. The Toronto Board also supported annual equity conferences held at York University.⁴⁹⁸ Shelagh Wilkinson notes,

Myra Novogrodsky and I did a conference at York every year for high school teachers and students, and it was brilliant. We used to put five or six students up on the platform and ask them about the problems they saw regarding non-equity in the classroom. Myra made sure that it got back into the classrooms, and she got the money from the Board to run it. We had speakers such as Ursula Franklin. But the teachers themselves said what they wanted to do.⁴⁹⁹

By the 1990s the resources available for teachers had expanded significantly. The newsletters and bulletins featured resources in women and work, history of trade unions, women's suffrage, women's art and music, women and issues of violence, several kits on equity including a women's kit, Black history month kit and anti-racist and anti-homophobia guides. Summer institutes on gender issues and schooling, a Lesbian and Gay studies course and a Native Studies course were also offered, along with a number of new initiatives developed through the Equity Studies Centre at the Toronto Board. *Focus on Equity*, the board newsletter, was published three times a year jointly by the Equity Studies Centre and the Equal Opportunities Office. It highlighted board-wide and school based equity projects and initiatives and also featured new materials and resources on equity issues pertinent to educators.⁵⁰⁰ The

⁴⁹⁷ TBE Archives/ File: Equal Opportunity Office, Equity Studies Centre Bulletin, Sept. 1994, 1. The team also included Carmen Marshal and Margaret Wells, both board Consultants and four student program workers. Myra Novogrodsky was Co-ordinator of Women and Labour studies, Hari Lalla, Co-ordinator of Race Relations and Multiculturalism.

⁴⁹⁸ TBE Archives/ Equity Bulletin, 3. Held in co-operation with the Women's Studies programme of Atkinson College and other Metro Boards of Education, the two day conference for teachers provided "practical suggestions and theoretical frameworks to further the work of promoting equity in the classroom."

⁴⁹⁹ Shelagh Wilkinson. Interview by author, Toronto: July 6, 2010.

⁵⁰⁰ Ontario Teachers' Federation, *Gender Equity in Ontario Education: Giving Teachers the Tools to Contribute: A Discussion Paper with Recommendations for Professional Development*, July, 1992, 41-42.

terms "anti-sexism" and Affirmative Action" no longer were popular and were replaced with a focus on gender equity.⁵⁰¹

The early 1990s also saw the publication of a number of new resource materials about women to be used in history classrooms. In 1992 the Canadian government designated October as Women's History Month and Status of Women Canada was responsible for selecting the annual theme.⁵⁰² They provided funds for poster development, resources and other learning materials to recognize the contributions of Canadian women.⁵⁰³ The teachers' unions were also active in developing materials for teachers.⁵⁰⁴ The Federation of Women Teachers sponsored a women's history month poster and published course materials for students. OSSTF held women's history month celebrations, and co-sponsored women's history month posters and published booklets for teachers of sample lessons.⁵⁰⁵ By the 1990s there was increased scholarship in women's history, and this called for updated bibliographies and more detailed chronologies. The Toronto Board supported the development of *Canadian Women in History: A Chronology* by Moira Armour, which provided a resource guide for school libraries and history teachers. Diana Pedersen's *Changing Women, Changing History: A Bibliography of the History of Women in*

⁵⁰¹ Ontario Teachers' Federation, *Gender Equity in Ontario Education*. 2. This document discusses the substitute for the word "gender". It notes, "With so many years of failed attempts in mind, some people still dedicated to the ideas of social justice that underlie the doctrine of equal opportunities have come up with a new term to describe a new idea about how to proceed: 'equity'. Equity implies something more than providing opportunities and then standing aside to watch what happens as others try to make their lives reasonably secure and meaningful." Gender broadened the discussions, defined as "a social status, a legal designation and a personal identity." (Judith Lorber, 2010)

⁵⁰² Pat Staton, private collection (soon to be transferred to the Archives of Ontario). OWHN Files/- Letter from the Minister Responsible for the *Status of Women*, May 7 1993. In this letter, Minister Mary Collins stated, "The aim of the women's history month each October is to foster an appreciation for the past and present contributions of women in Canada and to recognize their achievement as a vital part of our heritage."

⁵⁰³ According to *heroines.ca*: the government of Canada designated October as Women's History Month after a successful lobbying campaign initiated by Lyn Gough in Victoria, B. C. and a number of women's organizations. The project leaders were Lyn Gough, Katherine (Kay) Armstrong, and Kathy Blasco. Lyn Gough is a historian and author of a book about pioneers in the Women's Temperance Movement. Kay Armstrong was a recipient of the Governor General's Award in Commemoration of the Persons Case, and Kathy Blasco was a school teacher. Other Victoria women involved in the campaign were Sylvia Bagshaw, Catherine Draper, and Avis Rasmussen.

⁵⁰⁴ The Elementary Teachers Association (www.etfo.ca) website notes, "Many of us grew up learning and believing that history was made exclusively by men. History was about discovery, war, conquering peoples, geopolitical decisions all of which involved men but very few, if any, women."

⁵⁰⁵ <http://www.osstf.on.ca>

Canada, served as an important reference for Canadian history courses.⁵⁰⁶ Canadian feminist historians throughout the 1990s expanded scholarship, writing course materials that reflected the interplay of race, gender and class, thus broadening the general social discourse. As scholarship increased and expanded, women's history leaked into more school history textbooks and resource materials-and took a more accepted place in history studies-but overall remained peripheral and supplementary.

Chapter Conclusion

Clearly the availability of women's history and social science resources was not an issue. There was a rich network of women's resources in libraries, Board centres and within schools. As well, there were ample opportunities to network with other educators in academia and within broader educational communities. Yet only a small part of this wealth of material that was being produced leaked into course studies. The Toronto Board's women's committees and educators made great strides in making this outpouring of resources accessible to teachers. However, they did not teach how to *integrate* this material. History course studies themselves have always been framed as masculinist understandings of the past: there were no strategies offered on how to holistically incorporate the experiences of women who were already a part of history; instead they were positioned as add-ons to male-focused narratives. The number of resources about women therefore provided only limited change. The Board did not offer the pedagogical support to delineate how to use these resources within established course curriculum. Resources, by and of themselves cannot be fully effective in the goal of attaining equity. The next chapter will demonstrate individual teacher practices in the integration of women's history in Toronto classroom.

⁵⁰⁶ Moira Armour, *Canadian Women in History: A Chronology* (Green Dragon Press, 1992) This collection contains 2,500 brief entry items about Canadian women, their achievements and issues, listed chronologically and cross-indexed by name and theme. Diana Pedersen, *Changing Women, Changing History: A Bibliography of the History of Women in Canada*, 2nd ed. (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1996). Pederson noted the need for a major bibliography to acknowledge the growth in the field of Canadian women's history and argued that interest in the field had been demonstrated by the growth in conferences, electronic networking and increased networking. She pointed to the development of the Canadian Committee on Women's history (CCWH), the "largest and most active" subgroup of the Canadian Historical Association (CHA) and the establishment of awards such as the Hilda Neatby Prize, which began in 1986, and which recognized the best articles in French and English on women's history.

Chapter 5

In Their Own Words: Positioning the Work of History Teachers in Toronto

At the beginning [1970s] there was this tremendous surge-and you fed off of each other-and you had your little victories. Then people started to have different agendas. People stated that they were not just interested in women's issues....and it became diluted.⁵⁰⁷

This chapter examines history teaching practice, an area underrepresented in official educational documents. This approach is two-pronged: it examines the various resources used in classrooms, as well as the way teachers interpreted these resources and thus provides a deeper understanding of how women were included or excluded in curriculum. By incorporating the experiences of teachers through oral histories, and providing a document analysis of the materials they used, this chapter provides a thorough examination of what teachers thought about learning resources, and their perspectives on their pedagogical positions within their classrooms. This chapter examines how interested teachers developed, promoted and disseminated course materials to ensure the inclusion of women's history. For this study, I interviewed twenty-three history teachers, nine men and fourteen women, who worked at various times in Toronto schools during the period 1965-1993. The majority of the teachers are now retired. Some teachers had become vice-principals, principals and/or had obtained positions of responsibility at the Toronto Board but at one point were history teachers. As well, I interviewed another sixteen individuals who also were educators in some capacity: publishers, Toronto Board employees, Ministry of Education employees, school board librarians, administrators, archivists and academics.

⁵⁰⁷ Teacher Q. Interview by author, Ontario: November 12, 2009. This teacher is a retired history/social science teacher, Board Consultant, Vice-Principal and Principal.

Published records provided an excellent source for earlier chapters, however this chapter employs oral histories, allowing me to gain an understanding of teacher practice and how teachers interpreted it. Through these interviews I analyze in what ways, if any, secondary school history teachers in Toronto remembered how they incorporated women into their history teaching during 1970-1993, and the factors that influenced their work. Having never observed them teaching or having performed additional interviews to corroborate their statements, these testimonies stand as interpretive texts, evidence of how they understood their own roles as history educators. The purpose of these interviews was not to evaluate their performances as history teachers, but rather to have some further insight into the ways in which social movement activism and educational reform had an impact on history teaching in schools in Toronto, which is a central question in this thesis. There are numerous methodologies to assess oral history interviews: the strategy in this analysis has been to let their voices stand alone, as experiential testimonies that are meant as another lens into the research. This chapter does not analyze contradictions or inconsistencies between testimonies, or the issues of subjectivity and objectivity, or verifiability of sources.⁵⁰⁸ Their interviews reveal common, intertwined concerns, but the perspectives of each teacher were unique. My questions focused on the inclusion of women in history teaching: the resources they used, their access to resources, as well as any outside networks they felt aided in their inclusion of women's history.

When teachers remember their teaching experiences they speak in terms of pedagogical practices and the access and use of resources: these are the teacher "tools." Teachers who were interviewed recalled the inclusion or exclusion of women within this framework, of the tools of which they used. Therefore the chapter reintroduces some of the themes explored in earlier chapters, such as history textbooks and supplementary resources, but does this by analyzing teacher practice and their reflections on the ways in which learning materials were implemented. It allows us to understand the ways in which history teachers teach and the work they did to ensure that students were engaged in history studies. As the interviews have shown, many of these teachers worked outside of the school, engaged in committee work and professional development as a way to define their own professionalism. Their dedication to this work recalls

⁵⁰⁸ See, Paula Hamilton and Linda Shopes, *Oral History and Public Memories* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008); Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, *The Oral History Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

the scholarship of Alan Sears, who argues that teacher education must ‘take the long view’ by engaging teachers with professional learning communities.

The aim of this chapter is to seek out how various people – particularly activists and teachers interested in reform—came to see gender inequality in the school curriculum as a problematic issue, how they tried to fix it, how this problem was understood and responded to at the institutional or community level. Clearly, the real picture is more complex. This is not a binary opposition between those who supported sex-positive curriculum change and those who did not. Some of the teachers consulted in this study did not see themselves as feminists, or radicals: they are a diverse group, and represent a cross-section of teaching professionals. The discussions which took place within the interviews, however, strictly embraced a binary gender framework: women versus men in the curriculum. Most teachers noted that men, although not part of a homogenous grouping, held privileged positions within schools and history teaching. It was this established gendered order that made the addition of women’s history difficult to implement but which also created a somewhat unified gendered perception among feminist teachers.⁵⁰⁹ The discussions centred on creating space for women’s experiences in the history curricula. The selection criteria for this study were very particular in that the history educators chosen were known for their contributions to history pedagogy, and for being outstanding educators, and were identified for this study via their publications and/or by colleagues. They also all worked in Toronto schools; had a long history of teaching (most were retired); and they had all lived through women’s movement and social movement activism.

Furthermore, all the teachers interviewed demonstrated a deep understanding of the relationship between professional communities, good supplementary resources and good teaching. In their eyes, these were reciprocal relationships that defined good history teaching.

⁵⁰⁹ Franca Iacovetta, "Gendering Trans/National Historiographies: Feminists Rewriting Canadian History," in *Gendered Intersections*, edited by C. Lesley Biggs et al. (Halifax & Winnipeg: Fernwood Press, 2011): 62-67. Iacovetta notes that "in bringing more female subjects to the Canadian history table women's and gender historians did more than simply enlarge the picture." By the late 1980s and into the 1990s Iacovetta notes an important paradigm shift "of global sisterhood to one of unequal sisters....Black, working-class and immigration historians both critiqued the sisterhood model and produced histories of exploited but proud and defiant groups of women." Despite this, she adds, "the dominant narratives have been only modestly revised." While later expressions of feminism acknowledge the intertwined nature of matrices of oppression (race, class, ethnicity), feminist educators in this study were still operating within a 'sisterhood' female unity model, strongly supported in the early decades of the women's movement.

Sears further argues that the key to moving history teachers from the margins to the core of the profession can be found in three principles: changing history teacher's identity from purveyors of facts to participants in a community of historical investigation; recognizing that becoming a history teacher takes an entire professional career; and establishing communities of practice to provide the best way of achieving these.⁵¹⁰ The majority of history teachers in this study actively sought out supplementary resources from outside the school and refused to settle for outdated textbooks and course resources. They reached out to a variety of networks, both personal and professional in order to supplement their course studies. Historical communities were quite prevalent in the 1970s and 1980s. For example, the Toronto Board of Education, supported by the Ontario Ministry of Education, provided opportunities for history teachers to engage in communities of practice through lectures and events held at various historic venues.⁵¹¹ A wealth of educational communities provided much needed support for interested educators.

The interviews provide an overall reflection of two areas: the ways in which teachers remembered including women in history course examinations in the time period under study, and the challenges they remembered facing in developing and delivering alternative units of study. Such challenges are explored in Peggy McIntosh's "Five phases" of women's history.⁵¹² McIntosh breaks down the steps it would take to include women into history curriculum. She suggests that teachers can move from simple inclusions of women, such as adding narratives of

⁵¹⁰ Alan Sears, "Moving from the Periphery to the Core: The Possibilities for Professional Learning Communities in History Teacher Education" in Ruth Sandwell and Amy von Heyking, eds., *Becoming a History Teacher in Canada: Sustaining Practices in Historical Thinking and Knowing* (Manuscript submitted for review to University of Toronto Press, July 18, 2012).

⁵¹¹ Heritage Toronto Archives, *Toronto Historical Board Annual Report*, 1972, 27. Proud of their educational programs, the 1972 Toronto Historical Board partnered with the Toronto Board of Education to sponsor educational seminars for teachers, which included lectures held at museums. The Ontario Ministry of Education curriculum guidelines in the 1970s linked heritage to history curriculum, actively supporting the historic sites. The number of students attending historic sites was quite high, as government funding supported school groups. Support from local school boards allowed students to engage in research projects and field studies at historical sites, historical societies and community fairs.

⁵¹² Peggy McIntosh, *Interactive Phases of Curricular Re-Vision: A Feminist Perspective* (Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, Wellesley, MA, 1983). In 1983 Peggy McIntosh, Director of the Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, speculated "about a theory of five interactive phases of personal and curriculum change that occur when new perspectives and new materials from Women's Studies are brought into a traditional curriculum or a traditional consciousness." The five stages are: "Womanless History, Women in History, Women as a Problem, Anomaly, or Absence in History, Women as History and History Redefined or Reconstructed to Include Us All." See also Margaret Smith Crocco, "Making Time for Women's History," *Social Education* 6(1) 1997, 32--37.

great public women, to restructuring the curriculum to include "the stories of all men and women." So teachers move from asking questions such as "what did women do?" to "how did past women live their lives?" This addresses the crux of this thesis: the failure of the Ontario Ministry of Education to implement a holistic integration strategy meant that resources about women were 'added on' in a piecemeal, optional fashion, as discussed in earlier chapters.

Similarly, Toronto Board Affirmative Action policies were influential as an overall stimulus for equity, but also relied on voluntary action. Although by 1980 there were Board Affirmative Action representatives appointed to every school, it took until 1988 for mandatory measures to be implemented by the government. By the early 1990s these measures were slow to show results, despite the additional introduction of goals and targets throughout the mid 1980s to provide further impetus.⁵¹³ In practice, policies often acted only as guidelines as schools and teachers made independent decisions about how best to implement policies in their schools and course studies. The interviews demonstrated an overall "confusion" amongst teachers about Affirmative Action policies, with participants providing personal reflections and interpretations that rested on their unique teaching circumstances. The lack of clarity of Affirmative Action policies, reflected in the interviews provides evidence of how policies did not always reflect practice: teachers did not always follow policies, and this resulted in a hands-off approach to ensuring equity in course studies.

The interviews provide insights into the daily practices of some of the women history teachers who struggled between two realities: on the one hand antagonistic male dominated school history departments and androcentric curriculum and textbooks, and on the other hand, supportive feminist committee networks and communities. Although feminist scholars have contributed significantly to our understanding of the ways in which women have challenged and been challenged by educational institutions historically, it is less clear the ways in which teachers have been able to reconcile the often conflicting realities of teaching that incorporate multiple demands from school boards, departments and their own professional practices.⁵¹⁴ Most

⁵¹³ FWTAO Statistics, 73 and Elaine Batchelor et al, ed., *The More Things Change-- the More they Stay the Same*, (Toronto: Federation of Women Teachers Association of Ontario, 1987).

⁵¹⁴ See: Alison Prentice, *The School Promoters* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977); A. Prentice, "From Household to School House" in R. Heap and A. Prentice, eds., *Gender and Education in Ontario* (Toronto:

teachers in this study did not reflect on the inclusion of women as a central part of their teaching; this was not an ongoing struggle, nor was it something that they were challenged by each day. To be sure, they felt at times it needed to be addressed, as they "added women" wherever possible to course examinations. There was however a few self-identified "radical" teachers who presented themselves as women warriors, up against the system, male colleagues and outdated resources that acted as a barrier to their work to include women. Thus there were multiple kinds of teachers, but the self-defined "radicals" were in the minority.

The interviews took place in private homes, in cafes and at the university. My questions focused on four areas: history curriculum, history resources, personal networking and school history departments (see Appendix). My opening questions asked for their personal background, education and teaching experiences. The teachers were divided over a number of issues, including support for Affirmative Action and changes to history course curricula. Women and men viewed history teaching differently.⁵¹⁵ Some of the women teachers noted professional experiences that had led them to view education within gendered constructs. Historically, teaching had provided an acceptable employment for women-an extension of their domestic role of "naturally" caring for children- but women had less of a presence in secondary schools and it was rare to find women history teachers. Women history teachers encountered challenges both in their placements in secondary schools in predominantly male history departments, and in the delivery of a hegemonic history curriculum that focused solely on the experiences of men.⁵¹⁶ The majority of history teachers felt restricted when it came to integrating women in course studies, while a number of teachers felt it urgent to address women's absence; this was an extension of their beliefs and involvement in social movement activism. Teachers frankly

Canadian Scholars Press, 1991); Harry Smaller, "'A Room of One's Own': The Early Years of the Toronto Women Teachers' Association," in R. Heap & A. Prentice, eds., *Gender and Education in Ontario*. 103-124; See also, C. Lesley Biggs et al, eds., *Gendered Intersections* (Halifax & Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2011).

⁵¹⁵ Kathleen Casey, *I Answer With My Life: Life Histories of Women Teachers Working for Social Change* (New York, Routledge, 1993), viii. This supports work by Michael Apple and Kathleen Casey who suggest that in the case of women teachers, the "personal has always been political"- in part because of the ways that women teachers have been regulated historically in both their public and private lives and in part by the "patriarchal assumptions" imbedded within school institutions.

⁵¹⁶ See: Alison Prentice, *The School Promoters* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977) Ruth Pierson and Alison Prentice, "Feminism and the Writing and Teaching of History" in A. Miles and G. Finn eds., *Feminism in Canada: from Pressure to Politics* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1982) Elaine Batcher, Alison Winter and Vicki Wright, *The more things change-- the more they stay the same* (Toronto: FWTAO, 1987).

discussed a myriad of challenges they experienced in their attempts to include women in the history curriculum. Many of the women history teachers had been active in women's organizations outside of their teaching positions and had returned to university, while teaching, to do graduate degrees. A number of the teachers had published course materials, some had helped write textbooks, others had developed courses and several had won awards for their work as teachers.

Oral history as a methodology can provide valuable insight into the individual experiences omitted or marginalized from formal archival records. Incorporating oral history into research work can provide opportunities to connect with those directly or indirectly linked to the research, thus uncovering unknown, misrepresented or underrepresented perspectives. In the introduction to the *Oral History Reader* the editors note that "oral history is predicated on an active human relationship between historians and their sources," which they suggest transforms the practice of history. Narrators do not just recall the past, they actively engage in its interpretation.⁵¹⁷ This "relationship" provides an opportunity for researchers to engage in direct communication and construct alternative narratives. Although there have been a number of debates concerning the use of oral history, it provides an essential tool to understand how policies affect teacher practice.⁵¹⁸ Curricula policy changes reflect political, economic and socially driven objectives, but policies alone do not reflect implementation practices. Policy documents might not accurately represent all practices; the interviewees provide carefully constructed narratives of their own, constructed truths that speak to how these teachers see themselves and their work. Examining official curricula documents and texts lead to some understanding of the ways in which the women's movement had an impact on history resource materials but oral history provides valuable insight into the individual teaching experiences.

⁵¹⁷ Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, eds., *Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 1998), Introduction, ix

⁵¹⁸ See Ronald Grele, "Movement without aim-methodological and theoretical problems in oral history," in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, eds., *The Oral History Reader*, 38-53.

Feminist scholars in the 20th century have contributed to our understanding of the ways in which women have challenged historically by educational institutions⁵¹⁹ but less clear are the ways women teachers have been able to reconcile the often conflicting realities of teaching: good teacher pedagogy, methodologies that incorporate social justice practices, provincial curricula, and school board expectations, while still including women. The interviews in this study reveal a few key themes: teachers acted independently in delivering curriculum and took on the responsibility of ensuring course examinations addressed all student needs; interested teachers found ways in which to include women through supplementary resources; and despite school board Affirmative Action policies, women teachers still faced hurdles in both accessing and including women's experiences in history course examinations. This chapter is divided into two sections: teachers' accounts of the resources and texts available for teacher use, and the strategies interested teachers took to implement change.

The View from the Classroom

Textbooks have a long history of being contentious.⁵²⁰ Throughout this study period, textbooks changed considerably: there was a periodic re-issuing of texts to reflect larger societal shifts. However, textbooks, regardless of their political appropriateness, often remained in school systems beyond their expiration date, resulting in criticism of textbooks at both the teacher and Ministry level. Studies emerging at the time supported the criticisms of the textbooks that teachers remembered so clearly in these interviews. Most history teachers indicated that at some point they taught mostly from the textbook, adding supplementary materials from their own book collections and books they found in public and school libraries over time. Teachers who began teaching in the 1950s and early 1960s found many challenges in providing engaging historical examinations. One teacher noted,

⁵¹⁹ See: Alison Prentice, *The School Promoters* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977); Prentice, "From Household to School House" and Harry Smaller, "A Room of One's Own" both in R. Heap and A. Prentice, eds., *Gender and Education in Ontario* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1991).

⁵²⁰ See for example, Alvin Finkel and Margaret Conrad, "Textbook Wars: Canadian Style," *Canadian Issues*, 10/2003; Tony Taylor, ed., *History Wars and the Classroom: Global Perspectives* (Charlotte NC: Information Age Publishing, 2012); Gary A. Tobin, Dennis R. Ybarra, *The Trouble with Textbooks: Distorting History and Religion*. (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008); Nicholls, Jason, ed., *School History Textbooks Across Cultures: International Debates and Perspectives* (Didcot, Oxford: Symposium Books, 2006).

I began teaching in 1958. It was a difficult year because I had trouble taking my university knowledge and then teaching a group of adolescents who had little discipline and basically no interest in history. My Department head or Principal had no interest in providing support. I used the Encyclopedia for support-it wasn't what I was used to in terms of academic history, and in terms of my training. These were survey courses with little opportunity for analysis. You couldn't go deeply into the causes of history and I was not one to stress dates and events alone. "Why" is important in history and I couldn't do much "why" because we were under time constraints with provincial exams.⁵²¹

In Ontario, during the 1960s, history teachers were required to prepare students for provincial exams. Grade 13 history course marks were comprised of 50% classroom work and 50% exam. This narrowed the historical narratives presented in history classrooms, forcing teachers to focus primarily on textbook and exam expectations-which did not include women. One teacher noted,

Basically everything came from the textbook. I would lecture-we would discuss things-writing-drawing diagrams-reading a little bit from Thucydides... I had some primary materials which supplanted my teaching. There was no library and no resources at all. I mean the whole teaching was absolutely ridiculous-getting through provincial exams. I was a marker too-it was a terrible thing-to be taught that way.⁵²²

After the provincial exams were removed in 1967, some teachers found the opportunities for learning quite liberating while others, well-ensconced in traditional instruction, continued to follow textbooks and established course materials. One teacher noted,

When I first started teaching grade 13 the requirements were that 18 out of 20 was graded for content and only 2 out of 20 for what it was to put together. Over time we added more analysis, more current events and students became more involved. I had enough knowledge to teach kids that there is more than one view of history-it's not just a closed book. In the 1960s the Ministry changed grade 13: 50% your mark (classroom) and 50% (exam). This was still difficult, because you needed to focus on the 50% curriculum for the exam, but it was a bit more liberating.⁵²³

Since history textbooks played a major role in the teaching of history, it is worth briefly examining the subject. History textbooks used in schools were often a decade, or more, old,

⁵²¹ Teacher E. Interview by author, Toronto: December 15, 2009. This teacher noted that he used his own books which he bought from university, taking courses at UofT with Creighton, Careless. He also used the library and noted the general public hostility towards teachers and their salaries, "even though salaries weren't very high."

⁵²² Teacher R. Interview by author, Toronto: December 16, 2009.

⁵²³ Teacher E. Interview by author, Toronto: December 15, 2009.

concentrated on the narratives of predominantly white industrial and military men, and Canadian constitutional and political history. Between 1940-1970, male university professors played a major part in the transfer of this discourse to secondary classrooms in Ontario as they were employed by publishers to write the textbooks, often partnering with other historians or prominent history secondary school department heads. *The History of Canada for High Schools*, for example, first published in 1944, was written by Dr. Duncan McArthur of Queen's University. He notes a "special debt of gratitude" to Professors A.L. Burt, Arthur S. Morton and R.G. Trotter and also gives credit to A. G. Doughty and William Smith, Dominion Archivists.⁵²⁴

Canada-A Nation and How It Came To Be was written by well known historian A.R.M. Lower, of Queen's University who partnered with high school history teacher J.W. Chafe in 1948. This book was revised in 1958 and many schools used the book until the 1970s.⁵²⁵ One of the most well known history textbooks, *The Modern Age*, first published in 1955 and again in 1963 was co-authored by British historian Dennis Richards and well known University of Toronto historian J. E Cruickshank.⁵²⁶ The most popular 1960s and 70s history textbook was *Decisive Decades* written by A.B. Hodgetts.⁵²⁷ Most teachers liked this book because it employed more opportunities for students to engage in analysis and critical thinking rather than memorizing constitutional and political facts.

By the 1970s the tide had turned, mostly as a result of a change in curriculum focus, and history textbooks were written predominantly by male secondary school history teachers, many of whom had Master's Degrees. For example, *Challenge and Survival: the History of Canada*, first published in 1970, was written by three male high school teachers from Winnipeg and *Call Us Canadians*, a textbook published in 1975, was written by two male history heads of

⁵²⁴ Duncan McArthur, *History of Canada for High Schools* (Toronto: W.J. Gage and Co., 1944), preface. Professors A.L. Burt, of the University of Alberta and later University of Toronto, Arthur S. Morton of the University of Saskatchewan and R.G. Trotter of Queen's University. McArthur notes in the preface his indebtedness to the "many teachers of Canadian history for their most valuable suggestions."

⁵²⁵ A.R.M. Lower and J.W. Chafe, *Canada-A Nation And How It Came To Be* (Toronto: Longmans and Co., 1948).

⁵²⁶ Dennis Richards and J.E. Cruickshank, *The Modern Age, 1500-1763* (Toronto: Longmans Canada, 1963).

⁵²⁷ A. B. Hodgetts, *Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians* (Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1960). Hodgetts became a Professor at OISE but at the time of publication was a history teacher at Trinity College School, Port Hope Ontario.

departments in Toronto schools.⁵²⁸ One teacher noted during an interview that history professors Donald Creighton, JMS Careless, Ramsey Cook and Michael Bliss, many of whom wrote the textbooks used in classrooms, continued to support male dominated departments, despite changes in numbers of females entering history departments. This teacher recalled that she spent most of her undergraduate years at the University of Toronto in the late 1960s trying to find the elusive "history club," only to discover that, like Hart House, it was only open to male membership.⁵²⁹ Many of the male history majors ended up running history departments in high schools in Toronto supported by reference letters by male historians at the university and continued to follow established conventions. Another teacher noted that Innis, Fox, Creighton and others, reflected the "testosterone-rich nature of our communal studies." He noted, "The younger academics, just entering into their academic manhood dared to introduce new view points, but even there they were more interested in issues of domesticity, family, survival and settlement and in some cases of industrial maturity and the conflict was so engendered."⁵³⁰ Another teacher noted, "I recall the department head was male and the assistant department head was a man. The history profession in high schools in those days was overwhelmingly male. There would be a joke or a facetious comment like 'I guess with women's lib now, we should consider calling it something different.'"⁵³¹

In 1970 Marcel Trudel and Geneviève Jain published a comparative study of textbooks at the request of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. The commission that authorized the study was particularly interested in themes of nationalism and the ways textbooks

⁵²⁸ H.H. Herstein, L.J. Hughes and R.C. Kirbyson, *Challenge and Change: The History of Canada* (Toronto: Prentice-Hall, 1970). In the preface the authors recognize the contribution of V.J. Jensen of the University of Manitoba and Cornelius Jaenen of the University of Ottawa. I.L. Martinello and Allan S. Evans, *Call Us Canadians* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1975). No academic historians are referenced.

⁵²⁹ Teacher N. Interview by author, Toronto: December 11, 2009. This teacher also noted history "was a man's field-most of the teachers teaching history at that time [1968] were men -same as in math and science." She added that one history department head gave his student teacher (later became a Board Consultant) a good mark, noting that she was a great teacher but said to her "Too bad I'll never hire you". When she asked why not, he said, "I would never hear of any women hired for his department." The interviewee noted that the general attitude was that history was a "man's subject" because, she felt, history curricula focused on military and constitutional history, which was "all men." Another teacher commented that when doing graduate work, she often had to wait for feedback from her M.A. thesis advisor as he told her that he read the papers of male students first.

⁵³⁰ Teacher O. Interview by author, Toronto: November 18, 2009.

⁵³¹ Teacher U. Interview by author, Toronto: September 16, 2010.

reflected relations between English and French cultures. Textbooks, they argued, formed the basis of student learning and as many students did not acquire post-secondary education, they defined how the majority of students were educated in Canadian history.⁵³² Trudel and Jain did an extensive examination of the specific themes presented in each history textbook and examined a total of fifty books which then was reduced to a more specific examination of fifteen. The research revealed a number of themes. All textbooks included economic aspects of history and the role that government and industry played in shaping Canadian history and embraced a common focus in some areas such as narratives of Amerindians[sic].⁵³³ The study examined key elements of textbook writing. Each textbook reflected the objectives of the textbook authors, some to inculcate moral education and some to provide a basis for good citizenship. One striking omission in the study was the category of women. In a thorough examination of national themes of importance to all Canadians, women were totally absent. The omission or marginalization of women in historical narratives was a given at this time, both at the university and secondary school level. In fact teachers confirmed this by noting that for most of their careers only powerful women, such as monarchs, were the only women included in their history classrooms. One teacher noted, "I thought about the number of times women came up. There was Queen Victoria, Elizabeth I, and Boudicca the Celtic Queen, Joan of Arc and Florence Nightingale."⁵³⁴

The textbooks reflected standard and traditional male historical examinations. One teacher indicated that his wife, as one of the few women, had been part of a writing team for a major history textbook in which the publishers had adopted a strong military focus for the textbook, despite her protests for broader narratives.⁵³⁵ Social changes that affected gender roles

⁵³² Marcel Trudel and Geneviève Jain, *Canadian History Textbooks: A Comparative Study* (Studies of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1970).

⁵³³ Marcel Trudel, *Canadian History Textbooks*, 65. What the study found was that there were clear differences between English and French presentations of the past and that Amerindians "were treated in a consistent manner; in a paternalistic one, backed by mistrust; they must be protected from themselves and raised to the dignity of the white man."; See also Jocelyn Létourneau, "Remembering Our Past: And Examination of the Historical Memory of Young Québécois" in Ruth Sandwell, ed., *To the Past* (University of Toronto Press, 2006).

⁵³⁴ Teacher J. Interview by author, Toronto: Jan. 10, 2010. This teacher noted that he read a book by Eileen Power, *Medieval Women* published in 1975 by Cambridge University Press. Power published an earlier book in 1963, *Medieval People* that also included women.

⁵³⁵ Teacher R. Interview by author, Toronto: Dec. 16, 2009. This teacher added that his wife, also an educator, noted the strong textbook emphasis on British history (British Epic: Saywell&Richer/Clark/Irwin) She was one of the

were not apparent in history textbooks. As marginalized voices, the voices of women, immigrants, the working-class and minorities, were inserted periodically, but as supplementary to the main narrative. One teacher added, "My experience with Canadian history textbooks was always one of disappointment. They seem to me to have always been focused on a very general overview of the major topics with a few sidebar studies thrown in." ⁵³⁶

Women's history narratives were viewed as suspect, too political or part of the social sciences. Their narratives had not held the test of time and did not hold the same weight as "tried and true" stories. The curriculum did not demand that women's narratives be included and so, left to the decision of individual teachers, they were viewed as less important. Publishers did not want to take any chances as textbooks were costly to produce. As well, many history teachers had successful pedagogical practices, and were reluctant to change. One teacher noted, "In Canadian history, women were not represented as a distinct group from men but I don't remember anti-women sentiments, not overt sexism – just male centric, with a strong male bias."⁵³⁷ Several teachers in this study had trouble remembering any women in the textbooks they used in classrooms. If they did, it was noted as a sidebar; "peripheral or of localized interest."⁵³⁸ Some teachers noted they dismissed the central importance of textbooks and linked dependence on textbooks with poor teaching skills. One teacher asserts, "Textbooks have always been looked at as godsend by ill-prepared teachers and those who depend on the assigning of classroom homework-prepping for rote responses from students." ⁵³⁹

When publishers made specific attempts to add women, they often did so in a haphazard and perfunctory manner. For example, *Call Us Canadians*, published in 1976, a popular

textbook editors for *The Modern Era*, and commented that the publishers wanted her to push the authors towards a greater "military emphasis, and never anything about women."

⁵³⁶ Teacher O. Interview by author, Toronto: November 18, 2009.

⁵³⁷ Teacher C. Interview by author, Toronto: January 11, 2010.

⁵³⁸ Teacher O. Email Interview by author. Toronto: December 5, 2009. This teacher noted that he didn't include pamphlets or additional materials in the same category as textbooks and wondered why more materials were not included in textbooks throughout the years. He stated "surely there must have been documentary, topical and photo material available to help in the construction of textbooks that would adequately respond to the fact that half of the history class was female?" He added "There seems to have been too much doctoring of existing texts so that they can pass the minimal test of responding to the issue of a fair and accurate portrayal of women in our history."

⁵³⁹ Teacher M. Interview by author, Toronto: November, 2009.

textbook, was the first textbook in Ontario to include a separate chapter devoted to women. In clear response to the United Nations International Women's Year (1975) the book created a chapter entitled "Profiles of Canadian Women", but placed these profiles in the last chapter of the book.⁵⁴⁰ The small chapter begins with an introduction that the declaration of Women's Year by the United Nations was "a sign that countries around the world were beginning to recognize women's demands for equality" and notes that "throughout our history, women have contributed to shaping a strong Canadian society".⁵⁴¹ The decision to omit women for 350 pages of a chronological narrative of Canadian history with clearly an "add-on" section about women from different historical periods, and different parts of the country, resulted in a lack of historical cohesion. Identifying "outstanding" women in-between the dominant historical narratives presents a distorted portrayal of history and fails as a step towards integration. Many teachers in this study noted that most teachers did not get to the end of the textbook; placing women in the last chapter meant that those narratives would probably not have been included.

The idea of a women's history textbook was tossed around feminist educational communities. Resource materials used in schools formed the basis for history studies and educators questioned the impact of "add-on" school resource materials on student learning. There has been a long history of Canadian women questioning the need for textbooks to better reflect a more holistic approach to history. For example, in the 1920s, members of the *Women's International League of Peace and Freedom*, who had actively attempted to stop the First World War, undertook a survey of history textbooks in Canada in order to assess in what ways history textbooks were used in schools to support militarism. They hoped to prevent another war by removing the glorification of militarism from student history textbooks. The report, performed under the auspices of the Toronto branch of the League and appraised by Professor Peter Sandiford, University of Toronto, was published in 1935; it served as an impetus for

⁵⁴⁰ Madeleine de Verchere, Catherine Parr Traill, Nellie McClung, Dr. James Barry and Karen Kain, texted photos of Agnes MacPhail, Jeannne Sauve, Grace Hartman, Grace MacInnis, Bette Stephenson and Flora MacDonald.

⁵⁴¹ I.L. Martinello and Allan Evans, *Call Us Canadian* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976) see last chapter: "Profiles of Canadian Women." See also J. Bradley Cruyton and W. Douglas, *Spotlight Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1980).

discussions about the impact of historical narratives in school textbooks and the role of the state to decide in what ways historical examinations should be framed.⁵⁴²

History textbooks in the post war periods were altered to reflect changing societal positions about war, citizenship and national building, but did not reflect the changing roles of women. But women in the post world war period, and throughout the twentieth century, continued to challenge dominant school history narratives that omitted women's contributions to avoid or end war. This reflected the work of the VOW, which was founded in 1960.⁵⁴³ Clearly, what was needed was a history textbook about women, yet none of the teachers in this study remembered any kind of activism around history textbooks. That might suggest a general acceptance by history educators of women's ancillary role in historical examinations, affirming the school Board's position, that interested individual teachers accept the responsibility of accessing resource materials.

The inclusion of women into school history courses may in fact have been more successful if the project for a history textbook about women and by women had materialized. Alison Prentice was part of group of academic scholars interested in addressing the lack of a textbook about Canadian women. She notes,

I was involved in the organizing of a group of women to write the first textbook (in English) dealing with the history of women in Canada, which was of course intended to make it easier for teachers at all levels to find out about and understand women's history in this country. We were able to draw on the resources of OISE, as two of the textbook's authors, and Pat Staton, who did research on the illustrations, were research associates at OISE and I was a professor there.⁵⁴⁴

In her professional files, at the University of Toronto Archives, documents reveal the challenges faced by the "Textbook Collective", as the authors referred to themselves, in deciding on the

⁵⁴² Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (under the auspices of the Toronto Branch and the Convener, Isa M. Byers), *Report of the Canadian School History Textbook Survey*. Reports of readers correlated and appraised by Peter Sandiford (Toronto: Baptist Book Room, 1935). Very prescient, as current historiographies have noted how military discourses have permeated history and citizenship studies. See: Ian McKay and Jamie Swift, *Warrior Nation: Rebranding Canada in an Age of Anxiety* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2012).

⁵⁴³ VOW was founded in 1960, led by Ursula Franklin and Kay Macpherson.

⁵⁴⁴ Email interview with Alison Prentice, March 05, 2010. Alison Prentice, Paula Bourne, Gail Cuthbert Brandt, Beth Light, Wendy Mitchinson, Naomi Black, *Canadian Women: A History* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988).

audience, format and publisher for the textbook.⁵⁴⁵ The original title for the textbook was *Setting it Straight: the History of Women in Canada* but it became *Canadian Women: A History*. The minutes of the meetings reveal that the textbook authors intended to reach a broader target group than university students. Although marketed as an excellent university undergraduate history textbook, the authors hoped to also reach high schools students, college students and teachers of younger students. The minutes reveal that the authors also hoped the book would also be sold as a trade book-a "book that would be readable!" They wanted a documented book but "not a book choked with footnotes," to reach a broader audience.⁵⁴⁶ The Collective chose Harcourt Brace Jovanovich (HBJ) because "they were assured they would produce it in both hard cover and paper form and aggressively market it to trade as well as textbook outlets." The initial launch of the book was at the Learned Societies conference in Windsor in 1988 and the response was "enthusiastic."⁵⁴⁷

Although the book was well received within the academic community, it did not find a place within secondary schools in Ontario. There may be several reasons for this. First, the archives document the many challenges the authors faced with the initial publisher and the questions of promotion and availability of the book. The book was difficult to access from bookstores because bookstores did not choose to carry large numbers of books. In a memorandum to the authors, Alison Prentice notes that the public was not able to find the book in bookstores. They were "not interested in stocking unless obtaining normal discounts." HBJ discounted 20% on a textbook, less than the regular 40-46% for other books. HBJ felt that the

⁵⁴⁵ University of Toronto Archives: (Box: B1998-0017/006). File/ Text, minutes, memos etc. 1981-1986. "The Textbook Collective" members consisted of Alison Prentice, Veronica Strong-Boag, Paula Bourne, Beth Light, Sylvia Van Kirk, Marta Danylewycz, Gail Brandt, Ruth Pierson, and Pat Schultz. (Box: B1999-0017/006, B2009-0010/007). CWH Correspondence: The archives file notes that the Collective had formed with another name "The Setting it Straight Collective" (Prentice, Brandt, Black, Bourne, Light). The files reflect that a number of publishers were keenly interested in publishing the textbook, allowing the authors the opportunity to choose.

⁵⁴⁶ University of Toronto Archives: (Box: B1998-0017/001-006). File/Text, minutes, memos etc. 1981-1986/Minutes of meeting November 27, 1980. The authors hoped the book would address a number of questions such as, "How was women's experience in Canadian history different from men's? How did women's experiences alter or affect the course of events?" The authors also commented that the textbook was intended "to be a comprehensive and readable textbook." They wrote the book "for university students in introductory courses and senior secondary and community colleges as well as to attract an educated lay audience."

⁵⁴⁷ University of Toronto Archives: (Box: B1998-0010/007). File/ Canadian Women/HBJ 1987-88 and 1999-2000. Memorandum dated Aug. 9, 1988 from N. Black and A. Prentice to the Textbook Collective Re: Situation of Canadian Women.

textbook market was their key target base.⁵⁴⁸ Second, a letter from a college history instructor to the authors notes the value of the book for their classes but at the same time makes a request for "visual resource" suggestions to "use along with the book" in order to make the text more engaging for students.⁵⁴⁹ Secondary schools teachers may have found the textbook too academic, also requiring visual aids, and this may also be one reason it was not popular in regular bookstores. But at the same time, despite its level of scholarship and engagement, the textbook did not become standard reading material for all university survey courses. Many faculty used materials from the textbook.⁵⁵⁰ Responding to my inquiry about the first women's history textbook, Prentice notes,

We were very naive when it came to the textbook, *Canadian Women: A History*. We wanted to have an agent, as there were three publishers after the book - but the agent we attempted to engage refused to work with a collective [Hogtown] and we were too busy to pursue the question. When we selected Harcourt Brace to publish the text, we did so because we were very taken with the enthusiasm and dedication of the young woman who was soliciting our manuscript. But we had some difficulties when it came to the contract, and failed to get in writing our wish that the text be discounted as a trade book - although we had been promised this verbally. We went to a lawyer, but all we could get was a trade discount for the first few months of the book's existence. The result, we felt, was that Canadian women in general would never see the book - and that proved to be the case. It's been very popular and well-used as a text, but is not found in trade book stores and therefore many educated Canadian women are totally unaware of its existence.⁵⁵¹

A women's history textbook might have made greater inroads in bridging the gap between the work of women's history scholars and the history content in schools, but this never took place in Ontario.

⁵⁴⁸ University of Toronto Archives: (Box: B1998-0010/007) and (Box: B2009-0010/007). There was major media coverage for the book. See; Doris Anderson, *Toronto Star* Aug. 13, 1988 called it a "landmark book", Penny Come, *The Globe and Mail*, Aug. 6, 1988 noted the book might "bring more visitors to the women's resource centre at OISE." Also articles appeared in *The Calgary Herald*, *Kingston Whig*, and reviewed by Peter Gzowski on CBC's *Morningside*.

⁵⁴⁹ University of Toronto Archives: (Box: B1998-0010/007) File/ Canadian Women/HBJ 1987-88 and 1999-2000. The letter, dated March 13, 1991, was to Alison Prentice from instructor Jacqueline Gresko who taught at Douglas College. In the letter she also notes that the last time she taught women's history was in 1979 at which point the funding for Canadians studies was cut and remained cut throughout the 1980s. The Canadian history courses were reintroduced in 1988 and she was teaching two semesters.

⁵⁵⁰ Alison Prentice et al, *Canadian Women: A History* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988).

⁵⁵¹ Alison Prentice, Email Interview with author: March 5, 2010.

Feminist teachers in this study spoke of the ways in which they were influenced by the broader feminist sphere. During this period, the ways in which women have been portrayed in educational materials was much discussed within academia and within and outside the school system.⁵⁵² Women history teachers have long grappled with a history curriculum that overwhelmingly reflects the experiences of men and the challenges involved in bringing the substantive women's history scholarship into course studies.⁵⁵³ The interviews with self-defined feminist teachers displayed how departments were altered from within by their practices and their presence. There is limited literature on the work of teachers to alter history teaching, and a paucity of new work that focuses on the persistence of inequality in history curriculum.⁵⁵⁴

There are a few scholars who have started this scholarship. Alison Prentice, Ruby Heap, Rebecca Coulter, Elizabeth Smyth, Dorothy Smith, Chad Gaffield and Joy Parr are a few of the scholars who have examined the ways women educators have been challenged by the historiographical emphasis on patriarchal notions of progress within Canadian society.⁵⁵⁵ In her article "Why We Teach History: A Contesting View", Rebecca Coulter argues that history teachers in particular are called upon to either support or challenge state narratives.⁵⁵⁶ She argues that history teaching has always been political and situated within wider social structures. She notes,

Historians are obligated to serve as socially responsible public intellectuals. One part of their task is to help fellow citizens assess the historical claims of politicians, journalists and social scientists; another is to promote a critically conscious understanding of our

⁵⁵² See: Alison Prentice, *The School Promoters* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977); A. Prentice, "From Household to School House: The Emergence of the Teacher as Servant of the State" and Harry Smaller, "A Room of one's own.." in R. Heap and A. Prentice, eds., *Gender and Education in Ontario*. (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1991):103-124.

⁵⁵³ Marcel Trudel, *Canadian History Textbooks: A Comparative Study* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer for Canada, 1970).

⁵⁵⁴ See R. Patrick Solomon et al, *Brave New Teachers: Doing Social Justice Work in Neo-Liberal Times* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2011).

⁵⁵⁵ See: Alison Prentice, *The School Promoters* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977); Michael Katz. *Education and Social Change in English-speaking Canada* (New York: New York University, 1972); Charles M. Gaffield. *Cultural Challenge in Eastern Ontario: Land, Family, and Education in the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: Thesis 1978); P. W. Bennett. *Rediscovering Canadian History: A Teacher's Guide for the 80s* (Toronto: OISE/UT. 1980).

⁵⁵⁶ Rebecca Priegert Coulter, "Why We Teach History: A Contesting View." introduction, *Encounters on Education*, 3 (Fall 2002): 1-3. See also Rebecca Priegert Coulter and Helen Harper, eds. *History is Hers: Women Educators in Twentieth Century Ontario* (Calgary: Detselig, 2005).

shared history in the world. It is a large project redolent with pedagogical possibilities, not only for history teachers in the schools, colleges and universities, but for all those who teach history in less traditional ways.⁵⁵⁷

The interviews revealed that feminist history teachers were caught between their responsibilities as state employees and their need to recognize social change. Feminist teachers were not arguing for a separate feminist history, but rather the inclusion of women equally within all history curricula. Interested teachers have always challenged standard state supported learning materials and have engaged in the debate over their role as history educators.⁵⁵⁸ So although a women's history textbook never appeared in school history departments, interested teachers still found ways to add women's voices to their course studies.

Teachers indicated that once textbooks included more on social history more spaces were allocated for women. One teacher noted, "Social history as a prevailing methodology by which to study the Canadian story is a post-1970 trend and that meant textbooks would be catching up by 1990. After mid-1980, new history textbooks began to include specific chapters on suffrage and women's role in the wider national story."⁵⁵⁹ Some themes were more common than others, for example, teachers indicated that suffrage was the most popular topic for Canadian studies. Others themes included women and factory work, women immigrants, women social reformers and issues related to families, schools and health-care. All teachers acknowledged change over time as by the 1990s women appeared in history textbooks in increasing spaces as social history

⁵⁵⁷ Rebecca Priegert Coulter, "Why We Teach History, 1-3. Coulter quotes Paulo Freire, who she notes reminds teachers, "Our job is more than teaching a subject, history. While teaching requires competence, "it also requires our involvement in and dedication to overcoming social injustice." See: P. Freire, *Teachers as Cultural workers: Letters to those who dare to teach*. (Trans: D. Macedo, D. Koike, A. Araújo Freire), (Boulder, CO: Westview Press), 58.

⁵⁵⁸ There is substantial scholarship that debates the uses and abuses of history education. See for example, H. Zinn, *The Politics of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970); John Lewis Gaddis, *The Landscape of History*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Margaret MacMillan, *The Use and Abuses of History* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2008); Peter Stearns et al, *Knowing Teaching and Learning History* (New York: New York University Press, 2000).

⁵⁵⁹ Teacher O. Email interview with author, Toronto: Nov. 18, 2009. This teacher added that women appeared in specific place such as suffrage, as nuns and wives of prime ministers but were absent in areas such as the arts. He adds, "In the world of painting and sculpture, women were anonymous or were deemed to be amateurs. All this was very obvious in our textbooks-women were always an addendum or supplementary inclusion."

became more popular in textbooks.⁵⁶⁰ Teachers noted the ability to add women, once less emphasis was placed on political and military history. One teacher noted,

I think that one of the problems was that--and it's the way that the textbooks are set up--that you'll have a little section on women. The women's stuff was not part of political history or economic history. Because of the way, I would argue, that the entire curriculum is set up, you are supposed to look at what the impact of economic and political structures are on daily life. That dilutes the importance of social history. I found my big challenge was getting enough original source documents that I could give them to read to supplement the text. Not just supplement the text, but actually go beyond the text.⁵⁶¹

Some teachers took deliberate steps to address these omissions by expanding textbook examinations in their own classrooms. One teacher noted,

In the teaching of Canadian history right from the beginning I included questions about how events impacted women and how women impacted events because that was an outcome of who I was and certainly I came out of a feminist perspective in the 1960s which was really about challenging you--so that there was very much a revisionist paradigm that you brought to the classroom. Even in 1991 I would say that that represented what was typical of what was happening in my classroom....⁵⁶²

Social history helped teachers approached their history teaching by placing a greater emphasis on those marginalized in textbooks. One teacher said,

I would say that I approached history as social history. It was about dealing with groups that were marginalized in history and marginalized in the texts. I spent as much time focusing on labour, and the family, and the poor working-class, as I did talking about women. That was fuelled by where I came from- I did a curriculum unit for the Board on how to integrate labour studies into the intermediate level panel. It was about

⁵⁶⁰ See: Susan Wright and Andrew Griffith, *About Face: Is anybody out there listening? A Study of Sexism in a Secondary School* (Toronto: Ontario Status of Women Council, 1978). After examining history textbooks popular in schools at the time they note how textbooks could trace thousands of years of world history with little reference to women. In the conclusion they wrote "women are excluded as individuals and as a force in history. Their accomplishments are downplayed and credited to men. ... women students have no role models or heroes to emulate. A sense of pride is denied them for they are not taught the contributions women have made to world development."

⁵⁶¹ Teacher Y. Interview by author: Toronto: March 17, 2012.

⁵⁶² Teacher K. Interview by author, Toronto: Nov. 30 2009. This teacher noted, "That over time textbooks turned their attention more and more to colour, to side bars, to pictures, too photos, to primary approach- trying to be all things to all people and in trying to do this short changed analysis. The newer textbooks provide basic material but to really understand history you are going to have to go to other resources."

using primary sources and it also dealt with women in the labour force, immigrant women and I did workshops for teachers who didn't have a historical background.⁵⁶³

The product of editorial teams, specific writers and existing markets, textbook narratives are often framed within clearly defined spaces and publishers are highly skeptical about adding new material, which may help explain why history textbooks in Ontario remained so committed to conventional narratives, despite policies that advocated for change.⁵⁶⁴ Ken Osborne, for example, examined the ways in which Canadian history textbooks portrayed working-class Canadians. After examining a number of textbooks, published between 1948 and 1979, he concluded that textbooks had little or nothing to say about working people. Osborne argued that several factors caused this omission such as restrictions to space, writers, publishers' assumptions about what constitute essential narratives, and changes to formats.⁵⁶⁵ Similar factors may explain the hesitation in adding women to an established published text.

With the publication of *Spotlight Canada*, in the 1980s,⁵⁶⁶ a popular textbook used in schools in Ontario, small steps were introduced to include women as the textbook provided a stronger focus on working-class and immigrant narratives.⁵⁶⁷ For example, chapter three is devoted entirely to the struggles facing immigrants at the turn of the twentieth century. Women

⁵⁶³ Teacher K. Interview by author, Toronto: November 30, 2009.

⁵⁶⁴ Jason Nicholls, *School History Textbooks across Cultures* (Oxford: 2006, 7); Laura Hein and Mark Seldon, *Censoring History* (Armonk: East Gate Books, 2000, 4); Alvin Finkel and Margaret Conrad, "Textbook Wars: Canadian Style," *Canadian Issues*, 10 (2003). International research on school history textbooks has been pursued by historians and researchers and independent organizations. Laura Hein and Mark Seldon call them "sites of memory" and Jason Nicolls examines the ways they are culturally embedded.

⁵⁶⁵ Ken Osborne, *Education: A Guide to the Canadian School Debate -- or, who wants what and why?* (Toronto: Penguin, 1999), 15. Osborne suggests they "took for granted that the indispensable backbone of any treatment of history was political." the assumption that politics forms the foundation for historical divisions in history textbooks. Osborne argues that the narratives have elements in common that focused on adversity and survival. He adds "textbook writers seem to go out of their way to describe the hardships that Canadians faced-and overcome, for it is always made clear that in the end they were overcome." This, he suggests is tied into a state moral message that hardship was a natural state of life and that through work and determination could be overcome; something to be expected in the building of nation-states.

⁵⁶⁶ J. Bradley Cruxton and W. Douglas, *Spotlight Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1980).

⁵⁶⁷ J. Bradley Cruxton, *Spotlight Canada*. Oxford Press created small icons that featured themes used throughout the textbook, such as Canadian/American Relations, Multiculturalism, Labour and Politics. The "Women" icon (a woman's head wearing a cloche hat) is placed throughout the text when women are mentioned in the historical narrative.

are included more widely throughout the textbook and featured with the appearance of a "women" icon. Women are included more prominently than traditional textbooks in chapters that examine the world wars: on the home front giving advice to housewives to ration and conserve, knitting socks, and working as munitions workers. There is three page spread about women's work during the war through letters, written by women, describing some of their experiences and a discussion over suffrage. Oxford University Press clearly made an effort to include women in this textbook, but the women remained supplementary. In fact the "women" icons disappear in chapters that focus heavily on topics such as separatism, foreign policy, technology, politics and economics.⁵⁶⁸

In 1980, an OISE study examined textbooks, resource books and reference books used in classrooms to teach Canadian Studies. The researchers concluded that many Canadian history textbooks and course materials were outdated, inappropriate for changing educational standards, and no longer reflected curriculum objectives.⁵⁶⁹ The authors were also highly critical of ways in which women were omitted or marginalized in textbooks. They added that "the patchwork quality and the limited nature of the coverage reinforced this impression."⁵⁷⁰ The authors noted that textbooks still had a tendency to present the role of women in history "as outside the mainstream of Canadian history."⁵⁷¹ Another OISE study, in 1989 surveyed 66 Ministry

⁵⁶⁸ J. Bradley Cruyton, *Spotlight Canada*. This textbook concludes with a chapter "Developing Our Canadian Identity" that features a number of women. In a closing paragraph the authors note, "the struggle for Canadian women today is to bring about a change of attitudes and greater opportunities for women to be involved in the mainstream of Canadian society, now that they have achieved the vote, and the freedom to work", 379. The majority of teachers indicated that they employed a number of supplementary resources to ensure social history perspectives. One example given was Robert Harney and Harold Troper's book, *Immigrants: A Portrait of the Urban Experience 1890-1930* (Toronto: Reinhold, 1975).

⁵⁶⁹ Virginia Robeson and Christine Sylvester, *Teaching Canadian Studies: An Evaluation of Print Materials, grade 1-13* (OISE Press, Curriculum Series/40 1980).

⁵⁷⁰ Canadian Women's Studies in Education (CWSE/OISE Study, 1980), 131. See also, Susan Wright et al. *About Face: Is Anybody Out There Listening?* (Toronto: Ontario Status of Women Council, 1976?); Virginia Robeson, Christine Sylvester, *Teaching Canadian Studies* (Toronto: The OISE Press, 1980); Doris W. Ryan, *Ontario Classroom Textbook Survey* (Toronto: School Group of the Canadian Book Publishers' Council, 1982).

⁵⁷¹ OISE Study (1980), vii. In evaluating a textbook published in 1975, the authors of the report expressed disappointment at the decision to include a short final chapter as its location at the end of the book "made it appear as an afterthought."

Circular 14 approved history textbooks.⁵⁷² None of the textbooks met the criteria of the sex equity policy.⁵⁷³ This study revealed a disturbing fact. Sex equity policies, which were first developed in the early 1970s, had done little to alter formal history and social science materials. Integrating women was at the bottom of most history departments' priority lists. History teacher Peter Flaherty confirms this in an article that he wrote for the *History and Social Science Journal* in 1989.⁵⁷⁴ He was part of a curriculum writing team that produced material for the then new Ontario senior credit course *Canada in a North American Perspective*. The team approached teachers across Toronto and asked them to rank, in order of priority, the units they would most like to see developed by the curriculum team. Flaherty writes that "of the 16 mandated units in the Ontario Ministry Guideline, the one dealing with the women's movement in Canada and the United States came in last on every list."⁵⁷⁵ The team decided to compromise by allowing for an independent study unit.

Moreover, history textbooks framed women's achievements within male perspectives, and therefore often distorted the historical examination. For example, the textbook *Challenge and Change* noted, "Women of Canada, because of their part in the war effort, intensified their drive for political, economic and social equality.....In their work they could count on help from prominent men in Canada."⁵⁷⁶ This textbook, like others, took the achievements of women as a

⁵⁷² Circular 14 was the Ontario Ministry of Education official list of approved textbooks and resource materials allowed for use in classrooms in Ontario. Publishers focused on getting Ministry approval as their products were then featured in government publications provided to school boards.

⁵⁷³ OISE Study (1989) For details of the outcome of this study see: Beth Light, Pat Staton, Paula Bourne, "Sex-Equity Content in History Textbooks," *History and Social Science Teacher Journal* (Vol. 25:1, Fall, 1989): 18-21. The textbooks devoted roughly 12.8 percent of the book to include women, but that included *any* reference to women, such as "Elizabeth Simcoe who had accompanied her husband to Canada."

⁵⁷⁴ Peter Flaherty, "HIStory and/or HERstory: One Man's Thoughts on Learning and teaching Women's History in High School," *History and Social Science Teacher Journal*, 25 no.1 (Fall, 1989): 14-18. Flaherty was the only male teacher to write on the theme of women's studies in this issue. He notes in an interview, Sept. 16 2010. "History isn't just *his* story it's also *her*story and we shouldn't neglect the important contributions that women have made. [As a teacher] I became more interested in social history. I always had offbeat interests in history and remember doing a medieval paper for a history course on witchcraft when I realized that we were only getting one side of the story. These men, mainly church men, who were quite misogynistic, were presenting their version of what witchcraft was...I thought there has to be more than this. Somehow through my reading on that particular social history topic I discovered some alternative interpretations that women historians had developed about witchcraft. I thought wow this is quite interesting. So if that's true of witchcraft, it's probably true of other things."

⁵⁷⁵ Peter Flaherty, *History and Social Science Teacher Journal*, 15.

⁵⁷⁶ H.H.Herstein et al, *Challenge and Survival: The History of Canada* (Toronto: Prentice Hall, 1970), 324.

product of supportive men. One teacher acknowledged, "There was no integration of Canadian women and their contributions in any textbook that I can recall using."⁵⁷⁷ And another teacher confirmed this when he noted,

To consider how they responded to gender inclusively makes a mockery of the reality. Writers only began to 'throw in' bits of gender as the publishers kept up with general societal trends. The two basic Canadian history texts remained visually male and only marginally responsive to gender issues.⁵⁷⁸

Most teachers indicated that over time they moved away from the textbook and this allowed them to incorporate a wider range of learning resources. One teacher noted,

At the beginning [of my teaching career] I was more textbook centred. Even though I wrote textbooks, and I still see a value for textbooks, as I became more knowledgeable and more confident, I really moved away from the textbook and brought in supplementary materials. I probably broke my department budget with my photocopying.⁵⁷⁹

Another teacher noted that the increase in available supplementary materials made the textbook less central. She noted, "When I look back thirty-five years, there are two things: one, that the textbook became less and less important and two that I found as a historian not only were they used less and less but they did a poorer and poorer job in providing insight into history."⁵⁸⁰

Some teachers challenged the norm through their own activism and found ways to enhance traditional examinations through supplementary resources. Clearly teachers were aware of history textbook limitations and welcomed the increased availability of supplementary resources- which was especially true when including women. Of course, that raises the question of why school boards continued to spend thousands of dollars on history texts that were not representative of Affirmative Action policies or the evolving state of history education. In some cases teachers took the highly committed step and developed their own courses or course units.

⁵⁷⁷ Teacher L. Interview by author, Toronto: Feb. 12, 2010.

⁵⁷⁸ Teacher O. Email interview, November 18, 2009.

⁵⁷⁹ Teacher U. Interview by author, Toronto: September 16, 2010.

⁵⁸⁰ Teacher K. Interview by author, Toronto: November 30, 2009.

Strategies for Change

Interview subjects noted that since individual history teachers had little input into textbook contents and textbooks were outdated and disconnected from current political issues, interested teachers made the decisions to modify or enhance textbook materials through the use of supplementary materials. The Ontario Ministry of Education did not specify how to deliver curriculum: teachers made those decisions. The policy framework taken up by governments and school boards to demonstrate a commitment to women's equality involved little change to existing power and economic arrangements and only minimal change in schools. In response, interested teachers supplemented gaps in the curriculum. One could argue that their work as teachers was more effective in changing history education to include women than were Board policies. One teacher summed up what the majority noted in this study, "My greatest textbooks and resources were not on Circular 14."⁵⁸¹

Studies have examined the ways in which teachers have exerted their own agency in order to challenge, alter or expand curriculum course materials.⁵⁸² This was confirmed with this study. Faced with outdated and biased textbooks, interested history teachers sought ways in which to supplement the curriculum expectations with additional materials which aimed at providing a more balanced, and, they argued, a more meaningful historical examination. The teachers interviewed agreed that the only responsible way to provide a balanced examination of history was through supplementary materials and directed assignments. The work of teachers as independent professionals is an essential part of this study. One teacher noted, "The only effective way by which to provide for a fair overview of the role of women in our shared history was through supplementary materials and specific assignments. This is the stuff of "history material."⁵⁸³

⁵⁸¹ Teacher L. Interview by author, Toronto: February 12, 2010. This teacher noted that he regularly used his own personal film and book library, influenced by his university studies, more than official Ministry mandated materials.

⁵⁸² See: Nina Bascia. Unpublished manuscript: *How Teachers Change the Curriculum: Case Studies of Teachers' Work to Shape Teaching and Learning Beyond Their Own Classrooms* (OISE/UT, Fall 2009); D. J. Clandinin & F. M. Connelly, "Teacher as Curriculum Maker" in P. Jackson, ed., *Handbook of Curriculum* (New York: Macmillan, 1992): 363-461; *Brock Education*, 20, no. 2, (Spring 2011): 1-3.

⁵⁸³ Teacher O. Email Interview by author, November 18, 2009.

Supplementary materials included journal articles that teachers photocopied, filmstrips, films and books that teachers borrowed or purchased. Some teachers displayed student projects about women on the walls of their classrooms or schools, and women's voices entered history classrooms as a result of independent research work by students.⁵⁸⁴ Because resources were not always available in schools, teachers and students turned to Board resource centres, public libraries, bookstores, and a variety of locally developed venues in which to bring the experiences of women into their history classrooms. As one teacher added, "Most of our resources were home grown, self-made and invented on site." Women were included in these "home grown" independent research studies and field studies. This teacher also added,

Field studies in history in Toronto were easy. There is so much to see and study. There was always a focus on the achievement of women. Colonial industries were run by women. Victorian manufacturing required women and had female leadership. The early labour movement had female leadership and the health movement was dependent on women. The study of domestic architecture focused on the roles of women. The stories were available outside the classroom. Independent studies were designed to allow students to highlight women's narratives. Studies of ethnicity, industries, crafts, religious groups, education and feminism specifically, urban conditions, temperance, family structure in various eras, literature, themes in art and special interest topics were available for students to pursue.⁵⁸⁵

They used academic articles found through various publications. Teachers noted the job of accessing resources through trips to resource centres. One teacher noted "I felt back then, it was crucial, and what's crucial today is what's online."⁵⁸⁶ Like the women's resource centres and the Board centres, teachers had file-cabinets where they stored additional articles for independent research projects; most indicated they included articles about Canadian women.⁵⁸⁷

All history teachers in this study noted the importance of films in their teaching of history. Beginning in the 1970s, teachers were acquiring films through the school boards, the

⁵⁸⁴ Teacher O noted, "Our school had a long hall of photos and biographies of Canadian women that were displayed on the wall of the third floor of the school. Each photo was accompanied by an essay written by a student as part of their independent research project."

⁵⁸⁵ Teacher O. Email Interview, November 18, 2009.

⁵⁸⁶ Teacher T. Interview by author, Toronto: January 3, 2011.

⁵⁸⁷ Several file cabinets filled with articles about women still remain at the Fran Endicott Equity resources centre (TDSB) in Toronto. The cabinets are filled with a variety of articles, newspaper clippings, published journal articles, photos and learning resource materials.

Toronto Public Library and audio-visual departments, recording movies off television programs, renting videos from video stores, purchasing films or renting through the NFB, which had offices in Toronto. One teacher noted that he was on the Toronto Board Film Committee, founded in 1977, which consisted of a group of approximately ten teachers who met regularly at the Toronto Board offices and examined history films. The committee was focused specifically on history and social science films and made recommendations to the Toronto Board on which films would support the history curriculum. The committee viewed the films in a special viewing room on the fifth floor of the Board offices and then had discussions afterwards, continuing their talks over dinner.

Teachers rented films from the Etobicoke, York and North Boards of Education as well as the OISE library and a special Toronto Public Film Library that was located at Avenue Road and St. Clair. The film library was eventually closed and films were scattered throughout the Toronto Public Libraries, many going to the Toronto Reference Library. Many history departments had copies of the annual NFB catalogues for schools, and films, available through the NFB, could be rented for three days or longer if requested.⁵⁸⁸ Teachers found time to access resource materials, often working with colleagues on professional development days. One teacher noted,

I shouldn't say this probably, but you know when we had those PD days? We never went. We went to the OISE Library and spent our day there finding things to use in our classes. There was also a lot of good stuff on public television, channel 17 at that time, and we taped everything. Some of those films are so classic that I could even make a case for using them today because (in) some areas things haven't changed all that much.⁵⁸⁹

Other teachers noted they accessed films about women from the Toronto Board Women's Resource Centre. One teacher noted, "Teachers would make appointments and come to the Resource Centre. They would call and order what they wanted."⁵⁹⁰ Many history departments had their own film collections; some were quite substantial, and many teachers indicated their expertise in taping videos from TVO and PBS-educational materials to show in their history

⁵⁸⁸ Teacher L. Interview by author, Toronto: February 12, 2010.

⁵⁸⁹ Teacher D. Interview by author, Toronto: August, 12, 2011.

⁵⁹⁰ Teacher Q. Interview by author, Ontario: November 12, 2009.

classrooms. Teachers ordered their own film catalogues and purchased their own films as a way in which to include women's narratives. Most teachers in this study could name films about women that had been used in their history departments or classrooms, in order to fill curriculum gaps.⁵⁹¹

As previously noted, many of the films about women used in history classrooms were available through The NFB's Studio D.⁵⁹² One teacher noted,

I am a film person. One of the reasons why I liked to show things is that it created a common ground for all the kids in that classroom. So everyone understands the discussion because you are not coming from one person's perspective, we are discussing something that we all have access to. There was this wonderful NFB film called "Maria." It was about a woman who wanted to start a union in Toronto in the garment district. We were talking about the Winnipeg General Strike in class and you could find things about Nellie McClung and Emily Murphy. You could find biographies about famous women and use them. But there wasn't much about the ordinary average woman that these kids would have a connection with. With this film "Maria", well, you always look for these hooks to grab the kids in.⁵⁹³

This teacher, and many others in this study, wanted to include historical narratives that were relevant to their students, something lacking in traditional textbooks. They wanted to link what students were learning in schools with events taking place in their own homes and country. Films provided this opportunity to provide relevance and include the experiences of women.

⁵⁹¹ A number of teachers indicated they had hundreds of videos in their school history departments-many which they had taped or bought themselves. They indicated they had purchased special equipment to video tape films and to copy films as teachers from other departments, such as English, borrowed the tapes for their classrooms and it provided "a good bank of resources" for the history program. One teacher noted, "Thank God for the National Film Board and the newly invented videotape and videotape recorder." (Teacher D, August 12, 2011).

⁵⁹² Pioneer work was published by the BC Teachers Federation (BCTF). Many of those classroom materials could be found in libraries in Ontario. For example, *Famous Canadian Women, Early Canadian Women, From Captivity to Choice: Native Women in Canadian Literature*. The Corrective Collective published *She named it Canada* (Vancouver: Press Gang Press, 1971). There were several copies of this book at the Toronto Board of Education. See: NFB film discussion in a report on the NFB/Educators Forum on Women's Studies in Secondary Schools. (Montreal, 1986) and Gail Vanstone, *D is for Daring* (Toronto: Sumach Press, 2007).

⁵⁹³ Teacher D. Interview by author, Toronto: August 12 2011. This teacher added, "There was a large population of boys in class, and they said [about the film's characters] 'She's a woman and men are the bosses.' I said to them, Tell me what men are supposed to do? They said, you go out, work and take care of your family. I asked the students, How many of you have moms who work? and all the hands went up. I said, does that mean that your fathers aren't doing what a man is supposed to do?" Teachers noted how films allowed for discussions of gender roles.

Activism and Support Through Outreach

Teachers also developed strategies to address omissions in the textbook by independently accessing resource materials for their classrooms but some teachers noted the difficulties and resented the demands on their time and expertise. One teacher noted that although scholars had published materials broadly on women's history, it was not always suitable for use in classrooms. She said,

The problem was that you had to translate the academic stuff down to a level that is accessible to high school students. So you had to make summaries and most teachers just don't have the time or energy to bother doing that kind of thing. My experience with teachers was they just teach the same old curriculum each year. People like to know what they know and they don't want to take on the task of doing something different-unless they're forced to by changes in the curriculum. Even then, they do it with a great deal of resistance.⁵⁹⁴

In other words, this might suggest a particular teacher culture, wherein incorporating new curricula ideas brought additional challenges, not always welcomed by all teachers. However, it is clear that many teachers looked for historical materials that provided a more thorough examination of curriculum units than was provided in textbooks and school resources. For example, one teacher noted, "We used historical writing at the time. We did our own research. We went to the Reference library."⁵⁹⁵ But not all teachers in this study reflected on accessing particular resources about women unless they had curricular reasons. One female history teacher noted, "When I was teaching history, I don't think I was thinking so much about the absence of women in history. The courses that I developed were labour history courses-and women were in there. We looked at major strikes in history-what was the issue, the economy, and the strike was an entry point."⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹⁴ Teacher U. Interview by author, Toronto: September 16, 2011.

⁵⁹⁵ Teacher M. Interview by author, Toronto: March 2, 2010. This teacher noted that the Toronto Board Resource Centre librarians assisted her in accessing resources about women.

⁵⁹⁶ Teacher M. Interview by author, Toronto: March 2, 2010

And teachers approached the learning environment in different ways, many who noted the influence of organizations and groups in which they are members. Teachers who identified themselves as feminist were members of multiple women's organizations. One teacher stated,

I was a member of the Affirmative Action committee. I ran workshops at schools for the sexual harassment policy and there were things happening in the city-a general awareness of women and racial minorities. I think in the 1970s, the Board power structure was the old boys but things were changing-they were changing dramatically especially in the 1980s with the appointment of women. There were resources at the Board that I could access. But the other important thing is that I was doing graduate work at the university. So in my graduate course work and resources, I did lots of social history and feminist analysis of history, and so that percolated into my teaching and it ended up in the classroom.⁵⁹⁷

And as well a number of teachers were able to obtain positions on curriculum writing teams where they were able to input women's perspectives and argue for women's narratives in history studies. One teacher noted that she worked on history curriculum units for several summers. She stated,

One summer we developed a unit of material on women's suffrage and made links to labour studies and the development of women's unions. The units developed into binders of materials for teachers to use. Teachers would get a binder and we taught them in workshops on how to use the materials. Teachers could teach right from the binders because it had aims and objectives, tests and charts. They got to keep the binders.⁵⁹⁸

A number of teachers wrote books and developed materials, many that focused on women. Some of their scholarship is evident in published collections of articles and also as books.⁵⁹⁹ Janet Ray, a teacher-librarian at Bloor Collegiate in Toronto, published a number of women's resources materials and books such as *Emily Stowe* and *Towards Women's Rights*.⁶⁰⁰ These books provided unique examinations of the lives of individual women and provided a

⁵⁹⁷ Teacher K. Interview by author, Toronto: November 30, 2009.

⁵⁹⁸ Teacher N. Interview by author, Toronto: October 13, 2009. This teacher was also on the "Bias Committee" at the Toronto Board and said that new materials produced by the school board had to be vetted by the committee before it was allowed in classrooms. She felt that allowed for a "feminist perspective."

⁵⁹⁹ The Centre for Women's Studies at OISE published two collections that contained a number of articles written by Toronto educators. See: Frieda Forman et al, ed., *Feminism and Education: A Canadian Perspective*: volume 1 (1990) and volume 2 edited by Paula Bourne et al. (1994).

⁶⁰⁰ Janet Ray, *Emily Stowe* (Don Mills, ON: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1978) and *Towards Women's Rights* (Toronto: Grolier, 1981).

trigger for further study. As well, some teachers had opportunities to work collaboratively with academics in the field. Myra Novogrodsky, for example, a Toronto teacher wrote *Claiming an Education: Feminism and Canadian Schools*, which she wrote with scholars Jane Gaskell and Arlene McLaren.⁶⁰¹ This book brought together three self-defined Left-leaning feminist educators who each played a role in advocating for and then setting up women's studies courses and programs at various levels: schools, university and the Ministry. They jointly wrote this book to reflect on the work of the women's' movement to "rethink educational issues" at all levels and how feminist politics influenced change.

Finally, a number of teachers used supplementary published series, such as the Prentice-Hall series of *Canadiana History Scrapbooks*. The scrapbooks provided an excellent source of primary documents, primary visuals and statistics in which women were featured throughout. Canadian history teachers used the narratives and photos about Canadian women as a spring-board for further research.⁶⁰² All the scrapbooks included women-primary documents that were not formally presented to history students before the series. The series was extremely popular because of the primary documents: photos and letters, newspapers and statistics and other visuals were included in each scrapbook. Teachers took pride in accessing excellent supplementary materials to support a more inclusive curriculum.⁶⁰³

⁶⁰¹ Jane Gaskell et al, *Claiming an Education: Feminism and Canadian Schools* (Toronto: Our Schools/Our Selves Education Foundation, 1989), 2-3. The authors' note that they wrote this book to "to rethink the feminist agenda in our schools and to broadly examine its implications."

⁶⁰² There were numerous books in the *Canadiana Scrapbooks* series, all were published by Prentice Hall Toronto, and were very popular in history departments in schools. Many schools ordered class sets. The first published in 1978, was written by Donald Santor, *Canadians at War 1939-1945* followed by *Canadians at War 1939-45* in 1979. Ken Osborne wrote *Canadians at Work* and W.P. Telford wrote *Canadian/American Relations*, both published in 1984. Finally, *A Nation Beckons* by Ethal Fairbairn followed in 1987.

⁶⁰³ Teacher K. Interview by author, Toronto: November 30, 2009. This teacher who used the original scrapbooks was disappointed with the changes in the re-issued version of the books for classrooms, noting, "The old *Canadiana Scrapbooks* are really a treasure. They created a new line of scrapbooks and they destroyed them because they didn't understand they didn't need a timeline in the bottom, they didn't need commentary in the margins, all they needed to do was provide teachers with the primary documents surrounding a central theme and the teachers would use them. Flashing up the colour-historical timelines on the bottom-editorial secondary commentary along with the primary sources - trying to do everything- didn't reflect the old scrapbooks." This suggests teachers preferred collections of primary documents that were less manipulated by publishers, relying instead on their own pedagogical techniques.

Stand-alone Courses

Beginning in the 1970s, a few Toronto teachers also created stand-alone courses, to address the problem of "adding women" to traditional course examinations. One teacher noted her women's history/women's studies course, as one of the first secondary school history courses about women (1980). Her response to my inquiry about the course, of which she still has a copy of the original syllabus, and the letter from the Ministry, in which they noted that the course presented "an angry tone," indicates a strong commitment to social justice. She notes,

I taught *Man and Society*. One year-and in fact that was the impetus for the first time when I did anything really significant around women's position in society- because one year there were huge numbers of girls in the course. Students asked why it is called *Man and Society*. They argued that there should be a course with materials about women. In fact in those days I could have just taught it-guidelines allowed you to altered the materials and still give the credit. But we didn't. I wanted to create this course-it was part of a political act. We wanted to make a statement that this should be there. Women are not in the curriculum and we wanted a course called *Women and Society*.⁶⁰⁴

Most teachers recalled the ways in which female students demanded materials about women, particularly when required to do independent research assignments. One teacher noted, "My teaching style was to bring students' voices into the class – might not always like the opinions that they contribute – but I wanted the class to work as a team. Many of the contributions of the students that I used came from female students in my classes."⁶⁰⁵ Another teacher noted, "Two girls from Barbados came to me and said they wanted to do something on the contributions of Black Canadian women. They introduced me to Mary Ann Shadd and others."⁶⁰⁶ Another teacher noted, "Research topics were always feminized by an activist group of female students, even in the seventies." Curriculum developed at the level of individual schools reflected the

⁶⁰⁴ Teacher M. Interview by author, Toronto: March 2, 2010.

⁶⁰⁵ Teacher C. Interview by author, Toronto: January 11, 2010. This teacher added, "I wasn't trying to make mini historians, purely trying to make students enjoy the subject."

⁶⁰⁶ Teacher J. Interview by author, Toronto: January 10, 2010. When I asked where this teacher found resource materials for these students, he indicated that multicultural resource materials, some which he had been directly involved in writing, had been developed that supported research work in this area.

sensitivity of the teachers. In most cases the inclusion of gender depended on the demands of the students and the receptivity of the teacher.⁶⁰⁷

In an effort to find a space for women in the curriculum a number of the teachers developed their own courses. Locally developed courses, also referred to as stand-alone courses, were permitted by school boards to address omissions in the curriculum and particular school needs. This allowed women teachers' opportunities to fill gaps in historical narratives. Their inclusion depended on individual principals' support. One teacher, who developed a course on women's history in the late 1970s recalls,

My Principal was a feminist and a mover and a groover. There was an initiative at that time to develop experimental courses. I went to her about a course on women's studies and she supported beginning the course the next year. She wanted a level of 'legitimacy' to this course so she said 'let's add a history component'. We sent it off to the Ministry and their only criticism was that they wanted us to add women in the military, because they felt that military history should be there- to provide a few women heroes. The course was called *The Canadian Women*. There were *four* separate classes the first year and that was a big thing.⁶⁰⁸

Many of these courses grew out of women's studies units, available through universities, and those developed by school board consultants and interested teachers.

Some teachers made adjustments to their pedagogy to reflect local school needs, and this often provided a space to include women. Other teachers networked with local communities, and worked outside of the school, where they brought materials in. The diversity of these teaching strategies reflects the diversity of the teachers themselves. Teachers worked within local communities to develop and acquire course materials. One teacher, for example, indicated that the school in which he worked supported a large immigrant student population. In an effort to improve student learning, the history and social science department planned and created unique

⁶⁰⁷ Teacher O. Email interview, November 18, 2009.

⁶⁰⁸ Teacher Q. Interview by author, Toronto: November 12, 2009. This teacher noted the four classes had attracted over 100 kids. She also noted that the principal gave her considerable backing. The principal said "I'm going to be your department head, make sure you get the money that you need, the resources that you need-- and so she deserves a lot of credit for that. She had been the first principal of a high school in Toronto so she got lots of reaction. She was very gutsy and wore these giant hats. I made up my materials for my part of the course-which was all contemporary stuff- and Sheila took most of the history material from a course by Jill Conway, UofT." This teacher is referencing materials from Jill Conway's first women's history course at the University of Toronto. (1971).

course units to support student learning. They did substantial research to create biographies and fictional case studies, many which included women's narratives. He noted,

I remember we did Barbara Edwards settling in the West. We did all that great research and then personalized it into somebody's life. Our focus wasn't just women, it was minorities too. We did a case study about a Chinese Canadian working on the railway. We did many units on working conditions. We had all this raw data and then we'd make a case study out of it. It was those kinds of materials designed to make the history come alive through the first person narrative.⁶⁰⁹

Another teacher indicated that there were few resources available for a course he was teaching on urban studies. He did significant research work to access studies of local housing trends, to develop "an understanding of evolving living forms and the nature of domestic architecture were all studies through local options and materials." He "even studied how "fast food" architects organize their space in order to produce a high turnover. Here, he added, "There was always a focus on women and their contributions."⁶¹⁰

Finally, teachers indicated that they attended school board events, often to access resource materials and, as noted in the previous chapter, the Toronto Board held regular evening events that featured "women's topics": societal and educational issues that often included keynote speakers, feminist films and curriculum activities.⁶¹¹ One teacher suggested that the lack of support for teacher outreach was a gendered issue,

If there were teachers who were intrigued by the experience of women in Canadian history, they got there on their own, and without any support of preparation or teaching materials, and they did so in an environment where the expectation was totally male and where most history departments were staffed by males.⁶¹²

⁶⁰⁹ Teacher B. Interview by author, Toronto: July 9, 2010.

⁶¹⁰ Teacher O. Email Interview, November 18, 2009.

⁶¹¹ Teacher P. Interview by author, Toronto: October 28, 2009. Interviews performed for this study indicate that many women teachers choose to embrace equity policies by accessing new resources from resource centres and libraries. The Women's Liaison Committee at the Toronto Board received a sizeable grant to allow school libraries the opportunity to purchase books about women that portrayed women in a more equitable way, thus making resource materials available for teachers in schools.

⁶¹² Teacher O. Email Interview by author. November 9, 2009.

The study also reveals that the vast majority of women history teachers shared a drive, commitment and common activism in challenging the status quo through their work in curricula and Affirmative Action. One teacher represents the position of many when she recalls,

I was on the Board's women's committee. We met once a month at the board office and there was a sub-committee. I was one of three who helped write the board policy and I ran workshops at schools for sexual harassment policy. There were things happening in the city-a general awareness of women and racial minorities. In the 1970s the board power structure was the old boys but things were changing-they were changing dramatically especially in the 1980s with the appointment of women.⁶¹³

Another teacher noted,

I was very active from 1975 on the Women's Liaison Committee, the Status of Women Committee, and the Bias Review in Education Committee. I worked on lots of curriculum documents such as the Curriculum documents in the classroom and girls. I did workshops on women. I worked on a lot of projects for the board. I did summer writing projects-History and Social Science department summer writing projects.⁶¹⁴

The common narrative from all the self-identified feminist teachers in this study was the ways in which they worked with other women and the excitement and positive energy of the time. Kincaid sums up what many noted about their own activism,

The whole organization was very important. We put it together- there were six of us who founded that – Women in Educational Administration Ontario (WEAO for short). (1980/81) We created it because of the lack of women in positions of responsibility in education. We were so successful that those of us who were teaching were invited to school boards to do sessions because there was this recognition that, yes, probably we could teach very well... That was a great organization. Again, the excitement of it and all the things that were accomplished in terms of women, women getting together, women discussing things, like curriculum.⁶¹⁵

But not all teachers supported Affirmative Action or sex equity curriculum workshops. One teacher reflected,

My experience in workshops was that they were often delivered by persons with an aggressive approach and one that disparaged what had been going on in the classroom at the time. Teachers who were successful in the development of gender equity history in

⁶¹³ Teacher K. Interview with author, Toronto: November 30, 2009.

⁶¹⁴ Teacher N. Interview by author, Toronto: April 8, 2010.

⁶¹⁵ Dr. Patricia Kincaid, Board Consultant. Interview by author, Toronto: July 13, 2010.

the classroom did so because they were personally interested and struck out on their own creative impulse to serve the needs of the students and who were perhaps further ahead in their expectation of the nature of history curriculum.⁶¹⁶

This study suggests that some teachers saw Affirmative Action course implementation to include women as something that was only of interest to "feminist" educators, or alienating to some educators, which might explain why policies were slow in finding support amongst teachers. As has been previously discussed, not all teachers interviewed identified as feminists; some teachers made reference to their activism within the women's movement, while others felt removed from those communities or as neutral because of their status as professionals. The concept of 'feminism' was a common thread between all interviews, although I was careful not to frame it in that way. Bringing women into the classroom was automatically seen by the teachers as a feminist act, not just a means in which to achieve gender equity in the history curriculum.

Teachers in this study made many references to the ways in which feminism had blossomed, been tested and transformed throughout the years in which they taught. Most teachers began their teaching career in the late 1960s and early 1970s and therefore were working at the time of the second wave women's movement, and as such were witness to when feminist demands for equality and social justice took on new directions. The interviews demonstrate that teachers were well aware of public feminist demands for social justice, the political mobilization of women, Affirmative Action initiatives and the broader feminist activism taking place outside schools. One teacher, who offered a women's studies course noted,

The students did an action project-collecting materials from newspapers-helping in a shelter-it was a hotbed of feminism consciousness and all in the media- and marches- we went on marches and the kids really got into it-even though the kids came from very traditional families. They did women in sports and of course we did studies within our own school.⁶¹⁷

The women teachers, however, placed themselves in different spaces in terms of feminism's direct impact on their private and professional lives. As strong and independent thinking women, their commitment to "feminism" was nuanced and reveals the complexities of

⁶¹⁶ Teacher O. Email interview, November 18, 2009.

⁶¹⁷ Teacher Q. Interview by author, Toronto: November 12, 2009.

the issues women faced in situating themselves socially and politically. One woman teacher noted, "I was a feminist in my own way-I just wasn't out there like some of the others- I probably became that later, but not at that time." But this same teacher also noted the excitement, commitment and dedication during the early years of the women's movement, when she was a member of several committees. She noted, "There was excitement-International Women's Year- there were exciting people around, Rosie Abella, Lorna Marsden, Joni Mitchell, Rita MacNeil- there were people doing things!"⁶¹⁸ Another teacher reflected,

In my teaching of Canadian history, right from the beginning, questions about how the events impacted women and how women impacted events were there-because that was an outcome of who I was and certainly I came out of a feminist perspective in the 1960s which as really about challenging the old history so that there was- very much- a revisionist paradigm that you brought to the classroom."⁶¹⁹

Some were reflective of the term *feminism* and their connection to the movement. One teacher noted, "In those days I do not think that I would have described myself as a feminist-not sure that I was completely aware of women's issues-even though I had gone through university when some of that was starting-I went to UofT and my experience of history was only white/men."⁶²⁰ Understanding definitions of feminism was central to these interviews. Although I did not specifically ask teachers for their definition of feminism or if they self-identified as feminists their commitment to feminist ideology was revealed through their answers. A number of teachers, however, did self-identify as feminist teachers. The majority of the women teachers indicated they had and continued to proudly support women's organizations. The organizations included women teachers' unions, (members of ETFO or FWTAO) women's history organizations (OWHN), women's political organizations (the feminist party of Canada/ or NDP women's caucus) and women's cultural groups (NFB-studio D) Teachers agreed that women's organizations provided important opportunities to network with a common community.

⁶¹⁸ Teacher S. Interview by author, Toronto: June 13, 2010.

⁶¹⁹ Teacher S. Interview by author, Toronto: June 13, 2010.

⁶²⁰ Teacher M. Interview by author, Toronto: March 2, 2010.

Others felt that their feminism and activism directly affected their work as teachers and others were cautious of making those links- distancing themselves from pre-defined positions.⁶²¹

One of the most commented upon themes was that of colleagues' resistance. To be sure, not all teachers framed their personal narratives in this way. However, it did emerge as a common thread, as many teachers commented on the lack of support they received from male colleagues and administrators but also noted the ways in which they took action. Many teachers spoke about the ways in which they looked for additional resource materials to fill the void in mainstream textbooks and resources, as there was little support to purchase departmental materials. Many of the women teachers noted their need to work independent of history departments and to make individual decisions about curriculum resources for their classes. Their memories as 'women warriors' were central to many of their narratives. One teacher noted, "If sexism came up, things like 'You're pregnant? *You* picked a good time' - My take is that there are ways to say that to someone, you say it as a joke, but then if you're an Admin. that's a serious statement-there were layers and layers of that."⁶²² Another teacher noted,

The composition of most history departments in the city throughout the 50s, 60s and 70s was that it was overwhelmingly male and in my department I was the only woman until the late 70s, then over time two others were hired. It was a typical curriculum- a male focus that was the standard. But I didn't feel at all intimidated by that because it was a department of bright male teachers and their knowledge meant they were open to change and receptive to new ideas. The head of the history department was old school and I think the role of women never crossed his head but he was a gentleman and I could get into historical debates with others in the department and he wouldn't interfere.⁶²³

For some it was more hostile. One Administrator who gave workshops on how to alter traditional curriculum to include women recounted,

Lots of women teachers wanted change. If you were re-thinking your course there were ways to make your course gender fair. But there was one teacher at one

⁶²¹ Teacher K. Interview by author, Toronto: November 30, 2009. This teacher noted when writing a paper for a university course, "I did a comparison of feminist historians who I thought their feminism got in their way of their history. I mean that the feminist ideology is preeminent in their study and I think that as with any ideology you need to let the evidence speak for the topic and not look for materials in your research because of your own focus."

⁶²² Teacher T. Interview by author, Toronto: August 31, 2010.

⁶²³ Teacher K. Interview by author, Toronto: November 30, 2009.

workshop that picked up a chair and started chasing me around the room. Everyone sat there. This was violence ...people just sat there. I called the Superintendent about his behaviour. I felt unsafe. There was quite a bit of resistance!! Big time!! There were 60 people in the room. This teacher was known for his "temper tantrums." I wondered, what happens when he shuts his door with vulnerable 14 year olds?⁶²⁴

For many, hostilities were a product of a public perception that Affirmative Action was based on male hatred. One teacher noted,

At one of the first workshops, one fellow in question period asked 'why do you hate men?' I said where did you get that? Define sexual stereotyping for me. Don't tell me that boys in this world are allowed to do anything they want- look at the male child who wants to become a ballet dancer-you think that's easy? But he was still angry.⁶²⁵

When asked why she thought some people made the link between Affirmative Action and "male bashing" this teacher replied, "This whole thing is all about being afraid of women's power." She added that teachers who wanted to do things were being "punished" by their colleagues. She notes, "That whole men/women thing, but it was also a women/women thing. You know what it's like to be working on various school staffs where you're the pariah?"⁶²⁶

The hostility towards them as women advocating for women was clearly part of their work experience: a barrier to overcome. A male teacher noted that his department continually made critical remarks about including women's narratives, despite their impressive "knowledge of history and progressive views of politics." He noted, "Male teachers had a blind spot when it came to women. It was hard for them to take women seriously, as both colleagues and as objects of historical study. They reacted to the extremes of the women's movement." He added, "Back then it was, 'These crazy bra burning martyrs, what they need is a good man to straighten them out. They're all frustrated or lesbians'".⁶²⁷ Another teacher, who later became a principal, noted the ways in which the hostility became school- wide. She asserts,

There were always people who were politically correct and those who were jealous. But I never let that stop me. At the school where I was working, there was a group created by

⁶²⁴ Teacher P. Interview by author, Toronto: October 28, 2009. Affirmative Workshops were mandatory; therefore workshop leaders often faced hostilities from those teachers who resented their required presence.

⁶²⁵ Teacher S. Interview by author, Toronto: June 13, 2010.

⁶²⁶ Teacher S. Interview by author, Toronto: June 13, 2010.

⁶²⁷ Teacher U. Interview by author, Toronto: September 16, 2010.

some men on staff called PLOT (Potential Leaders of Tomorrow) to challenge our already established group called OWL (Ontario Women in Leadership). They were not really a group- but just created to challenge our work. They went so far as to make announcements [over the PA system] about their meetings and wrote letters to the editors: Affirmative Action treatment for the school! But despite this, I felt that I was doing the right thing-it wasn't all smooth sailing.⁶²⁸

Women teachers who later became principals, superintendents, directors or held other positions of responsibility remember the same hostile environment they faced as teachers; they always had to fight for equality and recognition. Their change in status, both financially and in terms of position, did not change the narratives, as these problems flowed freely back and forth between the classrooms, schools, school board communities, positions as teachers or as administrators. The positions were interchanged continually with little reference to class, race or status; they presented their past as either part of a supportive community (like-minded feminists) or part of hostile communities (males and females resistant to change). One teacher who later became an administrator commented that she refused to ask her secretary to get coffee or do chores for her, unlike the male administrators who had preceded her. Another commented how events allowed administrators, educators and staff to join at tables together, thus allowing people from different work areas to network. Placing women together, despite differences in salary, status or experience was central to some interviewee's narratives. Their current or ongoing sense of equality clearly shaped their historical memory, despite admitting to conflicts with women teachers and colleagues at schools and school boards. The memories of some women teachers were encased in heroic narratives of ongoing battles, thus diminishing the ways in which other factors may have played a part in their experiences. In recreating their past, they have situated themselves as champions of gender equity-and focused on those narratives that situated barriers to their work to make change. Recurrent narratives focus on how they were ridiculed, marginalized and dismissed by schools and school history departments. Their memories were also shaped by their efforts to preserve and support communities in which they networked.

The women teachers recalled similar narratives about women's activism, school board gender equity or Affirmative Action initiatives and the development and dissemination of women's historical recourses-also situated within a gendered ideology. The men recalled their

⁶²⁸ Teacher N. Interview by author, Toronto: October 13, 2009.

teaching within different frameworks- and outside the gendered discussions of the time- reflecting on gender issues in curriculum within broader discussions about overall political curricular changes throughout their teaching career. The interviews did not reveal very much middle ground because the interviewees expressed their experiences in an either/or binary, which is very much reflective of their own place and time.⁶²⁹

Chapter Conclusion

A number of the women teachers eventually became principals or took positions of responsibility within school boards or at the Ontario Ministry of Education. Since the number of male history teachers at this time far outnumbered women teachers, it might explain why the few practicing women history teachers sought membership in feminist communities. Many of the women teachers developed, advocated for, and were active in the sharing of women's history resources. The teachers used a wide range of strategies to bring women's narratives into history classrooms, and faced a number of barriers, but many were united in their resolve to provide a greater equity balance to traditional history curriculum.

Many of the interviews ended with their reflections of despair, as gender equity work had not produced the expected end results. If the opportunity arose in the interview, I asked why they felt so much work by so many feminists led to so few changes in history curriculum. I asked why textbooks and resources continued to reflect a traditional and predominantly male narrative. These questions made some teachers despondent. One teacher lamented,

It was not an easy time to be very outspoken. Materials developed at the Board at first made people uncomfortable -the Ministry, the school board and the teacher federations were all driving forces. The work was to insert women's history, everything about

⁶²⁹ These perceptions have been linked to the "boys versus girls" narratives so strongly played out in the schools and through schools board Affirmative Action initiatives, in the media and in literature. Examples such as John Gray, *Men are from Mars, Women are from Venus* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992) contained binary gender narratives that became quite common in the popular press. However, postmodern feminists challenged the binary approach to gender (masculine and feminine), shifting the focus to the social construction of gender. Historians also challenged women as an ahistorical category. See: Judith Butler, *The Judith Butler Reader* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2004); Grant, Judith, *Fundamental Feminism: Contesting the Core Concepts of Feminist Theory* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Judith Lorber, *Gender Inequality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

women, into the curriculum, because the heavy handed approach was not going to work. For the Ministry to change its policies-well it happened very gradually.⁶³⁰

The majority of the teachers believed that the Ontario school board amalgamation (1998) marked the end to any momentum of their work in equity. One teacher who had reluctantly become a principal noted,

Gender equity was high on the list at my school-with new teachers-this was beyond discussion stage-this was policy. It was a formal commitment. It was the energy of change-there was excitement about it because we had support of the school board trustees-and then when Right wing trustees entered with Mike Harris-it is a cycle-you cannot let the cause go because you don't always have the right person in positions of power. Amalgamation broke that up.... I left the year before amalgamation on purpose because they took the principals out of the union. The loyalties weren't there anymore-you had to work with someone who didn't have the same commitment- it was like starting all over again.⁶³¹

I choose to end this study in the 1990s, because teachers articulated this time as a shift in education: in the focus on educational objectives; on developing a common curriculum; in the expansion and use of computers and technology; in the tightening of teachers' independent curricula decision making and decisions over resources and pedagogy, and in the support for gender equity.⁶³² One teacher noted, "Now education is into evaluation and cost-saving. I was part of the golden age of education with the development of materials and support for workshops. For younger women now all the battles have been fought-the feeling today is that people don't realize what happened in the past."⁶³³

I wonder in what ways time had altered the ways in which these teachers remembered what happened in their history classrooms. Hundreds of students had passed through their classrooms doors- and engaged in hundreds of history lessons. Did their feminist beliefs intensify

⁶³⁰ Teacher S. Interview by author, Toronto: June 13, 2010.

⁶³¹ Teacher Q. Interview by author, Toronto: November 12, 2009.

⁶³² Bob Rae's NDP government 1990-1995 expanded equity education in the Ministry of Education through the development of a new Anti-Racism and Ethnocultural Equity Branch and through the Equity Opportunity Office. See Tim McCaskell, *Race to Equity: Disrupting Educational Inequality* (Toronto: Between the Lines Press, 2005) At the same time the NDP government introduced initial steps towards a "common curriculum" which was later expanded under the Harris Conservative government, along with major cuts to education in Ontario.

⁶³³ Teacher N. Interview by author, Toronto: October 13, 2009.

or diminish over time? Was their work to include women in their history courses central or supplementary to their actual teaching? It is important to contextualize the narratives in order that we can understand how discourses change over time. Joan Sangster notes that "we need to ask how these narratives reflect as well as shape women's social and economic lives; why certain narratives emerge and take precedence; and who these particular scripts benefit," adding that "women's narratives do reflect certain knowable experiences, always mediated by cultural codes, which may in turn come to shape their interpretation of experience in a dialectical sense."⁶³⁴

Many women history teachers situated their work within the feminist communities where they were active members. Women teachers joined feminist organizations and school board committees to be part of a common community; they independently reached out to feminist scholars, women's bookstores and attended conferences to access resources for their classrooms. Their work within classrooms and schools occupied a great portion of their teaching experience, yet their recollections continually returned to memories of the central role of feminist communities outside of the schools. Perhaps this suggests that the real work of teachers to bring women into history course studies was not taking place in school history departments, but was more significantly concentrated in the feminist initiatives and organizations outside of the schools. Their success was more evident in these outside communities as they were able to influence policy change and publically support feminist work in that arena. The next and final chapter in this study examines in what ways communities outside the schools provided support.

⁶³⁴ Joan Sangster, "Telling Our Stories: Feminist Debates and the Use of Oral History," *Women's History Review* 3, no. 1 (1994): 5-28.

Chapter 6

"It takes a team": Grassroots Organizations and Educational Communities Influencing Curricular Change

Regarding the importance of such [women's grassroots] organizations in influencing public perceptions of the teaching of history - I would have to believe that taken as a collective such groups have made a difference. [These] groups have ensured some kind of public program where they have encouraged the teaching of women's history, the respect that it deserves, and the resources needed to carry it forward.⁶³⁵

The teacher interviews in this study exposed a striking revelation: history teachers interested in integrating women in their classrooms were forced to find common communities outside of their schools. The questions posed in the interviews about school practices and pedagogy often resulted in interviewees reflecting on their own activities away from the school in various women's networks and grassroots communities. Based on my research from this study it's clear that history teachers networked outside their schools in order to access, develop and share curriculum materials about the history of women.

This sixth chapter looks at two broad areas that reflect the work of grassroots organizations. First, it explores the work of feminist academics, educators and researchers linked to a wide range of educational communities and organizations that provided resources and opportunities for Toronto educators to network and take part in the development and sharing of women's history curricular work. These included the Canadian Women's History Project (WHP)

⁶³⁵ Sharon Anne Cook. Email Interview by author, Dec. 21, 2009. Cook notes her active participation in the following women's organizations: OWHN, CCWH, CASWE, CSSE, Status of Women Committee of OSSTF, Status of Women Committee of OCUFA, Pauline Dewar National Capital Region Book Collective.

and the Canadian Women's Studies in Education (CWSE) at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), The Ontario History and Social Sciences Teachers' Association (OHASSTA) and small independent publishers. Their work was instrumental in offering accessible resources for educators, outside the classroom, and in providing opportunities for a shared community in which interested teachers could network and develop professionally. Second, this chapter examines the work of the Ontario Women's History Network (OWHN), a group of feminist academics and educators in Ontario that are based in Toronto. This group was founded to engage and support educators in Ontario by providing venues, opportunities and networks to recognize and share scholarship in Canadian women's history.

In examining these organizations, professional and voluntary, this study provides further insight into the multiple ways in which some individuals, interested in expanding the accepted standards in history education, offered alternatives. This group of interested educators advocated for and distributed Canadian women's history materials to teachers seeking resources for course studies. This chapter provides further proof that external support networks, although less visible than mainstream state related networks, were accessible to Toronto teachers. Feminist organizations and small independent presses contributed to re-shaping history curricula by offering resource materials about women's history and fostering support for new scholarship. The building of alliances was central to the women's movement feminist agenda and reflects a long history of women organizing in order to make systemic change. The Royal Commission spawned hundreds of women's organizations across the country. Adamson et al described the multiple roles and formats of women's organizations: "the women's movement is not one organization but the totality of a variety of organizations and individuals struggling to end the oppression of women."⁶³⁶ Most feminist organizations focused on educating and therefore were instrumental in building support for the movement, through consciousness-raising, event attendance, talks and course work.

The history of Canadian women organizing is a long, illustrious one. Organizations provided opportunities for women to network, find support, as well as develop a wide range of leadership skills. The second wave women's movement increased the number of women's

⁶³⁶ Nancy Adamson et al, *Feminist Organizing for Change* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1988), 230.

organizations and feminist presses proliferated across Canada. Their work provides some insight into the ways in which the grassroots activism of the 1970s and 1980s influenced school curricula. The city of Toronto offered a wider range of options: women's organizations, grassroots organizations, publishers, bookstores, conferences and events and teachers acquired materials through membership in various organizations, who based their success on the development and maintenance of strong networks. Women's groups that focused on local issues were linked to the broader issues and movements taking place globally and across Canada. School administrators, both men and women, seldom provided opportunities for teachers to engage in gender discussions. A number of teachers found themselves networking outside their schools in various grassroots communities in order to access, develop and share curriculum materials about the history of women.

Educational Communities

Collaborative work between scholars and educators was central to the women's movement. The Canadian Women's History Project (WHP) at the OISE in Toronto was an excellent example of the collaborative work that took place in women's history education and demonstrates the ways in which interested scholars worked to bridge the gap between new scholarship in women's history and teaching practice across the province. The WHP staff members were involved in projects and research work "aimed at redressing the lack of materials on women in the curriculum."⁶³⁷ The projects included the research and writing of documentary histories, the first comprehensive book on Canadian women's history, presentations at conferences, workshops for teachers and consultations for a wide range of groups and educators.⁶³⁸ Teachers requested materials about women and turned to the newly formed Women's Education Resource Centre (WERC) at OISE for support. Frieda Forman, who joined

⁶³⁷ Pat Staton with Paula Bourne, *Claiming Women's Lives: History and Contemporary Studies, grade 7-12/OAC*. (Toronto: Green Dragon Press, 1994), introduction. See also Beth Light, *Family History: A Method for the Study of Social History* (Women in Canadian History Project, OISE, Toronto, 1977); Beth Light and Alison Prentice, *Recent publications in Canadian women's history* (Toronto: Women in Canadian History Project, Dept. of History and Philosophy of Education, OISE, 1977); Alison Prentice, *From Private Servant to Public Servant: Status, Sex and Hierarchy in the Mid-nineteenth Century Ontario Teaching Profession*. (Toronto: Group for Research on Women, OISE, 1976); Alison Prentice and Beth Light, *Canada and the International Women's Movement: A Teaching Unit Developed for the Intermediate History Guidelines* (Toronto: OISE, 1977).

⁶³⁸ Pat Staton, *Claiming Women's Lives*. See also, Prentice et al, *Canadian Women: A History* (1988).

the centre in 1974,⁶³⁹ noted that the centre was a "magnet for students and researchers." She adds,

Not only was our office a welcoming and stimulating place, but it also contained a growing collection of feminist resources: books, periodicals, archival documents and a range of ephemera, such as posters and flyers from across the world. Word spread about our project and we became known as the Feminist Centre. The founding and development of the Women's Educational Resource Centre is a glorious event in the history of Canadian women's studies.⁶⁴⁰

She notes that the office moved to join "our two sister projects", the journal *Resources for Feminist Research* (brought to OISE as a feminist research newsletter by Margrit Eichler) and the Canadian Women's History Project.⁶⁴¹ Historian Alison Prentice joined the Women's History Project (WHP) in 1975 along with Marion Bryce and Beth Light. She moved to join the Women's Studies in Education (CWSE), founded in 1983, in order to establish permanency in the institution.⁶⁴² Prentice drafted the Centre's constitution and acted as its first chair, noting the challenges of fitting "a feminist centre into an institution whose practices were so gendered."⁶⁴³ She explains that the major goals were in establishing the field of women's history "at all levels of schooling" and to challenge and develop the field. She adds: "We no longer wanted to fit women into previously constructed stories about historical movements and events; we were ready to show that they were also movers and shakers. Moreover, their history as mothers and

⁶³⁹ Frieda Forman. Interview by author, Toronto: April 2010. Forman notes a cross country trip to access women's resources in Canada. She notes, "We were developing curriculum materials based on the work of the Women's Kit. We saw that there were areas which hadn't been covered adequately so we applied and got funded to go- three of us: Becky Kain, Margot Smith, and I, who were then part of the Women's Kit project. The three of us went across the country to find materials that could be used in curriculum development, primarily, but not exclusively history. We wanted to have that historical material- we took photographs everywhere-from PEI to Victoria-many of the photos came from archives and women's collections. We were able to develop magnificent materials."

⁶⁴⁰ Frieda Forman. Interview by author, Toronto: April 2010.

⁶⁴¹ Frieda Forman, "A Matrix of Creativity", *Minds of Our Own*, 117. Forman notes that the WERC was the result of "feminist struggle, passion and vision to achieve a centre of our own-more than a room of our own."

⁶⁴² Alison Prentice, "Moments in the Making of a Feminist Historian," *Minds of Our Own*, 102. Prentice notes the impetus for moving the project into the CWSE. "There was ongoing murkiness about the allocation of secretarial time and eventually the great computer heist when a male colleague for several frustrating months occupied the computer terminals we relied on."

⁶⁴³ Alison Prentice, "Moments in the Making of a Feminist Historian," 102.

daughters, sisters and workers was important."⁶⁴⁴ Forman adds that the maintenance and growth of the Women's Resource Centre was "a labour of love and sometimes just plain labour, of many devoted and dedicated feminists." Interested teachers came regularly to the centre which contained non-sexist resources that reflected diversity and contained Canadian content.

The intellectual cross-pollinations happening in Toronto between the classroom and academia were numerous. One place in which this happened was at the WERC. Teachers came to the centre while working on courses at OISE. Many teachers returned to OISE to do graduate work, taking courses in women's studies, many of which were offered in the evening. Affirmative Action programs at the Board had provided greater opportunities for teachers to find positions as principals and this provided the impetus for teachers to enroll in graduate studies. Forman notes that the women's movement was about the intellectual and spiritual aim of the movement but also about the development of the women's bookstore, publishing, women's studies, and women's centres. She adds that Canadian women's history was new and named scholars Alison Prentice, Ruth Pierson and Mary O'Brien. Prentice notes that over the years the WHP team, in collaboration with other scholars, published a wide range of materials.⁶⁴⁵

Prentice was appointed to the history department of Atkinson College, York University in 1972 and in 1975 she had accepted a position in the department of history and philosophy at OISE. Her research focused on the origins of public schooling in Canada, the history of women and education, and the history of teachers.⁶⁴⁶ A founder of the WHP at the CWSE, she was the Editor of *The Documents in Canadian Women's History Series* published by New Hogtown Press and saw the compilation of three volumes of documents in the history of Canada, each of which

⁶⁴⁴ Prentice, "Moments in the Making," 102. Prentice notes the addition of Paula Bourne and Pat Staton as researchers who worked to promote the project materials through conferences and workshops. She adds, "A great deal of my research and writing was dedicated to understanding the position of women teachers, first in schools and later in colleges and universities. A lot of conference presentations and publications focused on these themes."

⁶⁴⁵ Wendy Robbins, *Minds of their Own*, 103. Prentice notes specifically that the WHP team published articles on the history of women and education and annotated bibliographies (V. Strong-Boag and B. Light, 1980) and a three volume documentary series dealing with Canadian women's history more generally, a volume documenting the history of women teachers in Ontario (Staton and Light, 1987) and an essay collection focusing on the history of women's work (Bourne, 1985). Finally, the textbook *Canadian Women: A History* (Prentice et al, 1988).

⁶⁴⁶ Alison Prentice, *The School Promoters* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977 and reissued by University of Toronto Press, 2004).

contains a chapter on education. She notes, "The WHP project was dedicated to the dissemination of women's history and to encouraging research and writing in the area."⁶⁴⁷

Prentice was central to the Toronto feminist historians' movement; her research projects and publications were collaborative and involved multiple communities of scholars and educators. Many research projects were part of the WHP, which was in operation for ten years and for which Prentice served as principal investigator. One of the projects that came out of the centre was *Speak with their Own Voices*, a documentary history of the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario and the women elementary public school teachers of Ontario.⁶⁴⁸

The WHP was originally designed with the purpose of investigating problems and needs in the history of Canadian women. In 1976, under the direction of Prentice, the WHP project applied for funding in order to expand into a major programme of research and development. The year 1982-1983 marked a change in direction for the project as it began to research the development of textbooks, teacher's guides, summer institutes and other aids to support teaching in the history of women in Canada. The WHP intended to produce and publish two textbooks in women's history, one to fill the needs of senior high school, community college or first year university students, and the second to address intermediate students. As a result of the growing scholarship in women's history there were sufficient materials to develop women's history textbooks.⁶⁴⁹ The WHP made direct links to Toronto teachers, but making change clearly had its challenges. Prentice notes,

⁶⁴⁷ Email Interview with Alison Prentice, March 5, 2010. Prentice notes, "I was involved in women's history by the early 1970s and gave my first paper at a conference on women in Ottawa in 1974 on the feminization of teaching. As soon as I began going to the meetings of the Canadian Historical Association (CHA), I became involved with women who were interested in women's history from across the country - and became a member of the Canadian Committee on Women's History, as soon as it was founded in 1975." Prentice files at the University of Toronto Archives indicate four books with New Hogtown Press's Canadian Women's History Series (Box 1998-0017).

⁶⁴⁸ Paula Bourne private files, held at the CWSE. File/OWHN Megaproject compiled and edited by two OISE research officers, Pat Staton and Beth Light. CWSE had a visiting scholar programme that brought scholars to the university and provided opportunities for national and international collaboration. Prentice was the Centre head in the founding years 1983-1985. For further scholarship see: Pat Staton and Beth Light, *Speak with their Own Voices: a Documentary History of the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario and the Women Elementary Public School Teachers of Ontario* (Toronto: FWTAO, 1987); Sandra Gaskell, *The Problems and Professionalism of Women Elementary Public School Teachers in Ontario, 1944-1954* (Ed.D diss., University of Toronto, 1989); Mary Labatt, *Always a Journey* (FWTAO, 1993); Barbara Richter, *It's Elementary* (FWTAO: www.etfo.ca).

⁶⁴⁹ Paula Bourne private files, held at CWSE/OISE. WHP had previously published a bibliography in 1980 by project member Beth Light with Strong-Boag that revealed the growth in the field. Bibliographical and historiographical essays by Beth Light, Ruth Pierson and Alison Prentice further demonstrate.

Through the Women's History Project at OISE, I did attempt to make some impact on Ontario curriculum. I responded to an invitation to participate in curriculum revision in social studies, and Beth Light and I ended up on a panel that dealt with this. We were not able to make much of an impression, but we did at least get an acknowledgment that there should be some women's history taught. My only memory of it now was the discouraging tale that somehow came to us to the effect that most social studies teachers fulfilled this part of the curriculum by showing a film on women sometime - usually at the end of the year- when they had run out of other things to do.⁶⁵⁰

The WHP applied for two summer institutes, to be held at OISE, and designed to bring together "lay groups, teachers and professional historians to study and develop resource materials."⁶⁵¹

WHP submitted proposals to the Ministry of Education, the Canadian Studies Foundation and to The Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada. (SSHRC) They were denied funding for some of their projects. For example in the proposal for grants under the "Canadian Studies, Research Tools program," the WHP proposed to produce a comprehensive "bibliography and interpretive guide" for the study of women in Canada. The bibliography was to "build on the OISE Women in Canadian History Project's previous work," Beth Light and Veronica Strong-Boag's *True Daughters of the North*. This project intended to take a wide and more comprehensive approach, in recognition of the increased interest in women's history in the educational community. The decision not to fund the proposal was based on the committee's report that the project was "too broad in scope."⁶⁵² Prentice also made submissions to the Ontario Ministry of Education, Learning Materials Development Plan, to request funding for a Canadian Women's History textbook for schools.⁶⁵³ Paula Bourne notes that funding usually came through transfer grants from the Ministry of Education that merged projects together.⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁵⁰ Alison Prentice, Email interview with author, March 5, 2010.

⁶⁵¹ CWSE/OISE: File/Women in Canadian History Project proposals 1982-1983. This document notes, "The summer institutes will emphasize the skills and knowledge of all participants and operate on the collective principle of working cooperatively, chiefly in workshop. Proposals for funding included; the history of women's organizations, associational life in Canada, and the history of women and work in Canada."

⁶⁵² CWSE/OISE: File/ Research Tools/Proposal-Bibliography. In a letter to Alison Prentice from Yves Mouget, Director of Strategic Grants Division of SSHRC dated August 22, 1983 stated that the judges had enormous respect for the work of Alison Prentice, noting her "extensive scholarly work" and the "significance and value" of the proposal. However, although members of the committee recognized that the "field of women's history was fast-growing and in need of bibliographical tools," they had some issues that the bibliography was "too broad in scope."

⁶⁵³ CWSE/OISE: File/ Canadian Women's History Textbooks, 1985 Proposal. In a summary page, it notes the purpose of the project was "to research and develop a textbook on women in Canadian history for senior or

Despite public support for women's equity issues, formal institutions were not ready to take the substantial steps necessary to support meaningful curricula change. Grant funding, institutions and school boards continued to ignore the growing scholarship taking place in women's history, turning away opportunities to support foundational change.⁶⁵⁵ Supporting the development of women's history textbooks for all students would have been a substantial change. The work of the WHP to create Canadian women's textbooks specifically for schools represents an important moment in time: the energy and focus and scholarship were there. The staff members of the WHP had spent years investigating problems and needs in the history of Canadian women, and responded to these needs through the research and development of appropriate teaching materials and methodologies for senior secondary and university students.⁶⁵⁶ No other Ontario project organization would take up the challenge in the same way for the next 30 years.

advanced intermediate students," noting that the textbook would "permit the integration of the history of Canadian women of all classes, cultures and races." In an interview with Prentice she adds, "We were able to draw on the resources of OISE, as two of the textbook's authors and Pat Staton, who did research on the illustrations, were research associates at OISE and I was a professor there." (Email interview, March 05 2010) The WHP was able to obtain funding from R&D/FD for the "Women in Canadian History: Materials and Methodology Project" (1981/1982).

⁶⁵⁴ Alison Prentice. Email interview with author, July 5, 2012 and Interview with Paula Bourne, July 5, 2012. Prentice notes that the Women's History textbook funding came from the general grants the women's history project received which "paid the salaries of Paula Bourne, Beth Light and Pat Staton." Paula Bourne notes that the Ministry funded the development of Curriculum Modules in conjunction with OSIS Curriculum guidelines for History and Contemporary Studies. She suggests that WHP worked on a number of themes and topics that did draw on the work being done for the textbook."

⁶⁵⁵ CWSE/OISE: File/Jr. Textbook proposal: Submission to James Page, Canadian Studies Programme from Alison Prentice, December 10, 1986. This letter notes that Prentice was aware that the Canadian Studies programme funds would end March 1987 and that she hoped to obtain funds to continue her work to provide materials for schools.

⁶⁵⁶ CWSE/OISE: File/Jr. Canadian Women's History: Intermediate Level Booklets: Proposal 1987. Other proposals included "The Sex-equity and OSIS project" that was to develop "A series of 19 teacher resource guides designed to implement the ON Ministry of Education sex-equity policy within the OSIS History and Contemporary Studies guideline." Each teacher guide was to provide "background knowledge and sex-equity content, classroom research/writing activities and provide resources and bibliographic materials, development of a published bibliography, a number of scholarly articles and a documentary studies series and a senior level textbook on the history of Canadian women to be submitted for publication." Prentice notes in the grant proposal that "Increasingly we have come to recognize that it is when students are first exposed to the study of history, at the intermediate level that they especially need appropriate learning materials which detail the collective and individual contributions of Canadian women to our society. During these early years, female students are developing their sense of identity and beginning to seriously consider their futures. Despite sex-equity policy statements by Ministries of Education, the general consensus of the educational community is that there is a deficiency in all areas of the curriculum in their recognition of the equity of the sexes, particularly in the area of history. A History curriculum that is genuinely sex equitable will help all students to develop positive self-images, attitudes and expectations." The proposal was to design four separate booklets, each that would focus on a specific chronological period and that paralleled existing

A women's history textbook for secondary schools would certainly have provided a link between the academic changes that were taking place in universities and the scholarship taking place in women's history to enter public school history programs in Ontario, where the curricula lagged significantly behind in integrating women into course materials. However, it is still questionable how well the textbook would have been employed without the support of the Ministry of Education Circular 14.⁶⁵⁷ As previous chapters have demonstrated, resources that were not listed on Circular 14 were left up to the teachers to find. Educators were channeled to believe that if they cultivated enough awareness about women's issues, teachers and schools boards would alter the curriculum as they would be educated to think differently; but this did not materialize. The lack of support for a women's history textbook re-enforces this viewpoint.

However, by 1989, the overall interplay between gender equity policies and women's history inclusion in various curricula in Ontario education was taking some shape, as educators became aware of the need to address holes in the curriculum. As we have seen, social history provided one such lens. History educator Sharon Cook notes a historical "moment" when "both the first wave of women's history as a sub-set of social history in Canada aligned with much interest in this province about equity issues."⁶⁵⁸ There was a growing awareness by teachers of the need to present a broader and more diverse historical examination. But despite the growing awareness, studies found that history textbooks did not meet the criteria of "sex equity" policies.⁶⁵⁹ The study was conducted by the Centre for Women's Studies with funding from a

history guidelines. The idea was to allow schools boards to purchase the booklets separately and used as additional resources to "complement" standard class history texts. The plan was to keep costs low so that all school boards could afford the booklets. The suggested themes for the booklets were *Women's Culture and Education*, *Women's Public Life*, *Women's Work* and *Women and the Family*.

⁶⁵⁷ During the 1970s a textbook study examined national themes of importance to Canadians: women were absent. Marcel Trudel, *Canadian History Textbooks: A Comparative Study* (Ottawa: 1970). A 1989 OISE study found only small changes. See: B. Light, P. Staton and P. Bourne, "Sex-equity Content in History Textbooks," *The History and Social Science Teacher*, 25 no 1, (1989).

⁶⁵⁸ Sharon Anne Cook. University of Ottawa. Email Interview by author, December 21, 2009.

⁶⁵⁹ A number of research studies took place throughout the 1970s, see: Frances Chapkin, Barbara Walker, Co-chairpersons, "Interim Report no. 2," (Ad Hoc Committee Respecting the Status of Women in the North York System. 1975); Batcher, E., Brackstone, D., Winter, A., & Wright, V. .. *And Then There Were None*. (Toronto: FWTAO, 1975); Canadian Teachers' Federation, *Challenge '76: Sexism in Schools* (Ottawa); L. Julien, *Women's Issues in Education in Canada: A Survey of Policies and Practices at the Elementary and Secondary Levels* (Toronto: Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, 1987); Elaine Batcher, Alison Winter, Vicki Wright, *The More Things Change-- The More They Stay the Same* (Toronto: FWTAO, 1987).

Ministry of Education Transfer Grant. The grants were to develop a series of teacher resource guides designed "to implement the Ontario Ministry of Education sex-equity policy within the 19 courses in the History and Contemporary Studies Guidelines."⁶⁶⁰ The study revealed that on average 12.8 percent of the content in the books had any reference to women," although this ranged from less than one percent to over 43%, and included references to wives and family members.⁶⁶¹ The researchers noted, "The textbooks surveyed sometimes underline the assumption that women are marginal to society and the shaping of history. Focuses or biographies on women commonly appear boxed off outside the main prose, reinforcing their considerations as asides or afterthoughts."⁶⁶² Fundamentally, history departments were reluctant to change. Fortunately for educators in Toronto, a wide range of small independent publishers, interested in scholarship in women's history were challenging mainstream publishers by providing diverse, unique publications.

The Role of Independent Small Publishers in Toronto

Teachers and school libraries sought out resource materials for students and staff. This escalated the need for course materials by and about women. Small publishers and women's organizations responded. The Women's Press, Garamond Press, New Hogtown Press, Green Dragon Press, House of Anansi Press, Second Story Press, Sister Vision Press were some of the small presses that made materials about women available to educators in Ontario. Sister Vision Press and Women's Press were focused solely on materials about and by women.⁶⁶³ The

⁶⁶⁰ Beth Light, Pat Staton and Paula Bourne, as part of the WHP at OISE. The report, *Sex-equity Content in History Textbooks* was written in 1987 and published in *History and Social Science Teacher*, 25 no.1, (Fall, 1989): 18-21. The researchers had hoped to identify books that contained "materials and units" which would form the basis of resource guide bibliographies. Although they could not recommend any of the books, three books, all part of the *Canadians All: Portraits of Our People* (Toronto: Methuen, 1983-86) did contain women's portraits. The researchers noted "More alarming is the fact that when women do appear more substantially in texts, their treatment is incidental, marginal, and frequently the depiction of their roles is inaccurate."

⁶⁶¹ Beth Light, et al, "Sex-equity Content in History Textbooks," *History and Social Science Teacher*, 25 no.1 (Fall, 1989): 18-21.

⁶⁶² Beth Light et al, 19. The researchers added, "Other texts also empathized [sic] women as fringe participants in society, having them off in a separate chapter, usually the last in the book." They also examined the use of language to further marginalize women in historical examinations.

⁶⁶³ University of Ottawa: Canadian Women's Movement Archives (CWMA): Canadian Women's Educational Press (CWEP) (Fond: X10-12) CWEP was founded in 1971. Toronto's Sister Vision was co-founded in 1985 by Makeda

independent presses played an important role in publishing materials about women that were innovative and that often challenged mainstream publications. New scholars noted the support they received from small publishers who aimed to provide a space for alternative narratives. Russell Hann of Hogtown Press noted, "The goal initially was to create as broad a political spectrum as you could on the independent Left."⁶⁶⁴ Mainstream publishers were reluctant to take risks with alternative narratives so scholars of women history first turned to the small presses or established collective presses themselves. They provided a welcomed venue for feminist scholarship and educators. Three independent publishers Women's Press, Green Dragon Press and Hogtown Press published resource materials about Canadian women and actively worked to make links between teachers in the province; these presses were singled out by the interviewees as prime sources for materials.

The Canadian Women's Educational Press, more commonly known as the Women's Press, (WP) was started officially on a grant from the Toronto Local Initiates Project (LIP) as a socialist feminist collective publishing feminist fiction, non-fiction and non-sexist children's books.⁶⁶⁵ It was founded in 1971, by a subgroup of the Toronto Women's Liberation Movement; one of the first feminist political organizations in Toronto. The archival documents, held at the Canadian Women's Movement Archives (CWMA) at the University of Ottawa, note that Women's Press was "a small publishing group committed to publishing material by, for, and about Canadian women, [which] began operating in Toronto in February 1972."⁶⁶⁶ The initiative for the press grew out of dissatisfaction with the mainstream publishing community

Silvera and Stephanie Martin (<http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/women/030001-1212-e.html>). Second Story Press was co-founded in 1988 by Margie Wolfe and three other women dedicated to publishing feminist-inspired books for adults and young readers (<http://secondstorypress.ca>). Green Dragon Press, an independent, Canadian owned equity press, was founded in 1987 (<http://greendragonpress.com>). Toronto-based Garamond Press was created as a result of a unique collaboration between two independent Canadian collective presses- Between the Lines and Women's Press - and Fernwood Books. Originally formed as a collective in 1981, Garamond Press was the first Canadian-owned book publisher to focus on the university and college market (<http://hpcanpub.mcmaster.ca/case-study/garamond-press>). All websites accessed July, 2012.

⁶⁶⁴ Russell Hann. Interview by author, Toronto: November 25, 2010.

⁶⁶⁵ Ottawa: CWMA: Canadian Women's Educational Press (Fond: X10-12/introduction to the collection).

⁶⁶⁶ Ottawa: CWMA: Canadian Women's Educational Press (CWEP) (X10-12, introduction to the collection, 1-2). The introduction adds, "The Women's Press is Canada's oldest feminist publishing press and continues to be an active political organization encouraging discussion around sexism, racism homophobia and class relations in the Canadian feminist community."

which had rejected their first feminist publication entitled "Women Unite!" Their mandate was "to provide an alternative means of making feminist ideas widely accessible and continue their involvement in the growing Canadian women's movement."⁶⁶⁷

Canadian publishers at that time faced a number of challenges because of the virtual monopoly of their market by US publishing and distribution companies. Documents in the Women's Press Archive files indicate that "distribution costs alone absorbed half the value of the book, making it quite untenable for small, non-profit publishers" and noted that The Women's Press was meeting these obstacles "by undertaking their own distribution through cross-Canada contacts."⁶⁶⁸ Women's Press was different because it was a non-profit organization that employed people on a "rotational basis": everyone did all the jobs. There were sixteen members of the Press at that time consisting of paid and unpaid workers; it operated on a collective basis such that all staff participated in the decision-making. Funds were received by personal donations and grants from the Department of Manpower and Immigration (for salaries for the first year) and revenues from publishing. The archival documents indicate that the women were committed to having a Women's Press and so were also willing to work as volunteers. They noted, "The primary goal is to provide incentive to women in Canada who want to have their writing published."⁶⁶⁹ Publishing had generally been controlled by men, and women writers were often placed in disadvantaged positions with their manuscripts rejected: the press provided a space for women's voices.⁶⁷⁰

⁶⁶⁷ Ottawa: CWMA: CWEP (X10-12/introduction).

⁶⁶⁸ Ottawa: CWMA: CWEP (X10-12/ Box 157/ File 157.8) Copy of a press release dated August 4, 1972.

⁶⁶⁹ Ottawa: CWMA: CWEP (X10-12/Box 157/File/157.8) Copy of a press release dated August 4, 1972 The document notes that "Women's Liberation in Canada at present is a multi-dimensional movement, ranging from radical feminists, to women only vaguely aware of women's issues" and "In the near future, Women's Press plans to publish non-sexist children's books, a book on day care, and examination of women in our culture, articles dealing with the early history of Canadian women such as suffrage and temperance movements and a bibliography of everything written by Canadian women."

⁶⁷⁰ See for example: Barbara M. Freeman, *Beyond Bylines: Media Workers and Women's Rights in Canada* (Waterloo, ON : Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2011); Barbara M. Freeman, *The Satellite Sex: the Media and Women's Issues in English Canada, 1966-1971* (Waterloo, ON : Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2001); Janice Fiamengo, *The Woman's Page : Journalism and Rhetoric in Early Canada* (Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 2008); Majory Lang, *Women Who Made the News: Female Journalists in Canada, 1880-1945* (Montreal : McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999).

Teachers found materials from WP through a variety of contacts: first as authors and as friends of writers; second through ads placed within journals, periodicals and newspapers; and, third, through course work.⁶⁷¹ Some of the history materials WP published included foundational work in Canadian women's studies and history courses such as *A Harvest Yet to Reap: A History of Prairie Women* by Linda Rasmussen, *A Not Unreasonable Claim* by Linda Kealey, *Women at Work* edited by Michael Cross, *Never Done: Three Centuries of Women's Work in Canada* and *She Named It Canada, Because That Was What it Was Called* both created by the Corrective Collective.⁶⁷² Historian Barbara Todd recalls the story of *She Named It Canada*. A founding member of the Vancouver Women's Caucus in 1968, Todd recalls organizing a conference to bring a group of Vietnamese women to Canada to meet American activists to stop the war. Newly elected Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau attended one of the meetings. The Vancouver's Women's Caucus was put in charge of organizing the meeting. Todd notes,

Amongst other things that we discovered was that the Americans were a little bit hazy about recognizing the independence of Canada. For example, they were shocked that they couldn't use American postage in Canada. So a group of us decided maybe we can take this opportunity to teach our American colleagues a little bit about the history of women in Canada. A little group of us started up a little pamphlet book called "She Named it Canada."⁶⁷³

⁶⁷¹ Ottawa: CWMA: CWEP (X10-12) Advertisements in Periodicals (Box 157, File 157.10) Archival documents indicate the following journals in which Women's Press (WP) advertised their books. A small sampling in the 1970s includes; *The Canadian Teacher*, Sept. 1973 and again Oct-Nov.76, *Community Schools* May/June 1973, *Books in Canada*, Sept. 1974-76, *City Magazine*, Jan 75, *Canadian Forum*, Feb 75, *This Magazine* 75, *Quill and Quire*, June 75, *Last Post*, Dec. 75, *The Varsity*, Dec. 75, *Saturday Nite*, Nov. 75, *Globe and Mail*, Dec. 75, *Books for Everybody Catalogue* 76 (a catalogue put out by a Special Selection committee which consisted of representatives from the Canadian books sellers Associations and the Canadian Book Publishers Council), *Canadian Voice* June 77, *Canadian Forum* 77, *Saturday Night Review* Nov. 77, *Globe and Mail* ads 77, *Books in Canada* 1978, *Educational Catalogue Provincial News* 1978-1979. Books from WP were also featured in a variety of book catalogues, demonstrating the ways in which WP books were well advertised to educators in Canada.

⁶⁷² Ottawa: CWMA: CWEP (X10-12/Box 157/File 157.12). The 10th Anniversary Catalogue noted a significant number of Women's history books.

⁶⁷³ Barbara Todd. Interview by author, University of Toronto: April 13, 2010. Todd adds, "Colette French did the sketches. We mailed boxes of these things to the people who were coming. It was put together in my basement. We mailed it to people who were going to attend this conference, sending them to the States in advance. It was a big gathering- in the big theatre/concert hall in Vancouver. There would have been 1000 Americans attending. We distributed copies of *She Named it Canada*. Todd adds, "There was the American anti-war, lefty movement. They all came up. And maybe they learned a little bit about this cartoon history of Canada, with a lot of gender in it. We called ourselves the Corrective Collective." As a member of the Vancouver Women's Caucus, Todd was also involved with their paper, *The Pedestal*. (Copies of the paper held at the CWMA).

The Corrective Collective also developed the book, *Never Done, Three Centuries of Women's Work in Canada*, which followed *She Named it Canada*. Todd notes that the success of the first book prompted the Collective to continue producing materials for educational purposes. Todd notes, "Then there was the book, *Never Done*; the Ontario school system bought ten thousand copies in 1974 to distribute to the schools." This, she adds, was quite significant for that time.⁶⁷⁴

A number of teachers were aware of the work of the WP. Margie Wolfe, long-time Women's Press Staff Person and current Publisher at Second Story Press, worked to bring the Women's Press books and learning resource materials to the attention of teachers in schools. She notes, "We wanted our children's books in the schools and were even able to get financial support to develop materials from the province."⁶⁷⁵ Despite repeated efforts however, Women's Press materials were never placed on Circular 14, the approved list for Ontario schools. In an interview with Margie Wolfe she notes that "We [WP] were looking to find a way to get into classrooms through the back door because the front door locked us out."⁶⁷⁶

The challenge of developing and publishing books about women was exacerbated by the challenge of getting them into classrooms. Russell Hann of New Hogtown Press notes, "The largest part of the market was the university and college market." He notes his efforts to break into the high school market. He adds, "I was trying to get the name of a high school teacher who was on the group that was part of Circular 14."⁶⁷⁷ The small presses were situated in the university centre and often used each others' facilities. Hogtown Press and Women's Press were one block apart.

This study reveals that interested teachers advocated for, developed, and sought out materials about women for their history and social science classes; accessing those materials involved a greater set of challenges than approved textbooks and resources. Wolfe notes that *A Harvest Yet to Reap: A History of Prairie Women* and *Never Done: Three Centuries of Women's*

⁶⁷⁴ Barbara Todd. Interview by author, University of Toronto: April 13, 2010. Todd adds, "It [The Collective] was incorporated as non-profit and eventually The Collective was dissolved."

⁶⁷⁵ Margie Wolfe. Interview by author, Toronto: July 8, 2010.

⁶⁷⁶ Wolfe. Interview by author, Toronto: July 8, 2010.

⁶⁷⁷ Russell Hann. Interview by author, Toronto: November 25, 2010.

Work in Canada were a success and this led to the development of teacher's guides.⁶⁷⁸ Publishers met the challenge of exposing teachers to these new kinds of resource materials about women by finding venues where teachers might be present. Teacher conferences held on Professional Development (PD) days were popular for publishers to display their books. Wolfe notes, "We spent a lot of time attending conferences, doing book tables etc. We would also go to the Teachers Federation conferences."⁶⁷⁹ Another popular place for history teachers to access new learning resource materials was at the annual Ontario History and Social Sciences Teachers' Association (OHASSTA) conferences held each year in Toronto; this gathering brought together dozens of publishers and bookstore owners and was attended by history teachers from across the province.⁶⁸⁰

School history departments were not always receptive to new resources so bringing new materials into history classrooms was often the work of individual interested teachers. Book publishers were aware of the limitation of the overall school board structures, the lack of overall support for their work and the institutional blocks that prevented their books from establishing a foothold in schools. Wolfe adds, "The overall structures didn't exist within the school system and within the curriculum that told teachers that they had to include women's history. You needed to be a committed and very creative teacher to figure out how to get [women's history] in."⁶⁸¹ Some of the materials published by Women's Press ended up in specialized bookstores. Bookstores provided important places to access current resource materials for courses. Getting women's books out to the public and into schools required commitment and energy. Wolfe adds,

The point was to get our feminist belief system into the larger community. If there was a demonstration, we had a book table there. If the NDP had a caucus meeting, we were there with a book table. If CUPE had a conference, we were there with a book table. We had book tables at concerts and benefits. We were driven by a belief system that we cared

⁶⁷⁸ Wolfe. Interview by author. Wolfe adds, "Both books were huge successes, which is why we thought we should create guides for them, so teachers can figure out how to get the books into the classroom. One teacher's guide I did on my own, the one for *A Harvest Yet to Reap* I did with Judy Coburn. She was a classroom teacher at the time. I think the guides were received really well."

⁶⁷⁹ Wolfe. Interview by author, Toronto: July 8, 2010.

⁶⁸⁰ Wolfe. Interview by author, July 8, 2010. Wolfe added, "We got a lot of requests from publishing companies for our Canadian Women Hall of Fame series and our picture books."

⁶⁸¹ Wolfe. Interview, July 8, 2010.

about. We were part of the larger feminist community.⁶⁸²

Numerous small bookshops and independent presses existed in Toronto during the 1970s and early 80s, before the mega bookstores and publishers took over the market. I asked Margie Wolfe if Women's Press was in competition with other small presses. Wolfe responds, "The relationship between the small presses in Toronto was good. We sometimes shared book tables, space and resources. Everyone was struggling so there was not that much competition."⁶⁸³ But clearly the market for women's history materials for secondary schools would have been quite small since placing women into history narratives was not mandatory or listed as a major component of the history curricula.

Moreover, once the Toronto Board embraced race relations the struggle for gender equity became more complex. Marie Hammond examined the growing attention of the Toronto Board towards race relations and the formation of an Equal Opportunity Office to deal with broader issues related to equity education. Hammond notes some of the tensions, suggesting that feminist initiatives at the Toronto board were "impeded by the very structure within which they had been organized."⁶⁸⁴ She adds, "The functions of Race Relations policy were not divided between the Curriculum Department and Equal Opportunity Office the way Feminist initiatives were at the Board. Though the Equal Opportunity Office had a curriculum function for both race and women's issues, there is a strong suggestion of resistance by the Curriculum Department to the feminist reforms being attempted there."⁶⁸⁵ Several teachers indicated that the examination of labour studies opened up a window to include women in course studies but that the school board

⁶⁸² Wolfe interview, July 8, 2010.

⁶⁸³ Wolfe. Interview, July 8, 2010.

⁶⁸⁴ Marie A. E. Hammond, *Sexual Equality for the Schools: Women's Studies and Affirmative Action at the Toronto Board in the 1970s* (University of Toronto M.A. Thesis, 1990). Hammond notes that by the end of the 1970s, Affirmative Action was receiving active attention from the Board. Race relations were growing in priority and both policies joined forces under the jurisdiction of the "Equal Opportunity Office," 119.

⁶⁸⁵ Marie A. E. Hammond, University of Toronto M.A. Thesis. Hammond quotes Myra Novogrodsky whom she states said the following in an interview. "The Curriculum division didn't like the way Affirmative Action and Women's Studies worked together." The 'turf' war caused further tensions between departments. Novogrodsky added that there was more "clout" for Affirmative Action than Women's Studies "because it had pay equity," while there was "no law to promote a non-sexist classroom." She notes the "whole political movement behind Affirmative Action, which there wasn't behind Feminist pedagogy and curriculum," 128.

also expected teachers to pay attention to issues of race. I asked Wolfe if the focus on race relations had an impact on the publication of materials about women. Wolfe responded,

I think that it did have an impact. We tried to combine the two. There were times when race and gender issues were very complementary. We did a book in 1978 called *Come with Us: Children Speak for Themselves*, which received a huge critical and popular response. It was truly a path breaking book. We were quite conscious in '78 that we wanted to do those kinds of books. It got lots of attention, and we worked really hard to get it into schools. The reviews were spectacular. There was a fair bit of attention, but I don't think it actually had a big impact in the school system outside the downtown core of Toronto.⁶⁸⁶

The number of independent publishers increased during the 1980s as individuals sought ways in which to publish diverse narratives. Toronto's *Sister Vision: Black Women and Women of Colour Press*, for example, was co-founded in 1985 by Makeda Silvera and Stephanie Martin. As noted earlier, finding publishers interested in women's scholarship was difficult and Makeda Silvera struggled to find mainstream publishers to publish her work *Silenced: Talks with Working Class Caribbean Women*. The result was the founding of another women's independent press in Toronto, one which has provided important support for scholarship related to women in the Caribbean, Britain, Southern Africa, North America and India.⁶⁸⁷ Branching out to publish more diverse women's narratives may also have reflected Toronto classroom needs as multicultural policies in the 1980s provided a forum for educators to embrace more diverse narratives into history course studies.⁶⁸⁸

Green Dragon Press, an equity press in Toronto, also provided important resource materials for history teachers in schools. Pat Staton, the founder and publisher notes, "My goals were to get materials into the schools." Staton first worked with Women's History Project as a researcher at OISE, which resulted in the book *Canadian Women: A History*. In 1987 she started

⁶⁸⁶ Wolfe, Interview by author. July 8, 2010.

⁶⁸⁷ Makeda Silvera, *Silenced: Talks with Working Class Caribbean Women about their Lives and Struggles as Domestic Workers in Canada* (Toronto: Sister Vision Press, 1989. [2nd ed.] See also, Library and Archives Canada: Celebrating Women's Achievements. <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/women/030001-1212-e.html>

⁶⁸⁸ See: Ontario Ministry of Education, *Race, Religion, and Culture in Ontario School Materials: Suggestions for Authors and Publishers* (Toronto, 1980); Toronto Board of Education *The Race Relations Report* (Toronto: School Community Relations Dept., Curriculum Division, Toronto Board of Education, 1979); Toronto Board of Education, *Multicultural, Ethnic and Race Relations Policy*, 1987; Tim McCaskell, *Race to Equity* (2005).

her own publishing company because a female author, Sheila Amato, came to her with a manuscript on women in non-traditional jobs that needed to be published. In 1987, *Making Choices: Women in Non-traditional Jobs* became the first women's book published by Green Dragon Press. It was not curriculum-based but teachers and librarians bought the books to provide girls with alternative and non-traditional job goals. At the same time that Staton was working on the book, she was also working on a SSHRC grant about women in non-traditional occupations, which led to the 1985 report "Toward the Future." Although not a history book, it was bought by schools in Toronto for social science teachers and used in family studies, women's studies, politics, sociology and law courses, but not though, in history courses. The links to multiple subjects was evident with most women's curricula materials: because women's history was believed to entail a social science rubric of women's issues, the publications that were accepted often fit into multiple disciplines with a distinct issues-oriented tone. Staton notes,

I considered myself as a historian but I also became very interested in gender equity. Because I was the coordinator of the women's centre, people expected me to become involved with more than history. One of the first things I got involved in was about teaching children to think critically about sexism and other forms of bias. No one was interested in publishing this so Green Dragon Press published it and we sold a fair number of copies.⁶⁸⁹

Staton notes that the Women's History Project at OISE received a grant from the Ministry of Education that had a mandate on gender equity to look at curriculum and to gather resources that might be useful for teachers. They could not find a publisher for the guide they had developed, which she notes, "happened frequently at OISE as publishers could not see a profit in it." She decided to connect the materials to the courses in the Ontario Curriculum and create a guide with resources that would "compliment the history and contemporary studies courses."⁶⁹⁰ Green Dragon co-published the book with the *Ontario Women's History Network*.

⁶⁸⁹ Pat Staton. Interview by author, Toronto: October 20, 2010. Staton notes "Out of this I did a fair number of presentations with Paula Caplan and Margaret Gilbert from the psychology department at race, class and gender conferences at York University and a TV Ontario Panel on equity in the classroom."

⁶⁹⁰ Pat Staton, *Claiming Women's Lives: History and Contemporary Studies grade 7-12/OAC* (Toronto: Green Dragon Press, 1994.) The material in the book supported units within OSIS English, Guidance, Geography, Business studies, Family studies, Physical Education studies, Visual Arts and History. In 1992, historian Diana Pederson, at Concordia, came to me with a wonderful bibliography of the history of women in Canada but she had not been able to find anyone to publish it, so Green Dragon Press published it. See: D. Pederson, *Changing Women, Changing History: A Bibliography of the History of Women in Canada*, 1992.

The book used documents, first person stories, and photographs and had a large bibliography and filmography. *Claiming Women's Lives* was published in 1994.⁶⁹¹ Staton notes the challenges facing women's presses during this time. She asserts,

Green Dragon Press had a small catalogue that I distributed everywhere I went. I would go and speak at classes, PD days, I spoke to librarians and teachers, and I spoke on TV Ontario about four or five times. I would get a lot of angry phone calls from men who said that all the problems in the world were due to the fact that women did not know their place; their place was in the home.⁶⁹²

Pat Staton, under contract with the Toronto Board of Education, also developed a "Gender Box" which was a big plastic box filled with books, posters, games, pictures, dolls, documents, activities, videos and other materials for teachers to use in their classrooms. Green Dragon Press sold a variety of equity materials for teachers of all grades, but its primary role was to spread women's history to school history programs. The list of Green Dragon Press books in Canadian women's history is wide ranging and substantial and provides teachers with important resource materials for their classrooms.⁶⁹³

One of the key strategies for getting women's history into the classroom has been the Green Dragon Press annual women's history poster for Women's History Month in October; the poster is sent to thousands of students in Ontario. These posters were crucial because they provided a visual springboard for discussions about women's history in the classroom; the posters also made links to online resources and were designed to encourage further research. Since 1992 in recognition of *Women's History Month*, Green Dragon Press has published an

⁶⁹¹ Pat Staton. Interview by author, Toronto: October 20, 2010. Staton was inspired by a conference she went to in 1990s in New York where the publisher's display had many books on women. This book preceded Pat Staton et al, *Unfolding Power: Documents in Canadian Women's History* (Green Dragon Press, 2004).

⁶⁹² Pat Staton. Interview by author, Toronto, March 2009. Staton recalls that she received phone calls because the TV station ran the phone number of Green Dragon Press at the bottom of the screen so that people could order books, such as a booklet on "African Heritage" and one on "Women in Science and Technology". There were over 300 elementary schools in Ontario.

⁶⁹³ Toronto: Green Dragon Press: Some of the history publications in the 1980s-90s include: Pat Staton, *Making Choices: Women in Non-Traditional Jobs*, Interviews by Sheila Amato (1987); Moira Armour and Pat Staton, *Canadian Women in History: A Chronology*, 2nd ed. (1992); Diana Pedersen, *Changing Women, Changing History: A Bibliography of the History of Women in Canada* (1992); Pat Staton and Paula Bourne, *Claiming Women's Lives: History and Contemporary Studies grade 7-12/OAC* (1994); Joyce Scane, *I've Something to Tell You: Stories of Immigrant Women* (1996); Marguerite Alfred and Pat Staton, *Black Women in Canada, Past and Present* (1996) Alma Greene, *Forbidden Voice: Reflections of a Mohawk Indian* (1997).

annual Canadian women's history poster. Status of Women Canada funded the first two posters and requested that Green Dragon Press create a bilingual inaugural poster. It listed the names and accomplishments of dozens of Canadian women. Staton explains her interest, "At a presentation that I was giving for a school board in 1990, a man at the back of the room interrupted stating "I don't see why we should put women in the curriculum because they didn't do anything."⁶⁹⁴ Staton recalls that she went back to OISE, where she worked as a Research Assistant, and put a paper box under her desk. She adds, "every time I noted a woman's historic accomplishment I wrote it down and put it in the box."⁶⁹⁵ The first poster, published in 1991, was on parchment coloured paper and contained 380 names, dates and deeds of women in Canadian history. Staton developed teacher's guides to accompany the posters.

Beginning in 1994, Green Dragon Press sought funding for the poster from school boards and other supportive agencies. The third poster, *Creating a World of Equality*, was jointly sponsored by the Ontario Women's History Network (OWHN) and the Toronto Board of Education Equity Studies Centre, which would continue to support a number of posters and course materials throughout the years. The posters often reflected the theme of the annual conferences and illustrated the broad experiences of women. Thousands were placed in schools and school boards across the province. They provided a visual representation of the diversity of women's experiences and challenges and celebrated the achievements of women from many racial, ethnic and social backgrounds, from different areas of the country, and from various historic periods.⁶⁹⁶ Posters also came with direct links to teacher resources. The popularity of the posters was undeniable: teachers posted them in classrooms and administrators in offices. Teachers had students incorporate materials from the posters and to perform further research.

⁶⁹⁴ Pat Staton. Interview by author, Toronto: March, 2009.

⁶⁹⁵ Pat Staton interview, March, 2009. Staton adds that support for the posters from school boards remained constant until school board policy changes in 1999.

⁶⁹⁶ Collaboration on the poster sometimes included multiple partners: in 1997, for example, the poster *Women in Science and Technology* was co-sponsored by OWHN, the Toronto Board Equity Studies Centre and four school boards. Boards of Education included Etobicoke, York, North York and Scarborough. The 1998 poster, *Women in Sports*, was sponsored by the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport and Physical Activity and the Ontario Federation of School Athletic Associations, as well as by a number of school boards. In 2002, the *Celebrating Immigrant Women* poster had eight sponsors, including school boards across Ontario and the Ottawa/Carlton Elementary Teachers' Federation.

Although the posters continue to receive enthusiastic endorsement each year, accessing funding remains a constant struggle. Green Dragon Press continues to develop, publish and promote resource materials about Canadian women's history for teachers.⁶⁹⁷

Finally, New Hogtown Press (originally named Hogtown Press), another key independent Toronto publisher, produced materials about women, albeit not specifically for schools. However, it was influential because of the networks it created, and the relationships it developed with scholars, educators and feminist groups in Toronto. Hogtown Press had its origins in the student movement of the 1960s. In 1969, the Canadian Union of Students (CUS), a national university student union formed in 1930s, lost what would be its final decertification referendum on the campus of the University of Toronto and was disestablished as a student government national affiliate. It had taken positions of solidarity with the developing world, with Vietnam, with feminist groups and with many anti-establishment, left-leaning organizations.⁶⁹⁸ CUS had become the national lobbying agency of university students everywhere. After the referendum loss in Toronto, CUS decided to wind up the national organization while it still had resources and turned its literature service into a small press. The literature service was then set up as Hogtown Press.⁶⁹⁹ Publisher Russell Hann notes that the materials contained a mix of things, related to working-class history, the student movement and women's liberation.

The press reflected the social activism of the moment: all of these so-called 'subset' themes became major voices for systemic change. Women's voices were one of the many, and were united in the call for equity for all people. During its brief history, Hogtown Press distributed and published material in a wide variety of areas (Canadian social history, world imperialism, women's liberation, economic theory etc.). Russell Hann notes, "most of the publications were not typeset and were printed in a "movement" literature style (mimeograph output)." He adds, "Hogtown Press was somewhat blasé about the niceties of publishing -- things

⁶⁹⁷ See also: Pat Staton, *It Was Their War Too: Canadian Women and World War I* (Toronto: Green Dragon Press, 2006); Marguerite Alfred and Pat Staton, *Black Women in Canada: Past and Present* (Green Dragon Press, 2004); Pat Staton, Rose Fine-Meyer, Stephanie Kim Gibson, *Unfolding Power: Documents in 20th Century Canadian Women's History* (Green Dragon Press, 2004).

⁶⁹⁸ Russell Hann. Interview by author, Toronto: November 25, 2010.

⁶⁹⁹ Russell Hann Interview. Hann adds that one of the people involved in the administration said "why don't we just form a little press here with whatever money you have left and whatever resources and pamphlets."

like dating publications and clearing copyright and permissions."⁷⁰⁰ At the end of a couple of years, Hogtown Press and its assets were turned over to SAC, which agreed to house and fund a publishing venture based on Hogtown's assets, creating New Hogtown Press (NHP)⁷⁰¹ By the spring of 1974 it had decided on a programme to publish original book-length material. The 1975-76 catalogue described the programme this way:

New Hogtown Press is a non-profit publishing and distributing enterprise based in Toronto. Our aim is to make available a comprehensive selection of popular literature presenting a socialist critique of capitalist society. We are particularly interested in historical and strategic perspectives on the working-class in Canada and Quebec and writing from the Canadian Left in general. We publish original material and distribute books, pamphlets, and periodicals published by other progressive groups which might otherwise have a limited readership. We welcome manuscripts for consideration.⁷⁰²

The Student's Administrative Council (SAC) office was in the observatory building in the circle south of Hart house, and had been there since the 1930s. While SAC was supportive of NHP, the support was given with the understanding that the press would ultimately become self-sustaining. For a couple of years the NHP offices were on the ground floor of the SAC office. As well, space was provided for small print shop called *Better Read Graphics* in the basement of the office. These were both regarded as progressive initiatives by subsequent SAC administrations. By the mid-1970s, both NHP and Better Read had attracted the ongoing attention of conservative members of the university community.⁷⁰³ Better Read decided to disband in 1976.⁷⁰⁴ SAC moved NHP to less noticeable space elsewhere on campus.⁷⁰⁵ A 1975

⁷⁰⁰ Russell Hann. Email correspondence with author, July, 2012.

⁷⁰¹ Russell Hann. Email correspondence. Hann notes "Its principals were Krystina Dobrowolski (a staff member initially paid by SAC), Richard Wright, Manny Gordon, and Joel Lexchin. This group reached out to friends and colleagues for publishing ideas and manpower. Gregory Kealey joined the managing collective about 1974. The collective expanded to include a broad cross-section of the Toronto Left. Greg's partner Linda Kealey was a member of the Women's Press Collective. At this stage there was an informal agreement that NHP would not publish in the area of women's history."

⁷⁰² Russell Hann Interview. Ulli Diemer, "New Hogtown Press After Retrenchment, A Few Steps Forward", (Toronto: *The Varsity*, October 31, 1975).

⁷⁰³ <http://www.connexions.org/CxLibrary/CX7143.htm>

⁷⁰⁴ Russell Hann. Interview by author, Toronto: November 25, 2010. Hann notes "If a revolution broke out we would be able to produce literature. This hippy kind of collective of printers downstairs, their most famous publication on their own was a thing called 'The Marijuana Farmers', and it was about marijuana cultivation. A sort of semi-practical guide, it was actually known within certain groups all over the place."

article in the University of Toronto *The Varsity* paper noted the links to student activism and the social movements at this time,

Hogtown's history is in many ways a microcosm of that of the radical student movement as a whole. In 1975, as in 1968, the goals remain the same: socialism, women's liberation, an educational system serving the needs of society rather than the needs of corporate rationality. But the tactics have of necessity changed. The large, activist movement of the sixties relied on confrontation and mass pressure, while the socialists of the seventies have had to retrench and devote themselves to laying the groundwork, through education, for another upsurge sometime in the future. In some ways, this reflects the biographies of student radicals of the sixties as well, many of whom have gone on to become radical teachers and professors.⁷⁰⁶

In contrast to mainstream publishing houses, Hogtown maintained its reputation as being a publishing house for academic and radical thought but it relied heavily on the volunteer hours of its staff. *The Varsity* noted, "Publishing of any kind is a precarious venture in Canada, but publishing radical pamphlets is all the more financially unviable."⁷⁰⁷ The goal of the press was initially to create as broad a political spectrum on the independent Left. Hogtown's first book, *On Active Service in War and Peace*, documented the activist role of the American historical profession "in serving the corporate power structure in the United States."⁷⁰⁸ Many of their books focused on working-class narratives and working-class history; labour historians, such as Greg Kealey, played a central role in the writing, networking and publications.⁷⁰⁹ The press published a bibliography of primary sources in Canadian working-class history that was widely

⁷⁰⁵ Russell Hann. Interview by author, Toronto: November 25, 2010. Hann notes that the transit hut near the old Meteorological Building was vacant. The university assigned the space to SAC to scare off intruders. The transit hut held a transit telescope, which was instrumental in time keeping in Canada.

⁷⁰⁶ Ulli Diemer, "New Hogtown Press After Retrenchment, A Few Steps Forward" (Toronto: *The Varsity*, October 31, 1975). Diemer notes that 1960s activists felt the "need for educational materials that provide a different perspective on the world from that of the standard textbooks-some indeed have started writing newer, more probing, and more radical interpretations of Canadian society." Hogtown, for example, carried titles by "former U of T activists such as Steve Langdon, Greg Kealey, Phil Resnick, Russell Hann, Daniel Drache, Laurel Limpus, and Peter Taylor, all of them campus radicals of the 1960s."

⁷⁰⁷ Ulli Diemer, *The Varsity*, The article adds, "Certainly Hogtown is unlikely to ever succumb to the temptation to drop its current status as a non-profit organization with charitable status in order to transform itself into a capitalist organization: not only do ideological reasons rule this out; financial realities forbid it as well. After the bills are paid, there is nothing left with which to pay staff. Politics has to be the motivation instead, and for the 15 members of the Hogtown Collective, this suffices to keep them donating their spare time."

⁷⁰⁸ Russell Hann. Email interview, July, 2012.

⁷⁰⁹ See: Greg Kealey, *Hogtown: Working Class Toronto at the Turn of the Century* (Toronto: NHP, 1974).

received at a time when social history and working-class narratives had entered history curriculum. Their commitment was in linking the university and the broader community through materials that focused on social issues; these included teachers and students.⁷¹⁰

In the 1970s, Hogtown Press published a number of books on the history of Canadian women such as *A History of the Rise of Women's Consciousness in Canada and Quebec* and *The "Hidden History of the Female: The Early Feminist Movement in the United States"*. It partnered with the "Toronto Literature Committee" and the "Toronto Women's Liberation" to produce a collection of poetry on women's liberation, as well as publishing *The Origin of the Family* in 1973. It also published the famous book, *The Political Economy of Women's Liberation* by Margaret Benson, which had widespread impact in North America.⁷¹¹ Alison Prentice came to New Hogtown in the 1970s and worked with Beth Light on her book *Pioneer and Gentlewomen of British North America, 1713-1867* and contributed to a collection of articles on women's paid and unpaid work in 1985.⁷¹²

Despite the scholarship, Hann noted the difficulties of getting publications into the schools. Pat Staton, who also volunteered at New Hogtown Press in the work on women's labour history, noted that the books that NHP published spoke about ordinary women, and were used by teachers but were not approved for Circular 14. She asserts that this was reflective of the challenges facing independent small presses at the time, which had limited marketing, little

⁷¹⁰ R. Hann. Interview by author, Toronto, Nov. 25, 2010. Hann adds, "People started to come to us. Wayne Roberts was finishing his thesis and had this chapter that became a little pamphlet called *Honest Woman*. Hann noted that they sent books about women over to Women's Press but that some people came to Hogtown anyway. He notes, "We talked a little bit about how we had agreed not to do women's history and they [WP] had agreed not to do what we were doing, which was practically everything."

⁷¹¹ Maureen Hynes, *A History of the Rise of Women's Consciousness in Canada and Quebec: 1850 to 1920 or Thereabouts* (Toronto: Hogtown Press, 1970); Martha Atkins, *The Hidden History of the Female: the Early Feminist Movement in the United States in 1971* (Toronto: Hogtown Press, 1971); Kathleen Gough, *The Origin of the Family* (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1973); *Poetry: Women's Liberation: A Collection* (Toronto: Literature Committee, Toronto Women's Liberation & Hogtown Press, 1971?); Margaret Benston, *The Political Economy of Women's Liberation* (Toronto, New Hogtown Press, 1973); Wayne Roberts, *Honest Womanhood: Feminism, Femininity and Class Consciousness Among Toronto Working Women, 1893-1914* (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1976).

⁷¹² Beth Light and Alison Prentice, eds., *Pioneer and Gentlewomen of British North America, 1713-1867* (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1980). Other publications focused on women's history include: Beth Light and Joy Parr, eds., *Canadian Women on the Move, 1867-1920* (Toronto: A co-publication of New Hogtown Press and the OISE, 1983); Paula Bourne, ed., *Women's Paid and Unpaid Work: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1985); Beth Light and Ruth Roach Pierson, eds., *No Easy Road: Women in Canada 1920s to 1960s*. (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1990). These books were also identified by history teachers in this study.

school board support, and faced marketing challenges in promoting their materials.⁷¹³ Prentice concurs,

As editor of the New Hogtown Press documentary series in the history of women, I tried to get documents on Canadian women's history into teachers' hands; so that they could enliven their classes with some source material that took students more deeply into the lives of the women they were studying - if indeed they were studying women! New Hogtown was a delightful collective. The books were beautifully produced, but could not be marketed. The Collective simply didn't have the resources. In addition, the volume dealing with New France and Acadia never was produced, so the series dealt only with English Canada, which was a pity. My passion for teaching with original documents was probably not shared by many history teachers - and most probably never heard of the series, even if they had wanted to use primary sources in their teaching.⁷¹⁴

The Varsity recognized the challenges in 1975. Distribution remained a problem, it noted, "because of the structure of the Canadian market, which is controlled by a few large commercial distribution firms whose reluctance to carry radical materials"⁷¹⁵

Throughout this period, the small presses in Toronto were actively engaged in providing support materials for teachers.⁷¹⁶ Yet Russell Hann notes that by the 1990s it became more and more difficult to sell materials for educational purposes. He adds,

When I would go to the Word on the Street in the 90s [an outdoor book fair] I was selling for ridiculously low prices. I do recall getting something that said please don't send us free books anymore, we don't have any place to put them, we're just the people of the Ministry of Education. Things got photocopied and put into course kits. Find a teacher with a roll of dimes and a photocopy machine and they got whatever they needed.⁷¹⁷

The work of the small independent publishers in Toronto and the scholarship contained within their publications was extraordinary and could have had a larger impact on history

⁷¹³ Pat Staton. Interview by author, Toronto: June 7, 2010.

⁷¹⁴ Alison Prentice. Email Interview with author, March 5, 2010.

⁷¹⁵ Ulli Diemer, "New Hogtown Press After Retrenchment, A Few Steps Forward."

⁷¹⁶ In its 1974 catalogue, Hogtown defined its goals, stating "We hope to distribute an increasing amount of working class material and writing from the Canadian Left in general. Our aim is to promote a comprehensive selection of literature dealing with critical issues in Canadian society from a socialist perspective." The 1988/89 Catalogue stated that "after 17 years they had greatly expanded and were planning to distribute books by Sister Vision and also those of Press Gang."

⁷¹⁷ Russell Hann. "Word on the Street" is an outdoor book fair which began in Toronto in 1989.

education in schools in Ontario, but only a small number of the books and pamphlets found their way into history school programs. These publishers shared a deep commitment to social justice and to the work they were doing in educating the public. However, small presses faced the Ministry of Education and the school boards' reluctance to support radical new scholarship and to continue to support large publishing companies by granting their publications approval on Circular 14 approval lists. Small publishers found it impossible to obtain [Ministry] approval for their materials as the Ministry remained unchanged in its overall objectives of maintaining standard history curriculum to fit established liberal agendas.

Many principals, who delegated the responsibility of ordering text materials to the heads of history departments, expected the new texts to be derived from the approved list of resources materials. However, they turned a blind eye to supplementary materials used in individual classrooms. According to the interviewees, history department heads, many of whom were taught within traditional historical frameworks and comfortable with established learning resource materials, were unlikely to change. An article written in the 1970 *Canadian Journal of History and Social Sciences* noted that teacher innovation didn't necessarily rest with the department heads and was often dictated by "the manner in which the principal operates the school." It further noted that principals who ran a "tight ship" tended to control and limit teacher innovation, while others allowed "grassroots innovation."⁷¹⁸ The article acknowledged the role of the principal in providing a space for innovative new ideas and resources. Some administrators followed traditional patterns when ordering course texts and others allowed individual teachers to engage in innovating purchasing. Principal Myrna Mather noted the important support of her first principal, Smibert, when she was a teacher. Smibert was a strong feminist and supported her work to purchase resource materials for a women's studies/history course in the school. Administrator's attitudes played a role in teacher's access to resource materials on women's history.⁷¹⁹

The lack of resource materials about women in history classrooms by the 1990 was certainly not because the materials were not available. It was related to an education system that

⁷¹⁸ Barry Riddell, "The Role of the Department Head in Implementing Change in a History Department," *Canadian Journal of History and Social Sciences* 6, no.1 Sept./Oct. 1970), 22-23.

⁷¹⁹ Myrna Mather. Interview with author, Ontario, November, 2009. Mather was a teacher and then Principal.

continued to question the place of materials about women in traditional curricula in schools. Pat Staton sees it holistically. She notes,

It is all about what goes on in the [school] halls, what goes up on the walls, what happens in the classroom. It's about how many trophies the boy's sports teams win and how much money is given to them, why all the pictures of former principals in the hallways are of older white males, and why there is nothing in the textbooks about women.⁷²⁰

The independent small publishers in this study indicated the ways in which they were forced to promote their materials. Wolfe of WP stated "There used to be a joke that every Saturday people would see me with my bundle buggy full of materials going down St. George. We had people selling books right across the country."⁷²¹ The decision to continue for ideological reasons, despite financial challenges and disappointment, was expressed by several small publishers. Wolfe recalls,

What we tried to do at Women's Press was to learn all the skills we needed to know from traditional publishers and use whatever we felt comfortable with. If there was something we found ethically wrong we didn't use it. We ran a publishing house... but we also came with a mission. We were driven by something that we cared about, and we felt part of the feminist community. If someone was doing an event, they would call us.⁷²²

The growth in the field of women's history, however, soon meant that mainstream publishers were eager to publish new scholarship, which added further challenges to the survival of the small presses in Toronto. However, the small presses provided an important link between academic text materials and history educators interested in accessing women's narratives.

Alternative Access Points: OHASSTA and History Teacher Magazines

Mainstream teacher organizations during this time. Educational resources were regularly made available at teacher conferences and through teacher newspapers. One element that is striking is the conflicting ideologies over pedagogy and content that surfaced within these publishing communities: radical presses framed women's history as essential to social change,

⁷²⁰ Pat Staton. Interview by author, Toronto: June 7, 2010.

⁷²¹ Margie Wolfe. Interview by author, Toronto: March 5, 2010.

⁷²² Wolfe. Interview by author, Toronto: March 5, 2010.

which would directly affect curriculum. Other publications viewed new scholarship in women's history as an adjunct to their historical studies and not necessarily central to the discipline.

The Ontario History and Social Sciences Teachers' Association (OHASSTA) held annual conferences each fall in Toronto. The conferences provided an opportunity for history/social science teachers, school board administrators, academics and history educators to connect for two days of workshops. Many history teachers attended these workshops, received learning resources for their classes, and found a wider range of learning materials offered in the publishers' tables. The publishers were predominantly mainstream as the cost for tables was high.⁷²³ Some of the materials and workshops focused on women. OHASSTA, although traditional in its historical focus, did provide an opportunity for teachers to present "best practices" and to network with educators in history and social sciences. Teachers interested in pedagogy on women's historical narratives found a venue in which they might share their work.

OHASSTA published an annual magazine entitled *Rapport* which was sent to history and social science teachers across Ontario. It had articles by history educators, history teachers and provided updates on resources materials, events and conferences. Although articles about women's history appeared infrequently in the magazine, it did provide a space for teachers to view new publications and to share best practices.⁷²⁴ An article written in the 1990 edition of *Rapport*, for example, noted the newly formed *The Ontario Women's History Network*. It quoted the mandate of the organization and wrote about the first OWHN conference held in 1990 which featured historian Wendy Mitchinson. The article noted that Mitchinson had stated that her research into women's history had made her a feminist. The writer responded that "it is difficult to conceive writers of women's history as not being feminists."⁷²⁵ The need to label women's

⁷²³ Pat Staton. Interview by author, June 10, 2011. Staton noted the cost of a table made it a financial loss for her small press. The high costs were less of a challenge for larger publishers and provided a venue for the promotion of textbooks. Teachers were predominantly interested in the free handouts and in examining new materials. Staton notes, at each event she provided free Green Dragon Press Canadian Women's History Posters.

⁷²⁴ The OHASSTA website, ohassta.org notes: "*Rapport* presents articles on teaching strategies, curriculum issues and reviews of publications. Our writers are practicing class room teachers, instructors at faculties of education and involved community members interested in the vitality of our schools and learners."

⁷²⁵ OWHN Archive /Blue Binder of OWHN materials/ Minutes of Meetings: *Rapport*, 1990. It noted that the OWHN mandate promoted "Women's history in Ontario in three areas: teaching, research and public

history as operating only within the framework of the political ideology of feminism was reflective of the political climate in education which saw women's scholarship as stemming from political activism. In general, there were few articles that addressed women's history as the magazine tended to reflect the OHASSTA executive, which supported traditional points of view.⁷²⁶

Looking through past issues of the magazine and the OHASSTA conferences, it is striking to see the common themes presented in workshops: best practices, teacher strategies and student skills. Innovation seemed to stem from new pedagogy and not from new content. This reflected the overall approach to history teaching: teachers were less concerned over content and more concerned over pedagogy. The move to provide student centred lessons may have encouraged this central focus. Teachers seemed more concerned about finding newer ways to teach established curricula than finding new scholarship. They did not interpret the inclusion of women as a new pedagogy, but rather as a content area. One teacher noted, "I wasn't trying to make mini historians, I was purely trying to make the students enjoy the subject."⁷²⁷

It may explain why new scholarship in women's history was only embraced by interested teachers. Several teachers interviewed for this study indicated that they did not specifically seek out materials about women and integrated women only when particular narratives were central to the study. For example, one teacher noted, "I didn't do it [include women] as a political act- [I]

accessibility."OWHN Archive boxes are stored temporarily at the home of Pat Staton, soon to be moved to the Archives of Ontario.

⁷²⁶ Andrew Nikiforuk, "History's Last Stand in the Classroom," *Maclean's*, April 5, 1982, Alan Skeoch, a history department head at Parkdale Collegiate in Toronto, and one of the founding members as well as President of OHASSTA in the 1980s was a frequent writer of *Rapport*. He decried the demise of history as a mandatory subject in schools and students' lack of historical knowledge, noting in a *Maclean's* article in 1982 that student graduates had little knowledge of key historical figures. "You're going to have kids who think they're the centre of the universe," he added. The article noted the ways in which history had become "fragmented" with the addition of "alternative narratives" and thus had lost its status within provincial curricula. Skeoch represented a number of teachers who looked for ways to bring national narratives back into the classrooms. This position was also supported more broadly by historians such as J. Granatstein and M. Bliss. (See: J.L. Granatstein, *Who killed Canadian History?* 1st ed. (Toronto: HarperCollins Publishers, 1998) and Michael Bliss, "Privatizing the Mind: The Sundering of Canadian History, the Sundering of Canada," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 26 (4) (Winter 1991-92): 5) The 1980s "back to basics" movement argued for a history curriculum that would deal less with social problems and more with the "cornerstone" of political and economic policies. The shift to "expand" history studies to social studies and the social sciences was taking place in schools throughout the U.S. and parts of Canada.

⁷²⁷ Teacher C. Interview by author, Toronto: January 11, 2010.

never taught for political reasons. I didn't include women just because more resources were available."⁷²⁸ His comment links women's narratives with politics, including the idea that women's history meant engaging in feminist activism. His resistance to teaching for "political reasons" may be a reference to his personal feelings about Affirmative Action policies. Several teachers in this study did not see the link between Board's Affirmative Action policies and history curricula. As well, the magazines make the same division: they do not connect women's history with mainstream history discussions.

Other Ontario teacher magazines, such as *The Forum*, the Ontario Secondary Teachers Federation (OSSTF) magazine, rarely featured discussions of history curricula; it focused more predominantly on union issues such as working conditions, salaries, Ministry of Education changes and political issues. Several short articles in the 1980s addressed issues related to Affirmative Action.⁷²⁹ It encouraged OSSTF members to actively participate in public forums across Ontario on women and Affirmative Action.⁷³⁰ History education appeared on occasion. One example was an article written by history teacher Alan Skeoch in 1983 that addressed the serious issue of declining enrolment in history classrooms. He noted that his once full history classrooms were struggling to maintain student enrolment due to the curricula changes that focused more on Math and English. Skeoch noted, "Most often history is greeted now with one long yawn. It's a tragedy for our whole society since what is being rejected is ...the collective memory of the past."⁷³¹ The 1970s and 1980s brought the option for students to choose subjects freely while others were mandatory. History became optional after one year and this meant that history teachers turned to new strategies for teaching. Skeoch acknowledges this by stating that "I've passed the mid-way point in my teaching game, by right of inertia I should be allowed to

⁷²⁸ Teacher C. Interview by author, Toronto: January 11, 2010.

⁷²⁹ Shelagh Luka, "Making Up The Difference: Mandatory Affirmative Action-The Way It Is," *Forum*, October, 1983, 122. Luka notes the ways in which women continued to experience employment inequality in education. "We are now 80 years into the 20th century, but light years away from equality in employment. The relative economic position of women has remained almost identical, in spite of a dramatically increased participation rate, major changes in family structures and important developments in the area of industrialization. The effort of women, individually and collectively to break down barriers to equality have resulted in minimal gains."

⁷³⁰ *Forum*, 9, no.3 (Oct/Nov.1983), 122.

⁷³¹ Alan Skeoch, "Narcissism or Nihilism: History in the Ontario Secondary School Curriculum," *Forum*, 9, no.3 (Oct/Nov. 83): 123-125.

continue-routinely-for the next half of my career. But suddenly I've been forced to think." ⁷³² He resented having to cater to students who did not want courses that make too many demands or they will drop out, and he resented having to access new resource materials. This might provide further insight into why many teachers were less likely to bring women's narratives into classrooms: they were just too resistant to change. Clearly curriculum change rested on the shoulders of individual teachers, who resisted or embraced equitable historical examinations in their courses.

The Ontario Women's History Network (OWHN)

Grassroots organizations concentrated on networking and fundraising through conferences, publications, special events, and workshops. A number of universities provided venues for these events, and teacher education faculties and women's studies departments promoted productive partnerships among women's groups, school board educators, scholars, and teachers. For example, beginning in 1987, York University held annual equity conferences that brought together Toronto educators. ⁷³³ The conferences entitled "Equity in the Classroom, Equity in the Curriculum" provided a wealth of resource materials for teachers to use in history and social science classrooms. Workshop speakers included well known scholars who were active in grassroots organizations, which provided opportunities to build links between the academic community and educators in schools. The conferences were jointly sponsored by five or six school boards that formed the Toronto area, the Toronto Board Equity Department, as well as the York University Centre for Feminist Research. Feminist organizations formed strong advocacy groups to promote educational change. The women's organizations that emerged at this time in Toronto and other cities across the country mobilized educators and resources to improve curricula.

⁷³² *Forum*, 9, no.3 (Oct/Nov. 1983), 123.

⁷³³ Myra Novogrodsky, Private collection of Equity conference brochures. Novogrodsky, a retired teacher, former Chair of the Women and Labour Studies and Equity Department and retired Faculty of Education Instructor at York University worked throughout her career to bridge the gaps between learning communities.

Linda Christiansen-Ruffman has explained that the *Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women* (CRIAW) was able to counter the dichotomies between the worlds of academe and political activism to bridge gaps through on-going activities.⁷³⁴ CRIAW focused on networking, maintained through regular newsletters, conferences, publications, and the work of researchers. Muriel Duckworth, national president from 1979-1980, stated that CRIAW was "a place where academics could present their research, a place where women who need information might find it, and a place where scholars in different disciplines might interact."⁷³⁵ The support for a shared feminist project and opportunities to network was evident in a number of women's organizations such as The Canadian Federation of University Women, The Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario, Educators for Gender Equity, The Ontario Secondary Teachers' Federation, The Congress of Black Women of Canada, The Native Women's Association of Canada, and the Canadian Committee on Women's History to name only a few.⁷³⁶ These organizations concentrated on networking and fundraising through conferences, publications, special events, and workshops and acted as models for newly formed women's organizations. As active members in women's organizations, feminist scholars and educators sought out new networks with each move or change in career.

Like other women scholars, Alison Prentice was an active member of the CCWH and the OWHN, where she was both a founding member and first chair. Later, after moving to Victoria, she became active in the WHN/BC. She notes "both OWHN and WHN/BC were concerned with spreading knowledge about women's history to the wider world and we were especially concerned with getting more women's stories into history or social studies courses in schools."⁷³⁷ Feminist organizations formed strong advocacy groups to promote educational change. EDGE, a group of teachers and members of the Status of Women Committee of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers Federation (OSSTF) in London, Ontario, sought to "develop and maintain a

⁷³⁴ Linda Christiansen-Ruffman, "Bridging the Gap between Feminist Activism and Academe: The Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women" in Wine and Ristock, eds., *Women and Social Change*, 258-282.

⁷³⁵ Linda Christiansen-Ruffman, *Women and Social Change*, 258-282.

⁷³⁶ Rebecca Coulter, "Educators for Gender Equity: Organizing for Change" (EDGE), *Canadian Woman Studies/cahiers de la femme*, 17, 4 (Winter 1998):103-105; OWHN Files, *Correspondence*, letter from EDGE.

⁷³⁷ Alison Prentice. Email Interview by author, March 05, 2010. See also Wendy Robbins et al, eds., *Minds of their Own* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2008).

network to promote curricular policies, programs, resources and practices related to gender equity in elementary and secondary education." The group, like others in the province, was anxious to find ways to alter curricula and provide a platform for collaboration.⁷³⁸ Other examples included the Ontario Women's History Network (OWHN), the Women's History Network of British Columbia (WHN/BC), the Women and History Association of Manitoba (WHAM) and the Women's Association of Saskatchewan's History (WASH) and the Canadian Committee on Women's History (CCWH). WHN/BC members parallel those of OWHN, including "archivists, teachers, professors, writers, genealogists, students and others interested in the field of women's history."⁷³⁹

The *Ontario Women's History Network* (OWHN) provides an excellent example of the grassroots activism taking place in Toronto during the 1980s. The organization was formed to address many of the issues previously noted in this dissertation: the lack of integration of women's history materials into schools, and the problems teachers faced in accessing scholarly materials. The original mission statement outlined:

The goal of the OWHN is to stimulate the study and further the knowledge of women's history in Ontario. Anyone interested in women's history can join. Our twice yearly conferences in centers across Ontario provide an opportunity to meet others who share your interest in women's history, to learn more about women's history and to discover new avenues and information for learning and spreading women's history.⁷⁴⁰

Educators required support in accessing relevant resource materials about Canadian women and the general public had an interest in both sharing their knowledge, experiences and learning

⁷³⁸ Rebecca Coulter, "Educators for Gender Equity: Organizing for Change," *Canadian Woman Studies/cahiers de la femme*, 17, 4 (Winter 1998):103-105; OWHN Files, *Correspondence*, letter from EDGE explaining its mandate and activities which included providing a forum for on-going, focused networking and discussion; support for in-service programs and professional development; promoting gender equity in education; exchanging curriculum resources; and critiquing, evaluating and responding to research studies and developments affecting gender equity in education.

⁷³⁹ <http://www.whnbc.blogspot.ca/> Website of Women's History Network of British Columbia, Canada (WHN/BC) The website notes "The WHN/BC was originally inspired by the enthusiastic spirit of the 1994 conference, "BC and Beyond: Gender Histories," held in Victoria, B.C. Academics and community women volunteered to set up a provincial gender history network, and WHN/BC's first annual conference was held in Abbotsford the next year. WHN/BC holds a conference each year, and supports the initiatives of members and others interested in promoting women's history." (Website accessed July, 2012).

⁷⁴⁰ OWHN Archive/Files/Binders OWHN conference materials, Membership Directory, OWHN Newsletter. Jan. 1999 vol. 4. no.1.

about others and OWHN focused on providing the linkages between various communities. OWHN focused on providing links through the development and dissemination of women's history course materials to schools across Ontario. OWHN members, mainly feminist academics, were committed to engaging with diverse communities through a dedicated plan that included twice-yearly conferences and meetings, the publication of resource materials (including women's history posters), support of women's presses and bookstores, the publication of an annual newsletter, support of women's heritage and local history, and the establishment of an effective system of networking. Its accomplishments provide insight into the efforts of grassroots organizations to affect curriculum change in schools. Oral histories and archival materials demonstrate the ways in which OWHN's grassroots activism was instrumental in affecting educational outcomes. This web of like-minded women was an essential part of bringing women's history into schools in Ontario.

Sparked by the work of Alison Prentice and research associates at the Canadian Women's History Project and the *Centre for Women's Studies in Education* at OISE (Pat Staton, Paula Bourne, Beth Light), OWHN's first meeting took place in June 1989. OWHN was modeled after a number of organizations already in existence such as the Women's Studies Research Colloquium which involved scholars who met regularly at York University and the University of Toronto to "share papers, discussion and dinner", and the CCWH, which was founded in 1975 "to promote teaching and research in the field of women's history."⁷⁴¹ Academics, educators, archivists and private scholars gathered to focus on two proposals: the development of an archival research tool for Canadian women's history and the formation of an Ontario women's history society.⁷⁴² The executive for the society elected at the meeting included Prentice, Department of History and Philosophy at OISE; Deputy Chair Barbara Craig, Archives and

⁷⁴¹ The quote is from Gail Cuthbert Brandt, founding member of OWHN, University of Waterloo professor and OWHN Chair 2007-2010. The CCWH website: <http://www.chashcaccommittees-comitesa.ca/ccwh-cchf/en/index.html> (website accessed July, 2012).

⁷⁴² OWHN Archive/Files/ Minutes, Sept. 23, 1989. Members present at the first meeting included: Paula Bourne, Gail Cuthbert Brandt, Ruth Brouwer, Barbara Craig, Bernadine Dodge, Karen Dubinsky, Jane ER, Rosemary Evans, Nancy Forestell, Pauline Greenhill, Julie Guard, Marie Hammond, Linda Hecht, Marguerite Hudson, Margaret Kellow, Jeanne L'Esperance, Beth Light, Lynne Marks, Lucille Marr, Jean Matthews, Kathryn McPherson, Wyn Millar, Beverly Mulkwich, Jan Noel, Diana Pedersen, Johanne Pelletier, Alison Prentice, Colin Read, Cecilia Reynolds, Jane Scherer, Johanna Selles-Roney, Christabelle Sethna, Pat Staton, Terry Thompson, Cheryl Warsh, Garron Wells, Shirley Wigmore.

Special Collections at York University; Secretary Paula Bourne and Treasurer Pat Staton, both research associates with the CWSE at OISE. Directors-at-large included historians Jane Errington from the Royal Canadian Military College and Elizabeth Smyth, Project Director at OISE.

At this first meeting, members discussed the challenges related to acquiring funding, establishing links with other organizations and developing a mandate. Stressing the members' core objective of providing a platform for discussion and exchange of ideas, it was agreed that the group constitute itself as a "network" rather than an association or society. The meeting mirrored the ways in which other women's organizations were mobilizing personal and professional networks to raise awareness of issues and initiate change. Working groups were immediately established to organize networking, the development of resource guides, and funding. The networking committee examined ways to publicize the group. It compiled a list of organizations to notify, and Jan Noel agreed to draft a "birth announcement" and membership form. Members decided to develop historical walking tours of landmarks in Ontario that featured women. They also established a Speaker's Bureau to link experts in various fields with schools.⁷⁴³ A third goal of the networking group was to establish a "literature table" for display at various education and library conferences.

OWHN planned to develop resource guides to link teachers and other users to archival sources. The archival research work was to form the basis for collaboration between teachers and community members to develop women's history units for local schools and colleges but the organization did not succeed in raising the necessary funds. A letter from Alison Prentice to the Canadian Women's Movement Archives, for example, provides insight into the original plans for OWHN. Dated Nov. 14, 1990 Prentice explains,

OWHN aspires to be an umbrella organization that brings people together that want to do anything connected women's stories in Ontario: promote archives women's materials,

⁷⁴³ OWHN Archive/Files/- Folder 1. Minutes of First meeting: September 23, 1989. First volunteer speakers included Jane Errington, Jeanne L'Esperance, Ruth Compton Brouwer, Joanne Pelletier, Karen Dubinsky, Marie Hammond, Gail Cuthbert Brandt and Cecilia Reynolds. At the meeting it was decided that the Network would focus on the development of research tools relevant to Ontario women's history but its mandate would include the promotion of women's history in general at the school/college/university level and within the community.

promote the cataloguing of papers in existing archives, promote materials to teachers and promote teacher training in women's stories.⁷⁴⁴

She also denotes the distinction between other women's academic organizations and OWHN. Prentice adds,

We are a subcommittee of the CCWH and are not seen as competing with that organization. The CCWH has a more scholarly agenda and is essentially an organization of historians; we see OWHN as trying to bring together academic historians, archivists, teachers and if we can attract them, local and independent scholars who have no academic affiliation.⁷⁴⁵

From its beginning, OWHN clearly fulfilled a unique need within the feminist historian scene in Ontario. The new organization focused attention on networking and the development of annual conferences for educators across the province.

The founding conference held at OISE on 22 September 1990 was entitled *Bridging the Gap: Women's History in the Classroom* and was funded by FWTAO. Workshops included multiculturalism and Native Studies, Community resources and Black history.⁷⁴⁶ After this first conference, OWHN sponsored annual conferences in centres across Ontario which provided an opportunity for educators to share resources, to learn about women's history and to discover new avenues and information for spreading women's history. The organization provided resource materials for teachers at all conferences, and these resources became one of OWHN's greatest strengths. Teachers had limited time and opportunity to access materials and the few school resources that did include women tended to focus exclusively on the same women. OWHN wanted to provide workshops and materials that included the histories of Aboriginal, racialized, and immigrant women.⁷⁴⁷ The theme of the 1991 conference was called *Breaking the Stereotypes: Women in Society, Past and Present* and included a panel on interpretations of

⁷⁴⁴ OWHN Archive/Binders. Letter from Alison Prentice to Jane Abray at the CWMA explaining her plans for OWHN, Nov. 14, 1990.

⁷⁴⁵ OWHN Archive/Binders. Letter from Alison Prentice to Jane Abray, Nov. 14, 1990.

⁷⁴⁶ OWHN Archive/Files- Founding Conference Feb. 3, 1990. The Conference keynote speaker was Historian Wendy Mitchinson, and included several workshops, walking tours and community research projects.

⁷⁴⁷ OWHN Archive/Files/-Minutes of meeting February 2, 1991: In the meeting notes Pat Staton and Alison Prentice express a need for the committee to include input from the Black and Native women's community.

Aboriginal women in fur trade society and an exhibit about Chinese women in Canada.⁷⁴⁸ Since its membership included a wide circle of educators and researchers from a variety of backgrounds, the organization had a rich foundation from which to draw. OWHN invited speakers from diverse backgrounds to highlight the importance of race and ethnicity and asked graduate students, independent scholars, and representatives from various communities to present their research material or speak about their personal experiences at each conference.

OWHN conferences provided a vehicle for new scholarship at a time when there were limited opportunities for non-academics and academics to share their work.⁷⁴⁹ Peggy Hooke, a teacher with the Toronto Board and a member of OWHN noted, "The conferences were motivating- and exposed me to experts in their field. They provided me with an awareness of larger issues and concepts that I could integrate into my teaching."⁷⁵⁰ The spring conference and annual general meeting took place in Toronto each year, with the fall conference held in another Ontario city in order to provide opportunities to partner with different school boards. Anyone interested in women's history and women's issues was welcome.

Resource materials generated at the conferences included: copies of keynote speeches; handouts, including biographies provided by panels and workshops; articles and full bibliographies of materials related to the conference theme. The *Teacher's Guide to Resources in Women's History and Contemporary Studies*, a project endorsed by OWHN, was near completion by the time of the 1991 conference.⁷⁵¹ As well, Staton and Prentice received funding for a two-year project entitled *Multicultural Resources for Women's History-a Computer Model*.

⁷⁴⁸ OWHN Archive/Files/-Folder 4: Feb. 21, 1991. *Breaking the Stereotypes: Women in Society, Past and Present*, OISE/UT, Feb 2, 1991. Valerie Mah recreated the exhibit entitled "But Women Did Come."

⁷⁴⁹ See: Light, Staton and Bourne, "Sex-equity Content in History Textbooks," *The History and Social Science Teacher*, (25 (1), 1989), 18-20; E. Batcher, et al, *The More Things Change . . . the More they Stay the Same* (Toronto: FWTAO, 1987); Lynn Venier Ardizzi, *An Examination of High School History Textbooks* (MA Thesis: University of Toronto, 1993).

⁷⁵⁰ Peggy Hooke. Interview by author, Toronto: Jan. 3, 2011. Hooke is retired Curriculum Leader for TDSB. She notes, "I didn't go [to the OWHN conferences] specifically for resources- but more for the issues that were discussed-bringing them back to the school as a teacher and department head-and I was convinced of the importance of the OWHN agenda."

⁷⁵¹ See: Joyce Scane, Pat Staton and Roxana Ng *Multicultural, Intercultural Education and Race Relations: An Annotated Bibliography* (Toronto: Green Dragon Press, 1992); Pat Staton and Alison Prentice, *Multicultural Resources on Women's History and Contemporary Studies: A Telecommunications Model* (Toronto: OISE, 1994).

The project was intended to support a curriculum containing narratives about women from a variety of cultures. The plan was to use a computer networking model that would respond to teachers' requests for curriculum materials. The project reflected the challenges facing organizations such as OWHN in making extensive and sustained teacher connections and was ultimately unsuccessful due to disparate regional resources.

When the Status of Women Canada introduced *Women's History Month* in 1992, school boards sought ways to feature women during October. OWHN's 1992 conference was held in Ottawa on Parliament Hill and celebrated women's history month.⁷⁵² Prominent leaders and political figures included Mary Collins, Minister for the Status of Women and National Defence; Audrey McLaughlin, Leader of the federal NDP; Monique Bégin, Dean of Faculty of Health Sciences at University of Ottawa; Jacqui Hotzman, Mayor of Ottawa; Senator Florence Bird; Margaret Wilson, Secretary-General of the Ontario Teachers' Federation. Materials distributed to delegates included biographical sketches about prominent women in politics. Over one hundred delegates from all over the province attended this conference, demonstrating that OWHN had developed a network across educational communities.⁷⁵³

During the 1980s and the 1990s the OWHN membership oscillated between one hundred and two hundred members. Membership fees remained twenty dollars and as a result funds were always limited. Early efforts to acquire Ministry of Education funding were not successful and Staton notes that OWHN never developed an endowment fund.⁷⁵⁴ Except for the founding year, OWHN did not apply for major funding from academic or non-academic sources, relying instead on funds raised through memberships and conferences. Resources provided at conferences were donated by members and workshop leaders, reflecting a common reality for many 'not for profit'

⁷⁵² OWHN Archive/Files/- Letter from the Minister Responsible for the *Status of Women*, May 7, 1993. In this letter, Minister Mary Collins stated, "The aim of the women's history month each October is to foster an appreciation for the past and present contributions of women in Canada and to recognize their achievement as a vital part of our heritage."

⁷⁵³ OWHN Archive/Files/-Folder 7: October 3, 1992 Conference: *Women and the Political Process* included students, teachers, superintendents, principals, Status of Women reps., President of the Ontario Farm Women's Network, researchers, educators, museum staff, archivists, publishers, curators and librarians.

⁷⁵⁴ Pat Staton. Interview by author. Toronto, June 9, 2010. Staton notes, "Perhaps if OWHN had created a large endowment fund, the organization could have been more active in publishing curriculum materials."

volunteer-based women's organizations. As a small organization, it was a constant challenge to access annual dues from a fluctuating membership pool.⁷⁵⁵ Posters, journal articles, and books were offered by co-sponsors and publishers, who set up tables at each conference, supplementing the materials provided in the conference packages. However, OWHN's financial reality limited its ability to effectively distribute resources to schools across the province.

In keeping with the organization's objective to focus on teachers, OWHN conferences were often co-sponsored by faculties of education. This collaboration was also a natural development for an organization whose executive was composed largely of academics, several of whom worked in faculties of education.⁷⁵⁶ All conferences held at OISE or York University included teacher candidates and was supported by Education faculty members.⁷⁵⁷ In 1994, OWHN partnered with The Royal Military College (RMC) and the History Department and Faculty of Education of Queen's University to focus on women and Canada's military past. Placing conferences within schools and school boards also allowed for more participation from public school educators. *Women's History: New Technologies and New Resources*, held in 1997, was a one-day conference at Martingrove Collegiate specifically aimed at Toronto teachers.⁷⁵⁸ The Toronto Board of Education had created a women and labour studies resource centre and computer lab at the school and OWHN, partnering with the Etobicoke and Toronto Boards, gathered teachers, resources and speakers to showcase women's history.

Some conferences were particularly well-attended because they brought together groups that had previously little formal association. The conference, *Women of Steel: Mining Their History*, held in 1999 at Laurentian University in Sudbury provided one such example.

⁷⁵⁵ Nancy Adamson et al, *Feminist Organizing for Change*. Adamson examines the work of women's organizations and the building of a movement that includes all women, which she suggests dilutes the focus of each group and its ability to make change, 240-241.

⁷⁵⁶ At the time, Sharon Anne Cook was at the Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa; Alison Prentice, Pat Staton and Paula Bourne were all working at OISE/University of Toronto.

⁷⁵⁷ For example, the 1994 conference entitled *Claiming Women's Lives: Integrating Women's Studies into History and Social Science Courses*, held at the Toronto Historical Board, examined practical ways in which to integrate narratives about and by women directly into the Ontario history curriculum.

⁷⁵⁸ OWHN Archive/Files/ Folder 6, Minutes. April 5, 1997. Workshops included *Women's History on the Web* by Alyson King and Pat Staton and *Black Women and Canadian History* by Marguerite Alfred and Afua Copper, who also provided new materials for placing Black women in school Canadian history courses.

Following the weekend conference, *The Sudbury Star* published an article acknowledging the importance of integrating the work of academics and women working in the mining industry, reflecting on the ways in which the organization linked the themes of the conference to the politics and economy of the hosting institution/city.⁷⁵⁹ The history of Aboriginal women conference, held in 2004 in the new Indigenous Studies building at Trent University in Peterborough, was co-sponsored by Trent's School of Education and Professional Learning, the Indigenous Studies Department and the Kawartha Pine Ridge District School Board, providing opportunities for local educators to network.⁷⁶⁰ The poster that fall was *Native Women in the Arts*.⁷⁶¹ In order to network with beginning educators, OWHN invited teacher candidates to attend all conferences at reduced costs and supported their workshop leadership.

Feminist academics regularly presented their research at these conferences. By 1998, OWHN had managed to hold a wide range of conferences across the province; one conference brought Canadian and American women together.⁷⁶² The fall 2002 conference held at Seneca Falls, New York included the *United States National Historic Sites and Park Rangers and Parks Canada*⁷⁶³ and provided a unique opportunity for collaborative work from both sides of the border.⁷⁶⁴ Conferences provided a means to bridge the gap between policy and practice and created possibilities for collaborative projects between historians and educators.

⁷⁵⁹ OWHN Archive/Files/-Folder 21: *Women of Steel: Mining Their History* Oct. 13, 1999. *The Sudbury Star*, October 4, 1999. The reporter quotes the speech given at the conference by Laurentian University historian Linda Ambrose.

⁷⁶⁰ OWHN Archive /Files/-Folder 10: February 5, 1994.

⁷⁶¹ OWHN Archive /Files/-Folder 30. The Art of Manon Tuu'luq, held in the spring 2004 and Folder 31 at Trent University.

⁷⁶² OWHN Archive /Files/-Folder 20. *Women in Journalism: Writing the Past, Shaping the Future*. April 10, 1999.

⁷⁶³ The 1998 conference *The History of Women and Sports* focused on women and athletics and forged links between professional women's sports organizations and teachers in the province. The 1999 fall conference involved the *Ontario Law Society*, and the poster was *Canadian Women and the Law*, featuring prominent Canadian female lawyers and judges. The spring conference focused on women in journalism at Ryerson University. OWHN Files/-Folder 27: September 20- 22, 2002 Seneca Falls, New York. The conference, *Commemorating Women's History: the American Experience*, included a visit to historic sites linked to the struggle for women's rights.

⁷⁶⁴ Conference in New York included speakers Vivien Rose, *American Women's Rights National Historic Park* and Dianne Dodds, *Parks Canada* (Folder 27: September 20- 22, 2002 Seneca Falls, New York). See books by Green

Elementary and secondary school teacher unions in Ontario supported OWHN. A number of OWHN members were teachers and union members. The Elementary Teachers Federation of Ontario (ETFO) and Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario (FWTAO) provided financial support for publications, posters and events; collaborative projects provided additional opportunities for networking, although constantly changing educational agendas affected long term commitments.⁷⁶⁵ Conferences continued to provide the central focus of the organization as members felt that even limited networking produced valuable associations and opportunities to share resources. Historian and founding member Sharon Cook points out, "OWHN ensured a public program that encouraged the teaching of women's history, the respect that it deserved, and the resources needed to carry it forward."⁷⁶⁶

OWHN was unable to conduct studies on the impact of conference materials in classrooms as members of the executive had full-time jobs and were active in a number of organizations; these circumstances limited their ability to respond to follow-up requests, inquiries, or studies. As well, the Chair's limited one-year term added to the difficulty of developing lasting partnerships with conference participants or to develop long-term projects.⁷⁶⁷ However, the organization's mandate focused on providing a forum in which groups of educators could network and throughout the years, members continued to support situating the conferences in venues across the province, opening opportunities for individuals to participate as workshop leaders.⁷⁶⁸ Members of OWHN indicated that they valued the friendships and networks they developed and the opportunity to collaborate with like-minded colleagues, especially in the early

Dragon Press such as Moira Armour, *Canadian Women in History: A Chronology* and Pat Staton, R. Fine-Meyer & S. Gibson, *Unfolding Power: Documents in 20th century Canadian Women's History* (2004).

⁷⁶⁵ FWTAO and ETFO Newsletters. Support for women's organizations is visible in the FWTAO newsletters, Affirmative Action reports and publications. ETFO also funded the work of women's organizations through resources, kits and handbooks.

⁷⁶⁶ Sharon Anne Cook. University of Ottawa. Email Interview by author. December 21, 2009.

⁷⁶⁷ Longer terms were established after the organization moved to the University of Waterloo in 2007. The Chair and Vice Chair became two year positions.

⁷⁶⁸ For example, the Sudbury conference, *Women of Steel* brought together women who worked or documented the mining industry and who might not have travelled out of their community to attend a conference in another city.

1990s when there were limited opportunities for women's history educators to share resources.⁷⁶⁹

OWHN provided a space in which women's voices could be heard and supported. Constance Backhouse notes,

There was a great deal of resistance to feminist research and publishing in the 1980s and 1990s, from historians, from legal academics, from university administrators, and from some in the public sector as well.... How did we respond? We kept going. We tried to spend as much time as we could in the company of other feminists, who could offer support, protection, and friendship. We also took inspiration from the history of women who had resisted patriarchy and sexism in decades past.⁷⁷⁰

Feminist scholars recall the link between feminist activism and scholarship, as equally important strategies for change.⁷⁷¹ However, the drive that united the founding members lessened as scholars and teachers took up the process of recognizing women in history course work. In advocating, and one could argue in publishing women's history resource materials, feminist educators had challenged the traditional historical narratives present in school history courses. Advances made to women's place in school history education today stem from the work of women's organizations such as OWHN to make educational change within schools. Sharon Cook notes the work of women's organizations to network for change:

Like the nineteenth-century temperance women that I came to know through my research, I have worked at altering public education to make it more gender-sensitive through an interlocking network of organizations, OWHN included. My work in this has also been representative of how I have observed other women organizing their activism: I encounter many of the same women in a wide variety of interlocking organizations as we all chip away at what we regard as male-line institutions and knowledge systems.⁷⁷²

Over the years, OWHN developed important relationships with feminist scholars at faculties of education. Originally established by educators at OISE, OWHN developed from a

⁷⁶⁹ Wendy Robbins et al, eds., *Minds of Our Own: Inventing Feminist Scholarship and Women's Studies in Canada and Quebec, 1966-1976* (Waterloo: WLUP 2008), 34.

⁷⁷⁰ Constance Backhouse. Faculty of Law, University of Ottawa. Email Interview by author, October 25, 2009.

⁷⁷¹ Judith P. Zinner, *History and Feminism: A Glass Half Full* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1993), 42. Zinner quotes Joan Kelly who recalls the collaboration with scholars and opportunities to explore new approaches to the study of history during the 1970s.

⁷⁷² Sharon Anne Cook. University of Ottawa. Email Interview by author. December 21, 2009.

shared association between scholars and teachers, but the institutional links to OISE were eventually severed and the organization lost an essential foundation for support.⁷⁷³ The creation of local chapters in regions across the province might have provided a foundation for growth but this would have required additional work for the executive. Gail Cuthbert Brandt, founding member, suggests that as with all volunteer organizations, especially made up of busy people, it was difficult to follow through on major initiatives in a sustained fashion. She suggests the membership was probably not large enough to support central and local chapters.⁷⁷⁴ The goals of the organization remained focused on networking and building alliances, which was interpreted by members to be flexible and mobile. Local chapters might, however, have reduced the burden on conference planners and supported follow-up initiatives in local communities where conferences had been held. However, local chapters would have required more funding, resources and a permanent executive, all which remained in short supply.

First supported by the Centre for Women's Studies in Education at OISE, then affiliated with the Toronto Board of Education Equity Studies Centre, and finally headquartered from an executive member's office, by 2000 the organization no longer had a permanent home. To some extent the organization had become dependent on its institutional links, first at OISE and then with the Toronto Board. Structural changes to these institutions, funding cuts in the 1990s and the loss of key individuals such as Prentice and Staton from OISE, and Novogrodsky from the Toronto Board, made it difficult for OWHN to remain influential. This lack of institutional support put a strain on the stability of the organization. Conferences drew smaller numbers, membership decreased, and the organization lost its former cohesion and direction. One of the problems was that the only access to computer networking was through a website linked to affiliated organizations, but not maintained by OWHN.⁷⁷⁵ Relying on phone contacts and twice a

⁷⁷³ Pat Staton, Interview by author. Toronto, July 16, 2010. Staton notes that OWHN had institutional ties to OISE and the Toronto Board. Cuts to academic institutions in the 1990s affected the organization. The CWSE at OISE was reduced to one secretary and a small budget. OWHN transferred its administration to the Toronto Board of Education Equality Centre where Myra Novogrodsky had a larger staff and budget. Further cuts, however, meant that the Equity centre was also reduced, losing staff and status. OWHN was forced to move again. This time the choice was between Senator Nancy Ruth's charitable foundation or the University of Waterloo. OWHN choose the University of Waterloo, under the direction of OWHN founding member, Gail Cuthbert Brandt.

⁷⁷⁴ Gail Cuthbert Brandt. University of Waterloo. Email Interview by author. December 27, 2010.

⁷⁷⁵ Coolwomen.org was changed to section15.ca

year mailings to members limited the ability of the executive to expand the organization. Remaining members recognized the urgent need to place the organization within a new environment, and 2007 was a year for regrouping. Under the guidance of Gail Cuthbert Brandt, the History Department of the University of Waterloo became the new home for OWHN and a new website was set up within a year.⁷⁷⁶

By adapting to changing realities, the organization also moved to one annual meeting and conference each year that alternates venues between Toronto and another Ontario city. The 2009 conference in Ottawa entitled *The Persons Case and Canadian Women's Political Activism*, co-sponsored with The Women's Legal Education and Action Fund (LEAF) Ottawa, demonstrated OWHN's ability to continue to partner with other women's organizations. After thirty-five conferences, seventeen women's history posters, co-publications of practical educational resources as well as lobbying the Ministry of Education on the primary importance of mandatory history courses, the organization could proudly declare they had provided a wide range of tools and resources to incorporate women's narratives into history and social science curriculum.

In some ways, the Ontario Women's History Network reflects the experience of other women's organizations: its limited size and financial status, and shifting networks restricted its ability to expand, but not its commitment in attaining reforms. Gail Cuthbert Brandt adds,

I am struck by the way in which the history of OWHN as an organization compares to some of the first wave women's organizations. The standard analysis of why the suffrage movement ran out of steam in the 1890s was that there was a hiatus between the leadership of Emily Stowe and her daughter Augusta Stowe Gullen. To some extent, OWHN faces the same challenge- how do we attract younger women of diverse racial and ethnic origin?⁷⁷⁷

The ability to attract new members has been a challenge for many organizations which were initially formed during the height of the women's movement. OWHN was affected by the broader changes that were affecting society and women in the late 1980s and 1990s. Feminism

⁷⁷⁶ OWHN Archive /Files/-Folder-AGM 2008: Conference took place May 2 and 3 at the University of Waterloo.

⁷⁷⁷ Gail Cuthbert Brandt. Email Interview by author. Dec. 27, 2010. Brandt adds that the urgency to get resources about women into schools has lessened somewhat as younger teachers now have access to more materials. She suggests that OWHN still has a vital role in providing linkages and networking for teachers-to women's history scholarship and to history communities-like the founders had hoped. OWHN provides support for graduate students to attend conferences and also awards students each year at the Ontario Heritage Fairs "in recognition of excellence in the research of women in Canadian history." (see ohfa.ca)

was changing and thus put pressure on established women's organizations to find ways in which to remain relevant and active. The urgency to create new resources and networks, so immediate in the 1970s and early 1980s, no longer drives the organization and policy changes in the province's school system challenge the organization to move in new directions. As current educational policy focuses more on balancing budgets and standardized testing, feminist organizations are forced to create new strategies.⁷⁷⁸

Despite the substantial efforts of second wave feminists, feminist scholars, and women's organizations such as OWHN, the schools boards continued to be skeptical about the value of women's studies and/or the integration of women's narratives into course materials.⁷⁷⁹ This continues to represent a challenge for women's organizations; however, it also reaffirms their importance in providing a platform for women's voices. OWHN struggled to influence change within schools in Ontario and the conferences and resources were products of its labour. Its members' work was essential in creating networks and providing venues for teachers to access women's resource materials for their classrooms in Ontario.

The work of the *Ontario Women's History Network* was fundamental in bringing women's historical narratives into classrooms in Ontario at a time when teachers had limited access to resources about women. The annual conferences, which featured diverse communities and resources, provided important opportunities for scholars, educators and others to share knowledge and expertise. Influential support networks were developed and provided one of the few links between research work in the field of Canadian women's history and the work of teachers in classrooms. The collaborative work to produce annual posters and published materials each year also provided meaningful long term relationships, particularly with teachers' organizations. Teachers in Ontario continue to shoulder the responsibility for accessing course materials they personally feel are missing from formal curriculum documents and will continue

⁷⁷⁸ See: R.D. Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools* (Toronto: U. of Toronto Press, 1999); Tim McCaskell, *Race to Equity: Disrupting Educational Inequality* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2005). In 2009 University of Guelph closed the Women's Studies program. Several other universities followed or renamed women's studies programs.

⁷⁷⁹ Alison Prentice et al. *Canadian Women: A History* (first published in 1988, now in its 7th edition) In preparing *Canadian Women* the authors were cognizant that conventional history remained problematic in the history of women, as language, definitions, and even designated turning points were often unrelated to women's experiences.

to draw on feminist networks, such as OWHN, to provide resources about women in order to transform history education. Perhaps, the goal for organizations such as OWHN is to develop creative new ways to network. The work of the *Ontario Women's History Network* was fundamental in bringing women's historical narratives into classrooms in Ontario at a time when teachers had limited access to resources about women. The annual conferences, which featured diverse communities and resources, provided important opportunities for scholars, educators and others to share knowledge and expertise. Influential support networks were developed and provided one of the few links between research work in the field of Canadian women's history and the work of teachers in classrooms. The collaborative work to produce annual posters and published materials each year also provided meaningful long term relationships, particularly with teachers' organizations. Teachers in Ontario continue to shoulder the responsibility for accessing course materials they feel are missing from formal curriculum documents and will continue to draw on feminist networks, such as OWHN, to provide resources about women in order to transform history education.

Chapter Conclusion

The objectives of women's organizations and independent publishers to expand networks, form alliances and coalitions, increase consciousness raising, improve the status of women in schools and increase the exposure and implementation of women's studies within course studies in schools was achieved. The women's movement activism, belief in social justice was the driving force behind these activities. As Adamson notes, "In the early 1970s there seems to have been wide-spread agreement on the need for revolutionary change if the demands of the women's movement were to be achieved."⁷⁸⁰ However, as many scholars have noted, by the late 1980s this solidarity had splintered over issues of race, class and gender and the rise of the Right.

Developing course units that were focused on women's history was possible throughout this period. Teachers, many of whom were members of feminist, leftist and activist

⁷⁸⁰ Nancy Adamson, *Feminist Organizing for Change*, 51.

organizations, or as participants in workshops, conferences and events, were exposed to a rich dialogue about women's social and economic experiences, and supported by independent publishers and women's groups who made available new scholarship in women's history. In their determination to change curriculum content, teachers reached out to grassroots organizations, resource centres, independent publishers and educational networks where they could access supplementary course materials. Teachers responded to policies that recognized changes taking place within society and by organizations and publishers that provided support for curriculum change. By unstructuring the curriculum in order to integrate women into historical narratives, Toronto teachers had a wealth of materials and resources in which to support student learning. Including women in the curriculum meant different things to different people: the variety of women's organizations, publishers, networks, and teacher organizations all had different ideas about how to implement equity in the classroom. The sheer diversity of options meant that women's history was a 'grab-bag' of content, pedagogy, social activism, and the maintenance of the status quo. The failure of the Ontario Ministry of Education to develop a clear and unified vision for the integration of women's history resources into the curriculum, that included the means, method and materials, meant that teachers were left with the responsibility to sort through and implement a varied and often contrasting range of history materials. Interested teachers took up the challenge.

Conclusion

The social activism of the 1960s laid the groundwork for educational change in Ontario. The students of the 60s became the teachers, scholars, publishers, administrators and community activists of the 1970s and demanded and developed new perspectives within curricula. The times really were "a-changin'", as schools focused more on individual student needs, provided greater course options, and supported teachers in their efforts to provide more diverse historical examinations. The women's movement activism throughout the 1970s provided space for women's voices in the curriculum. The work to include women in history courses relied heavily on a variety of community networks that allowed for women's experiences to leak into classrooms. The efforts to make change remained a constant and passionate focus of education reformers throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Grassroots organizations, individual teachers and independent publishers continually faced barriers that restricted or limited the changes they hoped to create, however, it did not stop them altogether. Their persistence was central to creating new curricula resources and in altering attitudes.

However, advocating for women, on a curricular or professional development level, was complicated. There were multiple players working in diverse areas within the school system who were cross-pollinating to affect change. At the Toronto Board level were women's committees, teacher-librarians in resource centers, Affirmative Action representatives, individual teachers and administrators. Within the public were concerned parents, activists, educational reformers, political leaders, and public historians who lent their voices to the equity policies and how change should take shape in schools. In addition, publishers of women's presses, a network of resource centers, historical societies and women's organizations, and individual feminists and scholars were actively involved in publishing and sharing women's history materials. Finally, diverse history teachers were influenced to various degrees by the social moment in which they were living. Some teachers enacted a feminist pedagogy, despite opposition, and others were not so personally committed.

This interplay of interested reformers both helped and hindered feminist activist objectives. The creation and support of women specific history resources helped provide materials for teachers to utilize in classrooms, but also separated women's voices within history course studies. The accepted fragmentation of women's units of study to the overall history curricula was supported by a wide range of constantly shifting Toronto Board equity policies and committees that established gender equity as extraneous. Many teachers felt that there was no place to insert women's narratives, as they were already overburdened with an overloaded curriculum packed with course expectations.

The powerful spirit of cultural change of the 1960s and 1970s did not fully translate into gender equity like committed activists and educators had hoped. The Ministry did not take steps from the start to ensure that women appeared in the curriculum in a fair and equitable way, but instead focused on women as 'add-ons' to course studies. The Toronto Board's support of gender equity was viewed by a number of educators as progressive and successful. But the 'add-on' approach also created limitations for integration. The assumption that introducing women into the curriculum would eventually lead to equitable curriculum did not happen. Curricula materials about women remained supplementary and marginalized from the central history curricula and the increase in women leaders and principals within the school board did not translate into a more balanced curriculum. As well, in presenting a plethora of initiatives, the Toronto Board appeared to be appeasing both activist and conservative demands, incorporating a wide number of strategies to address equity issues. This proved confusing to many educators who noted that despite the many Affirmative Action initiatives, systemic change appeared to be slow.

However, interested teachers, supported by a wide range of educational reformers, remained committed to implementing change and included women in history course studies. Their work demonstrates the potential influence of grassroots activism in making institutional change. This study provides evidence to argue that curricular change was not entirely directed or dependent on 'top-down' directives or initiatives. Although the Ministry of Education and the Toronto Board of Education can be awarded considerable credit for the number of Affirmative Action and sex-equity curriculum initiatives, including women into the curriculum was executed as a curricular choice, thereby diminishing its status, and splintering the possibility for major change.

There was great potential, as this study has shown, particularly in Toronto. Robust, well-formed scholarship and materials from feminist scholars in academia and activist circles was wending its way into the classrooms, through a variety of ways: conferences, workshops, and individual teachers who belonged to academic communities, and who functioned as interlinking presences, effectively bridging the gap between academia, community groups and the school system. These diverse communities built up a momentum. Public activism, coupled with support from local feminist teachers, resulted in the Toronto Board beginning a series of reforms that reflected a more generalized concern with inequality that had percolated through society. Major projects, committees' work, newsletters, conferences, learning resources and promotions were substantial, but they did not add up to systemic change.

This grassroots activism did however affect the practice of history teaching. The interviews demonstrate the ways in which individual teachers made independent decisions to stray from what they termed the "traditional" treatment of women within formal history curriculum: integrating women as major players, not just as supporting actors. The essence of their commitment lay in their personal social justice orientation, in and of themselves and for education. Curriculum change in individual classrooms was the result of dedicated and purposeful work carried out by special interest groups and dedicated communities who deeply believed that changes within the education system were essential components of broader social change. The cross-pollination of social activist groups, independent publishers, women's organizations and a multitude of others meant that they could access a wellspring of equity materials at their fingertips, for those who were looking for it. Those networks allowed for women's history resources to leak into classrooms.

The introduction of the "Hall-Dennis" Report and the work of social advocates in the late 1960s challenged inequities within Canadian society and the school system. The idea of Canada and the historical narratives that Canadians were socially invested in began to shift, reflecting social changes taking place at the time. This was a time of great potential educational reform. But as R.D. Gidney has noted the Hall-Dennis Committee was quite selective in its recommendations and although "reflective of the larger mood and rhetoric of the times" the

report was "hardly the catalyst for change and innovation".⁷⁸¹ However, the climate for educational change was there and the report reflected the progressive ideas and values of the time. Educational reformers joined organizations, developed networks and lobbied governments that resulted in Affirmative Action policies. Their activism played an important role in arguing for social change. However, the educational policies that followed, although full of potential to address inequities within curriculum, were celebratory 'first steps' without proper well-developed integration methods: an oversight which would prove to be a fatal omission to equity in curricula. Without a plan for full integration, these policies fell flat, in terms of their ability to make substantial curriculum change.

The rise of the Right in politics during the 1980s also played a powerful force in redirecting gender equity work on a host of levels and fronts. This political turning point modified the momentum towards which activists were building. "Back to the basics" narratives and a shift to a more interdisciplinary approach to history placed greater restrictions on teacher pedagogy. Activities were also truncated by a strong political shift wherein 'top-down' curriculum decisions became the norm, and gender equity was not seen as a major factor. A full integration of women into history studies would have demanded a complete overhaul of the history curriculum and as that was not done, the decision instead to continue to add bits and pieces of resources ultimately became the accepted norm.

Scholars have examined the difficulties inherent in making systemic change.⁷⁸² Charles Reigeluth argues that change can be implemented in two ways; as either "piecemeal change," which involves making modifications to the existing whole or as "systemic change," which

⁷⁸¹ R.D. Gidney, "Instructive Parallels: Looking Back to Hall-Dennis," in *"Ring Some Alarm Bells in Ontario" Reactions to the Report of The Royal Commission on Learning* edited by Geoffrey Milburn (London, ON: Althouse Press, 1996): 25-45.

⁷⁸² See: Alvin Toffler, ed., *Learning for Tomorrow: The Role of the Future in Education* (New York : Random House, 1974); John Goodlad, *A Place Called School* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1984); Charles Reigeluth and Robert Garfinkle, *Systemic Change in Education* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Educational Technology Publications, 1994); Trevor Norris, *Consuming Schools : Commercialism and the End of Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011); Elizabeth Allan, *Policy Discourses, Gender, and Education: Constructing Women's Status* (New York: Routledge, 2010); Vilma Seeberg and Karen Monkman, "Girls and Young Women's Education and Empowerment in Marginalized Regions of the World," *Research in Comparative and International Education* 6 no. 1, 2011.

involves "a paradigm shift" and entails replacing the whole thing.⁷⁸³ He notes that systemic change is comprehensive and therefore "difficult and risky." Societal changes are often not reflected in schools, which Reigeluth argues are slow to respond due to the bureaucratic nature and history of the institution. Major changes to educational systems are often viewed as "radical" and unwelcomed by governments, administrators, and some teachers. People tend to expect the same things from schools that they experienced themselves. Therefore, by the very nature of the educational system itself, a full overhaul of the existing structure was problematic; changing curriculum in incremental steps became the preferred model. This study argues that the "getting a foot in the door" approach always kept women's issues on the periphery. Including women in history or social studies brought separate independent issues, labelled as "women's issues" into established dominant curriculum. Women's topics were often examined separately and with limited integration into the main historical study.⁷⁸⁴ This approach to gender equity constitutes what Reigeluth calls a "piecemeal change" and demonstrates the government's approach to curricular change during this period.

This study ends in 1993, a year which demarcated a political shift in Ontario, after the election of the New Democratic Party (NDP) under the premiership of Bob Rae. The NDP came into power in 1990 after a 30 year period of conservative rule, and a brief four year term of a liberal government in 1986 under David Peterson. Rae established the Royal Commission on Learning in 1993 and the NDP government took steps to respond to a growing public demand for education to be more accountable in quantifiable terms.⁷⁸⁵ The NDP ushered in marked shifts in

⁷⁸³ Charles Reigeluth and Robert Garfinkle, *Systemic Change in Education* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Educational Technology Publications, 1994).

⁷⁸⁴ For example, suffrage, one of the few common women's topics included in all history courses, was often presented as a "woman's fight"; something that men eventually granted to women. Women's obtaining the right to vote was not presented as a whole society issue. Women were often included in areas of the curriculum where they represented grassroots actions, forming "lobby groups" to advocate for change. Women of diverse backgrounds were included only in relation to a cluster of inequalities, such as examinations of immigration laws.

⁷⁸⁵ Royal Commission on Learning, 1994, preamble. Ontario Ministry of Education 1993 Document: "The Common Curriculum" (Grades 1-9) The document provided direction for all those involved in education in the province and stated that "While previous guidelines specified what would be taught, this one focuses on end results or outcomes that can be measured and observed." Toronto Board, "A Curriculum for All Students." The Curriculum for All Students was based on a Ministry of Education and Training document "The Common Curriculum, Grade 1-9, Feb. 1993" (The Toronto Benchmarks.) The Common Curriculum organized outcomes in four program areas: Arts, Languages, Mathematics, Sciences and Technology and Self and Society. For a fuller discussion see: Geoffrey Milburn, *Ring Some Alarm Bells in Ontario: Reactions to the Report of The Royal Commission on Learning*

education policy with the establishment of the Educational Quality and Accountability Office (EQAO), which included an assessment of students at various grade levels, by an arms-length agency that reported results aimed at improving student learning. The Rae policies of accountability morphed into stronger curriculum controls under the Mike Harris conservative government's "Common Sense Revolution" mandate.⁷⁸⁶

These political changes instituted new educational priorities in Ontario which had an impact on history education. A short perusal of the popular press reveals that public perceptions of education in the 1990s were echoes of earlier criticisms, including the recognition that gender equity had yet to be adequately addressed within the curriculum.⁷⁸⁷ Similar to the early 1970s, equity work in the 1990s rested on the shoulders of committed and passionate individual teachers.⁷⁸⁸ By the 1990s, the Board was holding ongoing conferences with well known speakers about "women's issues."⁷⁸⁹ The commitment to find ways to include women in curriculum did not disappear with new educational reforms to make schools more accountable.

(London, ON: Althouse Press, 1996) and R.D. Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).

⁷⁸⁶ See: R.D. Gidney, *From Hope to Harris* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); Clara Morgan, "A Retrospective Look at Educational Reforms in Ontario," *Our Schools, Our Selves* 15. 2 (Winter 2006): 127-141. See also Lawrence Angus, "Teaching Within and Against the Circle of Privilege: Reforming Teachers, Reforming Schools," *Journal of Education Policy*, 27, no. 2, (March 2012): 231-251.

⁷⁸⁷ TBE Archives: File/Committees: Status of Women Files, *Toronto Star*, Sept. 28, 1992, article by David Vienneau. This article reported on a published study, "Young Women Speak Out" by The Canadian Advisory Council of the Status of Women, that was based on the responses of 107 teenage girls, ages 15-19, who attended a symposium entitled "Widening the Circle: A Gathering with Young Women." The girls noted issues related to low self-esteem and the 'double standards' which they blamed on the media and the schools. This symposium was examined a year later in the feminist journal *Herizons*. The concerns the delegates expressed were echoes of the social movement activists who were active in the 1960s and 1970s (See: "Young Women Meet to Forge Their Future," *Herizons* 6, no. 4 (winter, 1993): 7.

⁷⁸⁸ The symposium delegates attended panel discussions and workshops on education, feminism sexism, self-esteem, racism, violence, disabilities, teenage motherhood and poverty. Delegates criticized education systems for their "indefensible lack of information on the history and values of Canada's Aboriginal peoples."

⁷⁸⁹ TBE Archives/ File:Depts.-EOO-Affirmative Action. This file contains a number of pamphlets from the various conferences. Examples include, "Moving Forward: Towards Sex-equity", an inter-board conference (April, 1988 Westbury Hotel Toronto) that featured Michelle Landsberg. "The Personal is Political: The Next Ten Years, an inter-Board Conference on Affirmative Action and Women's Studies." (April 1989 OISE/UT) Many well known women spoke about the ways in which education can address the advancement of women in society. "Women, Patterns and Change," (May 1991 Old Mill, Toronto) featured Dr. Miriam Rossi (Faculty of Medicine UofT and Sick Kids) and "Women's Work: Celebrating Women's Creativity: Annual Conference on Women's Issues," a Teachers' Conference, held June 1994 at Toronto Board of Education, Greenwood School.

But 'accountability' did not focus on gender equity education but rather on how to measure improvements in literacy and numeracy. This hampered the potential of major reform to adequately respond to the changes taking place within many classrooms. The grassroots activism could well have resulted in real change if the Board had responded by implementing an equitable plan of integration from the beginning, and if the 1990s had not produced a political shift in priorities.

Theories about educational reform have focused heavily on the role of the Ministry and school boards' 'top-down' policies and initiatives. Curriculum change traditionally involves input from curricular committees, writing teams, reviewers, stakeholders and the public. This provides an incremental and politically safe response to educational change but, as this study demonstrates, provides only a limited reflection of what can take place in classrooms. The gap between theory and practice is evident in the ways in which gender equity policies were implemented in classrooms. Teachers opted in or out, thus demonstrating the limitations that policy can play in determining the delivery of curriculum. Teachers in this study all acknowledged awareness and knowledge of sex-equity policies, yet surprisingly only some felt required to fully implement the policies. Clearly gender equity curriculum actions by the Toronto Board provided enough of a message that equity was optional in course work, or at least less paramount than other considerations.

Transformation in curriculum takes place when teachers link socio-cultural realities with pedagogy.⁷⁹⁰ Interested educators have demonstrated that democratic practices can be implemented in practice in classrooms. In addressing the absence of women in history curricula, education reformers in this study understood the importance of making curricula more representative of the social realities in which they lived, and thus in many ways were challenging entrenched notions of power within the educational institutions in which they worked. By developing a new framework, one that considered gender equity not in terms of additions to the curricula, but rather as a central issue of human rights and equity balance within all course

⁷⁹⁰ See Donaldo Macedo, "The Liberal Grip: An Entrapment Pedagogy," in Joe Kincheloe and Shirley Steinberg, eds., *Thirteen Questions: Reframing Education's Conversation* (New York: Peter Lang, 1995); Paulo Freire; trans.by Donaldo Macedo, *Pedagogy of the City* (New York: Continuum Publishing Co., 1993) 19-20. For a current discussion on equity and social justice practices within schools see, R. Patrick Solomon et al, *Brave New Teachers: Doing Social Justice Work in Neo-Liberal Times* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2011).

examinations, Toronto teachers may have been able to generate greater curricula equity. For a while, the kind of revolutionary and radical change needed to make a more equal society 'worked' and it seemed to be within reach for many people, before it imploded in the face of competing demands for 'equity' on all sides. The struggle for 'equity' within bureaucratic structures seemed to devolve into measuring 'outcomes' while discussions of the principles and promise of a genuinely equal society are lost in the dust. Instead, the results were minor changes to established resource materials. Feminist educators argued for new curricular frameworks and broader interconnections between disciplines. As Wendy Brown has argued, women's history is not just about incorporating women positive content: it's a framework dedicated to questioning traditional frameworks, and demands a re-thinking of history disciplines, and accepted epistemological categories.⁷⁹¹

This did not happen fully at the Toronto Board of Education. The Toronto Board focused essentially on finding ways to ensure women held positions of responsibility and in allowing Board women's committees the freedom to hold events and distribute resource materials but left curricular accountability to individual teachers. Furthermore, the Board did not provide opportunities to demonstrate how curriculum could be torn apart and re-structured along equity lines. Instead, bits of women's history, Black history, working-class history and Aboriginal history were haphazardly thrown into an existing structure, which could not support equity without losing its structural integrity. Systemic change is often not an expedient course to follow in our system of public education that is, of necessity, extremely sensitive to a wide range and variety of democratic pressures, including fiscal and political ones. The 'band aid' solution which was immediate and showed results provided short term improvement but left the deeper underlying disease to be addressed in the future, when more time, money and thinking would provide a more relevant outcome.⁷⁹²

⁷⁹¹ Wendy Brown, "The Impossibility of Women's Studies," *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*, 9.3 (Fall, 1997).

⁷⁹² Howard Adelman and Linda Taylor, "Systemic Change for School Improvement," *Journal of Educational and Psychological Consultation*, 17 no. 1 (2007): 55-77. The authors note the "widescale failure" of schools to adequately implement change, adding, "There must be a clear framework and map for how to get from 'here to there,' especially when the improvements require significant systemic change."

What needed to take place was a re-structuring of the entire history curriculum so that new categories were created as an integral part: where women were not outside to be squeezed in, but already present within the very fabric of the narratives themselves.⁷⁹³ Many teachers in this study were extraordinary in their contribution to gender equity, and rose to the challenges to implement equity within their own classrooms. What this study brought forth was not just the remarkable work of these individuals and groups but the magnitude of all their efforts to bring women's history into classrooms and the networks they created.

Finally, it is evident that the educational system, and the people within it, had much to learn from the women's movement, in the very ways in which it was organized, and the networking that it created. This was not merely on a content level: the women's movement provided a structural model for others to emulate, based on linkages, webs, networks and support systems; systems that could, as activists argued, improve education. What the feminist movement excelled at was bringing in multiple communities, developing and sharing supplementary resources, and opening up and expanding the definition of learning. Educators who emulated this model were bringing relevant social issues into history classrooms to make it more relatable and more meaningful to students. At bottom, what dedicated teachers and feminist groups shared was a firm belief that the inclusion of women in the curriculum was essential for any meaningful exploration of the human condition, a core element of the humanities.

Education reformers' equity work enriched individual history teaching, but did not make systemic change. However, larger discussions about women from a host of communities eventually penetrated history teacher pedagogy and historical resources. The evidence of their work lives on to some degree within curriculum resources, textbooks, and teacher pedagogy developed throughout this period of time. Today, there are more women in the textbooks and in history resources than ever before.

⁷⁹³ Common themes such as the study of war, for example, could embrace a broader matrix of historical realities, like land, families, food, and environment. Historical examinations might address more deeply how war changes the lives of a wide range of people: youth, First Nations, refugees, the elderly, wives, mothers and families. In effect, the core of the curriculum of war usually concentrates on soldiers and battles, which could be humanized in a way where it's natural to include women.

Appendix

Interview Research Questions

General:

1. In what ways were you actively involved with women's issues or women's history related specifically to education in the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s or early 1990s? What organizations and/or groups were you a member?
2. In what way were you a participant in the development or dissemination of educational materials that focused on Canadian women's history? What was your role and what were the outcomes? What resources did you employ? How did your work or activities impact changes to history education in Ontario?
3. What were the difficulties that you faced, if any, in your efforts to develop, deliver or support educational materials that reflected a more balanced approach to gender? In what ways did you counter these difficulties?

For those active in "grassroots" organizations, such as OWHN:

1. What impact did local historical associations, active in the dissemination of women's history, such as ... (OWHN).... have on public education?
2. How did their work facilitate other women's history networks or contribute to larger networks?
3. Did local initiatives change public perception of the teaching of history, if at all?
4. Are local chapters of historical associations distinct from each other? If so, in what way?
5. In what ways did their work impact women's studies or gender equity initiatives in education?
6. In what ways did this work impact or alter curriculum materials, especially in terms of the history of women?
7. In what ways did grassroots initiatives to change history materials to include Canadian women's narratives impact overall changes to history materials used within secondary school programs?
8. Were you involved in lobbying either informally or formally for changes in the history curriculum? What were the outcomes?
9. What informal or formal networks were you engaged as a member? In what ways did this impact the inclusion of Canadian women's history in classrooms?
10. In what ways were you active in developing, lobbying or implementing Canadian women's history narratives into history programs in Ontario?
11. What were some of the challenges that you faced, if any, in including women in history course studies? In what ways did you overcome/or work with those challenges? What were some of the outcomes?
12. Are you the author of any publications about the history of Canadian women? Were any of these publications aimed at secondary schools? Were these publications implemented into school history programs?

For History Teachers:

1. In what ways did you find the history curriculum in Ontario supported gender equity in history teaching in the classroom?
2. What changes (if any) did you see throughout your teaching career that addressed changes in the history curriculum towards a more gender equitable curriculum?
3. **Textbooks:** Did you find that most history textbooks included Canadian women's history narratives? Were the narratives about Canadian women integrated into the textbook? In what ways were narratives similar to/different than the other narratives within the textbook? What did you feel was missing in the textbooks in terms of Canadian women's history? Did you find that history textbook materials contained a bias or presented a perspective about Canadian women? Did you notice changes over time?
4. How did history textbooks change to reflect the growing interest in social history? In what ways did the textbooks reflect these changes? Specifically, what changes took place within history textbooks that reflected/included narratives about Canadian women?
5. **Supplementary materials:** Were you active in including Canadian women's narratives into the curriculum when you were teaching? In what ways did you do this? What supplementary materials did you use in your classrooms that provided narratives about Canadian women's history? Can you name specific books/films/filmstrips/booklets or documents which you used to supplement your history teaching to include narratives about women? And how/where did you obtain these supplementary resources?
6. As a teacher, did you find support for your work in your efforts to bring Canadian women's narratives into your classroom teaching? What challenges did you face in including materials about Canadian women in your history classes?
7. In what other ways did you supplement your history teaching to include narratives of Canadian women? How was this successful/unsuccessful?
8. What challenges did you face both in the workplace and within your classes in your efforts to include the narratives of Canadian women in your history teaching?

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